

needs

books

THE
THIRD VOLUME
OF THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY:
CONTAINING THE
Acts and Monuments
OF
MARTYRS:

WITH
A general Discourse of these later Persecutions, horrible Troubles
and Tumults, stirred up by

ROMISH PRELATES
IN THE
CHURCH.

WITH
Divers other Things incident, especially to this Realm of *England*
and *Scotland*, as partly also to all other Forcain Nations appertaining;
From the Time of Queen *MARIES* entring upon the Crown,
to the Reign of our late Gracious Sovereign Queen *ELIZABETH*,
of Blessed Memory.

Recognized and Enlarged by the Author,
MR. JOHN FOX.

*Wherunto are annexed certain Additions, unto the time of our late
Sovereign Lord King CHARLES of Blessed Memory.*

LONDON,
Printed for the Company of STATIONERS, MDCLXXXIV.

THE
THIRD VOLUME
OF THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
CONTAINING THE
Ages and Monuments
OF

MARTYRS:

WITH
A general Discourse of these later Persecutions, heretical Troubles
and Tumults, finish'd up by

ROMISH PRELATES
IN THE

CHURCH.

WITH
Divers other Things incident, especially to the Reformation of England
and Scotland, as far as they are to be seen in the former part of the
From the Time of Queen MARY II. ending upon the Crown
to the Reign of our late Christian Majesty Queen ELIZABETH
of Great Britain.

Recognized and Endorsed by the Author:
M. JOHN FOX.

Revised and corrected by the Author, in the time of our late
Christian Majesty King CHARLES II. of Great Britain.

LONDON.
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The PREFACE to the READER.

Fift, Concerning the origin of the word Miffa, whether it came of Miffah in Hebrew, Deut. 16. or Mincha, Levit. 6. which fignifieth Oblation; or whether it came of fending away the Catchumini, and perfons unworthy out of place of miniftration, as certain Writers fuppofe; or elfe Ex miffa donatus & fymbols given in offertorio pro nobiscum, that is of Gifts and Oblations wont to be offered before the Communion; or whether Miffa is derived of Remiffa which in the former Writers was ufed pro remiffione; or whether Miffa, pro licentia dimittendi populum, is taken of fending away the Congregation by the word of the Deacon, Ite miffa eſt; or whether Miffa hath its denomination, that the Grecians call δακνυμινος, the difmiſſion of the People, alluding to the ſtory of the Hebrews, [ſaid of Pharaohs] depart out of captivity after the eating of the Paſchal Lamb, as I read in an old Poſtill Book intituled, De Sacramentis Sacerdotalibus; or what term fignifyeth to be elfe, either Latin, Syriac, Dutch, or French; or however elfe it taken its appellation, as there is no certainty amongſt themſelves that moſt magnifie the Miſſa, fo is no matter to us that ſtand againſt it. To my judgment may probably there late expoſition of the word ſeemeth more probable, both for that it is joined with the word Ite, which fignifieth departing; and alſo the time and order in ſpeaking the fame agreeeth well thereto. For as the old Hebrews, after the Supper of the Lamb, and not before, were ſet at liberty ſtraightway to depart out of captivity; ſo, belike, to declare our myſtical deliverance by Chriſt offered and ſlain for us, if ſuch joyful before the action of the holy Supper: that therefore the Prieſt or Deacon ſaith, Ite miffa eſt, meaning thereby the deliverance and liberty which is ſpiritually wrought in us, after that the Body of Chriſt hath been offered for us. Or elfe, if Miffa alway ſhould ſignifie the celebration or the action of the Supper, it would not be ſaid Ite, but Venite, miffa eſt &c. Moreover, beſides other Arguments, there are certain places in Catechumens which ſeem to declare that Miffa ſignifieth the diſmiſſion of the Congregation: as where he writeth of him which cometh not in time to the hours of Prayer, ſaying it ſhall not be lawful for him to enter into the Oratory, Sed ſtante pro foribus Congregationem nullum præſolari debet, i. e. that he ought not ſtanding without the doors, to wait for the miſſ of the Congregation

But our Mass Priests: neither be after the order of Aaron, for that is to resume that which Christ has abolished; neither after the order of Melchisedech, for that is peculiar only to Christ; neither after the order of the Apostles, for then should they be Ministers not Masters, not Priests but Preachers, as which of the Apostles was ever named by the title of a Priest? Again, neither are they after the ge-

[illegible]

Isidorus l. 6.
Etym.
Hugo in
speculo Ec-
cles.
Tertul. cont.
Marc. lib. 3.
Cypria. de
bono pau.

Castanus de
Canonicis
orationibus
lib. 3. ca. 7.

ral sort of the spiritual Priesthood. For after that Prerogative every true Christian is a spiritual Priest as well as they, offering up spiritual, not bodily sacrifice, as Prayers, Thanksgiving, Obedience, Mortification of the Body framed to the obedience of his Commandments.

- Conclusio. co. Ergo, Our Mass-Priests are no Priests, unless it be after the order of the Priests of Baal.
- The Mass injurious to the sacrifice or death of Christ. Major.
- Secondly, Concerning the Sacrifice of Christ above-mentioned be reasoneth in like manner; which we have reduced in the way of Argument as followeth:
- Da- To reiterate a thing once done, for the attaining or accomplishing of the end wherefore it was begun, declareth the Imperfection of the same thing before.
- Minor. ti- The Mass Priests do reiterate the sacrifice of Christ once done for the end wherefore it was begun, that is, for Propitiation and Remission à poena & culpa pro vivis, & pro defunctis.
- Conclusio. i. Ergo, Mass Priests make the sacrifice of Christ to be unpurified, and so are they injurious to the Sacrifice of Christ.

For confirmation of the premises, mark here, Readers, I beseech thee, the Rubrick here following written before the Mass of the 5. Wounds in the Mass Book.

Boniface Bishop of Rome lay sick, and was like to die, to whom our Lord sent the Arch-Angel Raphael with the office of the Mass of the five Wounds, saying; Rise and write this office, and say it five times, and thou shalt be restored to thy health immediately: and what Priest soever shall say this office for himself, or for any other that is sick five times, the person for whom it is said shall obtain health and grace, and in the world to come, if he continue in virtue, life everlasting. And in whatsoever tribulation a man shall be in this life, if he procure this Office to be said five times for him of a Priest, without doubt he shall be delivered. And if it be said for the Soul of the dead, anon as it shall be said and ended five times, his Soul shall be rid from pain. This hearing the Bishop, he did erect himself up in his Bed, conjuring the Angel by the Name of Almighty God, to tell him what he was, and wherefore he came, and that he should depart without doing him harm: who answered, That he was Raphael the Archangel, sent unto him of God; and that all the Premises were undoubtedly true. Then the said Boniface confirmed the said Office of the five Wounds by the Apostolick Authority.

Another Argument against the Mass is, for that it is an hindrance to the true service of God, and to the godly life of Men: the declaration whereof is more at large by the said Author set out; but briefly in form of Argument it may thus be contrived.

Another Argument.

- Major. Da- Whatsoever causeth or occasioneth a man to rest in outward serving of God, whose service should be all inward in spirit and verity, that hindreth the true service of God.
- Minor. ti- The Mass occasioneth a man to rest in outward serving, as in hearing, seeing, and saying Mass, which be but outward senses of a man, and as (as they say) meritorious ex opere operato, etiam sine bono motu intentionis.
- Conclusio. fi. Ergo, The Mass hindreth the right and true service of God.

Another Argument, proving that the Mass hindreth good life.

- Major. Di- Upon the Mass riseth false hope, and false remedy is promised to wicked lovers. For evil men hearing Mass in the morning, upon hope thereof take more security in doing all day what they list.
- The Mass hindreth good life.
- And such as have in bibbing, bawling, taverning, swearing, whoring, dining, carding, committed wickedness, to them the Mass is set up, promising sufficient propitiation, sacrifice, remedy of Body and Soul, for Man and Beast, à poena & culpa, pro vivis & mortuis. Though they never heard preaching, never used praying, never

repented, or how wicked (sever they have been; yet if they come to the Church, take holy Bread and holy Water, and hear a Mass, or find a Soul-Priest upon the remedy thereof, then they think themselves discharged, and good Catholick Men.

fa- Upon what cause sever riseth false hope, and false remedy is promised to wicked lovers, that hindreth good life.

mis. Ergo, The Mass hindreth good life.

Conclusio.

Another Argument.

Da- Where one thing is sufficient and serveth alone, Major. there all other helps be needles thereunto wherein it serveth.

- ti- The Mass, as they say, bath all, serveth for all: for Minor. by it cometh pardon for sins, by it cometh deliverance from Hell and Purgatory, by it cometh health for Man and Beast: In summa, the Mass is Mare bonorum, &c.
- fi. Ergo, All other helps else be needles; bearing of Gods Word, Faith, Praying in Spirit, Repenting, Preaching, Piety, and other helps to good life, &c.

Conclusio.

Another Argument, proving that the Mass is diverse and contrary from the institution of Christs Supper.

1. **C**hris ordained his Supper to be a memorial of his death and passion, to be preached until he come. The Mass is no memorial thing of Christ remembered in the Sacrament; but rather they make the Sacrament to be Christ himself offered and sacrificed for remission of sins, both for the quick and the dead.

2. Christ ordained his Supper to be celebrate and received of the Congregation. And therefore Paul hideth the Corinthians to tarry one for another. In the Mass there is no such thing; chuse the People whether they will come or no, Sir John is kin to the ride, he will tarry for no man: if he have a Boy to say Amen, it is enough.

3. Christ received not, but he distributed also the whole in every part. Sir John when he hath received all alone, he sheweth the people the empty Chalice. And if he distribute to the People once a year, it is but in one kind alone.

4. Christ ordained the Supper to be a taking matter, an eating matter, a distributing and a remembering matter: Contrary, our Mass men make it a matter not of taking, but of gazing, peeping, pining, boxing, carrying, recarrying, worshipping, stooping, kneeling, knocking, with stoop down before, hold up together, I thank God I see my Maker to day, &c. Christ ordained it a Table matter, we turn it to an altar matter; he for a memorial, we for a sacrifice; he sate, our men stand; he in his common tongue, we in a forrein tongue. Whereby it is manifest to appear how diverse and repugnant the Mass is to the Institution of the Lords Supper.

Another Argument, proving that the Mass is contrary to Gods Commandments.

Item, Where the first Table of Gods blessed and sacred Commandments teacheth men to worship and serve him, and to direct the meditations of their hearts only unto him, and that in all places, at all times, both publicly and privately:

The Mass Book doth point out service for Saints and for Creatures by name, to be served at the least 300 days and years, as appeareth by the Calendars, Masses, Collects, Martyrologues, &c.

Ergo, The Doctrine and Institution of the Mass-Book, tendeth contrary to Gods holy Commandments.

Another Reason against the Mass.

Item, Where S. Paul in expresse words; willeth all things to be done in an edifying tongue, the Mass is celebrate in a Tongue forrein, strange, and unknown to the People: so that although the matter therein contained were wholesome, and consonant to Scripture (as it is much disagreeing from the same,) yet for the strangeness of the Tongue it groweth but a sound, and worketh no edifying to the ignorant.

Now

Anno 1552

Minor.

Anno
1552.

Now both the tongue being strange to the ears of the people, and the matter also in the Mass contained being repugnant to Gods Word, what defence can the Mass have, but utterly it is to be rejected?

And forasmuch therefore as the Mass is so long used in a foreign language hath not hitherto come to the understanding of the simple and vulgar sort, to the intent they may themselves perceive the matter, and be their own judges, I have here set forth the chiefest part thereof, which is the Canon, in English, so as I found it in a certain written Copy, by Master Coverdale translated, adjoining withal the Rubrick and Circumstance of the same in every point as it is in the Mass Book contained.

The whole Canon of the Mass, with the Rubrick thereof, as it standeth in the Mass Book, after Salisbury use, translated word by word out of Latin into English.

The Rubrick

After the Sanctus, the Priest immediately joining his hands together, and lifting up his eyes, beginneth these words, *Te igitur clementissime, &c.* that is to say, Therefore most gracious Father, thorough Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, we humbly beseech thee.

Let him bow down his body, while he saith,

And we desire

Here the Priest standing upright must kiss the Altar (a) on the right hand of the Sacrifice, saying:

that thou accept and bless

Here let the Priest make three crosses upon the Chalice and the Bread saying:

These gifts, these (b) presents, these (c) body and unspiced sacrifices.

When the gifts are made upon the Chalice, let him lift up his hands, saying thus:

Which first of all (C) we offer unto thee for thy holy Catholic Church; that thou vouchsafe to pacify, keep, unite,

and govern it throughout the whole World, with thy servant our Pope N. and our Bishop N.

That is (d) his own Bishop only, and our King N.

And they are expressed by name.

Then let there follow,

and all true Believers, and such as have the Catholic and Apostolical Faith in due estimation.

Here let him pray for the living.

Remember Lord thy Servants and Handmaids N. and N.

In which Prayer a rule must be observed for the order of

Charity. Five times let the Priest pray; (a) First for himself, Secondly, for Father and Mother, carnal and spiritual,

and for other Parents. Thirdly, for special Friends, Parishioners and others. Fourthly, for all that stand by. Fifthly, for all Christian People. And here may the Priest

commend all (f) his Friends to God. But my counsel is, that none make overlong tarrying there, partly for distraction of mind, partly because of immunities which may

chance through evil Angels: And all that stand hereby round about, whose faith and devotion unto thee is known

and manifest; for whom we offer unto thee, or which themselves offer unto thee, this sacrifice (g) of praise for them and theirs: for the redemption of their Souls, for the hope of their salvation and health, and render their

Vows unto the eternal living and true God.

Communicating and worshipping the memorial, first (b) of the glorious and ever Virgin.

Bowing down a little, let him say:

Mary the mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, and also of thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs, Peter, Paul,

Andrew, James, John, Thomas, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddaeus, Timis, Cletus, Clemens, Sextus, Cornelius, Cyprinus, Laurence, Chrylogonus, John and

Paul, Cosme and Damian, and of all thy Saints: By whose (i) merits and prayers, grant thou that in all things we may be defended with the help of thy protection,

through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

Here let the Priest behold the Host (k) with great veneration, saying:

Therefore Lord we beseech thee, that thou being pacified with receive this oblation of our bound service, and of all thy household: and order our days in thy peace, and command us to be delivered from eternal damnation, and to be numbered in the flock of thine Elect, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Here again let him (l) hold the Host, saying: Which Oblation we beseech thee, O Almighty God, in all things to make.

Here let him make (a) three crosses upon both, when he saith,

Blessed; appointed; ratified; reasonable and acceptable; that unto us it may be,

Here let him make a cross upon the Bread, saying:

The Body, Here upon the Chalice. And the Blood, Here with hands joined together, let him say,

Of thy most dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ:

Here let the Priest lift up his hands, and join them together, and afterward wipe his fingers, and lift up the Host, saying:

Who (b) the next day afore he suffered took Bread into his holy and reverent hands, and his eyes being lift up into Heaven.

Here let him lift up his eyes.

Unto the God Almighty his Father,

Here let him bow down, and afterward erect himself up a little, saying:

Rendering thanks unto thee, O blessed, be brave,

Here let him touch the Host, saying:

And gave unto his Disciples, saying, (c) Take ye, and (d) eat of this ye (e) for this is my Body.

And these words must be pronounced with one breath, and under one prolation, without making of any pause between. After these words, let him bow himself to the Host, and afterward lift up above his forehead, that it may

be (f) seen of the People: and let him reverently lay it again before the Chalice, in manner of a Cross made with

the same, and then let him uncover the Chalice, and hold it between his hands, not putting his thumb and fore-

finger asunder, save only when he blest, saying thus:

Likewise after they had supped, he taking this excellent cup into his holy and reverent hands, rendering thanks al-

ways unto thee.

Here let him bow himself, saying:

Blessed, and gave unto his Disciples, saying: Take, and drink of this (g) ye all.

Here let him lift up the Chalice a little, saying thus:

For this is the cup of my Blood, of the new and everlasting Testament (h) the mystery of Faith, which for you and for many shall be shed to the remission of sins.

Here let him lift the Chalice to his breast, or further than his head, saying:

As oft as ye do these things, ye shall do them (i) in remembrance of me.

Here let him set down the Chalice again, and rub his fingers (k) over the Chalice. Then let him lift up his arms, and cover the Chalice. Then let him lift up his arms cross-

wise, his fingers being joined together until these words: De tuis donis; that is to say, of thine own rewards.

Wherefore O Lord, we also thy Servants, and thy holy People, being mindful as well of the blessed Passion and Resurrection, as of the glorious Ascension of the same Christ

thy Son our Lord God, do offer unto thy excellent Majesty of thy own rewards and gifts.

Here let there be made (l) five crosses, Namely, the three first upon the Host and Cup, saying:

A pure Host; an holy Host; an undefiled Host.

The fourth upon the (m) Bread only, saying:

The body (a) Bread of eternal life.

The fifth upon the Cup, saying:

And (b) cup of eternal salvation. Vouchsafe thou also with a merciful and pleasant countenance to have respect here-

unto, and to accept the same (c), as thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham, and the holy sacrifice, the undefiled Host, that the high Priest Melchizedech did

offer unto thee.

Here let the Priest with his body bowed down, and his hands holden across, say, Supplices te rogamus, we humbly beseech thee, until these words, Ex hac Altaris partici-

patione, of this partaking of the sacrifice, and then let him stand up, kissing the Altar on the right side of the sacrifice; and (p) let him make a sign of the Cross upon the Host, and in his own face, when he saith; Omnis benedictione

caelestis, with all heavenly benediction.

Here thou presume to offer him up unto his Father: I have ye the most precious body of Christ in so small estimation, that ye resemble it to the beasts which are offered: I to the Host, as thou shalt be Christ himself, is not he than most blessed already?

(These must be done with a lower and downward countenance, if he follow the Council of the Mass.)
A Yet, three such least as for this great must be counted as well as other things, lest when they think Christ to be, naturally present, the Devil be there, and take up the lodging before.
The Scripture faith, Exultate in facie vestra. He faith not, Let one of you take and eat it himself alone.
He faith not, Hang it up, keep it, worship it, as I have seen they put in of their own, and left out good provisions, fill it with the true Sacramental bread of the Body of the Lord, it should be taken and eaten, and not lift up to be gazed upon.
Why re-lect thou it then? I love! Or why should not the Lay people then drink of the Cup also? He saith they drink of the Lord's Disciples? Scholars of his heavenly School? These words, (Amen) have ye here added, declaring the Cup to be but a mystical representation of the blood which standeth with the remembrance of Saints, or of the dead, in quoniam memoria, &c.
A By these Crumbs may ye know what Bread was wont to be, how beated.
I And may no fewer crosses then be made? A The Bread of life, is Christ himself: if this then be he, how
I Have ye the most precious body of Christ in so small estimation, that ye resemble it to the beasts which are offered: I to the Host, as thou shalt be Christ himself, is not he than most blessed already?

We (a) humbly beseech thee O Almighty God, command
thou these things to be brought by the Hands of thy Holy Angel
unto thy high Altar in the presence of thy Divine Majesty;
that we may of us, and of all thy Saints, receive thy Blessings.

Here erecting up himself, let him kiss the Altar on the
right side of the Sacrifice, saying:
Of this participation of the Altar shall receive thy Sons.

Here let him make a sign of the Cross (a) upon the Hosts
saying: *In nomine Domini Amen.*

Then let him make a sign (f) in his own Face, saying:
With all heavenly Blessings and Grace through the same
Christ our Lord, Amen.

Here let him pray for the dead.
Remember Lord also the Souls of thy servants and
handmaidens, N. and N. which are gone before us with
thy marks of Peace, and rest in the sleep of Peace. We be-
seech thee, O Lord, that unto them, and unto (a) all such
as rest in Christ, thou wilt grant a place of refreshings, of
light, and of peace, through the same Christ our Lord: A-
men.

Here let him smite once (b) upon his Breast, saying:
O Lord, I am a sinner, also thy Servants, hoping of the mul-
titude of thy mercies, beseech thee to give some portion and
fellowship with thy Holy Apostles and Martyrs, with John,
Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Mar-
cellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes,
Cecilia, Anastasia, and with all thy Saints; within whose
Fellowship we beseech thee admit us, not weighing our mer-
its, but granting us forgiveness through Christ our Lord.

(c) Here is not said, Amen:
By whom, O Lord, all these good things thou dost ever
perform.

Here let him make a sign over the Chalice (a) three
times, saying:
Thou art sanctified; thou art quickened; thou art blessed;
and given unto us.

Here let him uncover the Chalice, and make a sign of
the Cross with the Host five times: (d) first beyond the
Chalice on every side; secondly, even with the Chalice;
thirdly, within the Chalice; fourthly, like as at the first;
fifthly, before the Chalice.

Through him, and with him, and in him is
unto thee God, Father Almighty, in the unity of the
Holy Ghost, all Honour and Glory.

Here let the Priest cover the Chalice and hold his hands
still upon the Altar till the *Pater noster* be spoken, saying
thus:

World without end, Amen. Let us pray. Being advert-
ised by wholesome Precepts, and taught by (e) Gods in-
struction, we are bold to say.

Here let the Deacon take the Patten, and hold it un-
covered on the right side of the Priest, (f) his Arm being
stretched out on high until *da propiti*. Here let the
Priest lift up his Hands, saying, *Pater noster*, &c. The
Quire must say, *Sed libera nos*, &c.

Deliver us we beseech thee, O Lord, from all Evil
past, present, and for to come, and that (g) by the Inter-
cession of the blessed, glorious, and our Virgin Mary the
Mother of God, and thy blessed Apostles Peter, and Paul,
and Andrew; with all Saints.

Here let the Deacon commit the Patten to the Priest,
kissing his Hand; and let the Priest (h) kiss the Patten.
Afterward let him put it (i) to his left Eye, and then to
the right. After that let him make a Cross with the Pat-
ten (k) above upon his Head, and so lay it down again
into his place, saying:

Give peace graciously in our days, that we being helped
through the favour of thy Mercy, may both be always
free from sin, and (l) safe from all trouble.

(m) Here let him uncover the Chalice, and take the
Body doing Reverence shifting it over in the hollow row
of the Chalice, holding it between his thumbs and fore-
fingers; and let him break it into three parts: The first
breakings, while there is said:

Through the same our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son.

The second breaking,
Who with thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, livest and
reignest God.

Here let him hold two pieces in his left hand, and the
third piece in the right hand upon the brink of the Chalice,
saying this with (n) open voice:
World without end.

Let the Quire answer:
Amen.

Here let him make three Crosses (o) within the Chalice
with the third part of the Host, saying:
The peace of the Lord (p) be always with
you.

Let the Quire answer:
And with thy Spirit.

To say *Agnus Dei*, let the Deacon and Subdeacon ap-
proach near unto the Priest, both being on the right hand,
the Deacon nearer, the Subdeacon farther off. And let
them say (q) privately:

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the
World, have mercy upon us: O Lamb of God, that
takest away the sins of the World, have mercy upon us: O
Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the World,
grant us Peace.

In Masses (r) for the Dead it is said thus:
O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the World,
give them (s) rest.

With this addition in the third repetition,
Everlasting.

Here making a Cross, let him put down the said third
part of the Host into the Sacrament of the Blood, saying:
This holy mingling together of the Body and Blood of
our Lord Jesus Christ (t) be unto me, and to all that re-
ceive it, (u) alleviation of mind and body: a wholesome pre-
paration both to deserve and to receive eternal life through
the same Christ our Lord.

Afore the Pax be given, let the Priest say:
O Lord, holy Father, Almighty eternal God, grant me so
worthily to take this holy Body and Blood of thy Son, our
Lord Jesus Christ, that (a) by this I may (b) merit to
receive forgiveness of all my sins, and to be replenished with
thy holy Spirit, and to have thy Peace: For thou art God
alone, (c) neither is there any other without thee, whose
Glorious Kingdom and Empire endureth continually world
without end, Amen.

Here let the Priest (d) kiss the Corporal on the right
side, and the brink of the Chalice, and afterward let him
say to the Deacon:

Peace be unto thee, and to the Church of God.

Answer.

And with thy Spirit.

On the right hand of the Priest let the Deacon receive
the Pax of him, and reach it to the Subdeacon. Then to
the step of the Quire let the Deacon himself bear the
Pax unto the Rectors of the Quire; and let them bring
it to the Quire, either of them to his own side, begin-
ning at the eldest. But in Feasts and Ferial days (e) when
the Quire is not governed, the Pax is born from the Dea-
con unto the Quire by two of the lowest of the second
Form, like as afore.

After the Pax given, let the Priest say the Prayers fol-
lowing, privately, before the Communicate, holding the
Host (f) with both his hands:

O God, Father, thou Fountain and Original of all
Goodness, who being moved with Mercy, hast willed shine
only begotten Son for our sake to descend into the lower
parts of the whole World, and to be incarnate, whom I
(g) unworthy hold in my Hands.

Here let the Priest bow (h) himself to the Host, saying:
I worship thee, I glorify thee, I praise thee with whole
intention of Mind and Heart: And I beseech thee that
thou (i) sail not us thy Servants, but forgive our sins, so
as with pure Heart and chaste Body we may be able to
serve thee (k) the only living and true God, through the
same Christ our Lord: Amen.

O Lord Jesus Christ, thou Son of the living God, who
according to the Will of the Father, the Holy Ghost work-
ing within, hast quickened the World through thy death,
Deliver me, I beseech thee, through this thy Holy Body,
and this thy Blood, from all my iniquities, and from all thy
Evils. And make me always obey thy Commandments,
and never suffer me to be separated from thee for ever-
more.

Anno

1553.

It is to be

read in

the

Mass.

Some

read

the

Mass.

So many

crucifixes

would make

a man think

that here

were more

than Popes &

popish cruci-

fixes.

Christ.

Let the

people be

taught that

the body, &c.

is not the

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more, thou Saviour of the World, who with God the Father and the same Holy Ghost, livest and reignest God World without end: Amen.

O Lord Jesu Christ, let not the Sacrament of thy Body and Blood which I receive (though unworthy) be to my Judgment and Damnation; but through thy Goodness let it profit to the Salvation of my Body and Soul: Amen.

To the Body let him say with humiliation before he receive:

Hail for evermore, thou most Holy (1) Flesh of Christ; unto me afore all things; and above all things the highest sweetness. The Body of our Lord Jesu Christ be unto me Sinner the Way and Life, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Amen.

Here let him take the Body, (m) a Cross being first made with the same Body afore his Mouth, saying:

Hail for evermore, thou Heavenly Drink; unto me before all things; and above all things the highest sweetness. The Body and Blood of our Lord Jesu Christ profit me Sinner for a Remedy Everlasting into Life Eternal: Amen. In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Amen.

Here let him take the Blood, which when it is received, let him bow himself, and say:

The Prayer.

I Render thanks to thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty Eternal God, which hast refreshed me out of the most Holy Body and Blood of thy Son our Lord Jesu Christ. And I beseech thee, that this Sacrament of our Salvation, which I unworthy Sinner have received, come not to my Judgment nor Commendation after my Merits, but to the profit of my Body, and to the salvation of my Soul into Life Everlasting: Amen.

Which Prayer being said, (n) let the Priest go to the right side of the Altar, with the Chalice between his hands, his fingers being yet joyned together as afore, and let the Subdeacon approach near, and pour out Wine and Water into the Chalice. And let the Priest rinse his hands (o) left any parcels of the Body or Blood be left behind in his Fingers or in the Chalice (p). But when any Priest must celebrate twice in one day, then at the first Mass he must not receive any Ablution, but put it in the Sacrificy, or in a clean Vessel till the end of the other Mass; and then let both the Ablutions be received.

After the first Ablution, is said this Prayer: That we have received with Mouth, O Lord, let us take with a pure Mind, and (q) out of a temporal Gift let it be to us a Merit everlasting.

Here let him (r) wash his Fingers in the hollow room of the Chalice, with Wine being poured in by the Subdeacon: which when it is drunk up, let the Prayer follow:

Lord let this (a) Communion purge us from sin, and make us to be Partakers of the Heavenly Remedy.

After the receiving of the Ablutions, let the Priest lay the Chalice upon the Patten, that if ought remain behind, it may drop. And afterward bowing himself, let him say:

Let us (b) worship the Sign of the Cross, whereby we have received the Sacrament of Salvation.

Afterward let him (c) wash his Hands. In the mean season let the Deacon fold up the Corporas. When his Hands are washed, and the Priest returneth to the right end of the Altar (d) let the Deacon reach the Chalice to the Priests Mouth, that if ought of that which was poured in do remain behind, (e) he may receive it. After that, let him say (f) the Communion with his Ministers. Then making a sign of the Cross in his own Face, let the Priest turn himself to the People; and (g) with his Arms somewhat lifted up, and his Hands joyned together, let him say, Dominus vobiscum; and, turning him again to the Altar, let him say, Oremus, let us pray.

Then let him say (h) the Postcommunion, according to the number and order of the aforesaid Prayers. Before the Epistle, when the last Postcommunion is ended, and the Priest hath made a sign of the Cross in his Forehead, let him turn him again to the People, and say, Dominus vobiscum. Then let the Deacon say, Benedicamus Domino. At

another time is said, *Ite Missa est*. As oft as *Ite missa est* is said, it is always said in turning to the People. And when *Benedicamus Domino*, or *Requiescant in pace* must be said, let it be said in turning to the Altar. When these things are spoken, let the Priest (with his Body bowed down, and his Hands joyned together) in the middle before the Altar say, (i) with a still voice, this Prayer.

O Holy Trinity, let the Office of my (k) bond-service please thee, and grant that this Sacrifice, which I unworthily have offered in the Eyes of thy Majesty, may be acceptable unto thee: And that unto me and all them for whom I have offered it (l), it may avail to obtain Remission, thou being merciful, who livest and reignest God, &c.

Which Prayer being ended, let the Priest stand upright, (m) crossing himself in his Face, saying, *In nomine patris*, &c. And so when obsequence is made, after the same order wherein they came afore to the Altar at the beginning of the Mass, so having on their Apparel with the Center-bearer, and other Ministers, let them (n) go their way again.

The End of the CANON.

NOW it remaineth (as we have promised before) to intreat of the Parts and Parcells of the Mass, declaring likewise how and by whom this Popish or rather Pishly Mass became so clamped and patched together with so many dovers and sundry Additions; whereby it may the better appear what hath been the continuance of the same.

First, in the beginning of this Preface it was declared before, how this word Mass was never used nor known in the old Primitive Church among the first Christians, nor among the Grecians. Therefore they that deduce and derive the Origine of the Mass from St. James, and Basilus, are far deceived. As I think, that St. James was once Bishop at Jerusalem, so I think not contrary, but sometimes be misinformed at the Communion there in breaking of Bread, and that not without the Lords Prayer, and other Prayers of Thanksgiving, as we now in our Communion use like Prayers, and these Prayers make not the Communion to be a Mass. And the like is to be said of St. Peter, who though he did celebrate the Communion at Rome, yet it followeth not that he said Mass at Rome, as some report him to have done.

Neither is it hard to fetch out the Origine, how this Error first came up among the People, that St. James said Mass at Jerusalem, if a man consider well Histories and Authors which have written. For in the History of Eusebius, Egeippus thus writeth of St. James, Eum ab Apostolis primum constitutum fuisse Episcopum & Liturgum, &c. Upon the which word Liturgus, it is not unlike, and dovers suppose this Error to come, that St. James did first set and institute the Order of Mass. For so (lightly) the old Translators, whereforever they find Liturgia, or Collecta, xanxha, they translated it Missa; whereupon the greatest occasion of this Error riseth, to make the People believe the Mass to be so ancient as to proceed from the Apostles, and from St. James. Notwithstanding that Error as it lightly came up, so it may be as lightly exploded. For how could St. James say Mass then at Jerusalem, or St. Peter at Rome, when as yet neither the Name of Mass was heard, nor the Parts thereof invented? And although Sigbertus in his Chronicles reports, that in the City of Vassath, being delivered from the Siege of the Huns, the Pastor of that Church did celebrate Mass with Thanksgiving, about the Year 453. yet Sigbert in so saying is to be taken, as speaking rather after the use and manner of his time when he wrote it, than of that time when it was done. For in all the Works of St. Augustine, and of Chrysostome, and in all that Age the name of Mass was not yet devised, nor the Patches thereof compiled. Platina testifieth, that before Celestinus Pope, only the Epistle and Gospel were read at the Communion, which being done, the Communion ended. And Gregory saith, that the Apostles afore the M-

Sigbertus in Caracalla

Platina: Greg in Reg. 7. c. 9.

nistration or the Sacrament did use only the Lord's Prayer, that is, the Pater noster. Let us hear what Walafridus Strabo writeth of that matter, Lib. de rebus Ecclesiasticis. cap. 22. Quod nunc agimus multiplici orationum, lectionum, cantilenarum, & consecrationum officio, totum hoc Apostoli, & post ipsos proximi, (ut creditur) orationibus, & commemoratione passionis dominice, sicut ipse precepit, agitant simplicitate, &c. i. That which now is done in the Church with such a long circumstance of so many Orisons, Lessons or Readings, Songs and Consecrations; all that the Apostles, and they that next succeeded the Apostles (as it is thought) did accomplish simply with Prayer only, and with the Commemoration of the Lord's Passion, &c. It followeth in the same Author; And, as the report is, like as it is in the Roman Church upon Good Friday, where the Communion is wont to be taken without any Mass; so it was in the old time with them, &c.

Now how this Mass hath grown up and increased since, let us search out, by the Lords help, out of Authors, so much as may be found.

The Introite.

Platina;
Sigbertus;
Vita. Strabo.

Celestinus Pope gave the first Introite, as Platina and Sigbertus write.

The Psalm. Judica me Deus, &c.

And before the Priest do prepare himself to his Mass, first with the Psalm, Judica me Deus, &c. discern cause and means, &c. that was ordained by the said Celestinus.

Sigbertus.

And where they ascribe to St. Ambrose the two prayers which he used in the preparation to the Mass, and be added to the Books of Ambrose, Erasmus judgeth the same to be none of his, and that rightly as it seemeth: for therein are contained errors, not else to be found in the Books of Ambrose, both in giving adoration to the Bread of the Sacrament, and making invocation to Saints, namely, to blessed Mary; as in the second prayer, where he saith, Ut efficacis hac mea sit deprecatione, beate Marie virginis suffragia peto, &c. i. And that this my prayer may be of efficacy, I desire the suffrage and intercession of blessed Mary the Virgin, &c. Whereby it may appear learned Ambrose not to be the Author of such an error.

Chrys. hom.
11. in Mat.

Chrysostom in the eleventh Homily upon the Gospel of Matthew, saith, That in his time (and afore his time) the use was to sing whole Psalms, till they were ended and assembled together. And so belike Celestinus borrowed this custom of the Greeks, and brought it into the Latin Church, as Rupertus writeth.

Rupertus
Tuncis
l. 1. de di-
vin. offic.
cap. 21.
Chro. Chro.
Fidei. temp.

Gregory the Great (as some write) called a Synod at Rome, about the year of our Lord 594. in which Synod he appointed that the Introite of the Mass should be taken out of some Psalm.

The Confiteor.

Confiteor
brought in
by Pope
Damasus.

The Confiteor Pope Damasus brought into the Mass, as it is written: albeit peradventure not this popish Confiteor, which in the later Church hath been used, first full of idolatry and invocation of Saints, against the word of God.

The Kyrie Eleyfon.

Greg. Joanni
Epi. Syta-
cat. l. 6. 7.
cap. 23.

The Kyrie Eleyfon nine times to be repeated in such a tongue, as few Priests either understand, or do rightly pronounce, Gregory did institute about 600 years after Christ, taking it out of the Greeks Church, and yet transcribing it otherwise than there it was used. For among the Greeks this Kyrie Eleyfon, which they called their Litany, was sung of all the people: The which Gregory ordained to be sung only of the Choir, adding thereto also Christe Eleyfon, which the Grecians used not, as Gregory himself, writing to the Bishop of Syracuse, doth testify.

Walafridus
c. 22.

Gloria in Excelsis.

Next followeth Gloria in Excelsis, &c. Which words were sung of the Angels at the birth of our Saviour. Albeit these words also were corrupted, as many other things were in the Church. For where the words of the Angels

Hymn were Hominibus bona voluntas, i. To men good will; the Mass saith, Hominibus bonæ voluntatis. To men of good will, &c. This Hymn was brought into the Mass by Pope Symmachus (and not by Telephorus, as some truly write, that he ordained three Masses on Christmas-day; for in his time there was no Mass, Anno 140.) about the year of our Lord 510. And after, he said Hymn was augmented by Hylandus Pictaviensis, with those words that follow: Laudamus te, &c. singing it first in his own Church, which was Anno 340. And afterward it was brought into other Churches by Pope Symmachus, Anno 510. as is aforesaid.

Anno
1553.

Hugo de S.
Victore.

Dominus vobiscum, with the answer Oremus, and the Collects.

Dominus vobiscum, with the answer of the People, although we have no certain Author named by whom it came; yet this is certain, that it was deduced out of the Greek Church into the Latin; as may appear by the Liturgy of Chrysostom and Basilus (if the Liturgy be rightly ascribed unto them) also by Origen, and other ancient Writers; by whom, it may seem that the Liturgy or Mass (as they call it) did first begin with Dominus vobiscum, and then Sursum corda; after that Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro, and so following upon the same, Verè dignum & justum est, &c. To the which beginning of the Canon other additions after were put by others, as ye shall hear, by the Lords grace, hereafter set at large.

Hugo de S. Victoris writeth that this Prayer was taken out of the ancient Salutation of Boaz saluting his harvest-folk. And out of the Book of Paralip, where the Prophet saluted Azael the King with his company about him, saying, Dominus vobiscum. Honorius writeth thus, Presbyter cum salutatione veteris Testamenti, & Episcopus cum salutatione novi Testamenti salutatur populum, quia dignus est novum quam vetus Testamentum: i. As the Priest saluteth the people with the words of the old Testament, Dominus vobiscum; so the Bishop useth the words of the New Testament, saying, Pax vobiscum, &c. Concerning the Collects, Walafridus writeth, that as they be divers and uncertain, so they were made of divers and sundry Authors, as every of them thought it congrue. Hugo de S. Victoris affirms that chiefly they were made by Gelasius and Gregorius.

Ex B. thes.
Trenal. de
coro. milit.

Hugo de S.
Victore.

Honorius;

Walafrid.
Strabo.

Hugo de S.
Victore.

Why they were called Collects, W. Durandus and Micrologus shew the cause, for that in the City of Rome they said them over the people collected together in the Station-day, therefore they were called Collectæ.

Gal. Durand.
in rationali.
Microlog. de
Ecclesiæ.

The Gradual, with Alleluia, Tract, and Sequences.

The Responsoy, which is called the Gradual, (being wont to be sung at the steps going up) with Alleluia, Honorius saith that Ambrose made them, but Pope Gregory ordained them to be received.

Honorius
lib. 3. cap. 81.

Upon Festival days the Sequences, which were wont to be sung, were chiefly composed by an Abbot called Nokerus de S. Gallo, and by Pope Nicholas commanded to be sung in the Mass.

Abbas Nokerus, eunus
sequencie,
run.

The Gradual the people were wont to sing when the Bishop was about to go up to the Pulpit, or some higher standing, where the word of God might be the better and more sensibly heard at his mouth, reading the Epistle and the Gospel.

The Epistle and the Gospel.

The reading of the Epistle and the Gospel, although it was not used in the Apostles times, yet it seemeth to be of ancient continuance, as Hugo saith, Primis temporibus ab Epistola Pauli Missa incipiebatur, post quam sequebatur Evangelium, sicut nunc; i. In former time the Mass began first with the Epistle of S. Paul, after which Epistle then followed the Gospel, as also now, &c.

Hugo de S.
Victore.

Walafridus saith, It is uncertain who first ordered and disposed them so to be.

Walafrid.
Strabo.

Some attribute them to Hierom, some to Damasus, some to Telephorus aforesaid. This is certain, that Pope Anastasius ordained to stand up at the hearing of the Gospel read; about the year of our Saviour 406.

Petrus

Anno 1553. Petrus Cirvelus writeth thus, Legimus & circa annos Christiane salutis 500. fere, jam institutas Epistolas in officio Missali, &c. About 500 years since almost the Epistle, saith he, was brought into the Mass.

Per. Cirvelus Docere in consuetudine lib. 4. tit. 1. Epistolam & Evangelium Alexander Papa legi ad Missam constituit. Hieronymus autem Prefbyter Lexionarium & Evangeliarium, ut hodie habet Ecclesia, collegit; sed Damasus Papa, ut nunc moris est, legi censuit. Alexander, saith he, appointed the Epistle and Gospel to be read at Mass. The translation and the disposition of them, in that order as they stand, Hieron the Priest collected; but Damasus appointed them to be read in the Church, so as the use is now.

Honor. lib. 1. Betwixt the Epistle and the Gospel the old Canons of the Spaniards did forbid any Hymn or Canticle to be sung in the order of the Mass, which now by the Romish order is broken.

The Creed.

Ex Honor. This Creed was made by the Synod of Constantinople, but, by Damasus the Pope ordained to be sung at the Mass. And where some affirm, that it was brought in by Pope Marcus, about the year of our Lord 340. To reconcile these two together, peradventure thus it may be taken, that the one brought in the Creed, or Symbol of the Nicene Council, the other appointed the Creed of Constantinople, as is said.

The Offertory.

Ex Rabano lib. 1. cap. 3. After this, Oblations were wont to be offered of the people to the Priest; and the Offertory to be sung of the Quire.

De Instit. Of these Oblations speaketh Irenaeus; Pro diversis Sacramentorum ritibus, simplex Oblatio panis & vini fidelibus sufficiat, &c. In stead of the sundry Rites of Sacrifices, let the simple Oblation of bread and wine suffice the faithful.

Walafrid. In expolit. or. dilis Rom. Item, Walafrid. Omnis populus intrans Ecclesiam debet sacrificare, sicut docet ordo institutionis Ecclesiasticae; i. Every person entering in the Church must do Sacrifice, as the order of Ecclesiastical institution doth teach: what order this was it is declared in ordine Romano by these words; Populus dat oblationes suas, id est, panem & vinum, primo masculi, deinde feminae, novissime vero Sacerdotes & Diaconi offerunt, sed solum panem, & hoc ante altare; i. The people give every one his Oblations, that is, bread and wine, first the men, then the women, after them Priests and Deacons offer, but bread only, &c.

Burchardus lib. 5. cap. 1. Ex concil. Maticensi cap. 50. Likewise Burchardus testifieth the same. In Synodo Matiticon. decretum est, ut in omnibus dominicis diebus, aliisque Festivitatibus, Oblatio ab omnibus qui ad Missam convenirent utriusque sexus offeratur in Ecclesia, singulas Oblationes offerentes, finita Missa Oblationes à Presbytero accipiant; i. In the Synod Matiticon it was ordained, that every Sunday and Festival day, Oblation was made of all the people which came to the Mass, or Liturgy, both men and women, in the Church, every person bringing and offering his own Oblation; the Liturgy being done, they receive the Oblations of the Priest, &c.

Thus ye may see what were their Oblations and Sacrifice in the ancient time, in their Liturgy. Whereof now remaineth nothing but the name only with the song.

This Offertory some ascribe to Eutichianus about the year of our Lord 280. but thereof no certain Evidence appeareth.

Orate pro me fratres, &c.

Naucerus l. Naucerus writeth, that Pope Leo brought in that which is said in the Mass, Orate pro me fratres & sorores, &c.

The Preface of the Canon.

Cyprianus de oratione Dominica. Augst. The Preface of the Canon from verè dignum & iustum est, &c. to per Christum Dominum nostrum is given to Gelasius: Sursum corda seemeth to be borrowed out of the old manner of the Greek Church; S. Cyprian also maketh mention of the same, and S. Austin de vera Religione, cap. 3.

And therefore Thomas Waldensis judgeth that this part of the Preface cannot be attributed to Gelasius.

After Christum Dominum nostrum in the old Liturgy, then followed Qui pridie quam pateretur, as Rhenanus supposeth, but then came Gelasius the first, about the year of our Lord 497, which testified that which followeth, Te igitur clementissimè, &c.

Whereby it is to be noted; that Polydorus Virgilius (which ascribeth Qui pridie to Pope Alexander) De invent. lib. 5. cap. 10. is deceived.

The like is also to be said of Panormitanus, who referreth the same Clause Qui pridie, &c. to the Apostles, lib. de Celebratione Missae cap. cum Martha.

Furthermore note, good Reader, how this doth agree with the long Canon of St. Ambrose, lib. 4. de Sacrament. cap. 5. Dicit Sacerdos; fac nobis hanc oblationem adscriptum, rationalem, acceptabilem, quod est figura corporis & sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, repositum & Coelum ad te Sancte Pater omnipotens & eterne Deus, gratias agens benedixit, fregit, &c. If it be true that either Panormitanus saith, or that Gelasius made Qui pridie, &c. how can this Canon then be fathered upon St. Ambrose? And by the same reason also his whole Book, intituled De Sacramentis, may be suspected, as of divers learned men it is.

Then came Pope Sixtus ten years after him; which brought into the Canon Sanctus, Sanctus, ubi, to be sung out of the Book of Ely. And to annex it together, joined also that which goeth before, Per quem Misericordiam tuam, &c.

He that writeth the Liturgy of Basilus, ascribeth it to his name: whether he doth it truly or no, I will not here contend. This is to be noted, that seeing in the said Liturgy of Basilus the same particle, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth: pleni sunt Coeli & Terra gloria tua, Osanna in Excelsis, is sung; therefore it must needs follow, that either Leo which was about the year of our Lord 460. borrowed this out of Basilus's Liturgy, or else the same is falsely attributed to Basilus.

After this followeth Sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam, till ye come to placatus accipias, which Leo the first did make and institute.

The words in the Communion, Hoc quotiescunque feceritis, in mei memoriam facitis, &c. were put in by Pope Alexander, i. as Humbertus writeth: Alexander Martyr & Papa 5. ab Apost. Petro passionem Domini inferens Canonis Missae, ait, Hoc quotiescunque feceritis, &c.

Pope Gregory the third about the year of our Lord 732. put to his piece, Et eorum quorum memoria, &c.

This Gregory the third called a Council at Rome, wherein he decreed that Images should not only be had in Temples, but also worshipped, and that all gainayers should be counted as Hereticks.

Innocentius the third of that name, affirmeth Pope Gelasius, which was about 490 years after Christ, to have made a great piece of that Canon, as he himself did something therein, about the year of our Lord 1215.

Panormitanus affirmeth that Gregory did add to the Canon this clause, Diesque nostros in pace disponas.

Briefly, Gregorius in Registro saith, that one Scholasticus made the most part of the Canon, finding also fault with the same, that in composing the Canon he would put in his own Prayers, and leave out the Lords Prayer, &c.

Where it is to be noted, for the reconciling these Writers together, of whom some impute the Canon to Gelasius, some again to Scholasticus: In my conjecture it may be said, that both these be one, and so the matter is reconciled. The reason that moveth me is this, for so I find in vetusto quodam libro de Officio Missae, after these words, Gelasius Papa ex Scholastico effectus in ordine 48. fecit Tractatus & Hymnos, &c.

The Elevation and Adoration.

The Elevation and Adoration of the Sacrament we cannot find to come in by any other than by Honorius the third, about the year of our Lord 1222. which ordained that the people then should kneel down and worship the Sacrament.

The Pater noster.

Joan Diaconus in vita Gregorij.

Joannes Diaconus writing of Gregory, saith; Orationem Dominicam mox post Canonem super hostiam censuit recitari; i. That Gregory caused the Lords Prayer to be recited immediately after the Canon upon the Host, &c.

Greg. lib. 9. Regal. Joan. Syria.

Although the Apostles ever used the Lords Prayer at the Supper of the Lord, as is said before; yet Gregory (he-like) placed it so in that order after the Canon, and brought it in with those words, Præceptis salutaribus, &c.

Gregorius in Reg. Dominica Oratio apud Græcos ab omni populo; apud nos vero à solo Sacerdote cantatur; i. The Lords Prayer, saith he, amongst the Grecians was wont to be sung generally of all the people; with us it is sung only of the Priest.

Agnus.

Fremit. Rem. orinali.

The Agnus, Pope Sergius about the year of our Lord 700, brought into the Mass, as witnesseth Expolit. R. ord. propter officium contractionis Domini corporis, constitutum est à Papa Sergio ut Agnus Dei decantetur, &c.

The Pax.

Ex decretis Innocentij P. cap. i.

Innocentius ordained the Pax to be given to the people. Pacis, ait, osculum dandum post consecrata mysteria, ut conferretur populo ad omnia que in mysteriis aguntur, præbuisse consuetum, &c.

Gabriel Biel in can. lect. 81.

Peter Martyr in his Commentaries in Jud. saith, that it was brought in by Pope Leo the second, as it is said: and yet he supposeth the same not to be so, saying, That this was an ancient custome in the Apostles time for Christians to salute one another with the Kiss of Peace, &c.

To this of Peter Martyr agreeth also Gabriel Biel, writing in these words; Porrexit in primitiva Ecclesia Sacerdos osculum pacis Ministro, ceteris impartendum, ut per hoc significaret, &c. i. In the primitive Church the Priest gave a kiss of peace to the Minister, to be given by him to the people.

The Distribution and Communion.

After this followeth the Communion, wherein our Popish Mass and Ministers thereof do much alter and degenerate from ancient Antiquity, two manner of ways.

First, In that they make no Communion thereof, receiving only to themselves, contrary both to their own words, where they say after their receiving, Sacramenta que sumimus, &c. and also to the ancient Examples and Decrees of the Apostles and others. And where it is decreed in the Epistle of Anacletus; Peracta autem consecratione omnes communicant, qui noluerint Ecclesiasticis carere liminibus. Sic enim à Apostoli statuerunt, & S. Romana tenet Ecclesia, &c. i. The Consecration being done, let all communicate together; unless they will be thrust out of the Church doors, &c.

Cochleus contra Musculum de consecrat. diff. 2. et. peracta.

Here note by the way, gentle Reader, how Gratianus the Writer of the Popes Decrees is overseen, which in his Book De Consecrat. diff. 2. referreth this saying of Anacletus to Pope Calixtus. And likewise also Cochleus, writing against Musculus, followeth Gratianus in the same error.

Cin. Ap. c. 8.

Likewise in the Canons of the Apostles (if the Canons were theirs) we read πάντες τὸς εὐχαριστῶντες, ἡν ἡγάπησαν δὲ τὸ ἀλλήλους, &c. i. All the faithful, which resort to the Church, and tarry not out the end of the Service, and receive not the holy Communion, be such as bringing in disorder to the Church, ought to be disordered, &c. And again, Si quis Episcopus, Presbyter, aut Diaconus, aut quicumque ex Sacerdotali consortio, oblatione facta, non communicaverint, causam dicito, &c.

Micrologus de consecrat. ser.

For how can that be called a Communion, which is not common, but private to one? as Micrologus writeth; Nec enim propriè communio dici potest, nisi plures de eodem Sacrificio participant, &c. It cannot be called a Communion, except more than one do participate of one Sacrifice, &c.

Gal. Durand. in ration. 4. a. 33.

And Durandus, In primitiva Ecclesia omnes qui cele-

brationi Missarum intererant singulis diebus communicare solebant, eo quod Apostoli omnes de Calice biberunt, &c. i. In the Primitive time all that were present at the ministration were wont every day to communicate, because that the Apostles did altogether drink of the Cup, &c.

Secondly, They alter and degenerate therein from ancient Antiquity, in that when they communicate also with the people, yet they deprive them of the holy Cup: which deprivation was not in the Church before the Council of Constance, about the year of our Lord 1414. For before it was so authentically received, that it was counted a Sacrilege to receive the one without the other, as appeareth by the words of Pope Gelafius; Comperimus quod quidam sumpta tantummodo corporis facri portione, &c. The whole in English is this; We understand that there be some, which receiving the one part only of the holy Body, abstain from the Cup of the sacred Blood: who because they be taught so to do (by what superstition I cannot tell) either let them receive the Sacrament whole together, or let them abstain from the whole Sacrament altogether, because of the division of that one and whole Sacrament cannot be without great sacrilege, &c.

Hitherto also pertaineth the testimony of S. Austin in these words; Et ibi vos estis in Mensa, & in Calice nobiscum vos estis. Simul enim hoc sumimus, simul bibimus, quia simul vivimus, &c. i. There be you at the Table, and at the Cup there also be you with us: for together we receive, and together we drink, because we live together.

As also out of the Book of Gregory it is manifest, that not only the people received them in both kinds; but also the words were prescribed to the Minister, that he should say in giving the Cup; Item Sacerdos Calicem dando dicat; Sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi custodiat te ad vitam æternam; i. Let the Priest say in giving the Cup; The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ keep thee to everlasting life, Amen.

Further, In rendering the cause why it should so be done, Thomas Aquine writeth, Nam hoc valet ad representandam passionem Christi, in qua scilicet fuit Sanguis à corpore separatus, &c. Secundo, hoc est conveniens usui huius Sacramenti, ut scilicet exhibeatur Corpus Christi fidelibus in cibum, & Sanguis in potum; i. For that serveth to represent the Passion of Christ, wherein his Blood was parted severally from the Body, &c. Secondly, For that it is convenient to the use of the Sacrament, that the Body should severally be given to the faithful for meat, and the Blood for drink.

And therefore served the Office of the Deacons as we read, Ut oblata à populo super altare consecranda disponent, & perfectis mysteriis Calicem sacrosancti Sanguinis Domini fidelibus propinent; i. To lay the Offerings of the people upon the Altar to be hallowed, and when the Mysteries be consecrated, to distribute the Cup of the Sacred Blood of the Lord to the faithful, &c.

But among all other testimonies to prove that the Sacrament ought to be common to all people in both kinds, there is none more evident than that of Hieron: Cæterum Dominica cœna omnibus debet esse communis, quia ille omnibus Discipulis suis qui aderant æqualiter tradidit Sacramenta; i. The Supper of the Lord ought to be indifferently common to all his Disciples there present, &c.

And thus have ye heard the Canon described, which otherwise is called Secretum, i. the Secret of the Mass, being so termed, because the Priest was wont to read it in secret or in silence. The reason thereof Pope Innocentius the third declareth in his third Book, for that the holy words, saith he, of the Canon should not grow in contempt with the people, by the daily use and hearing thereof. And he bringeth in an Example concerning the same of certain Shepherds, which in the fields using the same words of the Canon upon their Bread and Wine, the matter was turned, saith he, into Flesh and Blood, and they plagued therefore from Heaven; but with such Popish Tales the Church hath been long replenished.

The Postcommunion.

After the Canon and Communion then followeth the Postcommunion, with the Collects, which the Mass-book requirerh always to be used in an odd number: sometime reaching to six but one, as in the Sundays in Lent; and

Anno 1553.

Gelas. Joan. & Majorice Episc. De Consecrat. diff. 1. cap. Comperimus.

Aug. term. firm. 2. Pasch.

Ex libro Sacerdotum Gregorij.

Thomas 2. part. quest. 76. art. 3.

Amb. lib. de officiis di-

Hieron. in epl. 1. Cor. 11. Conventus.

Innocent. 3. de sacro altaris mysterio, l. 3. c. 1.

Old Collects

some.

Anno 1553. sometimes three, as in certain Masses from Low Sunday till the Ascension; but never as many as the number of seven.

Its missa est.

Last of all cometh Its missa est, whereby the Minister dimitteth and sendeth away all the congregation there present to their business: for, as you heard before, it was decreed in ancient time, that it was not lawful to depart from the congregation in the time of holy ministrations, before the end of the whole Communion. And therefore all things being accomplished, the Minister turning to the assembly pronounceth, Its missa est.

Where note that upon Sundays and Festival days only, when Gloria in excelsis was sung, Its missa est was wont to be said: on the work-days Benedicamus Domino, sometimes Requiescant in pace.

Now concerning such trinkets as were to the foresaid Mass, appertaining or circumstant: First, the linen Albes and Corporals were brought in by Pope Marcus Anno 340. if that be true which is thought by some: Where note again, that in the time of this Pope it was nothing offensive for every honest Priest to have his own proper wife. In the time also of this Marcus was Concilium Elsburtinum, which condemned all kinds of Images and Pictures in Temples.

Contrary to the which Council Pope Gregory the third, about the year of our Lord, 732. calling a Council at Rome, did not only stablish the Images before condemned, but condemned the gainsayers for hereticks: as is afore-

By Sixtus the third it was ordained, that no Liturgy should be done save only upon altars hallowed, about the year of our Lord, 2600. as some suppose. But as I see no firm probation upon the same, so have I probable conjecture the same not to be true.

Some there be that blame not to say, that St. Clement brought in the Albes and Veilments to the Popish Mass. Item, That the Sacrament of the blood of the Lord should be consecrate in chalices of glass, and not of wood, as it was in time before, they say it was the ordinance of Pope Severinus.

After this came in golden chalices, and a true Proverb, without. That once they had wooden Chalices and golden Priests; now they have golden Chalices and wooden Priests.

Sebenianus ordained the ringing of bells and burning of lamps in Churches.

Vitalianus the playing on the Organs.

Damasus, by the witness of Hieronim, appointed Gloria Patri after the P'salms.

Pelagius devised the Memento for the dead.

Leo brought in the incense.

Eurichianus, as other say, brought in the Offertory, which was then after a manner far otherwise than it is, or hath been used now a great while. For what time as many of the Hearthen being greatly accustomed with offerings, were converted unto Christ, and could not be well brought from their old long use of offerings, the Pope thought it best somewhat with the weak, and permitted them to bring meats into the Congregation or Church, that when the Bishop had blessed them, they that brought them might distribute them to the poor or take them to their own use. But afterward did Pope Gregory loath with this sentence, Non apparebit in conspectu Dei tui vacuus, &c. Thou shalt not appear in the sight of thy God empty, &c. that as he bewilled the people to lay their offerings upon the altar; so they did, and have not yet forgotten to do so still.

Soul-Masses, and Masses applied for the dead, came in partly by Gregory, partly by Pelagius, which brought in the Memento, as is said.

Wherein note (good Reader) and mark how these two stand together, that which our Saviour saith in his Evangelist, Hoc facite in mei commemorationem, Do this in remembrance of me; and that which they say, In quorum memoria corpus Christi fuit, &c. In whose commemoration the body of Christ is taken, &c. Christ would it to be done in his remembrance; and the Pope saith, do it in remembrance of the dead, &c. What can be more contrary?

Innocentius the third ordained that the Sacrament should be reserved in the Church. The same brought also in auricular confession as a law, about the year of our Lord, 1215. he did also constitute that no Archbishop should enjoy the pall, unless he were of his own religion; and therefore no great marvel if there be such unity in Popery.

Vigilius ordained that the Priest should say, Mass: having his face toward the East.

Platina writeth how the first Latine Mass was sang in the sixth Council of Constantinople, which was about the year of our Lord, 680. so that the said Mass was there and then first allowed and not before. And yet they (I mean the Greek Church) should have known as much of the Mass if it had proceeded from James or Basilus, as guilty the Latine Church did know it.

The opinion to think the Mass to help Soules in Purgatory, was confirmed by Pope Joannes the 19. by reason of a dream, wherein he dreamed that he heard and saw the voices of Devils lamenting and bewailing, that Soules were delivered from them by the saying of Masses: and Diriges. And therefore he did approve and ratify the feast of all Soules, brought in by Odilo; Moreover he assigned also to the same the feast of Allallows, about the year of our Lord 1003.

Concerning Lent fast, some think that Telephorus, Lestat about the year of our Lord, 140. was the Author thereof. But that peradventure may be as true, as that which they also attribute to him, that he ordained three Masses of one Priest to be said on Christmas-day. Or if he did ordain that fast; yet he did ordain it but freely to be kept: for so I find among the decrees, that Lent was commanded first to be fasted but only of the Clergy or Churchmen.

Pope Leo Commanded the Sacrament to be consecrated. Pope Boniface set in his foot for covering of the altars.

In St. Cyprian's time it seemeth that water was then mingled with the wine, whereof we read mention in his second book of Epistles: which mixture is referred to Alexander the first in the order of the Roman Canon.

As concerning the breaking of the body in three parts, we read also mention to be made in the same book of order, but no certain Author thereof to be named. The words of the book be these; Tripliciter, inquit, corpus Domini intelligitur. Vnum quod refurcit a mortuis, quod significat particula in sanguinem missa; Aliud quod adhuc vivit in terra significatur per particulam a Sacerdote consumptam; Tertium, quod jam requiescit in Christo, quod etiam a tertia particula in altari reservata apte figuratur, &c. i. Three ways is the body of the Lord understood; One which rose again from the dead, being signified by that part which is let fall to the blood in the chalice; The other is that which yet is living in the earth, which the part of the Priest eaten doth signify; The third is that now resteth in Christ, which also is figured by that particle that is reserved upon the altar.

Dedication of Churches came in by Felix the third, and that Churches might not be hallowed but by a Bishop, Anno 492.

The Canticle, Gloria, &c. in the procession before the Mass on Palm Sunday, was instituted by Theodulphus Bishop of Aurelia as Sigebertus writeth, about the year of our Lord, 483.

Giving of holy bread came in by this occasion, as it is to be gathered, partly out of Honorius, partly out of Durandus, and others. The manner was in ancient time that the Ministers were wont to receive certain meal of every house or family, wherewith a great loaf was made, called Panis dominicus, able to serve in the Communion, and to be distributed unto the people, which then was wont every day to be present and to receive, especially they that offered the meal: For whom it was wont therefore to be said in the Canon, Omnilium circumstantium, qui tibi hoc sacrificium laudis offerunt, &c. But afterward the number of the people increasing, and pity decreasing, as Durandus writeth, it was then ordained to communicate but only upon Sundays.

At length followed the third constitution, that thrice a year, at least at Easter, every man should communicate.

Reservat in the Sacrament

The first Latine Mass sung at Constantinople. A Consecration prescribed by the Roman Mass is of no great authority.

The feast of Allallows.

Three Masses on Christmas day.

Consecrating of the Sacrament.

Covering of the altars.

The breaking of the body in three parts.

Ex Rom ordi-

do de ordi-

ne Missae.

Honor in

Genius lib.

1 ca 46. G.

lib. Durand.

in Ration.

lib. 4. ca. 391

care, it being thus provided, that in stead of the daily Communion before used the Pax did serve. And in stead of receiving upon the Sunday, bread was swallowed and suddenly given and distributed unto the people, which also was called Eulogia; the constitution whereof seemeth to proceed from Pope Pius. For so we read in the decrees of the said Pope Pius. Ut de oblationibus que offeruntur à populo, & consecrationibus superant, vel de panibus quos deferunt fideles ad Ecclesiam, vel certe de suis Presbyteri convenienter partes incisas habeat in vase nitido & convenienti, & post missarum solennia qui communicare non fuerint parati Eulogias omni die Dominica, & in diebus festis, exinde accipiant. That is, That the Minister shall take of the oblations offered of the people, remaining of the consecration, or of the bread which the faithful bring unto the Church, or else to take of their own bread and cut it conveniently in portions in a clean and a convenient vessel; so that after the solemnity of the ministrations being done, they that were not prepared and ready to communicate, may receive every Sunday or Festival day Eulogies, or Benedictions with the same. Hæc ille.

As concerning holy water which they used to sprinkle at the Church door upon them that entered in, I will not say that it sprung from the idolatrous use of the Gentiles.

This I say as I find in Historia Zozomeni. Erat autem Romanis vetula consuetudo, ut quum limen Templi transirent esset, Sacerdos secundum morem Ethnicum molidos quodam Olive ramulosus manu tenens ingredienti aspergebat, &c. It was an old custom among the Romans, that at the entering in at the Church door the Priest after the usual manner of the Ethnicks, having in his hand moist branches of Olive, did sprinkle with the same such as entered in, &c.

To the which custom this manner of giving of holy water is so like, that it seemeth to proceed out of the same.

In the book of the Popes decrees, and in the distinctions of Gratianus, there is a certain decree fathered upon Alexander the first, about the year of our Lord, 121. Which decree may well seem to be a baslard decree, neither agreeing to such a father, nor such a time, concerning the conjuring of holy water. The words of the decree be these, Aquam sale conspersum in populo benediximus, ut ea cuncti aspersi sanctificentur, & purificentur, quod omnibus Sacerdotibus faciendum esse mandamus: Nam si cinis Virtute aspersus populum sanctificabat, atque mundabat, multo magis aqua sale aspersa, divinique precibus sacra, populum sanctificat atque mundat. Et si sale asperso per Helicum Prophetam sterilitas aque sanata esset, quanto magis divinis precibus sacraus sal sterilitatem rerum auferat humanarum, & coquinautos sanctificat & purgat, & cetera bona multiplicat, & insidias Diaboli averit, & à phantasmatis versutis homines defendit.

That is, We bless water sprinkled with salt among the people, that all such as be sprinkled with the same, may be sanctified and purified; which thing we charge and command all Priests to do: For if the ashes of the Cow in the old Law, being sprinkled among the people, did sanctify and cleanse them, much more water sprinkled with salt, and hallowed with godly prayers, sanctifyeth and cleanse the people. And if that Helicus the Prophet by the sprinkling of salt did heal and help the barrenness of the water; how much more doth the salt, being hallowed by godly prayers, take away the barrenness of humane things, and sanctify and purge them that be defiled; also multiply other things that be good, and turn away the snares of the devil, and defend men from the deceptions of phantasmæ, &c.

Thus ye have heard the author and father of holy water, which some also ascribe to Pope Sixtus which succeeded Alexander. But as the Papis do not agree in the first author or institutor of this hallowing of elements, so I think the same unworthy to be ascribed to either: but leaving the probation of this to further pleasure, let us now hear in our own tongue their own words, which they use in this their conjuration.

The form and words used of the Priest in conjuring Salt

on-jay. I conjure thee thou creature of salt by the living God,

by the true God, by the holy God, &c. That thou mayst be made a conjured salt, to the Salvation of them that believe; and that unto all such as receive thee thou mayst be health of Soul and Body; and that from out of the place wherein thou shalt be sprinkled, may flee away and depart all phantasmæ, wickedness, or craftiness of the devils subtilty, and every foul spirit, &c.

The form of conjuring water.

I conjure thee thou creature of water, in the name of God the Father almighty, and in the name of Jesus Christ his Son, our Lord, and in the virtue of the Holy Ghost, that thou become a conjured water to expel all power of the enemy, &c.

Who saith not in these words blasphemy intolerable; how that which is only due to the blood of Christ, and promised to faith only in him, is transferred to earthly and insensate creatures, to be salvation both to Body and Spirit, inwardly to give remission of sins, to give health and remedy against evils and devils, against all phantasmæ, wickedness, and all foul Spirit, and to expel the power of the enemy, &c. If this be true, whereto serveth the blood of Christ, and the virtue of Christian faith?

Therefore judge thy self, gentle Reader, whether thou think this trumpet rightly to be fathered upon these ancient Fathers aforesaid, or else whether it may seem more like truth that John Sleydan writeth, whose words in his second book of Monarchijs are these; Horum decreta sunt in libris inserta conciliorum, sed ex his pleneque tam sunt levicula, tam nugatoria, tam aliena profusè à sacris literis, ut credibile sit ab alijs longo post tempore fuisse conficta, &c. That is, The decrees of the forefathers Bishops and Martyrs be inserted in the book of Councils, but of these decrees many be so childish, so trifling, and so far disagreeing from the holy Scripture, that it is very hard that the same were framed and counterfeited of others long after their time, &c. Thus much just Sleydan writeth more words in that place. Unto whose testimony if I might be so bold also to add my conjecture, would suppose the conjuration of this forefaded water and salt to spring out of the same fountain, from whence proceeded the conjuring of flowers and branches, because I see the order and manner of them both to be so like and uniform as may appear.

The manner of hallowing flowers and branches.

I conjure thee thou creature of flowers and branches, in the name of God the Father almighty, & in the name of Jesus Christ his Son, our Lord, and in the virtue of the Holy Ghost. Therefore be thou rooted out and dis-planted from this creature of flowers and branches, all thou strength of the adversary, all thou host of the devil, and all the power of the enemy, even every assault of the devils, &c.

And thus much concerning the antiquity of holy bread and holy water; whereby thou mayst partly conjecture the same not to be so old as Steven Gardener, in his latter against Master Ridley above mentioned, would have, being both deceived himself, and also going about to seduce others.

Furthermore, as touching the reserving of reliques and the memorial of Saints brought into the Mass, Gregory the third is the author thereof, who also added to the Canon thereof this clause, Quorum solemnitates hodie in conspectu divine majestatis celebrantur, &c.

Finally it were too long to recite every thing in order, devised and brought in particularly to the Mass, and to the Church. For after that mans brain was once set on devising, it never could make an end of heaping rite upon rite, and ceremony upon ceremony, till all Religion was turned wretched to superstition. Therefore Oyl and cream brought in by Pope Sylvester, not wont to be hallowed but by a Bishop. That the Corporas should not be of silk, but only of fine linnen cloth. That the Quire singing one verse, the other another, with Gloria patri, &c. That Baptism should be ministrated at no other time in the year but only at Easter and Whitsontide (save only

Holy bread
is in hallow
Cant. 3. de
creta his
Papæ.

Zozomen. lib. 4.
ca. 6. Theo-
dor. lib. 3.
cap. 6.

Ex lib. con-
cil. de conse-
crat. dist. 3. c.
Augustinus.

Anno

1553.

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Anno
1553.Hallowing
of the Font
at Father and
Whitson
ride
Chrishing
of Bells.
Ex post-Da-
mat.
No beads.
Translu-
scantion.

to Infants, and such as were in extrem infirmity) and that it should be required 20 days before; so determined by Pope Stricius: and therefore was it that Fenis were hallowd only at these two seasons, the which hallowing they kept yet still, but the ordinance they have rejected. Item, that Bells also were christened. Item, No Priest should wear a beard, or have long hair; so appointed by Pope Martin the first. Item, that auricular confession should be made, that the book of decrees and decretals should be stablished, and transubstantiation confirmed, in which three aitt Pope Innocentius the third was the chiefest doer, about the year of our Lord, 1215.

And thus have ye in sum the gatherings of the Mass, with the Canon and all the appertenance of the same:

which; not much unlike to the Crow of Esop, being patched with the feathers of so many birds, was so long a gathering, that the Temple of Solomon was not so long in building, as the Pope's Mass was in making. Whereby judge now thy self, good Reader, whether this Mass did proceed from James and other Apostles, or no. And yet this was one of the principal causes for which so much turmoil was made in the Church, with the blood-shed of so many Godly men, suffering in so many quarters of this Realm; some consumed by fire, some pined away with hunger, some hanged, some slain, some racked, some tormented one way, some another, and that only or chiefly for the cause of this aforesaid Popish Mass; as by the reading of this story following, by the grace of Christ our Lord, shall appear more at large. In whom I wish thee to continue in health, and to persevere in the truth.

The first entring of Queen MARY to the Crown, with the alteration of Religion, and other Perturbations hapning the same time in this Realm of ENGLAND.

Anno
1553.The reigant
Q. Mary.Marriage
between the
Lord Gifford
and the La-
dy Jane.

W

Hat time King Edward by long sickness began to appear more feeble and weak; in the mean while during the time of this his sickness, a certain marriage was provided, concluded, and shortly also upon the same solemnized in the month of May, between the Lord Gifford son to the Duke of Northumberland, and the Lady Jane the Duke of Suffolks daughter; whose mother being then alive, was daughter to Mary, King Henries second filter, who first was married to the French King, and afterward to Charles Duke of Suffolk. But to make no long tarrance hereupon, the marriage being ended, and the King waxing every day more sick than other, whereas indeed there seemed in him no hope of recovery, it was brought to pass by the consent not only of the Nobility, but also of the chief Lawyers of the Realm, that the King by his Testament did appoint the foresaid Lady Jane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, to be inheritrix unto the Crown of England, passing over histwo filters, Mary and Elizabeth.

To this order subscribed all the Kings Council, and the chief of the Nobility, the Mayor and City of London, and almost all the Judges and chief Lawyers of this Realm, saving only Justice Hales of Kent, a man both favouring true Religion, and also an upright Judge, as any hath been noted in this Realm, who giving his consent unto Lady Mary, would in no case subscribe to Lady Jane. Of this man (God willing) you shall hear more in the sequel of this story. The causes laid against Lady Mary, were as well for that it was feared she would marry with a Stranger, and thereby intangle the Crown; as also that she would clean alter Religion, used both in King Henry her father, and also in King Edward her Brothers days, and so bring in the Pope, to the utter destruction of the Realm, which indeed afterward came to pass, as by the course and sequel of this story may well appear.

Much probable matter they had thus to conjecture of her, by reason of her great stubbornness shewed and declared in her brothers days, as in the letters before mentioned, passing between her and King Edward, and the Council, may appear. The matter being thus concluded, and after confirmed by every mans hand, King Edward an Imp of so great hope, not long after this departed by the vehemency of his sickness, when he was sixteen years of age; with whom also decayed in a manner the whole flourishing estate and honour of the English Nation.

When King Edward was dead, this Jane was established in the Kingdom by the Nobles consent, and was forthwith published Queen by Proclamation at London, and in other Cities where was any great resort, and was there so taken and named, Between this young damsel

and King Edward there was little difference in age, though in learning and knowledge of the tongues he was not only equal, but also superior unto him, being instructed of a master right nobly learned. If her fortune had been as good as her bringing up, joyned with fineness of wit, undoubtedly she might have seemed comparable not only to the house of Vespasian, Semprianus, and mother of the Gracchies, yea, to any other woman beside, that deserved high praise for their singular learning; but also to the University-men, which have taken many degrees of the Schools.

In the mean time while these things were a working at London, Mary, which had knowledge of her brothers death, writeth to the Lords of the Council in form as followeth.

A letter of the Lady Mary, sent to the Lords of the Council, wherein she claimeth the Crown after the decease of King Edward.

MY Lords, we greet you well, and have received your sure advertisement, that our dearest brother the late King, our late Sovereign Lord, is departed to Gods mercy, which news how useful they be unto our heart, be only wherein we knoweth, to whose will and pleasure we must, and do humbly submit us and our wills. But in this so lamentable a case, that is to wit, now after his Majesties departure and death, concerning the Crown and Governance of this Realm of England, with the title of France, and all things thereto belonging, what hath been provided by Act of Parliament, and the Testament and last Will of our dearest Father, besides other circumstances advancing our right, you know, the Realm, and the whole world knoweth, the Rols and Records appear by the authority of the King our said Father, and the King our said Brother, and the Subjects of this Realm; so that we verily trust that there is no good true Subject, that is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of our part we have of our selves caused, and as God shall aid and strengthen us, shall cause our right and title in this behalf to be published and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this so weighty a matter seemeth strange, that our said Brother dying upon Thursday at night last past, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof, yet we consider your wisdoms and prudence to be such, that having effusions amongst you debated, pondered, and well weighed this present case with our Estate, with your own Estate, the Common-wealth and all our Honours, we shall and may conceive great hope and trust, with much assurance in your Loyalty and Service, and therefore for the time interpret and take things not to the worst; and that ye will, like Noblemen, work the best. Nevertheless, we are not ignorant of your Consultations, to undo the provisi-

This letter
sent to the
Lords of the
Council, by
the Lady Mary.The letter
sent to the
Council, by
the Lady Mary.St. Iohn
Hals Band-
eth with Q.
Mary.Two things
feared in Q.
Mary.Queen Jane
proclaimed
at London.
Compara-
tion between
young King
Edward and
young Lady
Jane.

one made for our Preferment, nor of the great Bands and Provisions forcible, wherewith ye be assembled and prepared, by whom, and to what end, God and you know, and Nature cannot but fear some Evil. But be it that some consideration Politick, or whatsoever thing else hath moved you thereto, yet doubt you not, my Lords, but we can take all these your doings in gracious part, being also right ready to remit and fully pardon the same, and that freely to eschew Blood-shed and Vengeance, against all those that can or will intend the same, trusting also assuredly you will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part as appertaineth, and that we shall not be informed to use the service of other our true subjects and friends; which in this our just and right cause, God, in whom our whole assistance is, shall send us. Wherefore my Lords, we require you and charge you, and every of you, that of your allegiance which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our honour and the surety of our person only employ your selves, and forthwith upon receipt hereof, cause our right and title to the Crown and Government of this Realm to be proclaimed in our City of London and other places, as to your wisdom shall seem good, and as to this case appertaineth, not failing hereof as our very trust is in you. And this our Letter, signed with our hand, shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalf.

Given under our Signet, at our Manor
of Kenning-hall, the ninth of
July, 1553.

To this Letter of the Lady Mary, the Lords of
the Council make answer again, as followeth.

Answer of the Lords unto the Lady Mary's letter.

A letter of
the Council
enforcing
against the
Lady Mary.
Lady Mary
invested in
possession of
the Crown
by King
Edward the
sixth and
therefore
the whole
Council.

Lady Mary
recounted
illegitimate

Adam, we have received your Letters, the ninth of this instant, declaring your supposed Title, which you judge your self to have to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and all the Dominions thereunto belonging. For answer whereof, this is to advertise you, that forasmuch as our Sovereign Lady Queen Jane is, after the death of our Sovereign Lord Edward the sixth, a Prince of most noble memory, invested and possessed with the just and right title in the Imperial Crown of this Realm, not only by good order of old ancient Laws of this Realm, but also by our late Sovereign Lords Letters Patents signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great Seal of England in presence of the most part of the Nobles, Counsellors, Judges, with divers other grave and sage persons, assenting and subscribing to the same: We must therefore, as of most bound duty and allegiance, assent unto her said Grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithful subjects cannot) fall into grievous and unspeakable enormities. Wherefore we can no less do, but for the quiet both of the Realm and you also, to advertise you, that forasmuch as the divorce, made between the King of famous memory, King Henry the eighth, and the Lady Katharine your mother, was necessary to be had both by the everlasting Laws of God, and also by the Ecclesiastical Laws, and by the most part of the noble and learned Universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the sundry Acts of Parliaments remaining yet in their force, and thereby you justly made illegitimate and unhereditary to the Crown Imperial of this Realm, and the rules, and dominions, and possessions of the same, you will upon just consideration hereof, and of divers other causes lawful to be alleged for the same, and for the just inheritance of the right line and godly order taken by the late King our Sovereign Lord King Edward the sixth, and agreed upon by the Nobles and great Personages aforesaid, forscale by any pretence to vex and molest any of our Sovereign Lady Queen Jane her Subjects from their true faith and allegiance due unto her Grace: Assuring you, that if you will for respect thew your self quiet and obedient (as you ought) you shall find us all and several ready to do you any service that we with duty may, and glad with your quietness to preserve the common State of this Realm, wherein you may be otherwise grievous unto us, to your self, and to them. And thus we bid

you most heartily well to fare. From the Tower of London, in this ninth of July, 1553.

Your Ladyships friends, shewing you
self an obedient Subject.

Thomas Canterbury.
The Marquess of Winchester.
John Bedford.
Wil. Northampton.
Tho. Ely Chancellor.
Northumberland.
Henry Suffolk.
Henry Arundel.
Shrewsbury.
Pembroke.
Cobham.

R. Rich.
Huntington.
Darcy.
Cheyney.
R. Cotton.
John Gates.
W. Peter.
W. Cecill.
John Cheek.
John Mafon.
Edward North.
R. Bowes.

All these aforesaid, except only the Duke of Northumberland, and Sr. John Gates, afterward were either by special favour, or special or general pardon discharged.

After this answer received, and the minds of the Lords Lady Mary perceived, Lady Mary speedeth herself secretly away far off from the City, hoping chiefly upon the good will of the Commons, and yet perchance not destitute altogether of the secret aduancements of some of the Nobles. When the Council heard of her sudden departure and perceived her stoutness, and that all came not to pass as they supposed, they gathered speedily a power of men together, appointing an army, and first assigned that the Duke of Suffolk should take that enterprise in hand, and so have the leading of the band. But afterward altering their minds, they thought it best to send forth the Duke of Northumberland, with certain other Lords and Gentlemen, and that the Duke of Suffolk should keep the Tower, where the Lord Gifford and the Lady Jane the same time were lodged.

In the which expedition the Guard also, albeit they were much unwilling at the first thereunto, yet notwithstanding, through the vehement perswasion of the Lord Treasurer, Master Chomley, and other, they were induced to assist the Duke, and to set forward with him.

These things thus agreed upon, and the Duke now being set forward after the best array out of London, having notwithstanding his times prescribed, and his journey appointed by the Council, to the intent he might not seem to do any thing but upon warrant. Mary in the mean Policy of while tossed with much travel up and down, to work the surest way for her best advantage, withdrew her self into the quarters of Northfolk and Suffolk, where she understood the Dukes name to be had in much hatred for the service that had been done there of late under King Edward, in subduing the rebels, and there gathering to her such aid of the Commons on every side as she might, keeping her self close for a space within Fremingham Castle. To whom first of all resorted the Suffolk men; who being always forward in promoting the proceedings of the Gospel, promised her their aid and help, so that she would not attempt the alteration of the Religion, which her brother King Edward had before established by laws and orders publicly enacted, and received by the consent of the whole Realm in that behalf.

To make the matter short, unto this condition the persons agreed, with such promise made unto them that no innovation should be made of Religion, as that no man would or could then have misdoubted her. Which promise, if she had as constantly kept, as they did willingly preserve her with their bodies and weapons, she had done a deed both worthy her blood, and had also made her Reign more stable to her self through future tranquility. For though a man be never so puissant of power, yet breach of promise is an evil upholder of quietness, fear is worse, but cruelty is the worst of all.

Thus Mary being guarded with the power of the Gospelers, did vanquish the Duke, and all those that came with him. In consideration whereof it was (methinks) an heavy word that she answered to the Suffolk men afterward,

Anno
1553.

keepeth her
self from
the City of
London.

The Duke of
Northumberland
sent forth
against
Lady Mary.

The Lady
Mary taketh
Fremingham
Castle.
The Suffolk
men give
to the Lady
Marian side.

The Lady
Mary promises
faithfully
that she
would not
alter Religion.

Breach of
promise is
Queen Mary.

which

Anno

1553.

Queen Mary
first enters
to the safe-
ty of the
Tower.
Mr. Dabbe
punished.

which did make supplication to her Grace to perform her promise: Forasmuch (saith she) as you being but Members desire to rule your Head, you shall one day well perceive, that Members must obey their Head; and not look to bear rule over the same. And not only that, but also to cause the more terror unto other, a certain Gentleman named Mr. Dabbe, dwelling about Wyndam side, for the same promise, was punished, being by humble request of her promise, was punished, being three sundry times set on the Pillory to be a gazing stock unto all men. Divers other delivered her books and supplications made out of the Scripture, to exhort her to continue in the true Doctrine then established; and for their good will were sent to Prison. But such is the condition of mans nature (as here you see) that we are for the most part more always to feek friendship when we stand in need of help, than ready to requite a benefit once past and received. Howbeit against all this one shoot-anker we

Perfect fidelity due out of the doors, yet it is to be found in Heaven.

have, which may be a fire comfort to all miserable Creatures, that equity and fidelity are ever perfect and certainly found with the Lord above, though the same, being shut out of the doors in this World, be not to be found here among men. But seeing our intent is to write a story, not to treat of Office, let us lay Suffolk men aside for a while, whose defects, for their readiness and diligence with the Queen, I will not here stand upon. What she performed on her part, the thing it self, and the whole story of this Perfection doth testify, as hereafter more plainly will appear.

On the contrary side, the Duke of Northumberland having his Warrant under the Broad Seal, with all Furniture in readiness, as he took his Voyage, and was now forward in his way; what ado there was, what stirring on every side, what tending, what riding and posting, what Letters, Messages, and Instructions went to and fro, what talking among the Souldiers, what Heart-burning among the People, what fair pretences outwardly, inwardly what privy practices there were, what speeding of Ordinance daily and hourly out of the Tower, what rumours and coming down of Souldiers from all quarters there was; a World it was to see, and a process to declare, enough to make a whole *Iliad*. The greatest help that made for the Lady Mary was the short journeys of the Duke, which by continuance were assigned to him: before, as is above mentioned. For the longer the Duke lingered in his Voyage, the Lady Mary the more increased in puissance, the hearts of the people being mightily bent unto her. Which after the Council at London perceived, and understood how the common multitude did withdraw their hearts from them to stand with her, and that certain Noblemen began to go the other way, they turned their song, and proclaimed for Queen the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to King Henry the eighth, and appointed by Parliament to succeed King Edward dying without Issue.

Queen Mary proclaimed
at London.
The Duke of Northumberland overthrown.
The Duke of Northumberland brought to the Tower as a Traitor.

And so the Duke of Northumberland, being by Counsel and Advice sent forth against her, was left destitute, and forsaken alone at Cambridge with some of his Sons, and a few other, among whom the Earl of Huntington was one, who there were arrested and brought to the Tower of London, as Traitors to the Crown, notwithstanding that he had there proclaimed her Queen before.

Thus have ye Mary now made a Queen, and the sword of Authority put into her hand, which how she afterward did use, we may see in the sequel of this Book. Therefore (as I say) when she had been thus advanced by the Gospelers, and saw all in quiet by means that her enemies were conquered, sending the Duke Captive to the Tower before (which was the 25. of July) she followed not long after, being brought up the third day of August to London, with the great rejoicing of many men, but with a greater fear of moe, and yet with flattery, peradventure most great, of fained hearts.

Queen Mary cometh up to London.

The Lady Jane and the Lord Gilsford prisoners in the Tower.
The Duke of Northumberland condemned to die.
The Duke of Northumberland revokes his Religion.

Thus coming up to London, her first lodging she took at the Tower, whereas the foresaid Lady Jane with her Husband the Lord Gilsford, a little before her coming, were imprisoned; where they remained waiting her pleasure almost five Months. But the Duke, within a month after his coming to the Tower, being adjudged to death, was brought forth to the Scaffold, and there beheaded. Albeit he having a promise, and being put in hope of Pardon (yea, though his Head were upon the Block) if he

would recant and hear Mass, consented thereto; and denied in words that true Religion, which before times, as well in King Henry the eighths days, as in King Edwards, he had oft evidently declared himself both to favour and further: exhorting also the people to return to the Catholick Faith; as he termed it. Whose recantation the Papists did forthwith publish and set abroad rejoicing not a little at his conversion, or rather subversion, as then appeared.

Thus the Duke of Northumberland, with Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, (which Palmer on the other side confessed his Faith that he had learned in the Gospel, and lamented that he had not lived more Gospel-like) being put to death; In the mean time Queen Mary (like) entering thus her Reign with the Blood of these men, besides hearing Mass her self in the Tower, gave a heavy shew and signification hereby, but especially by the sudden delivering of Steven Gardiner out of the Tower, that his life was not minded to stand to that which she so deeply had promised to the Suffolk men before, concerning the not subverting or altering the state of Religion, as in very deed the firmness of the People was therein nothing deceived.

The Duke of Northumberland beheaded.
Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer, confessing their Faith, were beheaded.

Besides the premises; other things also followed, which every day more and more discomforted the people, declaring the Queen to bear no good will to the present state of Religion; as not only the releasing of Gardiner, being then made Lord Chancellor of England and Bishop of Winchester, Doctor Poyer being put out; but also that Boner was restored to his Bishoprick again, and Doctor Ridley displaced. Item, Doctor Day to the Bishoprick of Chichester; J. Scory being put out. Item Doctor Tenison to the Bishoprick of Duresme. Item, Doctor Heath to the Bishoprick of Worcester, and J. Hooper committed to the Fleet. Item, Doctor Vesie to Exeter, and Miles Coverdale put out. These things being marked and perceived, great heaviness and discomfort grew more and more to all good mens hearts; but contrary, to the wicked, great rejoicing. In which discord of minds, and diversity of affections, was now to be seen a miserable face of things in the whole Common-wealth of England. They that could dissemble took no great care how the matter went. But such; whose Consciences were joynt with the Truth, perceived already coals to be kindled, which after should be the destruction of many a true Christian man, as indeed it came to pass. In the mean while Queen Mary after these beginnings, removed from the Tower to Hampton Court, caused a Parliament to be summoned against Octob. 10. moed, next ensuing, whereof more is to be said hereafter.

The trust preaching Bishops displaced.

A Prelate next sum; to be moved.

Ye heard before how divers Bishops were removed, and other placed in their rooms: amongst whom was Doctor Ridley Bishop of London, a worthy man both of fame and learning. This Doctor Ridley in the time of Queen Jane had made a Sermon at Pauls-Cross, so commended by the Council; declaring there his mind to the people as touching the Lady Mary, and disswading them, alledging there the incommunities and inconveniences which might rise by receiving her to be their Queen, prophesying as it were before that which after came to pass, that she would bring in Foreign Power to Reign over them; besides the subverting also of all Christian Religion then already established; shewing moreover that the same Mary being in his Diocese, he according to his duty, being then her Ordinary, had travailed much with her to reduce her to this Religion, & notwithstanding in all other points of civility, she shewed her self gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true Faith and Doctrine, she shewed her self so stiff and obstinate, that there was no other hope of her to be converted, but to disturb and overturn all that which with so great labours had been confirmed and planted by her Brother afore. Shortly after this Sermon, Queen Mary was proclaimed; whereupon he speedily repairing to Fremingham to salute the Queen, had such cold welcome there, that being spoiled of all his Dignity, he was sent back upon a lame halting horse to the Tower.

Bishop Ridley preaching in Queen Marys time.

After him preached also Mr. Rogers the next Sunday, intreating very learnedly upon the Gospel of the same day.

Mr. Rogers preaching.

This so done, Q. Mary seeing all things yet not going to after her mind as she desired, devised with her Council to bring to pass that thing by other means, which as yet by open Law she could not well accomplish; directing forth an Inhibition by Proclamation, that no man should

B preach

preach or read openly in Churches the Word of God, besides other things also in the same Proclamation inhibited, the copy whereof here followeth.

An Inhibition of the Queen, for Preaching, Priming, &c.

THe Queens Highness will remembering what great inconveniences and dangers have grown to this her Highness Realm in times past, through the diversity of opinions in question of Religion, and hearing also that now of late, since the beginning of her most gracious Reign, the same contentions be again much revived, through certain false and untrue reports and rumours spread by some light and evil disposed persons, hath thought good to do to understand, to all her Highness most loving Subjects, her most gracious pleasure in manner following:

First, her Majesty, being presently by the only goodness of God settled in her just possession of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and other Dominions thereunto belonging, cannot now hide that Religion which God and the World knoweth the hath ever professed from her infancy hitherto. Which as her Majesty is minded to observe and maintain for her self by Gods Grace, during her time, so doth her Highness much desire, and would be glad the same were of all her Subjects quietly and charitably embraced.

And yet the doth signifie unto all her Majesties loving Subjects, that of her most gracious disposition and clemency; her Highness mindeth not to compel any her said Subjects thereunto, until such time as further order by common assent may be taken therein: forbidding nevertheless all her Subjects of all degrees, at their perils, to move seditions, or stir inquietness in her people by interpreting the Laws of this Realm after their brains and fantasies, but quietly to continue for the time, till (as before is said) further order may be taken, and therefore willetth and fraily chargeth and commandeth all her said good loving Subjects to live together in quiet sort and Christian Charity, leaving those new found devilish terms of Papist or Heretick, and such like, and applying their whole care, study, and travel to live in the fear of God, exercising their conversations in such charitable and godly doing, as their lives may indeed expresse that great hunger and thirst of Gods glory and holy Word, which by rash talk and words many have pretended: and in so doing they shall best please God, and live without danger of the Laws, and maintain the tranquillity of the Realm. Whereof as her Highness shall be most glad, so if any man shall rashly presume to make any assemblies of people, or at any publick assemblies, or otherwise shall go about to stir the people to disorder or disquiet, she mindeth according to her duty, to see the same most severely reformed and punished according to her Highness Laws.

And furthermore, forasmuch as it is also well known, that sedition and false rumours have been nourished and maintained in this Realm, by the subtilty and malice of some evil disposed persons, which take upon them without sufficient authority to preach and to interpret the Word of God after their own brain in Churches, and other places both publick and private, and also by playing of enterludes, and printing of false found books, ballads, rhymes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue, concerning Doctrine, in matters now in question and controvertie, touching the high points and Mysteries of Christian Religion; which books, ballads, rhymes, and treatises, are chiefly by the Printers and Stationers set out to sale to her Graces Subjects, of an evil zeal, for lucre and covetousness of vile gain: Her Highness therefore fraily chargeth and commandeth all and every of her said Subjects, of whatsoever state, condition, or degree they be, that none of them presume from henceforth to preach, or by way of reading in Churches, or other publick or private places, except in Schools of the University, to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of Doctrine concerning Religion, neither also to print any books, matter, ballade, rhyme, enterlude, process or treatise, nor to play any enterlude, except they have her Graces special licence in writing for the same, upon pain to incur her Highness indignation and displeasure.

And her Highness also further chargeth and commandeth all and every her said Subjects, that none of them of their own authority do presume to punish, and to rise a-

gainst any offender in the causes above said, or any other offender in words or deeds in the late rebellion committed or done by the Duke of Northumberland, or his complices, or to seize any of their goods, or violently to use any such offender by striking, or imprisoning, or threatening the same, but wholly to refer the punishment of all such offenders unto her Highness and Publick Authority, whereof her Majesty mindeth to see due punishment according to the order of her Highness Laws.

Nevertheless, as her Highness mindeth not hereby to restrain and discourage any of her loving Subjects, to give from time to time true information against any such offenders in the causes above said, unto her Grace or her Council, for the punishment of every such offender, according to the effect of her Highness Laws provided in that part: So her said Highness exhorteth and fraily chargeth her said Subjects to observe her commandment and pleasure in every part above said, as they will avoid her Highness said indignation and most grievous displeasure. The severity and rigour whereof as her Highness shall be most sorry to have cause to put in execution: so doth she utterly determine not to permit such unlawful and rebellious doings of her Subjects, whereof may ensue the danger of her royal estate, to remain unpunished, but to see her said Laws touching these points to be thoroughly executed: which extremities she trusteth all her said Subjects will foresee, dread, and avoid accordingly: her said Highness fraily chargeth and commanding all Majors, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Bayliffs, Constables, and all other publick Officers and Ministers, diligently to see to the observing and executing of her said commandments and pleasure, and to apprehend all such as shall wilfully offend in this part, committing the same to the next Goal, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till upon certificate made to her Highness, or her Privy Council, of their names and doings; and upon examination had of their offences, some further order shall be taken for their punishment to the example of others, according to the effect and tenor of the Laws above said. Given at our Manor of Richmond, the 18. day of August in the first year of our most prosperous Reign.

Mr. Bourne preaching at Pauls-Cross.

ABout this time, or not long before, *Boner* Bishop of *London*, being restored, appointed *Mr. Bourne* a Canon of *Pauls* to preach at the *Cross*, who afterward was Bishop of *Bath*; he taking occasion of the Gospel of that day to speak something largely in justifying of *Boner* being then present; which *Boner*, said he, upon the same Text in that place, that day four years had preached before, and was upon the same most cruelly and unjustly cast into the most vile dungeon of the *Marshalsea*, and there kept during the time of King *Edward*. His words founded so evil in the ears of the hearers, that they could not keep silence, and began to murmur and to stir in such sort, that the Mayor and Aldermen with other estates then present, feared much an uproar. But the truth is, that one hurled a dagger at the Preacher, but who it was it could not then be proved; albeit afterward it was known.

In fine the stir was such, that the Preacher plucked in his head, and durst no more appear in that place. The matter of his Sermon tended much to the derogation and dispraise of King *Edward*, which thing the people in no case could abide: Then *Mr. Bradford* at the request of the Preachers Brother, and other, then being in the Pulpit, stood forth and spake so mildly, christianly, and effectually, that with few words he appeased all: and afterward he and *Mr. Rogers* conducted the Preacher betwixt them from the Pulpit to the *Grammar-School* door, where they left him safe, as further in the story of *Mr. Bradford* is declared. But shortly after they were both rewarded with long imprisonment, and last of all with fire in *Smithfield*.

By reason of this tumult at *Pauls-Cross*, an order was taken by the Lords of the Council with the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, that they calling the next day following a Common Council of the City, should thereby charge every Householder to cause their children, apprentices, and other servants to keep their own Parish Churches

Anno

1553

An Inhibition of the Queen for preaching and priming.

Queen Mary becometh to see forth her Popish Religion here growed upon the Queens good will.

Terms of Papist and Heretick forbidden.

Walle furnishes against true Preachers, Printers, and Players.

Here was the head of Winchester.

Preaching, Priming, Reading, and playing of Enterludes, restrained.

Mr. John Bradford appeareth the people, Bradford and Rogers guarded the Preacher.

upon

Anno 1553. upon the holy days and not to suffer them to attempt any thing to the violating of the common peace. Willing them also to signify to the said assembly the Queens determination uttered unto them by her highness the 12. of August in the Tower. Which was, albeit her Graces confidence is stayed in the matters of Religion; yet she graciously meant not to compel or strain other mens consciences otherwile than God shall (as she trusted) put in their hearts a perswasion of the truth that she is in, through the opening of his word unto them, by godly, virtuous, and learned Preachers, &c.

Also it was then ordered, that every Alderman in his Ward should forthwith send for the Curates of every Parish within their liberties, and warn them not only to forbear to preach themselves, but also not to suffer any other to preach, or make any open or solemn reading of Scripture in their Churches, unless the said Preachers were severally licenced by the Queen.

After this Sermon at Pauls-Crofs aforesaid, the next day after it followed that the Queens Guard was at the Crofs with their weapons to guard the Preacher. And when men withdrew themselves from the Sermon, order was taken by the Major, that the ancients of all companies should be present, least the Preacher should be discouraged by his small Auditory.

August 1553.

5 of August. Anno 1553. The 5. of August, Anno 1553. was one William Ruler committed (by the Council) to the Marshalsey, for uttering certain words against M. Bourn Preacher, for his Sermon at Pauls-Crofs on Sunday last before.

The 16. of August was Humfry Palden committed to the Counter for words against the said Bourne's Sermon at Pauls-Crofs.

8 of Aug. A letter sent to the Sheriffs of Buckingham and Bedford, for the apprehending of one Fisher, Parson of Ammersham, a Preacher.

Another letter to the Bishop of Norwich, not to suffer any Preacher or other to preach or expound the Scripture openly without special licence from the Queen.

The same day was Mr. Bradford, Mr. Vernon, and Mr. Beacon, Preachers, committed to the charge of the Lieutenant of the Tower.

The same day also was Mr. John Rogers Preacher, commanded to keep himself prisoner in his own house at Pauls, without having any conference with any other than those of his own household.

The 22. of August there were two letters directed to Mr. Coverdale Bishop of Exeter, and Mr. Hooper Bishop of Gloucester for their undelayed repair to the Court, and there to attend the Councils pleasure.

15 of Aug. The same day Fisher Parson of Ammersham made his appearance before the Council, according to their letter the 16. of August, and was appointed the next day to bring in a note of his Sermon.

The 24. of August was one John Melvin a Scot, and Preacher, sent to Newgate in London by the Council.

16 of Aug. The 28. of August there was a Letter sent to the Major of Coventry and his Brethren, for the apprehension of one Symons of Worcester Preacher, and then Vicar of St. Michaels in Coventry, and for the sending of him up to the Council, with his examinations and other matters they could charge him with; with a Commission to them to punish all such as had by means of his preaching used any talk against the Queens proceedings.

Hooper. The 26. of August Mr. Hooper Bishop of Worcester made his personal appearance before the Council, according to their Letters the 22. of August.

The 31. of August Mr. Coverdale Bishop of Exeter made his appearance before the Council, according to their Letters the 22. of August.

September 1553.

The first of September Mr. Hooper and Mr. Coverdale appeared again before the Council, whence Mr. Hooper was committed to the Fleet, and Mr. Coverdale commanded to attend the Lords pleasure.

The 2. of September Mr. Hugh Saunders, Vicar of St. Michael in Coventry, was before the Council for a Ser-

mon and was commanded to appear again upon Monday next after.

The 4. of September a Letter was directed from the Council to Mr. Hugh Latimer for his appearance before them.

About the 5. day of September the same year, Peter Martyr came to London from Oxford, where for a time he had been commanded to keep his house, and found there the Archbishop of Canterbury, who offered to defend the doctrine of the book of Common Prayer, both by Scriptures and Doctors, assisted by Peter Martyr and a few others, as hereafter ye shall hear. But whilest they were in hope to come to disputations, the Archbishop and other were imprisoned, but Peter Martyr was suffered to return whence he came.

The same day there was a Letter sent to the Mayor of Symonds Coventry to set Hugh Symonds at liberty, if he would recant his Sermon, or else to stay him; and to signify so much to the Council.

The 13. of September Mr. Hugh Latimer appeared before the Council, according to their Letter the 4. of September, and was committed to the Tower as prisoner, having his servant Aspin to attend upon him.

The same day the Archbishop of Canterbury appearing before the Council, was commanded to appear the next day at afternoon before them in the Star-Chamber.

The 14. of September the Archbishop of Canterbury, according to their former days commandment, made his appearance before the Lords in the Star Chamber. Where, they charging him with Treason, and spreading abroad of seditious Bills to the disquieting of the estate, they committed him from thence to the Tower of London, there to remain till further justice and order at the Queens pleasure.

The 15. of September there was a Letter sent to Mr. Horn Dean of Durham, for his appearance before them, and another was sent to him the 7. of October next after, for his speedy appearance.

The 16. of September there were letters sent to the Mayors of Dover and Rye, to suffer all French Protestants to pass out of this Realm, except such whose names shall be signified to them by the French Ambassador.

October 1553.

The first day of October Queen Mary was Crowned at Westminster, and the tenth day of the same Month of October then following began the Parliament with the solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost, after the Popish manner, celebrated with great pomp, in the Palace of Westminster. To the which Mass among the other Lords, according to the manner, should come the Bishops, which yet remained undeposed, which were the Arch-Bishop of York, Doctor Taylor Bishop of Lincoln, John Harley Bishop of Hereford. Of the Bishops, Doctor Taylor, and Mr. Harley presenting themselves according to their duty, and taking their place amongst the Lords, after they saw the Mass begin, not abiding the sight thereof, withdrew themselves from the company: for the which cause the Bishop of Lincoln being examined, and protesting his faith, was upon the same commanded to attend, who not long after at Ankerwike by sickness departed. Mr. Harley, because he was married, was excluded both from the Parliament and from his Bishoprick.

Mass being done, the Queen accompanied with the Estates of the Realm was brought into the Parliament house, there according to the manner to enter and begin the consultation: At which Consultation or Parliament were repealed all Statutes made in the time of King Henry the eighth for Premunire, and Statutes made in King Edward the sixth time for administration of Common Prayer and the Sacrament in the English tongue: And further the attainder of the Duke of Northumberland was by this Parliament confirmed. In this mean while many men were forward in erecting of Altars and Masses in Churches. And such as would stick to the Laws made in King Edwards time, till other should be established, some of them were marked, and some presently apprehended. Among whom Sir James Hales, a Knight of Kent, and Justice of the Common Pleas, was one; who notwithstanding he had ventured his life in Queen Marias cause, in that he would not subscribe to the unwholesome

October 5. Queen Mary crowned. October 20. The Parliament beginneth with Mass.

Two Bishops withdrew themselves from the sight of this Mass. Mr. Harley Bishop of Hereford put out of his Bishoprick.

Statutes of Premunire and other repealed.

Altars and Masses erected.

Sir James Hales Knight.

The trouble
of Judge
Hales.
A subtle pe-
ny.

of her by the Kings will, yet for that he did at a Quarter Sessions give charge upon the Statutes made in the time of King Henry the eighth, and Edward the sixth, for the Supremacy and Religion, he was imprisoned in the Marshalsey, Countess, and Fleet, and so cruelly handled and put in fear by talk that the Warden of the Fleet used to have in his hearing, of such torments as were in preparing for Hereticks (or for what other cause God knoweth) that he sought to rid himself out of this life by wounding himself with a knife; and afterward was contented to lay as they willed him: Whereupon he was discharged; but after that he never rested till he had drowned himself in a River, half a mile from his house in Kent. Of whom more is to be seen when you come to his story.

The Convoca-
tion be-
gins.

During the time of this Parliament, the Clergy likewise after their wonted manner had a Convocation, with a disputation also, appointed by the Queens commandment, at Pauls Church in London the same time, which was about the 18. of October. In the which Convocation, first Mr. John Harpsfield, Bachelor of Divinity, made a Sermon *ad Clerum*, the 16. of October. After the Sermon done, it was assigned by the Bishops, that they of the Clergy-house, for avoiding confusion of words, should chuse them a Prolocutor. To the which room and office by common assent was named Doctor Weston Dean of Westminster, and presented to the Bishops with an Oration of Mr. P. Dean of Chichester, and also of Mr. Wimblesy Archdeacon of London. Which Doctor Weston being chosen and brought unto the Bishops, made his gratulatory Oration to the House, with the answer again of Bishop Boner.

Oration of
Mr. Weston
and
Mr. Wimblesy
Archdeacon of
London.
Which Doctor
Weston and
of Bishop
Boner in the
Convocation
House.

After these things thus sped in the Convocation House, they proceeded next to the Disputation appointed, as is above said, by the Queens Commandment, about the matter of the Sacrament. Which Disputation continued six days. Wherein Doctor Weston was chief on the Popes part; who behaved himself outrageously in taunting and checking. In conclusion, such as disputed on the contrary part were driven some to flee, some to deny, and some to dye, though to the most Mens Judgements that heard the Disputation they had the upper hand, as here may appear by the report of the said Disputation, the Copy whereof we thought fit here to annex, as followeth.

The true report of the Disputation had and begun in the Convocation House at London, the 18. of Oct. An. 1553.

A disputation
of Religion
in the
Church in
London the
18. of Oct.

Whereas divers and uncertain rumours be spread abroad of the Disputation had in the Convocation House; to the intent that all men may know the certainty of all things therein done and said, as much as the memory of him that was present thereat can bear away, be both thought good, at request, thoroughly to describe what was said therein on both parties of the matters argued and had in question, and of the entrance thereof.

At of the first day.

Oct. 18.
Doctor West-
on, Prolocu-
tor against
the Book of
Catechism
set forth
in King Ed-
wards time

First upon Wednesday, being the 18. of October, at Afternoon, Mr. Weston the Prolocutor certified the House, that it was the Queens pleasure, that the company of the same House, being learned men assembled, should debate of matters of Religion, and constitute Laws thereof, which her Grace and the Parliament would ratify. And for that (said he) there is a Book of late set forth, called the Catechism (which he shewed forth) bearing the name of this honourable Synod, and yet put forth without your contents as I have learned, being a Book very pestiferous, and full of Heresies, and likewise a Book of Common Prayer very abominable (as it pleased him to term it) I thought it therefore best, first to begin with the Articles of the Catechism, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, to confirm the Natural Presence of Christ in the same, and also Transubstantiation. Wherefore (said he) It shall be lawful on Friday next ensuing for all men freely to speak their conscience in these matters, that all doubts may be removed, and they fully satisfied therein.

At of the second day.

Oct. 20.

The Friday coming, being the twentieth of October,

when men had thought they should have entered disputations of the questions proposed, the Prolocutor exhibited two several Bills unto the House; the one for the Natural Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar; the other concerning the Catechism, that it was not of that Houses agreement set forth, and that they did not agree thereunto: Requiring all them to subscribe to the same, as he himself had done. Whereunto the whole House did immediately assent, except six, which were the Dean of Rochester, the Dean of Exeter, the Archdeacon of Winchester, the Archdeacon of Hereford, the Archdeacon of Stow, and one other. And whilst the rest were about to subscribe these two Articles, John Philpot stood up and spake first concerning the Articles of the Catechism, that he thought they were deceived in the Title of the Catechism, in that it beareth the Title of the Synod of London last before this, although many of them which then were present were never made privy thereof in setting it forth; for that this House had granted the Authority to make Ecclesiastical Laws unto certain Persons to be appointed by the Kings Majesty; and whatsoever Ecclesiastical Laws they or the most part of them did set forth, according to a Statute in that behalf provided, it might be well said to be done in the Synod of London, although such as be of this House now, had no notice thereof, before the promulgation. And in this point he thought the setter forth thereof nothing to have slandered the House, as they by their subscription went about to perfwade the World, since they had our Synodical authority unto them committed to make such Spiritual Laws as they thought convenient and necessary.

Anno
1553.

Two Bills
exhibited in
the Convoca-
tion House
by the Pro-
locutor.
M. Philpot,
M. Haddon,
M. Philpot,
M. Clappes,
M. Rimes,
and one o-
ther refused
to subscribe
to the Bills.
The book of
the Cate-
chism defend-
ed by M.
John Philpot.

And moreover he said, as concerning the Article of the Natural Presence in the Sacrament, that it was against reason and order of learning, and also very prejudicial to the Truth, that men should be moved to subscribe before the matter were thoroughly examined and discussed. But when he saw that allegation might take no place, being as a man astonished at the multitude of so many learned men, as there were of purpose gathered together to maintain old Traditions more than the Truth of Gods holy Word, he made this request unto the Prolocutor: That whereas there were so many ancient learned Men present on that side, as in the Realm the like again were not to be found in such number; and that on the other side of them that had not subscribed were not past five or six, both in age and learning far inferior unto them: Therefore, that equality might be had in this Disputation, he desired that the Prolocutor would be a mean unto the Lords, that some of those that were learned, and setters forth of the same Catechism, might be brought into the House to shew their learning that moved them to set forth the same; and that Doctor Ridley and Mr. Rogers with two or three more, might be licenced to be present at this Disputation, and to be associate with them.

Against the
Article of
Natural Pre-
sence.

M. Philpot
request to
the Prolocu-
tor.

This request was thought reasonable, and was proposed unto the Bishops, who made this answer; that it was not in them to call such persons unto our House, since some of them were prisoners. But they said, they would be Petitioners in this behalf unto the Council, and in case any were absent that ought to be of the House, they willed them to be taken in unto them if they listed. After this, they minding to have entered into Disputation, there came a Gentleman as Messenger from the Lord great Master, signifying unto the Prolocutor, that the Lord great Mr. and the Earl of Devonshire would be present at the Disputations, and therefore he deferred the same unto Monday, at one of the clock at Afternoon.

Request to
have D. Ridi-
ley and M.
Rogers at the
disputation.
Answer of
the Bishops
unto the re-
quest.

The At of the third day.

Upon Monday the 22. of October, at the time appointed, in the presence of many Earls, Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and divers other of the Court and of the City also, the Prolocutor made a Protestation, that they of the House had appointed this Disputation, not to call the Truth into doubt, to the which they had already subscribed, saving five or six; but that those gain-sayers might be relieved of their Arguments in the which they stood, as it shall appear unto you, not doubting but they will also confend unto us.

The third
Session dis-
cuss.

Then he demanded of Mr. Haddon, whether we would reason

reason against the questions propoſed, or no. To whom he made anſwer that he had certified him before in writing, that he would not, ſince the requeſt of ſuch learned men, as were demanded to be aſſiſtant with them, would not be granted. Mr. *Elmar* likewiſe was aſked, who made the Prolocutor the like anſwer; adding moreover that ſince they had done too much prejudice already to the Truth, to ſubſcribe before the matter was diſcuſſed: and little or nothing it might avail to reaſon for the truth, ſince all they were now determined to the contrary. After this he demanded of Mr. *Cheyney*, who, the Prolocutor ſaid, allowed the Preference with them (but he denied the Tranſubſtantiation by the means of certain Authorities upon which he ſtandeth, and deſireth to be relolved, as you ſhall hear) whether he will propoſe his doubts concerning Tranſubſtantiation, or no. Yeſ, quoth he. I would gladly my doubts to be relolved, which move me not to believe Tranſubſtantiation.

The first is out of *S. Paul* to the *Corinthians*, who speaking of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, calleth it oft times Bread after the Consecration.

The second is out of *Origen*, who, speaking of this Sacrament, saith, That the material part thereof goeth down to the Excrements.

The third is out of *Theodore*, who, making mention of the Sacramental Bread and Wine after the Consecration, saith, That they go not out of their former substance, form, and shape. These be some of my doubts, among many other, wherein I require to be answered.

Then the Prolocutor assigned Doctor Moreman to answer him, who, to S. Paul, answered him thus; That the Sacrament is called by him Bread indeed : but it is thus to be understood, That it is the Sacrament of Bread, that is, the Form of Bread.

Then Mr. *Cheyney* inferred and alledged, that *Hesychius* called the Sacrament both Bread and Flesh.

Yea, quoth *Moreman*, *Hefychius* calleth it Bread, because it *was* Bread, and not because it *is* so. And passing over *Origen*, he came to *Theodoretus*, and said, That men mistook his Authority, by interpreting a general into a

special, as *Peter Martyr* hath done in the place of *Theodore*, interpreting *esetia* for substance, which is a special signification of the word; whereas *esetia* is a general word as well to Accidents as to Substance; and therefore I answer thus unto *Theodore*; That the Sacramental Bread and Wine do not go out of their former Substance-form, and shape, that is to say, not out of their accidental Substance and shape.

Mr. Elmer
argues a
gain.
Moreman's
answer.

After this Mr. Cheyney late him down, and by and by Mr. Elmer stood up as one that could not abide to hear so fond an Answer to so grave an Authority, and reasoning upon the Authority of *Theodore's* alleged before by Mr. Cheyney, and declared, That *Moreman's* answer to *Theodore's* was no just nor sufficient answer, but an illusion and futile evasion, contrary to *Theodore's* meaning. For, said he, if *seis* should signify an Accident in the place alleged, as it is answered by Mr. *Moreman*, then were it a word superfluous set in *Theodore's* there, where to follow two other words which sufficiently do expound the Acci-

dents of the Bread, that is, *σῆμα τοῦ σώματος*, which signifie in English, shape and form; and so he proved out of the same Author by Allegations, That *ἄρτος* in Greek could not be so generally taken in that place as *Moreman* for a thift would have it. But *Moreman*, as a man having no other false for that fore, affirmeth still, That *ἄρτος*, which significth Substante, must needs signifie an Accidental Substante properly. To whose importunity, felle he could have no other answer, *Elmar*, as a man wearied with his importunity, gave place.

After this stood up *John Philpot*, and said, That he could prove, that by the matter that *Theodore* intreateth of in the place above alledged, and by the Similitude which

he maketh to prove his purpose, by no means Mr. *Mor-*
mans interpretation of *isia* might be taken for an Acci-
dental Subtance, as he for a shift would interpret it to be.
For the matter which *Theodoret* interpreteth of in that place.

The place of Theodotus opened.

joyned unto the Divinity, was abſolute, or swallowed up

The Argon
percent of
Incorporate, &
Commodity.

The place of
Theodoret
- fully taken
- of the Pa-
- pists.

The false
exposition
of Dr. Mer-
cator upon
Theodoretus
overthrown;

Western is
offended.

Philpott's re-
plication an-
swered by
commanding
him to si-

This man,
called Mr.
Philpot, con-
tinued Dean
of Rochester
all *Q. Mary's*
time, and
yet still re-
maineth.

Wistons and
swer to the
Dean.

The Deans replication

Aug in Jon^d
Treat. 50.

A notable
Authority
out of S.
Augustine;

was let down from the Cross, which was wrapped in Cloaths, which was hid in the Sepulchre, which was manifested in the Resurrection. You shall not have me always with you. And why? For after a bodily presence he was conversant with his Disciples forty days, and they accompanying him, seeing and not following him, he ascended and is not here; for there he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and yet here he is, because he is not departed in the presence of his Majesty. After another manner we have Christ always by the presence of his Majesty, but after the presence of his flesh it is rightly said, You shall not verily have me always with you. For the Church had him in the presence of his flesh a few days, and now by faith apprehendeth him, and seeth him not with eyes.

Watson answers to St. Augustine, Aug in Joan. teach. you, in reply against Watson.

To this Authority Doctor Watson took upon him to answer, and said, He would answer St. Augustine by St. Augustine; and having a certain Book in his hand of Notes, he alledged out of the 70 Treatise upon St. John, that after that mortal condition and manner we have not now Christ on earth, as he was heretofore before his Passion.

Against whose answer John Philpot replied, and said, That Mr. Watson had not fully answered St. Augustine by St. Augustine, as he would seem to have done, for that in the place above mentioned by Mr. Deane of Rochester, he doth not only reach the mortal state of Christs Body before his Passion, but also the immortal condition of the same after his Resurrection: in the which mortal Body St. Augustine seemeth plainly to affirm, That Christ is not present upon the earth, neither in form visibly, neither in corporal substance invisibly, as in few lines after the place above alledged, St. Augustine doth more plainly declare by these words, saying, Now these two manners of Christs presence declared, which is by his Majesty, Providence, and Grace now present in the World, which before his Ascension was present in flesh; and being now placed at the right hand of the Father, is absent in the same from the world, I think (saith S. Augustine) that there remaineth no other question in this matter.

Now, quoth Philpot, if St. Augustine acknowledged no more presence of Christ to be now on earth, but only his Divine Presence, and touching his Humanity to be in heaven, we ought to confess and believe the same. But if we put a third presence of Christ, that is corporally to be present always in the Sacrament of the Altar invisibly according to your suppositions, whereof St. Augustine maketh no mention at all in all his Works; you shall seem to judge that which St. Augustine did never comprehend.

Watson.

Why, quoth Watson, S. Augustine in the place by me alledged, maketh he no mention how St. Steven, being in this world, saw Christ after his Ascension?

Philpot.

It is true, said Philpot; but he saw Christ, as the Scripture telleth, in the heavens being open, standing at the right hand of God the Father. Further to this Watson answered not.

D. Watson.

Then the Prolocutor went about to furnish up an answer to St. Augustine, saying, That he is not now in the world after the manner of bodily presence, but yet present for all that in his body.

Philpot replies to Watson.

To whom Philpot answered, That the Prolocutor did grate much upon this word *secundum* in St. Augustine, which signifieth after the manner, or in form: but he doth not answer to *id quod*, which is that thing or substance of Christ, in the which Christ suffered, arose, and ascended into heaven, in the which thing and substance he is in Heaven, and not in Earth, as St. Augustine in the place specified most clearly doth define.

The Dean of Rochester.

To this nothing else being answered, the Dean of Rochester proceeded in the maintenance of his Argument, and read out of a Book of Annotations sundry Authorities for the confirmation thereof. To the which Moreman,

Moreman.

who was appointed to answer him, made no direct answer, but bade him make an Argument, saying, That Mr. Deane had recited many words of Doctors, but he made not one Argument.

Then said the Dean, The Authorities of the Doctors by me rehearsed, be sufficient Arguments to prove mine intent, to the which my desire is to be answered of you. But still Moreman cried, make an Argument, to shift off the Authority which he could not answer unto. After this the Dean made this Argument out of the Institution of the

Sacrament; Do this in remembrance of me: and thus ye shall shew forth the Lords death until he come.

The Sacrament is the remembrance of Christ: Ergo, the Sacrament is not very Christ; for yet he is not come. For these words, Until he come, do plainly signify the absence of Christs Body. Then the Prolocutor went about to shew that these words, Until he come, did not import any absence of Christ on the Earth, by other places of Scripture, where *Domine, Until*, was used in like sense; but directly to the purpose he answered nothing. In conclusion, the Dean fell to questioning with Moreman, whether Christ did eat the Paschal Lamb with his Disciples, or not? He answered, Yea. Further, he demanded whether he did eat likewise the Sacrament with them, as he did institute it? Moreman answered, Yea. Then he asked what he did eat, and whether he did eat his own natural Body, as they imagine it to be, or no? Which when Moreman had affirmed, then said the Dean, It is a great Absurdity by you granted; and so he fate down.

Against this Absurdity Philpot stood up and argued, saying, He could prove it by good reason deduced out of the Scripture, that Christ eat not his own natural Body at the institution of the Sacrament; and the reason is this:

Bar. Receiving of Christs Body hath a promise of remission of sins which it annexed.

ro. Christ eating the Sacrament, had no promise of remission of sin.

co. Ergo, Christ in the Sacrament did not eat his own Body.

To this reason Moreman answered, denying the former part of the Argument, that the Sacrament had a promise of remission of sins annexed unto it.

Then Philpot shewed this to be the promise in the Sacrament; Which is given for you, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins. But Moreman would not acknowledge that to be any promise, so that he drove Philpot to the sixth of St. John, to vouch his saying with these words; The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.

Moreman answering nothing directly to this Argument, Harpsfield started up to supply that which wanted in his behalf; and thinking to have answered Philpot, confirmed more strongly his Argument, saying, Ye mistake the promise which is annexed to the Body of Christ in the Sacrament: for it pertained not to Christ, but to his Disciples, to whom Christ said, This is my body which is given for you, and not for Christ himself.

You have said well for me, quoth Philpot, for that is mine Argument. The promise of the body of Christ took no effect in Christ: Ergo, Christ eat not his own body.

Then the Prolocutor, to shoulder out the matter, said, the Argument was naught. For by the like Argument he might go about to prove, that Christ was not baptized, because the remission of sin, which is annexed unto Baptism, took no effect in Christ. To the which Philpot replied, That like as Christ was baptized, so he eat the Sacrament; but he took on him Baptism, not that he had any need thereof, or that it took any effect in him, but as our Master to give the Church an example to follow him in the ministrations of the Sacrament, and thereby to exhibit unto us himself, and not to give himself to himself.

No more was said in this. But afterward the Prolocutor demanded of Philpot, whether he would argue against the natural presence, or no? To whom he answered, Yea, if he would hear his Argument without interruption, and assign one to answer him, and not many, which was a confusion to the Opponent, and specially for him that was of an ill memory. By this time the night was come on; wherefore the Prolocutor brake up the Disputation for that time, and appointed Philpot to be the first that should begin the Disputation the next day after, concerning the presence of Christ in the Sacrament.

The Act of the fourth day.

ON Wednesday the 25th of October, John Philpot, as it was before appointed, was ready to have entered the Disputation, minding first to have made a certain Oration, and a true declaration in Latin of the matter of Christs presence which was then in question. Which thing the Prolocutor perceiving, by and by he forbade Philpot to make

Anno 1553.

Argument.

Watson answers to the Argument. Domine la Scritura. Mr. Deans questions.

Moreman; affirmeth that Christ did eat his own body.

Philpot.

Argument;

Moreman denies the Argument to have a promise of remission of sins annexed to it. Philpot.

Harpsfield affirmeth that which his fellow denied.

Philpot.

Watson also is contrary to Moreman to it.

Mr. Philpots Argument not followed;

The Convocation continued to the next day.

Anno 1553.
D. Wagon
country to
his own
words.

make any oration or declaration of any matter, commanding him also that he should make no argument in Latin, but to conclude on his argument in English.

Then said *Philpot*; this is contrary to your order taken at the beginning of this disputation. For then you appointed that all the arguments should be made in Latin, and thereupon I have drawn and devised all mine arguments in Latin. And because you Master *Prolocutor* have said heretofore openly in this house that I had no learning, I had thought to have shewed such learning as I have, in a brief Oration, and short declaration of the questions now in controversy, thinking it so most convenient also, that in case I should speak otherwise in my declaration than should stand with learning, or than I were able to warrant, and justice by Gods Word, it might the better be reformed by such as were learned of the house, so that the unlearned fort being present, might take the less offence thereat. But this allegation prevailed nothing with the prolocutor, who bad him still form an argument in English, or else to hold his peace.

Then said *Philpot*; You have fore disappointed me; thus suddenly to go from your former order: But I will accomplish your commandment, leaving mine oration apart; and I will come to my arguments, the which as well as so sudden a warning will serve, I will make in English. But before I bring forth any argument, I will in one word declare what manner of presence I disallow in the Sacrament, to the intent the hearers may the better understand to what end and effect mine arguments shall tend; not to deny utterly the presence of Christ in his Sacrament, truly ministered according to his institution, but only to deny that gross and carnal presence, which you of this house have already subscribed unto, to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, contrary to the true and manifest meaning of the Scriptures: That by transubstantiation of the Sacramental bread and wine, Christs natural body should, by the virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, be contained and included under the forms or accidents of bread and wine. This kind of presence imagined by men I do deny, quoth *Philpot*, and against this I will reason. But before he could make an end of that he would have said, he was interrupted of the Prolocutor, and commanded to defend to his argument. At whose unjust inopportunity *Philpot* being offended, and thinking to purchase him a remedy therefore, he fell down upon his knees before the Earls and Lords which were there present, being a great number; whereof some were of the Queens Council, beseeching them that he might have liberty to prosecute his arguments, without interruption of any man; the which was gently granted him of the Lords. But the Prolocutor, putting in ure a point of the practise of Prelates, would not condescend thereunto, but still cried, Hold your peace, or else make a short argument. I am about it, quoth *Philpot*, if you will let me alone. But first, I must needs ask a question of my Respondent (who was Doctor *Chedsey*) concerning a word or twain of your supposition, that is, of the Sacrament of the Altar, what he meanneth thereby, and whether he taketh it, as some of the ancient Writers do, terming the Lords supper the Sacrament of the altar; partly because it is a Sacrament of that lively sacrifice which Christ offered for our sins upon the altar of the Cross, and partly because that Christs body, crucified for us, was that bloody Sacrifice, which the blood-shedding of all the beasts offered upon the altar in the old Law, did prefigure and signifie unto us: In signification whereof the old Writers sometime do call the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, among other names which they ascribe thereto, the Sacrament of the Altar; or whether you take it otherwise; as for the Sacrament of the Altar, which is made of lime and stone, over the which the Sacrament hangeth, and to be all one with the Sacrament of the Mass, as it is at this present in many places. This done, I will direct mine arguments according as your answer shall give me occasion.

Then made Doctor *Chedsey* this answer, that in their supposition they took the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Sacrament of the Mass, to be all one.

Then, quoth *Philpot*, I will speak plain English as Mr. Prolocutor willeth me, and make a short resolution thereof; that the Sacrament of the altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the Mass, once justly abolished, and now put in full use again, is no Sacrament at all, neither is Christ in any wise present in it; and this his saying he offered to prove before the whole house, if they listed to call him thereunto: And likewise he offered to vouch the same before the Queens Grace, and her most honourable Council, before the face of six of the best learned men of the house of the contrary opinion, and refused none. And if I shall not be able, quoth he, to maintain by Gods word that I have said, and confound those six which shall take upon them to withstand me in this point, let me be burnd with as many fagots as be in London, before the Court gates: This he uttered with great vehemency of spirit.

At this the Prolocutor with divers other were very much offended, demanding of him whether he wist what he said, or no? Yea; quoth *Philpot*, I wot well what I say, desiring no man to be offended with his saying, for that he spake no more than by Gods word he was able to prove. And praised be God, quoth he, that the Queens Grace hath granted us of this house (as our Prolocutor hath informed us) that we may freely utter our consciences in these matters of controversy in Religion: and therefore I will speak here my confidence freely, grounded upon Gods holy word, for the truth, albeit some of you here present mislike the same.

Then divers of the house, beside the Prolocutor, taunted and reprehended him for speaking so unfavourably against the Sacrament of the Mass: and the Prolocutor said he was made, and threatened him, that he would fend him to prison, if he would not cease his speaking.

Philpot seeing himself thus abused, and not permitted with free liberty to declare his mind, fell into an exclamation, casting his eyes up towards the Heaven, and said, O Lord, what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word may not be spoken and abidden by? And for very sorrow and heaviness the tears trickled out of his eyes.

After this, the Prolocutor being moved by some that were about him, was content that he should make an argument, so that he would be brief therein. I will be as brief, quoth *Philpot*, as I may conveniently be in uttering all that I have to say. And first, I will begin to ground my arguments upon the authority of Scriptures, whereupon all the building of our faith ought to be grounded; and after I shall confirm the same by ancient Doctors of the Church. And I take the occasion of the first argument out of the 28. of *Matthew*, of the saying of the Angel to the three *Maries* seeing Christ at the Sepulchre, saying; *He is risen, he is not here*: and in *St. Luke* in the 23. Chapter, the Angel asked them, why they sought him that liveth among the dead. Likewise the Scripture testifieth, that Christ is risen, ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father: all the which is spoken of his natural body: *Ergo*, it is not on earth included in the Sacrament.

I will confirm this yet more effectually, by the saying of Christ in the 16. of *St. John*; *I came (saith Christ) From my Father into the World, and now I leave the World and go away to my Father*. The which coming and going he meant of his natural body. Therefore we may affirm thereby, that it is not found in the world.

But I look here, quoth he, to be answered with a blind distinction of visibly and invisibly, that he is visibly departed in his humanity, but invisibly he remaineth notwithstanding in the Sacrament. But that answer I prevent my self, that with more expedition I may descend to the sixth of mine arguments, whereof I have a dozen to produce, and will prove that no such distinction ought to take away the force of that argument, by the answer which Christs disciples gave unto him, speaking these words: *Now thou speakest plainly and uterest forth no proverb*. Which words Saint *Cyril* interpreting, saith; *That Christ speak without any manner of ambiguity and obscure speech*. And therefore I conclude hereby thus; that if Christ speak plainly, and without parable, saying; *I leave the World now and go away to my Father*, then that obscure dark and imperceptible presence of Christs natural body to remain in the Sacrament upon Earth invisibly, contrary to the plain words of Christ, ought not to be allowed. For nothing can be more uncertain or more paradoxical and unseemly, than to say: Here now will I attend

on to be all one with the Mass, once justly abolished, and now put in full use again, is no Sacrament at all, neither is Christ in any wise present in it; and this his saying he offered to prove before the whole house, if they listed to call him thereunto: And likewise he offered to vouch the same before the Queens Grace, and her most honourable Council, before the face of six of the best learned men of the house of the contrary opinion, and refused none. And if I shall not be able, quoth he, to maintain by Gods word that I have said, and confound those six which shall take upon them to withstand me in this point, let me be burnd with as many fagots as be in London, before the Court gates: This he uttered with great vehemency of spirit.

At this the Prolocutor with divers other were very much offended, demanding of him whether he wist what he said, or no? Yea; quoth *Philpot*, I wot well what I say, desiring no man to be offended with his saying, for that he spake no more than by Gods word he was able to prove. And praised be God, quoth he, that the Queens Grace hath granted us of this house (as our Prolocutor hath informed us) that we may freely utter our consciences in these matters of controversy in Religion: and therefore I will speak here my confidence freely, grounded upon Gods holy word, for the truth, albeit some of you here present mislike the same.

Then divers of the house, beside the Prolocutor, taunted and reprehended him for speaking so unfavourably against the Sacrament of the Mass: and the Prolocutor said he was made, and threatened him, that he would fend him to prison, if he would not cease his speaking.

Philpot seeing himself thus abused, and not permitted with free liberty to declare his mind, fell into an exclamation, casting his eyes up towards the Heaven, and said, O Lord, what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word may not be spoken and abidden by? And for very sorrow and heaviness the tears trickled out of his eyes.

After this, the Prolocutor being moved by some that were about him, was content that he should make an argument, so that he would be brief therein. I will be as brief, quoth *Philpot*, as I may conveniently be in uttering all that I have to say. And first, I will begin to ground my arguments upon the authority of Scriptures, whereupon all the building of our faith ought to be grounded; and after I shall confirm the same by ancient Doctors of the Church. And I take the occasion of the first argument out of the 28. of *Matthew*, of the saying of the Angel to the three *Maries* seeing Christ at the Sepulchre, saying; *He is risen, he is not here*: and in *St. Luke* in the 23. Chapter, the Angel asked them, why they sought him that liveth among the dead. Likewise the Scripture testifieth, that Christ is risen, ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father: all the which is spoken of his natural body: *Ergo*, it is not on earth included in the Sacrament.

I will confirm this yet more effectually, by the saying of Christ in the 16. of *St. John*; *I came (saith Christ) From my Father into the World, and now I leave the World and go away to my Father*. The which coming and going he meant of his natural body. Therefore we may affirm thereby, that it is not found in the world.

But I look here, quoth he, to be answered with a blind distinction of visibly and invisibly, that he is visibly departed in his humanity, but invisibly he remaineth notwithstanding in the Sacrament. But that answer I prevent my self, that with more expedition I may descend to the sixth of mine arguments, whereof I have a dozen to produce, and will prove that no such distinction ought to take away the force of that argument, by the answer which Christs disciples gave unto him, speaking these words: *Now thou speakest plainly and uterest forth no proverb*. Which words Saint *Cyril* interpreting, saith; *That Christ speak without any manner of ambiguity and obscure speech*. And therefore I conclude hereby thus; that if Christ speak plainly, and without parable, saying; *I leave the World now and go away to my Father*, then that obscure dark and imperceptible presence of Christs natural body to remain in the Sacrament upon Earth invisibly, contrary to the plain words of Christ, ought not to be allowed. For nothing can be more uncertain or more paradoxical and unseemly, than to say: Here now will I attend

The Prolocutor
said, in the
Convocation
as before;

The Prolocutor
saith thus.
Argumentum
meum a
loco tropice
caute.

Philpot per
mittit con-
tra me a
brevis argu-
mentum.

Matth. 28.

Luke 23.

Argument
of St. *Paul*

John 16.

The blind
distinction
of the Pe-
pils of vis-
ibly and in-
visibly.

Cyrillus

7222

what you will answer, and so defend to the confirmation of all that I have said by ancient Writers.

Chedsey answers to Philpot.

Then Doctor Chedsey reciting his argument in such order as it was made, took upon him to answer severally to every part thereof on this wise. First, to the saying of the Angel, *That Christ is not here; And, why seek ye the living among the dead?* He answered, that these sayings pertained nothing to the presence of Christs natural body in the Sacrament, but that they were spoken of Christs body being in the Sepulchre, when the three *Maries* thought him to have been in the grave still: And therefore the Angel said: *Why do ye seek him that liveth among the dead?* And to the authority of the 16. of *John*, where Christ saith, *Now I leave the World and go to my father*, he meant that of his ascension. And so likewise did *Cyril*, interpreting the saying of the Disciples that knew plainly that Christ would visibly ascend into Heaven, but that doth not exclude the invisible presence of his natural body in the Sacrament. For S. Chrysostom writing to the people of *Antioch*, doth affirm the same, comparing *Helias* and Christ together, and *Helias* cloak and Christs flesh: *Helias* (quoth he) *when he was taken up in the fiery chariot, left his cloak behind him unto his disciple Heliſeus.* But Christ, ascending into Heaven took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him. Whereby we may right well gather, that Christs flesh is visibly ascended into Heaven, and invisibly abideth still in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Christ is ad Pop. Antioch.

To this Philpot replied, and said, You have not directly answered to the saying of the Angel, *Christ is risen, and is not here*, because you have omitted that which was the chiefest point of all. For (said he) I proceed further, as thus; He is risen, ascended, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father. Ergo, he is not remaining on the earth. Neither is your answer to *Cyril* by me alleged, sufficient. But by and by I will return to your interpretation of *Cyril*, and more plainly declare the same, after that I have first refuted the authority of *Chrysostom*, which is one of your chief principles that you alledge, to make for your gross carnal presence in the Sacrament; which being well weighed and understood, pertaineth nothing thereunto.

Philpot answers to Chedsey.

At that the Prolocutor startled, that one of the chief pillars in this point should be overthrown; and therefore recited the said authority in Latin first, and afterward Englished the same, willing all that were present to note that saying of *Chrysostom*, which he thought invincible on their side. But I will make it appear (quoth Philpot) by and by, that it doth make little for your purpose. And as he was about to declare his mind in that behalf, the Prolocutor did interrupt him, as he did almost continually. Wherewith Philpot not being content, said, Mr. Prolocutor thinketh that he is in a *Sophistry* School, where he knoweth right well the manner is, that when the Respondent perceiveth, that he is like to be enforced with an argument, to the which he is not able to answer, thus he doth what he can with cavillation and interruption to drive him from the same. This saying of Philpot was taken of the Prolocutor and his adherents; and the Prolocutor said, that Philpot could bring nothing to avoid that authority, but his own vain imagination. Hear, quoth Philpot, and afterward judge. For I will do in this as in all other authorities, wherewith you shall charge me in refuting any of my arguments that I have to prosecute, answering either unto the same by sufficient authorities of Scripture, or else by some other testimony of like authority of yours, and not of mine own imagination; the which if I do, I will it to be of no credit. And concerning the saying of *Chrysostom*, I have two ways to beat him from your purpose; the one out of Scripture, the other out of *Chrysostom* himself in the place here by you alledged.

The place of Chrysostom of Christ is brought up his flesh, and leaving his flesh, answereth truly. Philpot. Now Christ is his flesh behind him.

First, where he seemeth to say, that Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him, truth it is: for we all do confess and believe that Christ took on him our humane nature in the Virgin *Maries* womb, and through his passion in the same hath united us to his flesh, and thereby are we become one flesh with him, so that *Chrysostom* might therefore right well say, that Christ ascending took his flesh, which he received of the Virgin *Mary*, away with him; and also left his flesh behind him, which are we that be elect in this world, which are the Members of Christ, and flesh of

his flesh; as very aptly St. Paul to the *Ephesians* in the fifth Chapter doth testify, saying; *We are flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones.* And if percase any man will reply, that he intreateth there of the Sacrament, so that this interpretation cannot so aptly be applied unto him in that place, then will I yet interpret *Chrysostom* another way by himself. For in that place, a few lines before those words which were here now lately read, are these words; that Christ, after he ascended into Heaven, left unto us, indued with his Sacraments, his flesh in mysteries, that is, Sacramentally. And that mystical flesh Christ leaveth as well to his Church in the Sacrament of Baptism, as in the Sacramental bread and wine. And that St. Paul justly doth witness, saying; *As many of us as are Baptized in Christ have put upon us Christ.* And thus you may understand that *S. Chrysostom* maketh nothing for your carnal and gross presence in the Sacrament, as you wrongfully take him.

Now in this mean while Mr. Pier rounded the Prolocutor in the ear to put Philpot to silence, and to appoint some other, mistrusting lest he would shrewdly shake their carnal presence in conclusion, if he held on long, seeing in the beginning he gave one of their chief foundations such a pluck. Then the Prolocutor said to Philpot, that he had reasoned sufficiently enough, and that some other should now supply his room. Wherewith he was not well content, saying: Why Sir, I have a dozen arguments concerning this matter to be proposed, and I have yet scarce overgone my first argument; for I have not brought in any confirmation thereof out of any ancient Writer (whereof I have for the same purpose many) being hitherto still lated by your oft interrupting of me.

Well, quoth the Prolocutor, you shall speak no more now, and I command you to hold your peace. You perceive, quoth Philpot, that I have said enough for you, and am able to withstand your false supposition, and therefore you command me to silence. If you will not give place, quoth the Prolocutor, I will send you to prison. This is not, quoth Philpot, according to your promise made in this house, nor yet according to your brag made at *Pauls-Cross*, that men should be answered in this disputation to whatsoever they can say, since you will not suffer me of a dozen arguments, to prosecute one.

Then M. Pie took upon him to promise that he should be answered another day. Philpot seeing he might not proceed in his purpose, being therewith justly offended, ended, saying thus: A fore of you here, which hitherto have lurked in corners, and dissembled with God and the World, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of Gods holy Word, and to set forth every false device, which by the Catholick Doctrine of the Scripture ye are not able to maintain.

Then stepped forth Mr. Elmar Chaplain to the Duke of *Sussex*, whom Mr. *Moreman* took upon him to answer: Against whom Mr. Elmar objected divers and sundry Authorities for the confirming of the Argument he took the day before in hand, to prove that *Wolfe* in the sentence of *Theodore*, brought in by Mr. *Cheyney*, must needs signify Substance, and not Accidents. Whole reasons and probations, because they were all grounded and brought out of the Greek, I do pass over, for that they want their Grace in English, and also their proper understanding. But his allegations so incumbered M. *Moreman*, that he desired a day to overview them, for at that instant he was without a convenient answer.

Then did the Prolocutor call Mr. *Haddon* Dean of *Exeter*, and Chaplain to the Duke of *Sussex*, who prosecuted *Theodore*s authority in confirming Mr. *Elmars* argument. To whom Doctor *Watson* took upon him to give answer; who after long talk was so confounded, that he was not able to answer to the word *Mysterium*. But forasmuch as he seemed to doubt therein, Mr. *Haddon* took out of his bosom a Latin Author to confirm his saying, and shewed the same to Mr. *Watson*, asking him whether he thought that translation to be true, or that the Printer were in any fault. There may be a fault in the Printer, quoth Watson, for I am not remembered of this word. Then did Mr. *Haddon* take out of his bosom a Greek book, wherein he shewed forth with his finger the same words, which Mr. *Watson* could not deny. His arguments further I omit to de-

1553. Rebell.

Chrysostom expounded by Chedsey.

Galat. 3.

Wellon.

A good foundation for all his Arguments.

Master Elmar again stepped forth.

Moreman desired a day to immove some of his reasons.

Watson confounded by Mr. Haddon.

Master Watson for a bare idle patche the fault in the Printer.

Anno further I omit to declare at large, because they were for the most part in Greek, about the boulding of the true signification of *etia*.

Mr. Perna a-
gound Trans-
ubstanciat-
ion.
Then stept forth Mr. Perna, and in Argument made declaration of his mind against Transubstantiation, and confirmed the Sayings and Authorities alledged by Mr. Elmar and Mr. Haddon. To whom the Prolocutor answered, saying, I much marvel Mr. Perna, that you will say thus, for so much as on Friday last you subscribed to the contrary. Which his saying Mr. Elmar did mislike, saying to the Prolocutor, That he was to blame for to reprehend any man, partly for that this House, quoth he, is an House of free liberty for every man to speak his Confidence, and partly for that you promised yesterday, That notwithstanding any man had subscribed, yet he should have free liberty to speak his mind. And for that the night did approach, and the time was spent, the Prolocutor, giving them praises for their learning, did yet notwithstanding conclude, that all reasoning set apart, the order of the holy Church must be received, and all things must be ordered thereby.

The Act of the fifth Day.

ON Friday the 27th of October, Dr. Weston the Prolocutor did first propound the matter, shewing that the Convocation hath spent two days in disputation already about one only Doctor, which was Theodoret, and about one only word, which was *etia*. Yet were they come the third day to answer all things that could be objected, so that they would shortly put their Arguments. So Mr. Haddon Dean of Exeter, desired leave to oppose Mr. Watson, which with two other more, that is, Morgan and Harpsfield, was appointed to answer: Mr. Haddon desired this of him, Whether any Substance of Bread or Wine did remain after the Consecration. Then Mr. Watson asked of him again, Whether he thought there to be a Real Presence of Christs Body or no? Mr. Haddon said, It was not meet nor order-like that he which was appointed to be Respondent should be Opponent, and he whose duty was to object should answer. Yet Mr. Watson a long while would not agree to answer, but that thing first being granted him, at last an order was set, and Mr. Haddon had leave to go forward with his Argument.

Then he proved by Theodorets words a Substance of Bread and Wine to remain. For these are his words; *The same they were before the Sanctification, which they are after.* Mr. Watson said, That Theodoret meant not the same Substance, but the same Effluence. Whereupon they were driven again unto the discussing of the Greek word *etia*; and Mr. Haddon proved it to mean a Substance, both by the Etymology of the word, and by the words of the Doctor. For *etia*, quoth he, cometh to the Particle *et*, which defendeth to the Verb *esse*, and so cometh the Noun *etia*, which signifieth Substance.

Then Mr. Watson answered that it had not that signification only. But Mr. Haddon proved that it must need to signify in that place. Then he asked Watson, when the Bread and Wine became Symbols? Whereunto he answered, after the Consecration, and not before. Then gathered Mr. Haddon this reason out of his Author.

Da. The same things, saith Theodoret, that the Bread and Wine were before they were Symbols, the same they remain still in Nature and Substance, after they are Symbols.

ti. Bread and Wine they were before.

fi. Therefore Bread and Wine they are after.

Then Mr. Watson fell to the denial of the Author, and said he was a Nestorian; and he desired that he might answer to Mr. Cheyney which stood by, for that he was more meet to dispute in the matter, because he had granted and subscribed unto the Real Presence. Mr. Cheyney desired patience of the honourable men to hear him, trusting that he should so open the matter, that the verity should appear: Professing furthermore, that he was no obstinate nor stubborn man, but would be conformable to all reason: and if they by their learnings, which he acknowledged to be much more than his, could answer his reasons, then he would be ruled by them, and say as

they said; for he would be no Author of Schism, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy Mother the Church; which is Christ, spouse. Dr. Weston liked this well, and commended him highly, saying that he was a well-learned and sober man, and well exercised in all good learning, and in the Doctors; and finally, a man meet for his knowledge to dispute in that place; I pray you hear him, quoth he: Then Mr. Cheyney desired such as there were present to pray two words with him unto God, and to say, *Vincat veritas*, Let the verity take place, and have the victory; and all that were present cried with a loud voice, *Vincat veritas, Vincat veritas*.

Then said Dr. Weston to him, that it was hypocritical. Men may better say, quoth he, *Vicet veritas*, Truth hath gotten the victory. Mr. Cheyney said again, if he would give him leave, he would bring it to that point, that he might well say so.

Then he began with Mr. Watson after this sort: You said that Mr. Haddon was unmeet to dispute, because he granteth not the Natural and Real Presence; but I say you are much more unmeet to answer, because you take away the Substance of the Sacrament.

Mr. Watson said, He had subscribed to the Real Presence, and should not go away from that: So said Watson also, and the rest of the Priests; inasmuch that for a great while he could have no leave to say any more, till the Lords spake, and willed that he should be heard.

Then he told them what he meant by his subscribing to the Real Presence, far otherwise than they supposed. So then he went forward, and prosecuted Mr. Haddons Argument, in proving that *etia* was a Substance, using the same reason that Mr. Haddon did before him, and when he had received the same answer also that was made to Mr. Haddon, he said it was but a lewd refuge, when they could not answer, to deny the Author, and proved the Doctor to be a Catholick Doctor; and that being proved, he confirmed that which was said of the Nature and Substance further. The Similitude of Theodoret is this, quoth he; As the tokens of Christs Body and Blood, after the Invocation of the Priest, do change their names, and yet continue the same Substance; so the Body of Christ, after his Ascension, changed his name, and was called Immortal, yet had it his former Fashion, Figure, and Circumscriptio; and to speak at one word, the same Substance of his Body. Therefore said Mr. Cheyney, If in the former part of the Similitude you deny the same Substance to continue, then in the latter part of the Similitude, which agreeth with it, I will deny the Body of Christ, after his Ascension, to have the former Nature and Substance. But that were a great Heresie; therefore it is also a great Heresie to take away the Substance of Blood and Wine after the Sanctification.

Then was Mr. Watson enforced to say, That the Substance of the Body, in the former part of the Similitude brought in by him, did signifie Quantity, and other Accidents of the Sacramental Tokens which be seen, and not the very Substance of the same; and therefore Theodoret saith, *Qua videntur, &c.* that is, *those things which be seen.* For according to Philosophy, the Accidents of things be seen, and not the Substances.

Then Mr. Cheyney appealed to the Honourable men, and desired that they should give no credit to them in so saying: for if they should so think as they would teach, after their Lordships had ridden 40 miles on horseback (as their business doth sometime require) they should not be able to say at night, that they saw their Horses all the day, but only the colour of their Horses; and by this reason Christ must go to School, and learn of Aristotle to speak. For when he saw Nathaniel under the Fig-tree, if Aristotle had stood by, he would have said, No, Christ, thou sawest not him, but the colour of him. After this, Watson said, What if it were granted that Theodoret was on the other side? Whereas they had one of that opinion, there were an hundred on the other.

Then the Prolocutor called for Mr. Morgan to help, and said, That Theodoret did no more than he might lawfully do. For first, He granted the truth, and then, for fear of such as were not fully instructed in the Faith, he spake *alvy-pamnis*, that is, covertly, and in a mystery; and this was lawful for him to do: for first he granted the truth, and called them the Body of Christ, and Blood of Christ.

Dr. Watson
praiseth
their learn-
ing to flatter
them, but
he answereth
not
their argu-
ments.

22 Nov. 27.

Mr. Haddon
Dean of Ex-
eter dispu-
tes against
Mr. Watson,
Morgan, and
Harpsfield.

The words
of Theodoret
are alledged.
A Popish di-
stinction be-
tween Sub-
stance and
Effluence.

Argument
of Mr. Had-
don.

Watson is
driven to a
Nestorian
shift, so deny
the Author
when he
cannot an-
swer.

Mr. Cheyney.

Mr. Cheyney
Prayeth.

Mr. Cheyney
disputeth.

Mr. Haddon
challenged
for subscrib-
ing to the
Real Pre-
sence.

The Argu-
ment of
Theodoret
renewed by
Mr. Cheyney.

Mr. Cheyney
appealed to
the Lords.

Mr. Morgan
is called for to
help for the
first.

Christ. Then afterwards he seemed to give somewhat to the senses, and to reason; but that *Theodore* is of the same mind that they were of, the words following, quoth he, declare. For that which followeth is a cause of that which went before; and therefore he saith, *The Immortality, &c.* Whereby it doth appear, that he meant the Divine Nature, and not the Humane. Then was *Morgan* taken with misludging of the Text: For the Book had not this word (*for*); For the Greek word did rather signify (*truly*) and not (*for*), so that it might manifestly appear, that it was the beginning of a new matter, and not a sentence rendering a cause of that he had said before.

Then it was said by *Watson* again; Suppose that *Theodore* be with you, which is one that we never heard of printed, but two or three years ago; yet is he but one, and what is one against the whole consent of the Church? After this *Mr. Cheyney* inferred, That not only *Theodore* was of that mind, that the substance of Bread and Wine do remain, but divers other also, and specially *Ireneus*, who, making mention of this Sacrament, saith thus; *When the Cup which is mingled with Wine, and the Bread that is broken, do receive the word of God, it is made the Eucharist of the Body and Blood of Christ, by the which the substance of our flesh is nourished, and doth consist.* If the thanksgiving do nourish our body, then there is some substance besides Christs Body.

To the which reason both *Watson* and *Morgan* answered, that *Ex quibus, By the which*, in the sentence of *Ireneus*, was referred to the next Antecedent, that is, to the Body and Blood of Christ; and not to the Wine which is in the Cup, and the Bread that is broken.

Mr. Cheyney replied, That it was not the Body of Christ which nourished our bodies. And let it be that Christs flesh nourisheth to immortality, yet it doth not answer to that Argument, although it be true, no more than that answer which was made to my Allegation out of *St. Paul*, *The bread which we break, &c.* with certain other like: whereunto you answered, That Bread was not taken there in his proper signification, but for that it had been; no more than the Rod of *Aaron* was taken for the Serpent, because it had been a Serpent. After this *Mr. Cheyney* brought in *Hesychius*, and used the same reason that he did of burning of Symboles; and he asked them what was burnt. *Mr. Watson* said, We must not enquire nor ask; but if there were any fault, impute it to Christ. Then said *Mr. Cheyney*, whereof came those ashes? not of substance? or can any Substance arise of Accidents?

Then was *Mr. Harpsfield* called in to see what he could say in the matter. Who told a fair Tale of the Omnipotency of God, and of the imbecility and weakness of mans reason, not able to attain to godly things. And he said, That it was convenient whatsoever we saw, felt, or tasted, not to trust our senses. And he told a Tale out of *S. Cyprian*, how a woman saw the Sacrament burning in her Coffin, and that which burned there, quoth that was that was burnt he could not tell. But *Mr. Cheyney* continued still, and forced them with this question, What it was that was burnt? It was either said he, the substance of Bread, or else the substance of the Body of Christ, which were too much absurdity to grant. At length they answered, That it was a Miracle; whereat *Mr. Cheyney* smiled, and said, That he could then say no more.

Then *Dr. Weston* asked of the Company there, Whether those men were sufficiently answered, or no: Certain Priests cried, Yes, but they were not heard at all for the great multitude which cried, No, No. Which cry was heard and noised almost to the end of *Pauls*. Whereat *Dr. Weston* being much moved, answered bitterly, That he asked not the judgment of the rude Multitude, and unlearned People, but of them which were of the House. Then asked he of *Mr. Haddon* and his Fellows, whether they would answer them other three days? *Haddon*, *Cheyney*, and *Elmar* said, No. But the Archdeacon of *Winchester* stood up and said, that they should not say, but they should be answered; and though all other did refuse to answer, yet he would not, but offered to answer them all one after another: with whose proffer the Prolocutor was not contented, but railed on him, and said, That he should go to *Bedlam*: To whom the Archdeacon soberly made this answer, That he was more worthy to be

sent thither, who used himself so ragingly in that Disputation, without any indifferent equality. Then rose *Dr. Weston* up, and said:

All the Company have subscribed to our Article, saving only these men which you see. What their reasons are, you have heard. We have answered them three days, upon promise (as it pleased him to defame, without truth for no such promise was made) that they should answer us again as long, as the order of disputation doth require, and if they be able to defend their Doctrine, let them so do.

Then *Mr. Elmar* stood up, and proved how vain a man *Watson* was; for he affirmed that they never promised to dispute, but only to open and testify to the world their Consciences. For when they were required to subscribe, they refused, and said that they would shew good reasons which moved them, that they could not with their Consciences subscribe, as they had partly already done, and were able to do more sufficiently: Therefore, quoth he, it hath been ill called a Disputation, and they were worthy to be blamed that were the Authors of that name. For we meant not to dispute, nor now mean to answer, before our Arguments, quoth he, which we have to propound, be solved, according as it was appointed. For by answering we should but incur our selves, and profit nothing, since the matter is already decreed upon and determined, whatsoever we shall prove, or dispute to the contrary.

The Act of the sixth Day.

ON Monday following, being the 30th of October, The Sixth Act the Prolocutor demanded of *John Philpot*, Archdeacon or Suffragan of *Winchester*, whether he would answer in the questions before propounded to their objections, or no? To whom he made this answer, That he would willingly so do, if according to their former determination, they would first answer sufficiently to some of his Arguments, as they had promised to do, whereof he had a dozen, not half of the first being yet decided: And if they would answer fully and sufficiently but to one of his Arguments, he promised that he would answer to all the objections that they should bring.

Then the Prolocutor bade him propound his Argument, and it should be refutedly answered by one of them; whereunto *Mr. Morgan* was appointed. Upon Wednesday last, quoth he, I was informed to silence before I had professed half mine Argument, the sum whereof was this (as was gathered by the just context of the Scripture) that the human Body of Christ was ascended into Heaven, and placed on the right hand of God the Father: wherefore it could not be finite upon Earth in the Sacrament of the Altar, invisible after the imagination of man. The Argument was denied by *Morgan*. For the proof whereof, *Philpot* said, that this was it wherewith he had to confirm his first Argument, if they would have suffered him the other day, as now he trusted they would.

Fe- One self and same nature, quoth he, receiveth not in Argument; it self any thing that is contrary to it self.

ri- But the Body of Christ is an human Nature, distinct from the Deity, and is a proper Nature of it self.

a- Ergo, It cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that Nature, and that varieth from it self.

But bodily to be present, and bodily to be absent, to be on Earth, and to be in Heaven, and all at one present time, be things contrary to the nature of an human Body. Ergo, It cannot be said of the human Body of Christ, that the self same Body is both in Heaven, and also in Earth at one Instant, either visibly or invisibly.

Morgan denied the Major, that is, the first part of the *Morgan* Argument. The which *Philpot* vouched out of *Vigilius* Here is a new evasion favoured by *Morgan*.

Philpot said, he could also so do, and right well deduce the same out of *S. Paul*, who saith, that *Christ is like unto us in all points, except sin*: and therefore, like as one of our bodies cannot receive in it self any thing contrary to the nature of a Body, as to be in *Pauls* Church, and at *Westminster* at one instant, or to be at *London* visibly, and at *Lincoln* invisibly at one time; for that is contrary to the nature of a Body, and of all Creatures (as *Didimus* and *Basilins* affirm) that an invisible Creature, as an Angel, cannot

Morgan is taken with misludging of the Text.

from lib. 4. contra Virens.

Watson.

Mr. Cheyney.

Harpsfield called in to help *Watson*.

Here is good stuff, as it were out of *Harpsfield*, burneth here, and becometh ashes. But what that was that was burnt he could not tell.

Watson would know whether they were faulted when he answered him had answered no Argument.

Mr. Philpot.

Mark Weston imputed to *Bedlam*.

Anno 1552.

Addressing Arguments of *Watson*, where he is not able to answer, he would out-lie.

Mr. Elmar reason why they would not answer.

Philpot.

One body cannot be at once in two places.

Anno 1553. cannot be at one time in divers places : wherefore he concluded that the Body of Christ might not be in more places than in one, which is in Heaven, and so consequently not to be contained in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Wilm. To this the Prolocutor took upon him to answer, saying, That it was not true that Christ was like unto us in all points, as *Philpot* took it, except fin. For that Christ was not conceived by the Seed of man, as we be.

Christ, after his Incarnation was in all points like man, in only except fin. Whereunto *Philpot* again replied, That Christ's conception was prophesied before by the Angel to be supernatural, but after he had received our Nature by the operation of the Holy Ghost in the Virgins Womb, he became in all points like unto us, except fin.

Morgan. Then *Morgan* inferred that this saying of *Paul* did not plainly prove his purpose. Well, quoth *Philpot*, I perceive that you do answer but by cavillation, yet am I not destitute of other Scriptures to confirm my first Argument, although you refuse the probation of Jo. Ancient and Catholic a Doctor as *Vigilius* is. S. *Peter* in the Sermon that he made in the third of the *Acts*, making mention of Christ, saith these words, *Whom Heaven must receive, until the consummation of all things, &c.* Which words are spoken of his Humanity. If Heaven must hold Christ, then can he not be here on Earth, in the Sacrament, as is pretended.

Acts 1. Then *Morgan* laughing at this, and giving no direct answer at all, *Harpfield* stood up, being one of the Bishop of London's Chaplains, and took upon him to answer to the saying of S. *Peter*, and demanded of *Philpot*, Whether he would, *ex necessitate*, that is, of necessity force Christ to any place, or no.

Harpfield *Harpsfield* **Philpot.** *Philpot* said, That he would no otherwise force Christ of necessity to any place, than he is taught by the words of the Holy Ghost, which found thus ; that Christ's human Body must abide in Heaven until the day of Judgment, as I rehearsed out of the Chapter before mentioned.

Philpot. Why, quoth *Harpfield*, do ye not know that God is God Omnipotent? Yes, said *Philpot*, I know that right well, neither doubt I any thing at all of his Omnipotency. But of Christ's Omnipotency what he may do, is not our question, but rather what he doth. I know he may make a stone in the wall a man, if he list, and also that he may make more worlds, but doth he therefore so? It were no good consequent fo to conclude; he may do this or that, therefore he doth it.

Harpfield. **Ed.** Only so much is to be believed of Gods Omnipotency, as is in the word exprested. **ro.** That Christ's Body is both in Heaven, and here also really in the Sacrament, is not exprested in the word. **co.** Ergo, It is not to be believed, that the Body of Christ, being in Heaven, is here also really in the Sacrament.

Ed. Only so much is to be believed of Gods Omnipotency, as is in the word exprested.

ro. That Christ's Body is both in Heaven, and here also really in the Sacrament, is not exprested in the word.

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oportet se esse virum bonum, You must be a good man; where *Oportet* doth not in very deed conclude any such necessity, but that you may be an evil man. Thus you may see that your Answer is not sufficient; and as it were no Answer to my Argument.

Then the Prolocutor brought in another *Oportet*; to which help this matter (if it might be) saying, what say you to this, *Oportet hereses esse*; must Heresies needs be therefore because of this word *Oportet*?

Yes, truly, quoth *Philpot*, it cannot otherwise be; if *Philpot* you will add that which followeth immediately upon these words of *Paul*, that is, *Ut qui electi sunt manifestentur*; that is, That such as be the elect of God may be manifested and known.

Why, quoth the Prolocutor, the time hath been that no Heresies were. I know no such time, quoth *Philpot*. For since the time of *Abel* and *Cain* Heresies have been, and then began they. Then said the Prolocutor, Will you now answer *Morgan* an Argument or two? I will, quoth *Philpot*, if I may first be answered to my Argument.

Acts 1. *Philpot* mentions any thing according to truth and learning. What, quoth the Prolocutor, you will never be answered. How I am answered, quoth *Philpot*, let all men that are here present judge, and especially such as be Learned, and with what cavillations you have dallied with me.

First, To the ancient Authority of *Vigilius* you have answered nothing at all, but only denying it to be Scripture that he saith. Secondly, To the saying of S. *Peter* in the *Acts*, ye have answered thus, demanding of me whether I would keep Christ in Prison, or no: Let men now judge if this be a sufficient Answer, or no.

Then stood *Morgan* up again, and asked *Philpot* whether he would be ruled by the Universal Church, or no? Yes, quoth he, if it be the true Catholick Church. And sixth you speak so much of the Church; I would fain that you would declare what the Church is.

The Church, quoth *Morgan*, is diffused and dispersed throughout the whole World. That is a diffused definition, quoth *Philpot*, for I am yet as uncertain as I was before, what you mean by the Church: but I acknowledge no Church, but that which is grounded and founded on Gods Word, as S. *Paul* saith, *Upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, and upon the Scriptures of God*.

What, quoth *Moreman*, is the Scripture before the Church? Yes, quoth *Philpot*. But I will prove nay, quoth *Moreman*, and I will begin at Christ's time. The Church of Christ was before any Scripture written. For *Matthew* was the first that wrote the Gospel, about a dozen years after Christ: Ergo, The Church was before the Scripture.

To whom *Philpot* answering, denied his Argument. Which when *Moreman* could not prove, *Philpot* shewed that his Argument was *Elenchus*, or a fallacy, that is, a deceivable Argument. For he took the Scripture only to be that, which is written by men in Letters, whereas in very deed, all Prophecie uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be Scripture before it was written in Paper and Ink, for that it was written in the hearts, and graven in the minds, yes, and inspired in the mouths of good men, and of Christ's Apostles by the Spirit of Christ: As the Salvation of the Angel was the Scripture of Christ, and the Word of God before it was written. At that *Moreman* cried, Fie, fie, wondering that the Scripture of God should be counted Scripture before it was written, and affirmed; That he had no knowledge that said so.

To whom *Philpot* answered, That concerning knowledge in this behalf, for the trial of the truth about the questions in controversy, he would with himself no worse matched than with *Moreman*.

At the which saying the Prolocutor was grievously offended, saying, That it was arrogantly spoken of him, that would compare with such a worshipful learned man as *Moreman* was, being himself a man unlearned, yea, a mad man, metter to be sent to *Bethlehem*, than to be among such a sort of learned and grave men as there were, and a man that never would be answered, and one that troubled the whole house: and therefore he did command him that he should come no more into the house, demanding of the house, whether they would agree thereupon, or no. To whom

whom a great Company answered Yea. Then said *Philpot* again, That he might think himself happy that was out of that Company.

Philpot commanded to come in a long Gown and a Tippet, or else to come no more to the Convocation.

Decemb. 13.

After this *Morgan* rose up, and rounded the Prolocutor in the ear. And then again the Prolocutor spake to *Philpot*, and said, Left thou shouldest slander the House, and say that we will not suffer you to declare your mind, we are content you shall come into the House as you have done before, so that you be apparelled with a long Gown and a Tippet, as we be, and that you shall not speak, but when I command you. Then, quoth *Philpot*, I had rather be absent altogether.

Thus they reasoning to and fro, at length about the 13th of December, Q. Mary, to take up the matter, sendeth her Commandment to *Boner* Bishop of London, that he should dissolve and break up the Convocation. The Copy of which Commandment here followeth.

The Precept of the Queen to *Boner*, Bishop of London, for the dissolving of the foresaid Convocation.

Q. Mary here speaketh up the Convocation.

Maria, &c. Reverendo in Christo Patri & Domino, Domino Edmundo London. Episcopo, salutem. Cum presens Convocatio Cleri Cantuariensis provincie apud S. Paulum London, jam modo tenta & infructus existeret, certis tamen urgentibus causis & considerationibus nos specialiter moventibus, de adusamento Concilii nostri ipsam presentem Convocationem duximus dissolvendam. Et ideo vobis Mandamus quod eandem presentem Convocationem apud Sanctum Paulum predictum debito modo absque aliqua dilatione dissolvatis, dissolvere faciatis prout conveniet, significantes ex parte nostra universis & singulis Episcopis, necnon Archiepiscopis, Decanis, & omnibus aliis personis Ecclesiasticis quibuscunque dicta Cantuariensis Provincie quorum interest, vel interesse poterit, quod ipsi & eorum quilibet huic mandato nostro exequendo intendentes sint & obedientes prout decet. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium 13. die Decembris, Anno regni nostri primo.

During the time of this Disputation, the Twentieth day of November, the Mayor of Coventry sent up unto the Lords of the Council *Baldwin Clarke*, *J. Careless*, *Thomas Wilcocks*, and *Richard Estlin*, for their behaviour upon *Alballow-day* last before. Whereupon *Careless* and *Wilcocks* were committed to the *Gatehouse*, and *Clarke* and *Estlin* to the *Marshalsey*.

The same day there was a Letter directed to Sir *Christopher Heydon*, and Sir *William Farmer* Knights, for the apprehension of *John Huntington* Preacher, for making a Rhime against Dr. *Stokes* and the Sacrament. Who appearing before the Council the Third of December next after, was, upon his humble Submission and Promise to amend as well in Doctrine as in Living, again suffered to depart.

This Lord Courtney was Son to the Marquis of Exeter.

In the days of King *Henry*, and also King *Edward* reigning after him, divers Noble men, Bishops, and others, were cast into the *Tower*, some charged with Treason, as Lord *Courtney*, and the Duke of *Norfolk* (whose Son Lord *Henry*, Earl of *Surrey*, had been the same time beheaded, a worthy and ingenious Gentleman, for what cause, or by whom, I have not here to deal: This is certain, that not many years after his death followed the beheading of both the Lord *Seymour*, and at last of the Duke of *Norumberland* also) some for the Popes Supremacy, and suspicious Letters tending to Sedition, as *Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, and others, for other things, all which continued there Prisoners till Queen *Maries* coming in. Unto whom the said Queen effoons granted their Pardon, and restored them to their former Dignities. Amongst whom also was *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, whom she not only freed out of Captivity, but also advanced him to be High Chancellor of *England*. Furthermore, To the Lord *Courtney* she shewed such favour, that she made him Earl of *Devonshire*, inasmuch that there was a suspicion amongst many that she would marry him, but that proved otherwise.

Stephen Gardiner Bishop of *Winchester* made Lord Chancellor of *England*. The Lord *Courtney* made Earl of *Devonshire*.

Good Bishops displaced.

The same time *Boner* also had been Prisoner in the *Marshalsey*; whom likewise Queen *Maries* delivered, and restored to the Bishoprick of *London* again, displacing Dr. *Ridley*, with divers other good Bishops more, as is above mentioned: as *Crammer* from *Canterbury*, the

Archbishop of *York* likewise, *Poynt* from *Winchester*, Anno *John Hooper* from *Worcester*, *Barlow* from *Bathe*, *Harley* from *Hereford*, *Taylor* from *Lincoln*, *Ferrar* from *St. Davids*, *Coverdale* from *Exeter*, *Scorie* from *Chichester*, &c. with a great number of Archdeacons, Deans, and briefly all such Beneficed men, which either were married, or would constantly adhere to their Profession. All which were removed from their Livings, and of the contrary Sect set in the same, as Cardinal *Pool*, (who was then sent for) *Gardiner*, *Heath*, *White*, *Day*, *Troublefield*, &c.

And as touching *Crammer*, of whom mention was made before, so far as there was Rumour spread of him the same time in *London*, that he had Recanted, and caused *Mats* to be said at *Canterbury*, for purging of himself he published abroad a Declaration of his Truth and Constancy in that behalf, protesting that he neither had so done, nor minded so to do: Adding moreover, That if it would so please the Queen, he, with *Peter Martyr*, and certain other whom he would chuse, would in open Disputation sustain the Cause of the Doctrine, taught and set forth before in the time of King *Edward*, against all Persons whomsoever. But while he was in expectation to have this Disputation obtained, he, with other Bishops, were laid fast in the *Tower*, and *Peter Martyr* permitted to depart the Realm, and so went he to *Argentine*.

After this, in the Month of November, the Archbishop *Crammer*, notwithstanding he had earnestly refused to subscribe to the Kings Will in disinheriting his Sister *Mary*, alledging many grave and pithy Reasons for her Legitimation, was in *Guildhall* of *London* Arraigned of Treason, with the Lady *Jane*, and three of the Duke of *Northumbreland* Sons, which at the intreaty of certain Persons, were had again to the *Tower*, and there kept for a time. All which notwithstanding, *Crammer* being pardoned of Treason, stood only in the Action and Case of Doctrine, which they called *Herefie*, whereof he was right glad and joyful.

This being done in November, the People, and especially the Church-men, perceiving the Queen so eagerly set upon her old Religion, they likewise for their parts, to shew themselves no less forward to serve the Queens Appetite (as the manner is of the multitude, commonly to frame themselves after the humour of the Prince and time present) began in their Quires to set up the Pageant of *St. Katharine*, and of *St. Nicholas*, and of their Processions in Latin, after all their old Solemnity with their gay Gardeviance, and gray Amices.

And when the Month of December was come, the Parliament brake up, but first of all such Statutes were repealed which were made either of *Præmunire*, or touched any Alteration of Religion and Administration of Sacraments under King *Edward*. In the which Parliament also Communication was moved of the Queens Marriage with King *Philip* the Emperors Son.

In this mean while Cardinal *Pool* being sent for by Q. *Maries*, was by the Emperour requested to stay with him, to the intent (as some think) that his presence in *England* should not be let to the Marriage which he intended between *Philip* his Son and Queen *Maries*. For the making whereof he sent a most ample Ambassade, with full power to make up the Marriage betwixt them; which took such success, that after they had communed of the matters a few days, they knit up the Knot.

Anno 1554.

The 13th of January, 1554. Dr. *Crome*, for his preaching upon *Christmas-day* without Licence, was committed to the Fleet.

The 24th of January, Mr. *Thomas Wootton* Esquire, was for matters of Religion committed to the Fleet close Prisoner.

This mention of Marriage was about the beginning of January, and was very evil taken of the People, and of many of the Nobility, who for this, and for Religion, conspiring against themselves, made a Rebellion, whereof Sir *Thomas Wyke* Kt. was one of the chief beginners: who being in *Kent*, said, (as many else perceived) That the Queen and the Council would by Foreign Marriage

1554.

Popish Practices introduced by Q. Mary.

False report.

Crammer with *Peter Martyr*, and others, offered to defend the Cause of their Doctrine against all men.

Dr. *Crammer*, with Lady *Jane*, Arraigned of Treason in *Guildhall*.

Archbishop *Crammer* quit of Treason.

Going about of *S. Katharine* and *S. Nicholas*.

Marriage between *Philip* and *Maries* concluded.

Anno 1554.

Anno
1554.

January 23.

The Duke
of Norfolk,
sent against
Wyat.The Duke of
Suffolk ap-
prehended.Q. Mary
cometh to
the Guildhal.

riage bring upon this Realm most miserable Servitude, and establish Popish Religion. About the 25. of January news came to London of this Sir in Kent, and shortly after of the Duke of Suffolk, who was fled into Warwickshire and Leicestershire, there to gather a Power. The Queen therefore caused them both, with the Carew of Devonshire, to be proclaimed Traitors; and sent into Kent against Wyat, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, who being about Rochester-bridge forsaken of them that went with him, returned safe to London without any more harm done to him, and without bloodshed on either party.

Furthermore, to apprehend the Duke of Suffolk, being fled into Warwickshire, was sent the Earl of Huntingdon in Poist, who entering the City of Coventry before the Duke, disappointed him of his purpose. Wherefore the Duke in great distress, committed himself to the keeping of a Servant of his named Underwood in Ashley Park, who like a False Traitor, betrayed him. And so he was brought up to the Tower of London.

In the mean while Sir Peter Carew hearing of that was done, sent into France, but the other were taken, and Wyat came towards London in the beginning of February. The Queen hearing of Wyats coming, came into the City to the Guildhal, where she made a vehement Oration against Wyat; the Contents, at least the Effect, whereof here followeth, as near as out of her own Mouth could be penned.

The Oration of Queen Mary in the Guildhal.

Q. Maries O-
ration to the
Londoners.Demands
pretended to
be sent from
Master Wyat,
and his com-
pany to Q.
Mary.

I Am come unto you in mine own Person, to tell you that which already you see and know, that is, how Traitorously and Rebelliously a number of Kentishmen have assembled themselves against both us and you. Their presence (as they said at the first) was for a Marriage determined for us: To the which, and to all the Articles thereof ye have been made privy. But since we have caused certain of our Privy Council to go again unto them, and to demand the Cause of this their Rebellion, and it appeared then unto our said Council, that the matter of the Marriage seemed to be but a Spanish Cloak to cover their pretended purpose against our Religion, for that they arrogantly and traitorously demanded to have the Governance of our Person, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our Councillors.

Now, loving Subjects, what I am, ye right well know. I am your Queen, to whom at my Coronation, when I was wedded to the Realm, and Law: of the same (the Spousal Ring whereof I have on my Finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) you promised your Allegiance and Obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true Inheritor of the Crown of this Realm of England, I take all Christendom to witness. My Father, as ye all know, possessed the same Regal State, which now rightly is descended unto me: And to him always ye shewed your selves most faithful and loving Subjects, and therefore I doubt not, but ye will shew your selves likewise to me, and that ye will not suffer a vile Traitor to have the Order and Governance of our Person, and to occupy our Estate, especially being so vile a Traitor as Wyat is: Who most certainly, as he hath abused mine ignorant Subjects which be on his Side, so doth he intend and purpose the destruction of you, and spoil of your Goods. And I so; to you in the word of a Prince, I cannot tell how naturally the Mother loveth the Child, for I was never the Mother of love the Child, then assure your selves, that I, being your Lady and Mistress, do as earnestly and tenderly love and favour you. And thus loving you, cannot but think that ye as heartily and faithfully love me, and then I doubt not, but ye shall give these Rebels a short and speedy overthrow.

As concerning the Marriage, ye shall understand, that I enterprized not the doing thereof without Advice, and that by the Advice of all our Privy Council, who so considered and weighed the great Commodities that might ensue thereof, that they not only thought it very Honourable, but also Expedient, both for the Wealth of the Realm, and also of you our Subjects. As as touching my self, I assure you, I am not so bent to my Will, neither so precise nor affectionate, that either for mine own Pleasure I would chuse where I lust, or that I am so desirous, as needs I would

have one. For God, I thank him, to whom be the Praise therefore, I have hitherto lived a Virgin, and doubt not, but with Gods Grace, I am able so to live still. But if, as my Progenitors have done before, it may please God that I might leave some Fruit of my Body behind me, to be your Governour, I trust, you would not only rejoice thereat, but also, I know, it would be to your great Comfort. And certainly, if I either did think or know, that this Marriage were to the hurt of any of you my Commons, or to the impeachment of any part or parcel of the Royal State of this Realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And in the Word of a Queen, I promise you, that if it shall not probably appear to all the Nobility and Commons in the High Court of Parliament, that this Marriage shall be for the high Benefit and Commodity of the whole Realm, then will I abstain from Marriage while I live.

And now good Subjects, pluck up your Hearts, and like true Men, stand fast against these Rebels, both our Enemies and yours, and fear them not; for I assure you, I fear them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my Lord Howard, and my Lord Treasurer, who shall be Assistants with the Mayor for your Defence.

Here is to be noted, that at the coming of Q. Mary to the Guildhal, it being bruited before, that she was coming with Harnessed men, such a Fear came among them, that a number of the Londoners, fearing lest they should be there intrapped and put to death, made out of the Gate before her entering in. Furthermore note, that when she had ended her Oration (which she seemed to have perfectly conned without Book) Winchester standing by her, when the Oration was done, with great admiration cried to the People; O how happy are we, to whom God hath given such a wife and learned Prince, &c.

Two days after, which was the 3. of February, the Lord Cobham was committed to the Tower, and Mr. Wyat entered into Southwark: Who, forasmuch as he could not enter that way into London, returning another way by Kingston with his Army, came up through the Streets to Ludgate, and returning thence, he was lodged at Temple-Bar, and there yielded himself to Sir Clement Perdon, and so was brought by him to the Court, and with him the residue of his Army (for before, Sir George Harpur and almost half of his men ran away from him at Kingston-Bridge) were also taken, and about an hundred killed, and they that were taken were had to Prison, and a great many of them were hanged, and he himself afterward executed at the Tower Hill, and then quartered; whose Head after being set up upon Hay-bill, was thence stolen away, and great search made for the same. Of which Story ye shall hear more (the Lord willing) hereafter.

The 12. day of February was beheaded the Lady Jane, to whom was sent Mr. Fecknam, alias Howman, from the Queen two days before her death, to commune with her, and to reduce her from the Doctrine of Christ to Q. Maries Religion: The Effect of which communication here followeth.

The Communication had between the Lady Jane and Fecknam.

Fecknam. Madam, I lament your Heavy Case, and yet I doubt not, but that you bear out this Sorrow of yours with a constant and patient Mind.

Jane. You are welcom unto me, Sir, if your coming be to give Christian Exhortation. And as for my heavy case, (I thank God) I do so little lament it, that rather I account the fame for a more manifest declaration of Gods Power toward me, than ever he shewed me at any time before. And therefore there is no cause why either you, or other which bear me good Will, should lament or be grieved with this my Case, being a thing so profitable for my Souls Health.

Feck. I am here come to you at this present sent from the Queen and her Councils, to instruct you in the true Doctrine of the right Faith: Although I have so great confidence in you, that I shall have, I trust, little need to travel with you much therein.

Jane. Forsooth, I heartily thank the Queens Highness, which is not unkindly of her humble Subject. And I

the promise
at Q. Maries
touching her
Marriage.

February 3.

Mr. Wyat
sent to the
Tower.Mr. Wyat
committed to
the Tower.Mr. Wyat
apprehended
at Temple-
Bar.Mr. Wyat
executed.

February 12.

The Lady
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Anno
1554.

hope likewise that you no less will do your Duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were sent for.

Feck. Wl it is then required of a Christian Man?

Jane. That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God.

Feck. What? Is there nothing else to be required or looked for in a Christian, but to believe in him?

Jane. Yes, we must love him with all our Heart, with all our Soul, and with all our Mind, and our Neighbour as our self.

Feck. Why? Then Faith justifieth not, nor saveth not.

Jane. Yes verily, Faith (as Paul faith) only justifieth.

Feck. Why? S. Paul faith, If I have all Faith without Love, it is nothing.

Jane. True it is; for how can I love him whom I trust not? or how can I trust him whom I love not? Faith and Love go both together, and yet Love is comprehended in Faith.

Feck. How shall we love our Neighbour?

Jane. To love our Neighbour is to feed the hungry, to cloath the naked, and give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to our selves.

Feck. Why? then it is necessary unto Salvation to do good works also, and it is not sufficient only to believe.

Jane. I deny that, and I affirm that Faith only saveth: but it is meet for a Christian, in token that he followeth his Master Christ, to do good works, yet may we not say that they profit to our Salvation. For when we have done all, yet we be unprofitable Servants, and Faith only in Christs Blood saveth us.

Feck. How many Sacraments are there?

Jane. Two. The one the Sacrament of Baptism, and the other the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

Feck. No, there are seven.

Jane. By what Scripture find you that?

Feck. Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is signified by your two Sacraments?

Jane. By the Sacrament of Baptism I am washed with Water and regenerated by the Spirit, and that washing is a token to me that I am the Child of God. The Sacrament of the Lords Supper offered unto me, is a sure Seal & Testimony that I am by the Blood of Christ, which he shed for me on the Crofs, made partaker of the everlasting Kingdom.

Feck. Why? what do you receive in that Sacrament?

Jane. No surely, I do not so believe. I think that at the Supper I neither receive Fleish nor Blood, but Bread and Wine: which Bread when it is broken, and the Wine when it is drunken, putteth me in remembrance how that for my Sins the Body of Christ was broken, and his Blood shed on the Crofs, and with that Bread and Wine I receive the Benefits that come by the breaking of his Body, and shedding of his Blood for our Sins on the Crofs.

Feck. Why? Doth not Christ speak these words, Take, Eat, this is my Body? Require you any plainer words? Doth he not say it is his Body?

Jane. I grant he faith so; and so he faith, I am the Vine, I am the Door, but he is never the more the Door nor the Vine. Doth not S. Paul say, He calleth things that are not as though they were? God forbid that I should say, that I eat the very natural Body and Blood of Christ: for then either I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two Bodies, or two Christs. One Body was tormented on the Crofs, and if they did eat another Body, then had he two Bodies: or if his Body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the Crofs, or if it were broken upon the Crofs, it was not eaten of his Disciples.

Feck. Why? is it not as possible that Christ by his power could make his Body both to be eaten and broken, and to be born of a Woman without Seed of Man, as to walk upon the Sea, having a Body, and other such like Miracles as he wrought by his Power only?

Jane. Yes verily, if God would have done at his Supper any Miracle, he might have done so: but I say, that then I should receive no more Miracle, but only to break his Body, and shed his Blood on the Crofs for our Sins. But I pray you to, please me to this one question: Where was Christ, when he said, Take, eat, this is my Body? Was he not at the Table when he said so? he was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. What took he, but Bread, what

brake he, but Bread? And what gave he, but Bread? Look, what he took, he brake: and look, what he brake, he gave: and look, what he gave, they did eat: and yet all this while he himself was alive, and at Supper before his Disciples, or else they were deceived.

Feck. You ground your Faith upon such Authors as say and unfaith both in a breath, and not upon the Church, to whom ye ought to give Credit.

Jane. No, I ground my Faith on Gods Word, and not upon the Church. For if the Church be a good Church, the Faith of the Church must be tried by Gods Word, and not Gods Word by the Church, either yet my Faith. Shall I believe the Church because of Antiquity? or shall I give credit to the Church that taketh away from me the half part of the Lords Supper, and will not let any Man receive it in both kinds? Which things, if they deny to us, then deny they to us part of our Salvation. And I say, that it is an evil Church, and not the Spouse of Christ, but the Spouse of the Devil, that altereth the Lords Supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that Church (say I) God will add Plagues, and from that Church will he take their part out of the Book of Life: Do they learn that of S. Paul when he ministered to the *Corinthians* in both kinds? shall I believe this Church? God forbid.

Feck. That was done for a good intent of the Church, to avoid an Herecie that sprang on it.

Jane. Why? shall the Church alter Gods Will and Ordinance for good intent? How did King *Saul*? The Lord God defend.

With these and such like Perswasions he would have had her lean to the Church, but it would not be. There were many more things whereof they reasoned, but these were the chiefest.

After this, Fecknam took his leave, saying, that he was sorry for her: For I am sure, quoth he, that we two shall never meet.

Jane. True it is (said she) that we shall never meet, except God turn your Heart. For I am assured, unless you repent and turn to God, you are in an evil case: And I pray God, in the bowels of his Mercy, to send you his Holy Spirit: For he hath given you his great gift of Utterance: if it pleased him also to open the eyes of your Heart.

A Letter of the Lady Jane sent unto her Father.

Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened: yet can I so patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty thanks for shortning my woful days, than if all the world had been given unto my Possessions with life lengthened at my own will. And albeit I am well assured of your impatient dolors, redoubled manifold ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and especially (as I hear) my unfortunate state, yet, my dear Father (if I may without Offence rejoyce in my own Misfortunes) me seems in this I may account my self blessed, that washing my Hands with the Innocency of my Faith, my guiltless Blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the Innocent. And yet, though I must needs acknowledge, that being constrained, and as you wot well enough, continually assayed, in taking upon me I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the Queen and her Laws: yet do I assuredly trust, that this my offence towards God is so much the less, in that, being in so royal Estate as I was, mine enforced honour, blended never with mine Innocent Heart. And thus good Father, I have opened unto you the State wherein I at present stand. Whose death at hand, although to you perhaps it may seem right woful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this Vale of misery to aspire to that Heavenly Throne of all joy and pleasure with Christ our Saviour. In whose steadfast Faith (if it may be lawful for the Daughter so to write to the Father), the Lord that hitherto hath strengthened you, so continue you, that at the last we may meet in Heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

At what time her Father was flourishing in freedom and prosperity in the time of K. Edward, there belonged unto him a certain learned Man, Student and Graduate of the University of Oxford; who then being Chaplain to the said Duke, and a sincere Preacher (as he appeared) of the Gospel according to the Doctrine of that time set forth and received, shortly after that the State of Religion began

Fecknam goeth from the Word to the Church. Faith to be grounded upon the Word, and not upon the Church.

A note of the false Church.

Gods Word not to be altered for good intent.

The words were spoken openly.

Lady Jane Letter sent to her Father.

This Paternosters includes with a Prayer, a private Admonition to her Father, that he fall not from his Religion.

faith only justifieth.

Good works necessary in a Christian, yet do they not profit to Salvation.

Two Sacraments.

The Sacrament of Baptism is what it signifieth. The Sacrament of the Lords Supper, what it signifieth.

What we receive in the Sacrament.

em. A.

Christ had power to do any Miracle, he might have done so: but I say, that then I should receive no more Miracle, but only to break his Body, and shed his Blood on the Crofs for our Sins. But I pray you to, please me to this one question: Where was Christ, when he said, Take, eat, this is my Body? Was he not at the Table when he said so? he was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. What took he, but Bread, what

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began to alter by Queen Mary, altered also in his Profession with the Time, and of a Protestant became a Friend and Defender of the Popes Proceedings. At whose sudden mutation and unconstant mutability, this Christian Lady being not a little agrieved, and most of all lamenting the dangerous State of his Soul, in sliding so away for fear from the way of Truth, writeth her mind unto him in a sharp and vehement Letter: which (as it appeareth to proceed of an earnest and zealous Heart, so) would God it might take such effect with him, as to reduce him to repentance, and to take better hold again for the health & wealth of his own Soul. The copy of the Letter is this as followeth.

Another Letter of the Lady Jane to Mr. Harding, late Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk her Father, and then fallen from the Truth of Gods most Holy Word.

Lk. 9.

A sharp Letter or exhortation of the L. Jane to Mr. Harding

SO oft as I call to mind the dreadful and fearful saying of God, *That he which layeth hold upon the plough & looketh back, is not meet for the Kingdom of Heaven:* And on the other side, the comfortable words of our Saviour Christ to all those that forsaking themselves, do follow him: I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy case, which seemed sometime to be the lively Member of Christ, but now the deformed Imp of the Devil; sometime the beautiful Temple of God, but now the stinking and filthy Kenel of Satan; sometime the unforspoken Spouse of Christ, but now the unshamefast Paramour of Antichrist; sometime my faithful Brother, but now a Stranger and Apostate; sometime a stout Christian Souldier, but now a cowardly Run-away. Yea, when I consider these things, I cannot but speak to thee, and cry out upon thee, thou seed of Satan, and not of Judah, whom the Devil hath deceived, the World hath beguiled, and the desire of Life subverted, and made thee of a Christian an Infidel. Wherefore hast thou taken the Testament of the Lord in thy Mouth? Wherefore hast thou preached the Law and the Will of God to others? Wherefore hast thou instructed others to be strong in Christ, when thou thy self dost now so shamefully shrink, and so horribly abuse the Testament and law of the Lord? when thou thy self preacheest, not to steal, yet most abominably stealest, not from Men, but from God, and committing most heinous Sacrilege, robbest Christ thy Lord of his right Members, thy Body and Soul, and choicest rather to live miserably with shame in the World, than to die, and gloriously with Honour reign with Christ, in whom even in death is life? Why dost thou now shew thy self most weak, when indeed thou oughtest to be most strong? The strength of a Fort is unknown before the Assault, but thou yieldest thy Hold before any Battery be made. O wretched and unhappy man, what art thou but dust and ashes, and wilt thou resist thy Maker that fashioned thee and framed thee? Wilt thou now forsake him that called thee from the custom gathering among the *Romish* Antichristians, to be an Ambassador and Messenger of his eternal Word? He that first framed thee, and sincerely first creation and birth preserved thee, nourished and kept thee, yea, and inspired thee with the spirit of knowledge (I cannot say of grace) shall he not now possess thee? Darest thou deliver up thy self to another, being not thine own, but his? How canst thou, having knowledge, or how darest thou neglect the Law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of Men: And whereas thou hast been a publick Professor of his Name, become now a defacer of his Glory? Wilt thou refuse the true God, and worship the Invention of Man, the golden Calfe the Whore of *Babylon*, the *Romish* Religion, the abominable Idol, the most wicked Mali? Wilt thou torment again, rent, and tear the most precious Body of our Saviour Christ, with thy bodily and fleshly teeth? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any Sacrifice unto God for our Sins, considering that Christ offered up him self (as *Paul* saith) upon the Cross a lively Sacrifice once for all? Can neither the Possession of the *Israelites*, (which for their Idolatry they so oft received) nor the terrible Threatnings of the Prophets, nor the Curses of Gods own Mouth, fear thee to honour any other God than him? Dost thou so regard him that spared not his dear and only Son for thee, so diminishing, yea, utterly extinguishing his Glory, that thou wilt attribute the praise and honour due unto him to the Idols, which have Mouths and speak not, Eyes and see not, Ears and hear not; which shall perish with them that made them?

What saith the Prophet *Baruch*, where he recited the Epistle of *Jeremy* written to the Captive Jews? Did he not warn them that in *Babylon* they should see gods of Gold, Silver, Wood, and Stone born upon mens shoulders, to cast a fear before the Heathen? But be not ye afraid of them (saith *Jeremy*) nor do as other do. But when you see other worship them, say you in your hearts, It is thou (O Lord) that oughtest only to be worshipped: for as for those gods, the Carpenter framed them and polished them, yea, guided be they, and laid over with Silver and vain things, and cannot speak. He sheweth moreover the abuse of their dealings, how the Priests took off their Ornaments, and apparelled their Women withal: how one holdeth a Scepter, another a Sword in his hand, and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend themselves, much less any other, from either Battel or Murder, nor yet from gnawing of Worms, nor any other evil thing. These and such like words speaketh *Jeremy* unto them, whereby he proveth them to be but vain things, and no gods. And at last he concludeth thus, *Confounded be all they that worship them.* They were warned by *Jeremy*, and thou as *Jeremy* hast warned others, and art warned thy self by many Scriptures in many places. God saith, he is a jealous God, which will have all Honour, Glory, and Worship given to him only. And Christ saith in the 4th. of *Luke* to Satan which tempted him, even to the same *Belzebub*, the same Devil, which hath prevailed against thee: It is written (saith he) thou shalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

These and such like do prohibit thee and all Christians to worship any other God than which was before all worlds, and laid the Foundations both of Heaven and Earth: And wilt thou honour a detestable Idol, invented by *Romish* Popes, and the abominable Colledge of crafty Cardinals? Christ offered himself up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy Pleasure? But thou wilt say, thou dost it for a good Intent. Oh sink of Sin! Oh Child of Perdition! Dost thou dream therein of a good Intent, where thy Conscience beareth thee witness of Gods threatened Wrath against thee? How did Saul? who for that he disobeyed the Word of the Lord for a good Intent, was thrown from his Worldly and Temporal Kingdom. Shalt thou then that dost deface Gods Honour, and rob him of his Right, inherit the eternal and heavenly Kingdom? Wilt thou for a good Intent dishonour God, offend thy Brother, and danger thy Soul, wherefore Christ hath shed his most precious Blood? Wilt thou for a good intent pluck Christ out of Heaven, and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his Cross by offering him up daily? Wilt thou either for fear of death or hope of life, deny and refuse thy God, who enriched thy poverty, healed thy Infirmary, and yielded to thee his Victory, if thou couldest have kept it? Dost thou not consider that the thread of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) either twine it harder to last the longer, or untwine it again to break the sooner? Dost thou not then remember the saying of *David* a notable King to teach thee a miserable wretch, in his 104. Psalm, where he saith thus: *When thou takest away thy Spirit (O Lord) from men, they die and are turned again to their dust, but when thou letteth thy breath go forth, they shall be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the Earth.* Remember the saying of Christ in his Gospel: *Whoever seeketh to save his life, shall lose it: but whoever will lose his life for my sakes, shall find it.* And in the time place, *Whoever loveth Father or Mother above me, is not meet for me. He that will follow me, let him forsake himself, and take up his Cross, and follow me.* What Cross? the Cross of Infamy and Shame, of Misery and Poverty, of Affliction and Persecution for his Names sake. Let the oft falling of those heavenly Showers pierce thy Stoney Heart. Let the two-edged Sword of Gods Holy Word ther attunder the Sinews of worldly respects, even to the very Marrow of thy Carnal Heart, that thou mayest once again forsake thy self and embrace Christ. And like as good Subjects will not refuse to hazard all in the defence of their Earthly and Temporal Government, so fly not like a white-livered Milkop from the standing wherein thy Chief Captain Christ hath set thee in Array of this *Lake*. *Viriliter age, confortetur cor tuum, sustine Domine.* Fight manfully, come like, come death: the quarrel is Gods, and undoubtedly the Victory is ours.

C 2

But thou wilt say; *I will not break Unity*. What? not the Unity of Satan and his members? nor the unity of darkness, the agreement of Antichrist and his Adherents? Nay, thou deceivest thyself with a fond imagination of such an unity as is among the enemies of Christ. Were not the false Prophets in an unity? Were not *Josephs* Brethren and *Jacobs* Sons in an unity? Were not the Heathen, as the *Amalekites*, the *Perizzites* and *Jebeusites* in an unity? Were not the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* in an unity? Doth not King *David* testify, *Convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum*? Yea, thieves, murderers, conspirators have their unity. But what unity? Tully saith of Amity: *Amicitia non est, nisi inter bonos*. But mark, my Friend, yea, friend, if thou be not Gods enemy: there is no unity but where Christ knitteth the knot among such as be his. Yea, be well assured, that where his truth is resident, there it is verified that he himself saith: *Non veni mittere pacem in terram, sed gladium, &c.* but to set one against another, the Son against the father, and the daughter against the mother in law. Deceive not thyself therefore with the glittering and glorious name of *Unity*; for Antichrist hath his unity, yet not indeed, but in name. The agreement of ill men is not an Unity, but a Conspiracy.

The agreement of evil Men is no Unity, but a Conspiracy.

Math. 10.

Hebr. 6.

Hebr. 10.

Math. 5.

Eph. 6.

Luke 12.

Math. 13.

Math. 10.

John 15.

Thou hast heard some threatnings, some curplings, and some admonitions out of the Scripture to those that love themselves above Christ. Thou hast heard also the sharp and biting words to those that deny him for love of life: Saith he not, *He that deneth me before men, I will deny him before my Father in heaven*? And to the same effect writeth Paul, *Heb. 6. It is impossible (saith he) that they which were once lightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good Word of God, if they fall and slide away, crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh, and making of him a mocking-stock, should be renewed again by repentance*. And again, saith he, *If we shall willingly sin after we have received the knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for sin, but the terrible expectation of Judgment, and fire which shall devour the adversaries*. Thus St. Paul writeth, and this thou readest, and dost thou not quake and tremble?

Well, if these terrible and thundering threatnings cannot stir thee to cleave unto Christ, and forsake the world: yet let the sweet consolations and promises of the Scriptures, let the example of Christ and his Apostles, holy Martyrs and Confessors encourage thee to take faster hold of Christ. Hearken what he saith: *Blessed are you when men revile you, and persecute you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven, for so persecuted they the Prophets that were before you*. Hear what *Elijah* the Prophet saith: *Fear not the curse of men, for they shall die like beasts, but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation*. What art thou then (saith he) that fearest a mortal man, the child of man, which fadeth away like the flower, and forgetteth the Lord that made thee, that spread out the heavens, and laid the foundation of the earth? *I am the Lord thy God, that make the Sea to rage, and be still; whose name is the Lord of Hosts: I shall put my word in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of an hand*. And our Saviour Christ saith to his Disciples: *They shall accuse you, and bring you before Princes and Rulers for my names sake, and some of you they shall persecute and kill; but fear you not (saith he) nor care you what you shall say: for it is the spirit of your Father that speaketh within you. Even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Lay up treasure for your selves (saith he) where no thief cometh, nor moth corrupteth. Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but fear him that hath power to destroy both soul and body. If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you*.

Let these and such like Consolations taken out of the Scriptures, strengthen you to Godward: Let not the Examples of Holy Men and Women go out of your Mind, as *Daniel* and the rest of the Prophets, of the three Children, of *Elezazarus* that constant Father, of the seven of the *Maccabees* Children, of *Peter*, *Paul*, *Stephen*, and other Apostles and Holy Martyrs in the beginning of the Church. As of good *Simone* Archbishop of *Soloma*, and

Zerophane, with infinite other under *Sapor*: the King of the *Persians* and *Indians*, who continued all Torments devised by the Tyrants for their Saviours sake. Return, return again into Christs War, and as becometh a faithful Warriour, put on that Armour that St. Paul teacheth to be most necessary for a Christian Man. And above all things take to you the Shield of Faith, and be you provoked by Christs own Example to withstand the Devil, to forsake the World, and to become a true and faithful Member of his Mystical Body, who spared not his own Body for our Sins.

Throw down your self with the fear of his threatened Vengeance for this so great and heinous an Offence of Apostasy: And comfort your self on the other part with the Mercy, Blood, and Promise of him that is ready to turn unto you whensoever you turn unto him. Disdain not to come again with the lost Son, seeing you have so wandered with him. Be not ashamed to turn again with him from the swill of Strangers, to the delicacies of your most benign and loving Father, acknowledging that you have sinned against Heaven and Earth: Against Heaven, by staining the glorious Name of God, and causing his most sincere and pure Word to be evil spoken of through you. Against Earth, by offending so many of your weak Brethren, to whom you have been a stumbling block through your sudden sliding. Be not ashamed to come home again with *Mary*, and weep bitterly with *Peter*, not only with shedding the tears of your bodily eyes, but also pouring out the streams of your heart, to wash away out of the sight of God the filth and mire of your offensive fall. Be not ashamed to lay with the Publican, *Lord be merciful unto me a sinner*. Remember the horrible history of *Judas* of old, and the lamentable case of *Spyra* of late, whose case (methinks) should be yet so green in your remembrance, that being a thing of our time, you should fear the like inconvenience, seeing you are fallen into the like offence.

Last of all, let the lively remembrance of the last Day be always before your eyes, remembering the terror that such shall be in at that time, with the runagates and fugitives from Christ, which fleeing more by the World than by Heaven, more by their life, than by him that gave them life, did shrink, yea did clean fall away from him that forsok not them: and contrariwise, the inflexible Joys prepared for them, that fearing no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriously triumphed over all power of Darkness, over Hell, Death, and Damnation, through their most redoubted Captain Christ, who now stretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiss you, and last of all to feast you with the dainties and delicacies of his own precious Blood: which undoubtedly, if it might stand with his determinate purpose, he would not let to shed again, rather than you should be lost. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honours, praise, and glory everlasting. Amen.

Be constant, be constant, fear not for any pain.

Christ hath redeemed thee, and Heaven is thy gain.

A Letter written by the Lady Jane in the end of the New Testament in Greek, the which she sent unto her Sister the Lady Katherine, the Night before she suffered.

I Have here sent you (good Sister Katherine) a Book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with Gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious Stones. It is the Book (dear Sister) of the Law of the Lord. It is his Testament and last Will which he bequeathed unto us Wretches: which shall lead you to the path of eternal Joy, and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It shall teach you to live, and learn you to dye. It shall win you more than you should have gained by the possession of your woful Fathers Lands. For as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his Lands; so if you apply diligently this Book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheritor of such Riches, as neither the covetous (shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire with *David* good Sister, so understand So live to the Law of the Lord God. Live still to dye, that you by dye, that by death you may purchase eternal life. And trust not that death may live.

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Anno

1554.

Eph. 16.

Luke 12.

Math. 10.

Hebr. 6.

Hebr. 10.

Math. 5.

Eph. 6.

Luke 12.

Math. 13.

Math. 10.

John 15.

Anno
1554.

dermes of your age shall lengthen your life; for as soon (if God call) goeth the young as the old, and labour always to learn to die. Desie the World, deny the Devil, and despise the Flesh, and delight your self only in the Lord. Be penitent for your Sins, and yet despair not: Be strong in Faith, and yet presume not; and desire with St. Paul to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even death there is life. Be like the good Servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death cometh and stealeth upon you as a Thief in the Night, you be with the evil Servant, found sleeping, and left for lack of Oil, you be found like the five foolish Women, and like him that had not on the Wedding Garment, and then ye be cast out from the Marriage. Rejoyce in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your Master Christ, and take up your Cross: lay your Sins on his Back, and always embrace him. And as touching my Death, rejoyce as I do, (good Sister) that I shall be delivered of this Corruption, and put on Incorruption. For I am assured, that I shall for loosing of a mortal life gain an immortal life, the which I pray God grant you, and (and you of his Grace to live in his Fear, and to die in the True Christian Faith, from the which (in Gods Name) I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his Truth for to lengthen your Life, God will deny you, and yet shorten your days. And if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your days to your Comfort: and his Glory: To the which Glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare you well, good Sister, and put your only Trust in God, who only must help you.

Here followeth a certain Effectual Prayer, made by the Lady Janc in the time of her Trouble.

A Prayer of
the Lady
Janc.

O Lord, thou God and Father of my Life, bear me poor and desolate Woman, which flyeth unto thee only, in all Troubles and Miseries. Thou, O Lord, art the only Defender and Deliverer of those that put their Trust in thee: And therefore, I being defiled with sin, encumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile masse of Clay my sinful Body, do come unto thee (O merciful Saviour) craving thy mercy and help, without the which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of any Liberty. Albeit it is expedient, that seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited sometime with some adversity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy Flock or no, and also know thee and our selves the better: Yet thou that saidst thou wouldest not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me now a miserable wretch I beseech thee; which, with Solomon, do cry unto thee, humbly desiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with Prosperity, neither too much pressed down with Adversity, lest I being too full, should deny thee my God, or being too low brought, should despair, and blaspheme thee my Lord and Saviour. O merciful God, consider my misery best known unto thee; and be thou now unto me a strong Tower of Defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my Power, but either be thou a Deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace patiently to bear thy heavy Hand and sharp Correction. It was thy right Hand that delivered the People of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for the space of four hundred Years did oppress them, and keep them in Bondage. Let it therefore likewise seem good to thy Fatherly Goodness, to deliver me (forwoful Wretch (for whom thy Son Christ shed his precious Blood on the Cross) out of this miserable Captivity and Bondage, wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be absent? for ever? Oh Lord, hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut up thy loving kindness in displeasure? Wilt thou be no more intreated? Is thy Mercy clear gone for ever, and thy Promise come utterly to an end for evermore? Why dost thou make so long tarrying? Shall I despair of thy Mercy, O God? far be that from me. I am thy Workmanship created in Christ Jesus; Give me Grace therefore to carry thy leisure, and patiently to bear thy works, assuredly knowing, that as thou canst, so thou wilt deliver me, when it shall please thee, nothing doubting or mistrusting thy Goodness

Fol. 77.

towards me; for thou knowest better what is good for me than I do: therefore do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt. Only in the mean time arm me, I beseech thee, with thy Armour, that I may stand fast, my Loins being girded about with Verity, having on the Breastplate of Righteousness, and (hod with the Shoes prepared by the Gospel of Peace; above all things taking to me the Shield of Faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery Darts of the Wicked, and taking the Helmet of Salvation, and the Sword of the Spirit, which is thy most Holy Word, Praying always with all manner of Prayer and Supplication, that I may refer my self wholly to thy Will, abiding thy Pleasure, and comforting my self in those Troubles that it shall please thee to send me: Seeing such Troubles be profitable for me, and seeing I am assuredly persuaded that it cannot be but well all that thou dost. Hear me, O merciful Father, for his sake, whom thou wouldst should be a Sacrifice for my Sins: To whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all Honour and Glory: Amen.

Eph. 6.

After these things thus declared, it remaineth now, coming to the end of this Vertuous Lady; next to infer the manner of her Execution, with the Words and Behaviour of her at the time of her Death.

These are the Words that the Lady Janc spake upon the Scaffold at the Hour of her Death.

The words
and
of the
of the
Lady Janc
upon the
Scaffold.

First when she mounted upon the Scaffold, she said to the People standing thereabout; Good People, I am come hither to die, and by a Law I am condemned to the same. The Fact against the Queens Highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereto by me: But touching the procurement and desire thereof by me or on my behalf, I do waite my hands thereof in Innocency before God, and the Face of you, good Christian People, this day: And therewith she wrung her hands, wherein she had her Book. Then said she, I pray you all good Christian People, to bear me witness that I die a true Christian Woman, but that I do look to be saved by no other mean, but only by the Mercy of God in the Blood of his only Son Jesus Christ: And I confess, that when I did know the Word of God, I neglected the same, loved my self and the World; and therefore this Plague and Punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my Sins: And yet I thank God, that of his Goodness he hath thus given me a time and respite to repent: And now good People, while I am alive, I pray you assist me with your Prayers. And then kneeling down, she turned her to Eckenham, saying: Shall I say this Psalm? And he said, Yea. Then said she the Psalm of *Miserere mei Deus* in English, in most devout manner throughout to the End, and then she stood up, and gave her Maiden Mistress Ellen her Gloves and Handkerchiefs, and her Book to Master Bruges, and then she untied her Gown, and the Hangman pressed upon her to help her off with it, but she desiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two Gentlemen, which helped her off therewith, and also with her Frowes, Paft and Neckkerchief, giving to her a fair Handkerchief to knit about her Eyes.

Then the Hangman kneeled down and asked her Forgiveness, whom she forgave most willingly. Then he willed her to stand upon the Straw; which doing, she saw the Block. Then she said, I pray you dispatch me quickly. Then she kneeled down, saying: Will you take it off before I lay me down? And the Hangman said, No Madam. Then tied she the Handkerchief about her Eyes, and feeling for the Block, she said: What shall I do? Where is it? Where is it? One of the Standers by guiding her thereunto, she laid her head down upon the Block, and then stretched forth her Body, and said: Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit, and so finished her Life, in the Year of our Lord God, 1554. the 22. Day of February.

Certain pretty Verses written by the said Lady Janc with a Pin.

*Non aliena putes homini, quam obingere possunt:
Serr hodierna mihi, tunc eris illa tibi.*

Jane Dudley.

C 3

Deo

Deo juvante, nil nocet labor malus :
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Post tenebras spero lucem.

Certain Epitaphs written in commendation of the Worthy Lady Jane Gray.

De Jana Graia Joan. Parkhursti Carmen.

Miraris Janam Graia sermone valere ?
Quo primum nata est tempore, Graia fuit.

In Historiam Janæ. J. P.

Tu quibus ista legas, incertum est, lectur, ocellis.
Ipso equidem succis scribere non potui.

De Janæ, D. Laurentii Humfredi decaſtichon.

Jana jacet ſervo non aque vulnere mortis,
Nobilis ingenia, ſanguine, martyrio.
Ingenium Latæis ornaculis femina muſis,
Fœmina virgine tota dicata choro.
Sanguine clara fuit, regali ſirpe creata,
Ipſaque Regina nobilitate throno.
His Graia eſt, pulchri Graia nutria cæmenis,
Et priſco Graiahm ſanguine creta ducem.
Bis Martyr, ſæcra fidei verſiſſima teſtis :
Atque vacans regni crimine, Jana jacet.

February 12.
Lady Jane
and Lord
Gilford dead
by beheaded.

Thus the twelfth day of February (as I ſaid) was beheaded the Lady Jane, and with her alſo the Lord Gilford her Husband, one of the Duke of Northumberland's Sons, two Innocents in compariſon of them that ſate upon them. For they did but ignorantly accept that which the others had willingly deviled, and by open Proclamation conſented to take from others, and give to them.

A wonderful
example up-
on Maryan,
the Judge,
who gave
ſentence a-
gainſt Lady
Jane.

Touching the Condemnation of this Lady Jane, here is to be noted, that the Judge Morgan, who gave the Sentence of Condemnation againſt her, ſhortly after he had condemned her, fell Mad, and in his raving cried out continually to have the Lady Jane taken away from him, and ſo ended his Life.

February 11.
Henry Duke
of Suffolk
his Father
beheaded.

And not long after the death of the Lady Jane upon the 21 of the ſame Month, was Henry Duke of Suffolk alſo beheaded at the Tower-Hill, the fourth day after his Condemnation : About which time alſo were condemned for this Conſpiracy many Gentlemen and Yeomen, whereof ſome were executed at London, and ſome in the Country. In the number of whom was alſo the Lord Thomas Gray, Brother to the ſaid Duke, being apprehended not long after in Northwales, and executed for the ſame. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton very hardly eſcaped, as ye ſhall hear (the Lord willing) in another place.

February 14.

The 24. of the ſame Month, the year of our Lord 1554. Boner Biſhop of London ſent down a Commiſſion, directed to all the Curats and Paſtors of his Diocess, for the taking of the Names of ſuch as would not come the Lent following to Auricular Confession, and to the Receiving at Eaſter : The Copy of which Monition here followeth.

A Monition of Boner Biſhop of London, ſent down to all and ſingular Curates of his Diocess, for the certifying of the Names of ſuch as would not come in Lent to Confession, and receiving at Eaſter.

A Monition
of Boner Bi-
shop of Lon-
don to all
Miniſters of
his Dioceſſ.

Edmund by the Permiſſion of God, Biſhop of London, to all Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and Miniſters of the Church within the City and Diocess of London, ſendeth Grace, Peace, and Mercy, in our Lord Everlaſting. Forasmuch as by the Order of the Eccleſiaſtical Lawes and Conſtitutions of this Realm, and the laudable Uſage and Cuſtom of the whole Catholick Church, by many hundred Years ago, duly and devoutly obſerved and kept, all Faithful People being of lawful Age and Diſcretion, are bound once in the Year at leaſt (except reaſonable cauſe excuſe them) to be conſeſſed to their own proper Curate, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, with due preparation and devotion : And forasmuch alſo as we be cre-

libly informed, that ſundry evil diſpoſed and undevout Perſons, given to cenſual Pleaſures, and carnal Appetites, following the Luſts of their Body, and neglecting utterly the health of their Souls, do forbear to come to Confession according to the ſaid Uſage, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar accordingly, giving thereby pernicious and evil Example to the younger Sort, to neglect and contemn the ſame : We minding the Reformation hereof for our own Diſcharge, and deſirous of good Order to be kept, and good Example to be given ; Do will and command you by Vertue hereof, that immediately upon the Receipt of this our Commandment, Ye and every each of you within your Cure and Charge, do uſe all your diligence and dexterity to declare the ſame, ſtraightly charging and commanding all your Pariſhioners, being of lawful Age and Diſcretion, to come before Eaſter next coming, to Confession, according to the ſaid Ordinance and Uſage, with due Preparation and Devotion to receive the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, and that ye do note the Names of all ſuch as be not conſeſſed unto you, or do not receive of you the ſaid Sacrament, certifying us, or our Chancellor or Commiſſary thereof before the ſecond day of April next enſuing the Date hereof ; that ſo we, knowing thereby who did not come to Confession, and receiving the Sacrament accordingly, may proceed againſt them, as being perſons culpable, and Tranſgreſſors of the ſaid Eccleſiaſtical Law and Uſage. Further alſo certifying us, our ſaid Chancellor or Commiſſary, before the Day aforeſaid, whether you have your Altars ſet up, Chalice-Book, Veſtments, and all things neceſſary for Maſſe, and the Adminiſtration of Sacraments and Sacramentals, with Proceſſion, and all other Divine Services prepared and in readineſſe, according to the Order of the Catholick Church, and the Vertuous and Godly Example of the Queens Maſteſty : And if ye ſo have not, ye then with the Churchwardens cauſe the ſame to be provided for, ſignifying by whoſe Fault and negligence the ſame want or fault hath proceeded, and generally of the not coming of your Pariſhioners to Church, undue walking, talking, or uſing of themſelves there unreverently in the time of Divine Service, and of all other open Faults and Miſdemourours, not omitting thus to do, and certifie as before, as you will anſwer upon your Peril for the contrary. Given at London the 23. of February, in the Year of our Lord, 1554.

The next Month following, which was the Month of March, and the fourth day of the ſaid Month, there was a Letter ſent from the Queen to Boner Biſhop of London, with certain Articles alſo annexed, to be put in ſpeedy execution, containing as here followeth.

Articles ſent from the Queen to the Biſhop of London, by him and his Officers at her Commandment to be put in ſpeedy Execution, with her Letter to the ſaid Biſhop before prefixed.

Right Reverend Father in God, Right Truly and well Beloved, we greet you Good, And whereas herefore in the time of the late Reign of our moſt dearſt Brother King Edward the ſixth, whoſe Soul God pardon, divers notable Crimes, Exceſſes and Faults, with ſundry kinds of Heresies, Simony, Adultery and other Enormities have been committed within this our Realm and other our Dominions, the ſame continuing yet hitherto in like diſorder ſince the beginning of our Reign, without any Correction or Reformation at all, and the People both of the Laity and alſo of the Clergy, and chiefly of the Clergy, have been given to much Inſolency, and ungodly Rule, greatly to the diſpleaſure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil contentation, and to no little ſlander of other Chriſtian Realms, and in a manner to the ſubverſion and clean deſacing of this our Realm ; and remembering our Duty to Almighty God, to be to foreſee (as much as in us may be) that all Vertue and Godly Living ſhould be embraced, flouriſh, and increaſe ; and therewith alſo, that all Vice and ungodly Behaviour ſhould be baniſhed and put away, or at the leaſt wiſe (ſo nigh as might be) ſo bridled and kept under, that Godlineſſe and Honesty might have the upper hand ; and underſtanding by very credible Report and publick Fame, to our no ſmall heavineſſe and diſcomfort, that within your Diocess, as well in not exempted

Anno
1554.

Coming to
Confession.
Receiving
the Sacra-
ment of the
Altar.

A Letter of
Q. Mary to
B. Boner
declared.
March 31

Anno
1554.

ed as exempted places like Disorder and evil behaviour hath been done and used; like also to continue and increase; unless due Provision be had and made to reform the same; which earnestly in very deed we do mind and intend to the uttermost, all the ways we can possible, trusting of Gods furtherance and help in that behalf. For these Causes and other most just Considerations us moving, we send unto you certain Articles of such special Matters as among other things be most necessary now to be put in Execution by you and your Officers, extending to the end by us desired, and the Reformation aforesaid: Wherein ye shall be charged with our Special Commandments, by these our Letters, to the intent you and your Officers may the more earnestly and boldly proceed therein; without fear of any Presumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any such our Laws, as by our doing of that is in red of any such Articles contained, might any wife grieve you, whatsoever be threatened in any such case. And therefore we strictly charge and command you, and your said Officers, to proceed to the Execution of the said Articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will answer to the contrary. Given under our Signet, at our Palace of Westminster, the third day of March, the first year of our Reign:

Articles sent from the Queen unto the Ordinary, and by him and his Officers, by her Commandment to be put in Execution in the whole Diocese.

Articles of
Q. Mary.Ecclesiastical
Laws of
King Henry
received.The Kings
authority gi-
veth place to
the Popes
authority.The Supre-
macy of the
King re-
pealed.For punish-
ing of Here-
sies, as they
call them.Against
Priests mar-
riage.

First, that every Bishop and his Officers, with all other having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, shall with all speed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them possible, put in Execution all such Canons and Ecclesiastical Laws, heretofore in the time of King Henry the Eighth used within this Realm of England, and the Dominions of the same, not being directly and expressly contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

Item, That no Bishop, or any of his Officers, or other person aforesaid, hereafter in any Ecclesiastical Writings, in Process or other Extrajudicial Acts, do use to put in this Clause or Sentence, *Regia auctoritate fulcitur*.

Item, That no Bishop, or any of his Officers, or other person aforesaid, do hereafter exact or demand in the Admission of any person to any Ecclesiastical Promotion, Order, or Office, any Oath touching the Primacy or Succession, as of late in few years passed hath been accustomed and used.

Item, That every Bishop and his Officers, with all other persons aforesaid, have a vigilant Eye, and use special diligence and foresight, that no person be admitted or received to any Ecclesiastical Function, Benefice, or Office, being a Sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of Heresie, or other great Crime, and that the said Bishop do stay, and cause to be stayed, as much as lieth in him, that Benefices and Ecclesiastical Promotions do not notably decay, or take hinderance by passing or confirming of unreasonable Leases.

Item, That every Bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travel for the repressing of Heresies and notable crimes, especially in the Clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same.

Item, That every Bishop, and all the other persons aforesaid, do likewise travel for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty Opinions, unlawful Books, Ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful Devices, engendering Hatred amongst the People, and Discord among the same. And that Schoolmasters, Preachers and Teachers do exercise and use their Offices and Duties without teaching, preaching, or setting forth any evil and corrupt Doctrine, and that doing the contrary, they may be by the Bishop and his said Officers punished and removed.

Item, That every Bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and speed, may and shall deprive or declare deprived, and remove, according to their learning and discretion, all such Persons from their Benefices and Ecclesiastical Promotions, who contrary to the State of their Orders and the laudable custom of the Church, have married and used Women as their Wives, or otherwise notably and scandalously disordered or abused themselves: Sequestering also, during the said Process, the Fruits and Profits of the

said Benefices and Ecclesiastical Promotions.

Item, That the said Bishop, and all other Persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose Wives be dead, than with other whole Women do yet remain alive. And likewise such Priests, as with the consent of their Wives or Women openly in the presence of the Bishop do profess to abstain, to be used more favourably. In which case, after the Penance effectually done, the Bishop, according to his discretion and wisdom, may upon just Consideration receive and admit them again to their former Administration; so it be not in the same place, appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their Benefice whereof they be deprived, by discretion of the said Bishop or his Officers, as he shall think may be spared of the said Benefice.

Item, That every Bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do foresee that they suffer not any Religious Man, having solemnly professed Chastity, to continue with his Woman or Wife, but that all such persons after deprivation of their Benefice or Ecclesiastical Promotion, be also divorced every one from his said Woman, and due Punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.

Item, That every Bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do take order and direction with the Parishioners of every Benefice, where Priests do want, to repair to the next Parish for Divine Service, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better Provision may be made, one Curate to serve, *Alienis vicibus*, in divers Parishes, and to allot to the Curate for his Labour some Portion of the Benefice that he so serveth.

Item, That all and all manner of Processions of the Church be used and frequented, to continue with his old Order of the Church, in the Latine Tongue.

Item, That all such Holy days and Fasting days be observed and kept, as were observed and kept in the latter time of King Henry the Eighth.

Item, That the laudable and honest Ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented, and observed in the Church, be also hereafter frequented, used, and observed.

Item, That Children be christened by the Priest, and confirmed by the Bishop, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

Item, Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any Orders, after the new sort and fashion of Orders: considering they were not ordered in very deed, the Bishop of the Dioceses finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before, and then according to his discretion admit them to minister.

Item, That by the Bishop of the Dioceses an uniform doctrine be set forth by Homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of all people: And that the said Bishop and other persons aforesaid, do compel the Parishioners to come to their several Churches, and there devoutly to hear Divine Service, as of reason they ought.

Item, That they examine all Schoolmasters and teachers of Children, and finding them suspect in any wise, to remove them, and place Catholic men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their Children, so as they may be able to answer the Priest at the Mass, as hath been accustomed.

Item, That the said Bishop, and all other the persons aforesaid, have such regard, respect, and consideration of and for the setting forth of the premisses, with all kind of vertue, godly living, and good example, with repressing also and keeping under of Vice and Unthriftiness, as they and every of them may be seen to favour the reformation of true Religion; and also to make an honest account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, our good contentation and profit of this our Realm, and the Dominions of the same.

A like Precept also with Articles, was sent from the said Queen Mary to the Lord Mayor of London, the fourth day of March, in the year aforesaid, which Lord Mayor upon the same directed his commandment to the Aldermen, every one severally in his Ward, containing as followeth;

Provision for
Priests
which re-
mains their
Wives.Married
Priests di-
vorced be-
cause their
Wives be
Benefice.Provision for
want of
Priests.Processions
in Latine.Holy days
and Fasting
days.Ceremonies
retained.

Orders.

Coming to
Divine Ser-
vice.Provision for
Catholic
Schoolmas-
ters.

By

By the Lord Mayor.

A Prescript
at the Lord
Mayors to
the Alder-
men.

ON the Queen our most gracious and most benign Sovereign Ladies behalf, we most faithfully charge and command you, that ye the said Aldermen, shal personally call before your own person in such place within your said Ward, as to you shall seem most convenient and meet, upon Wednesday next coming, which shall be the 7th day of this present Month, at 7 of the Clock in the morning of the same day, all and every the householders both poor and rich of your said Ward, and then and there openly and plainly for your own discharge, and for the shewing the perils that to you might otherwise be justly imputed and laid, do not only straightly admonish, charge, and command, in the Queen our said Sovereign Ladies name and behalf, all and every the said householders, that both in their own persons, and also their Wives, Children and Servants, being of the age of xii. years and upwards, and every of them, do at all and every time and times from henceforth, and namely at the holy time of *Easter*, now approaching, honestly, quietly, obediently, and catholically use and behave themselves like good and faithful Christian people, in all and every thing and things touching and concerning the true Faith, Profession, and Religion of his Catholick Church, both according to the Laws and Precepts of Almighty God, and also their bounden duty of obedience towards our Sovereign Lady the Queen, her Laws and Statutes, and her Highness most good example and gracious proceeding according to the same, and according also to the rights, wholeness, charitable, and godly admonition, charge and exhortation, late set forth and given by the right Reverend Father in God, the Bishop of *London*, our Diocesan and Ordinary, to all the Parsons, Vicars and Curates, within his Diocess: but also that they and every of them do truly, without delay, advertize you of the Names and Surnames of all and every person and persons, that they or any of them, can or may at any time hereafter know, perceive or understand to transgress or offend in any point or Article concerning the premises at their utmost perils. That ye immediately after such notice thereof to you given, do forthwith advertize us thereof. Fail ye not thus to do with all circumspection and diligence, as ye will answer to our said most dread Sovereign Lady the Queen for the contrary at your like peril. Given at the Guild-Hall of the City of *London*, the fifth day of *March* in the first year of the Reign of our said Sovereign Lady and Queen.

Blackwell.

And likewise do you give to every of the said householders faithfully in commandment, that they or their wives depart not out of the said City, until this holy time of *Easter* be past.

ABOUT the same year and time, when Doctor *Boner* set forth this Prescript or Monitory, there came from the Queen another Proclamation against Strangers and Forreiners within this Realm. The purpose and intent of which Proclamation, because it chiefly and most specially concerned Religion and Doctrine, and the true Professors thereof, I thought here to annex the tenor and manner of the same.

A Copy of the Queens Proclamation for the driving out of the Realm Strangers and Forrainers.

Q. Maries
Proclamation
on tor driv-
ing out of
Strangers.

THE Queen our Sovereign Lady, understanding that a multitude of evil disposed persons, being born out of her Highness's Dominions in other sundry Nations, flying from the obedience of the Princes and Rulers under whom they be borne, (some for Heresie, some for Murder, Treason, Robbery, and some for other horrible Crimes,) be resorted into this her Majesty's Realm, and here have made their demerit, and yet be commorant and lingering, partly to shew such condign punishment as their said horrible Crimes deserve, and partly to dilate, plant, and sow the seeds of their malicious Doctrine and lewd Conversation among the good Subjects of this her said Realm, on purpose to infect her good Subjects with the like, inasmuch as

(besides innumerable Heresies, which divers of the same being Heretics have preached and taught within her Highness's said Realm) it is assuredly known unto her Majesty, that not only their secret practices have not failed to stir, comfort and aid divers her Highness's Subjects to this most unnatural Rebellion against God and her Grace, but also some other of them desist not still to practise with her people evilson to rebel: her Majesty therefore having (as afore is said) knowledge and intelligence hereof, hath for remedy herein determined, and most faithfully charged and commanded, that all and every such person or persons born out of her Highness's Dominions, now commorant or resident within this Realm, of whatsoever Nation or Country, being either Preacher, Printer, Bookseller, or other Artificer, or of whatsoever Calling else, not being Denizen or Merchant known using the trade of Merchandize, or Servant so such Ambassador as be Liegers here from the Princes and States joynd in League with her Grace, shall within 24. days of this Proclamation, avoid the Realm upon pain of most grievous punishment by imprisonment, and forfeiture and confiscation of all their goods and moveables, and also to be delivered unto their natural Princes or Rulers, against whose persons or laws they have offended. Giving to all Masters, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Constables, and all other her Ministers, Officers, and good Subjects faithfully also in charge, if they know any such person, not born in the Queens Highness's Dominions (except before excepted) that shall, after the time and day limited in the Proclamation, tarry within this Realm, that they shall apprehend the same person or persons, and commit him or them to Ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till her Graces pleasure or her Councils be signified unto them, for the further ordering of the said person or persons. And that if any of her said Officers, after the said 24. days, apprehend, take, or know of any such, they shall with all diligence immediately certify her said Council thereof, to the intent order may be forthwith given for their punishment according.

¶ In the mean while, upon the Proclamation before-mentioned, not only the Strangers in King Edwards time received into the Realm for Religion, among whom was Peter Martyr, and John Alsco Uncle to the King of Poland, but many English-men fled, some to *Freisland*, some to *Cleveland*, some to *High Germany*, where they were diversly scattered unto divers Companies and Congregations, at *Wesel*, at *Frankford*, *Emden*, *Mark-purg*, *Tramshorough*, *Basil*, *Aron*, *Zurich*, *Geneva*, and other places: where by the Providence of God they were all sustained, and there entertained with greater favour amongst Strangers abroad, than they could be in their own Country at home, well near to the number of 800 persons, Students and others together.

In the said month of *March*, the Lord Courtney Earl of *Devonshire*, whom the Queen at her first entring delivered out of the Tower, and Lady Elizabeth also the Queens Sister, were both in suspicion to have consented to *Wyatts* Conspiracy, and for the same, this *March*, were apprehended and committed to the Tower.

Touchoing the imprisonment of which Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, thou shalt note here for thy learning (good Reader) a pollick Point of practice in *Steven Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, not unworthy to be considered. This *Gardiner* being always a capital Enemy to the Lady Elizabeth, and thinking now by the occasion of Master *Wyat*, to pick out some matter against the Lord Courtney, and so in the end to entangle the Lady Elizabeth, devised a pefilient practice of conveyance, as in the story here following may appear.

The story is this. The same day that Sir *Thomas Wyat* died, he desired the Lieutenant to bring him to the presence of the Lord Courtney. Who there before the Lieutenant and the Sheriffs kneeling down upon his knees, he sought the L. Courtney to forgive him, for that he had falsely accused both the Lady Elizabeth and him, and so being brought from thence unto the Scaffold to suffer there openly in the hearing of all the people, cleared the Lady Elizabeth, and the Lord Courtney, to be free and innocent from all suspicion of that Commotion. At which Confession Doctor *Wesley* there standing by, cried to the people,

Anno
1554.

Cases laid
against
Strangers.

Peter Mar-
tyr and Je-
hannes Alsco
banished the
Realm.
English-men
fled out of
the Realm
for Religion;

The number
of English
Exiles well
near 800
Persons.
March 15:
Lady Elizabeth
and L.
Courtney upon
suspicion
of Sir Thomas
Wyatts
Rising com-
mitted to the
Tower.

A pollick
of practice of
Stephen Gard-
iner against
the Lady
Elizabeth.

Anno 1554. people, saying: Believe him not good People, for he confessed otherwise before unto the Council.

After the Execution done of Sir Thomas Wyatt, which was the 11. day of April, word was brought immediately unto the Lord Mayor Sir Thomas White, a little before dinner, how Master Wyatt had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and Lord Courtney, and the words also which Doctor Weston spake unto the People; and wherunto the Lord Mayor answering: Is this true, quoth he? said Weston so? In sooth, I never took him otherwise but for a Knave. Upon this the Lord Mayor sitting down to dinner (who dined the same day at the Bridg-house) cometh in Sir Martin Bowes with the Recorder, newly come from the Parliament-House, who hearing of the Mayor and Sheriffs this report of Wyatts Confession, both upon the Scaffold and also in the Tower, marvelled thereat, declaring how there was another Tale contrary to this, told the same day in the Parliament-House, which was, That Sir Thomas Wyatt should desire the Lord Courtney to confess the truth, so as he had done before.

Upon this it followed not long after, that a certain Prentice dwelling in Saint Lawrence Lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denham a Plasterer, being one of Queen Maries Servants, amongst other talk made mention how Sir Thomas Wyatt had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, to be no confesters to his rising. Which words being brought to Gardiner (by what means I know not) incontinent upon the same, Sir Andrew Judd was sent by the said Bishop unto the Lord Mayor, commanding him to bring the said Prentice to the Star-Chamber, which was accused of these words, that he should say, That Wyatt was constrained by the Council to accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney. Which Fellow when he was come to the Star-Chamber, the aforesaid Gardiner, letting pass other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole Multitude, how miraculously Almighty God had brought the Queens Majesty to the Crown, the whole Realm in a manner being against her, and that he had brought this to pass for this singular intent and purpose, that this Realm being overwhelmed with Heresies, the might reduce again the same unto the true Catholick Faith. And where he took the Lady Elizabeth into her favour, and loved her so tenderly, and also the Lord Courtney, who had long time been detained in prison, and by her was set at liberty, and received great benefits at her hands, and notwithstanding all this they had conspired most unaturally and traitorously against her, with that heinous Traitor Wyatt, as by the Confession of Wyatt (said he) and the Letters sent to and fro may plainly appear: Yet there were some in the City of London which reported, That Wyatt was constrained by the Council to accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, and yet you, my Lord Mayor, quoth he, have not seen the same punished.

The Party is here, said the Lord Mayor. Take him with you said Gardiner, and punish him according to his desert; and said further, My Lord, take heed to your charge; the City of London is a Whirl-pool and sink of all evil Rumors, where they be bred, and from thence spread into all parts of this Realm.

There stood by the same time the Lord Shandis, who being then Lieutenant of the Tower, and now hearing the Bishop thus speak, to stoich his Tale, came in with these words as followeth:

My Lords (quoth he) this is a truth that I shall tell you, being Lieutenant of the Tower when Wyatt suffered, he desired me to bring him to the Lord Courtney; which when I had done, he fell down upon his knees before him in my presence, and desired him to confess the truth of himself, as he had done before, and to submit himself unto the Queens Majesties mercy.

And thus much I thought of this matter to declare, to the intent, that the Reader perceiving the proceedings of the Bishops in the premises, and comparing the same with the true testimony of Wyatts himself, and with the testimony of the Sheriffs, which were present the same time when Sir Thomas Wyatt asked the Lord Courtney forgiveness, may the better judge of the whole case and matter for which the Lady Elizabeth, and the Lord Courtney were so long in trouble. Of which her Graces

trouble; hereafter (God willing) more shall be said in the story of her life. In the mean time to let this matter stay; let us now pass further in our History.

Not long after this, Queen Mary partly fearing the Londoners by occasion of Wyatts Conspiracy, partly perceiving most of the City for Religions sake not greatly to favour her Proceedings, to their dislike and hindrance summoned a Parliament to be holden at Oxford: as it were to gratifie that City, whoe both the University, Town; and Country had shewed themselves very obedient and forward; especially in refusing Papish Religion. For this purpose great provision was made, as well by the Queens Officers, as by the Townsmen and Inhabitants of Oxford, and the Country about.

But the Queens mind in short space changed, and the same Parliament was holden at Westminster in April following. Then the Queen, beside other things, propoed concerning her Marriage to King Philip, and restoring of the Popes Supremacy: as touching her Marriage, it was agreed upon; but the other Request could not as then be obtained.

The same time when this Parliament was summoned; the also summoned a Convocation of Bishops; and of the Clergy, writing unto Boner (whom he had made Vicegerent in the stead of Cranmer, being then in the Tower) after the tenor and form of a new stile, differing from the old stile of King Henry; and King Edward, as followeth.

The stile of Queen Mary altered, writing to Boner for the summoning of a Convocation.

Maria Dei gratia, Anglie, Francie, & Hibernie Regina, fidei defensor, Reverendo in Christo patri Edmundo London. Episcopo salutem. Licet nuper quibusdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis nos securitatem & defensionem Ecclesie Anglicane, ac pacem & tranquillitatem, &c.

Where note, good Reader, concerning the altering and changing the Queens stile; the latter part thereof to be left out of her stile, which is: Ecclesie Anglicane & Hibernie supremum caput, because in this present Parliament the Supremacy being given away from the Crown of England to the Pope, thereupon this parcel of the Title was also taken away. Likewise the said Boner giving his Certificate upon the same, leaves out Autoritate Illustrissime, &c. legitimis suffragis: which parcel also in the same Parliament was repealed and taken away the same time.

The Dignity of Priests extolled by Bishop Boner:

In this aforesaid Convocation, Boner Bishop of London being Vicegerent and President, as is said; made a certain Exhortation or Oration to the Clergy (which was in this Convocation, or much about the said time) wherein he seemeth to shew a great piece of profound and deep Learning, in setting forth the most incomparable and super-angelical order of Priesthood, as may appear by this parcel or fragment of his aforesaid Oration, being collected and gathered by some that stood by: which as it came to our hands, so I thought, to impart it to the Reader, both for that the Author of so worthy a work should not pass unknown, and partly also; for that the estimation of this blessed Order should lose nothing of its preeminence; but might be known in most ample perfection, so as it standeth above Angels and Kings; if it be true that Boner saith.

A piece or fragment of the Exhortation made by Boner Bishop of London, to them of the Convocation-House, copied out by them that stood by and heard him.

Boners Oration in praise of Priesthood.

Wherefore it is to be known, that Priests and Elders be worthy of all men to be worshipped for the Dignity sake which they have of God, as in Matthew 16. Whosoever ye shall tie upon earth, &c. And what

Q. Mary not known in the Londoners.

A Parliament holden at Oxford, as it were to gratifie that City, whoe both the University, Town; and Country had shewed themselves very obedient and forward; especially in refusing Papish Religion.

A Parliament holden at Westminster in April following.

Boner made Vicegerent and President in the Convocation.

Exhortation copied in the Queens stile taken away.

Legimus sub, salvo in the Bishops stile taken away.

Ampersand with the honour of Priesthood.

The profound exhortation of Boner in the Convocation.

whatsoever ye shall bind, &c. For a Priest by some means is like *Mary* the Virgin, and is shewed by three points; As the blessed Virgin by five words did conceive Christ, so it is said: *Luke 1. Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum:* that is to say, *Be it unto me according to thy word:* so the Priest by five words doth make the very Body of Christ.

Even as immediately after the consent of *Mary*, Christ was all whole in her womb: so immediately after the speaking of the words of Consecration; the Bread is substantiated into the very Body of Christ. Secondly, As the Virgin carried Christ in her arms, and laid him in an Ox-stall after his birth; even so the Priest after the Consecration, doth lift up the Body of Christ, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thirdly, As the blessed Virgin was sanctified before she had conceived; so the Priest being ordained and anointed before he doth consecrate, because without Orders he could consecrate nothing: therefore the Lay-man cannot do that thing, although he be never so holy, and do speak the self-same words of consecration. Therefore here is to be known, that the Dignity of Priests by some means passeth the Dignity of Angels, because there is no power given to any of the Angels to make the Body of Christ. Whereby the least Priest may do in Earth, that which the greatest and highest Angel in Heaven cannot do, as Saint Bernard saith, *O worshipful Dignity of Priests, in whose hands the Son of God is, as in the womb of the Virgin he was incarnate.* St. Augustine saith, That Angels in the consecration of the Sacred Host do serve him, and the Lord of Heaven defendeth to him. Whereupon S. Ambrose upon Saint Luke saith, *Doubt thou not the Angels to be where Christ is present upon the Altar.* Wherefore Priests are to be honoured before all Kings of the Earth, Princes, and Nobles. For a Priest is higher than a King, happier than an Angel, maker of his Creator. Wherefore, &c.

Priesthood compared & restored before the Rate of Angels.

Misphemy.

It was declared a little before, how Doctor Ridley was had from *Fremingham* to the Tower; where being in durance, and invited to the Lieutenants Table, he had certain talk or conference with Secretary Bourne, Master Fecknam, and other, concerning the Controversies in Religion: the sum whereof, as it was penned with his own hand, hereafter ensueth,

Here followeth the sum and effect of the Communication between Doctor Ridley and Secretary Bourne, with others, at the Lieutenants Table in the Tower.

Sir Thomas at Bridges.

Who is an Heretick.

An Heretick defined by S. Augustine.

Fecknam provoking Mr. Ridley.

Unity, Antiquity, Universality.

After Thomas of Bridges said at his Brother Masters Lieutenants Board, I pray you Master Doctors, for my Learning, tell me what an Heretick is. Master Secretary Bourne said, I will tell you who is an Heretick; *who so stubbornly and stiffly maintaineth an Untruth, he is an Heretick.* You mean Sir, said I, an Untruth in matters of Religion, and concerning our Faith. Yes, that is true said he; and in this we are soon agreed. Then said Master Fecknam, whom they called Master Dean of Pauls, sitting at the upper end of the Table, I will tell you by Saint Augustine who is an Heretick; *Qui adulandi principibus vel lucrī gratia falsas opiniones gignit vel sequitur, hereticus est,* saith S. Augustine. And then he Englished the same. Sir, said I, I wene S. Augustine addeth the third number, which is, *vel vanæ gloriæ causa.* You say even true, Master Doctor, said he, and thus far we did agree all three.

Master Fecknam began again to say, Who so doth not believe what the Scripture affirmeth, but will obstinately maintain the contrary, he is Hereticus: As in the Sacrament of the Altar Matthew doth affirm there to be Christs Body, Mark doth affirm it, Luke affirmeth it, Paul affirmeth it, and none denieth it: therefore to hold the contrary is Heresie. It is the same Body and Flesh that was born of the Virgin; and this is confirmed by Unity, Antiquity, and Universality. For none before Berengarius did ever doubt of this, and he was an Heretick, as Master Doctor there knoweth full well; I do take to witness his own Confidence, said he.

Marry Sir, said Master Secretary, Master Fecknam hath spoken well. These be great matters, Unity, Antiquity, and Universality. Do you not think so Master Doctor, said he to me?

Here, while I scarce I courties, and pretended no willingness to talk; said one of the Commissioners, *Peradventure Master Ridley doth agree with Master Fecknam, and then there needs not much debating of the matter.*

Sir, said I, in some things I do and shall agree with him, and in some things which he hath spoken, to be plain, I do not agree with him at all. Masters, said I, ye be (as I understand) the Queens Commissioners here, and if ye have commission to examine me in these matters, I shall declare unto you plainly my Faith; if ye have not, then I shall pray you either to give me leave to speak my mind freely, or else to hold my peace.

There is none here, said Master Secretary, that doth not favour you: and then every man shewed what favour they bear towards me, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

But as I strained to have licence of them in plain words to speak my mind, some thought they granted me it for *vice* or *egre*. Well, at the last I was content to take it for licensed, and so began to talk.

To Master Fecknams Arguments of the manifold affirmation where no denial was, I answered; Where is a multitude of Affirmations in Scripture, and where is one Affirmation, all is one concerning the truth of the matter: for that which any one of the Evangelists spake, inspired by the Holy Ghost, was as true as that which is spoken of them all. It is as true that *John* saith of Christ, *Ego sum ovium ovium, i. I am the door of the Sheep*, as if all had said it. For it is not in Scripture as in witness of men, where the number is credited more than one, because it is uncertain with what spirit he doth speak. And where Master Fecknam spake of so many affirming without any Negation, &c. Sir, said I, all they do affirm the thing which they meant. Now if ye take their words, to leave their meaning, then do they affirm what ye take, but not what they meant. Sir, said I, if I talk with you, I should so utter my mind in words that ye by the same do, and may plainly perceive my meaning, and could, if you would be capacious, cavil at my words, and writh them to another fable, I would think ye were no gentle Companions to talk with, except ye would take my words as ye did perceive I did mean.

Marry, quoth Master Secretary, we should else do you plain injury and wrong.

Master Fecknam perceiving whereunto my talk went: Why, quoth he, what circumstances can ye shew me that shall move to think of any other sense, than as the words plainly say, *Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis traditur, i. This is my Body which shall be betrayed for you?*

Sir, said Leven the next Sentence that followeth, *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.* Do this in my remembrance. And also by what reason ye say the Bread is turned into Christs carnal Body, for the same I may say, that it is turned into his mystical Body. For as that saith of it, *Hoc est corpus, quod pro vobis traditur: so Paul* which spake by these words Christs Spirit, saith, *Unus panis & unum corpus multis sumus omnes, qui de uno pane participamus, i. We being literally many are all but one Bread and one Body, inasmuch as we are partakers of one Bread.*

Here he calleth one Bread, one Loaf, said Master Secretary.

Yes, said I, one Loaf, one Bread, all is one with me.

But what say ye, quoth Master Secretary, of the Universality, Antiquity, and Unity, that Master Fecknam did speak of?

I ensue you, said I, I think them matters weighty, and to be considered well. As for Unity, the truth is be, fore God, I do believe it, and embrace it, so it be with Verity, and joyed to our Head Christ, and such an one as Paul speaketh of, saying, *Una Fides, unus Deus, unum Baptisma, i. One Faith, one God, One Baptism.* And for Antiquity, I am also persuaded that to be true which Antiquity.

In our Religion Christs Faith was first taught by Christ himself, by his Apostles, and by many good Men, that from the beginning did succeed next unto them; and for this controversie of the Sacrament, I am persuaded that those old Writers, which wrote before the controversie and the usurping of the See of Rome,

Rome,

Anno 1554. Rome, do all agree, if they be well understood in this Truth.

I am glad to hear, said Mr. Secretary, that you do so well esteem the Doctors of the Church.

Now as for *Universality*, it may have two meanings; one to understand that to be Universal, which from the beginning in all Ages hath been allowed; another to understand *Universality* for the multitude of our Age, or of any other singular Age.

No, no, said Mr. Secretary, *these three do always agree, and where there is one, there is all the rest*: And here he and I changed many words. And finally, to be short, in this matter we did not agree.

There was none, quoth Mr. Fecknam, before *Berengarius, Wickliffe, and Hus*, and now in our days *Carlostadius* and *Oecolampadius*, *Carlostadius* faith, Christ pointed to his own Body, and not to the Sacrament, and said, *Hoc est corpus meum*. And *Melancthon* writeth to one *Micomius* (*Micomius* said I) these or the like words; *Nullam satis gravem rationem invenire possum, propter quam a fide majorum in hac materia dissentiam, i. I can find no grounded reason to cause me to dissent from the believe of our fore-Elders.*

Thus when he had spoken at length, with many other words mo; Sir, said I, it is certain that other before these have written of this matter: Not by the way only, and obiter, as do for the most all the old Writers, but even *ex professo*; and their whole Books intreat of it alone, as *Bertram*.

Bertram, said the Secretary, *what man was he? and who was he? and how do you know, &c.* with many Questions.

Sir, quoth I, I have read his Book; He propoundeth the same which is now in controversy, and answereth so directly, that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth, That the Substance of Bread remaineth still in the Sacrament, and he wrote unto *Carolus Magnus*.

Marry, quoth he, mark, for there is a matter. He wrote, quoth he, *ad Henricum*, and not *ad Carolum*; for no Author maketh any such mention of *Bertram*.

Yes, quoth I, *Trithemius* in *Catalogo illustrium Scriptorum*, speaketh of him. *Trithemius* was but of late time; but he speaketh, quoth I, of them that were of Antiquity. Here, after much talk of *Bertram*, *What Authors have ye, quoth Mr. Secretary, to make of the Sacrament a Figure?*

Sir, quoth I, ye know (I think) that *Tertullian* in plain words speaketh thus; *Hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei. i. This is my Body, that is to say, a figure of my Body.* And *Gelasius* faith plainly, That *Substantia panis manet, i. The Substance of Bread remaineth. And Origen* faith likewise, *Quod sanctificatur secundum materiam, ingreditur stomachum, & vadit in feculum, i. That which is sanctified, as touching the Matter or Substance, passeth away into the draught. This when I had Englished, Mr. Secretary said to me, You know very well as any man, &c. And here, if I would I might have been set in a foolish Paradise of his commendation of my Learnings, and quod estem vir multis lectior, i. A man of much Reading. But this I would not take at his hand. He set me not up so high, but I brought my self as low again; and here was much ado.*

As for *Melancthon* (quoth I) whom Mr. Fecknam spake of, I marvel that ye will alledge him, for we are more nigh an agreement here in *England*, than the Opinion of *Melancthon* is to you: for in this point we all agree here, that there is in the Sacrament but one material Substance; and *Melancthon*, as I ween, faith there are two.

Ye say truth, quoth Mr. Secretary; *Melancthon's* Opinion is so. But I pray you, ye have heard that the Sacrament was in old time so revered, that many were then forbidden to be present at the ministrations thereof; *Catechumini*, quoth he, and many mo.

Truth Sir, quoth I, there were some called *Audientes*, some *Penitentes*, some *Catechumini*, and some *Evergumini*, which were commanded to depart.

Now, quoth he, then; And how can ye then make but a figure or a sign of the Sacrament, as that Book doth which is set forth in my Lord of *Cambridge's* name? I wist, ye can tell who made it. Did not ye make it? and here was much murmuring of the rest, as though they would have given me the glory of the writing of

that Book; which yet was full of some there to contain the most humble Heretic that ever was.

Master Secretary, quoth I, that Book was made of a great Learned Man, and him which is able to do the like again: as for me, I ensure you, be not deceived in me; I was never able to do or write any such like thing, he putteth me no less than the Learned Master is a young Scholar.

Now, here every man would have his saying, which I pass over, not much matter for to tell. But Sir, quoth I, methinks it is not charitably done, to bear the People in hand that any man doth lightly esteem the Sacrament, as to make of it a figure. For that *huc* maketh is a bare figure without any more propriety, which that Book doth often deny, as appeareth to the Reader most plainly.

Yes, quoth he, that they do.

Sir, no quoth I, of a truth; and as for me, I ensure you I make no less of the Sacrament than thus: I say, who-soever receiveth the Sacrament, he receiveth therewith either life or death.

No, quoth Mr. Secretary, *Scripture saith not so*.

Sir, quoth I, although not in the same found of words, yet it doth in the same sense, and *St. Augustine* faith, in the found of words also: for *Paul* faith, *The Bread which we break, is it not the partaking or fellowship of the Body of Christ?* And *St. Augustine*, *Manduca vitam, Bibite vitam, i. Eat life, Drink life.*

Then said Mr. Pope, what can ye make of it when ye say, *There is not the real Body of Christ*, which I do believe, &c. and I pray God I may never believe other. How can it bring (as ye say) either Life or Death, when Christ's Body is not there?

Sir, quoth I, when you hear Gods Word truly preached, if you do believe it, and abide in it, ye shall and do receive life withal; and if ye do not believe it, it doth bring unto you death: and yet Christ's Body is still in Heaven, and not carnal in every Preachers mouth.

I pray you tell me, quoth he, how can you answer to this, *Quod pro vobis traditur, Which shall be given for you*. Was the figure of Christ's Body given for you?

No Sir, quoth I, but the very Body it self, whereof the Sacrament is a Sacramental figure. How say you then, quoth he, to *Quod pro vobis traditur, Which shall be given for you?*

Forsooth, quoth I, *Tertullian's* Exposition maketh it plain, for he faith, *Corpus est figura corporis, i. The Body is a figure of the Body.* Now put to *Quod pro vobis traditur, Which shall be given for you*, and it agreeth exceeding well.

In faith, quoth he, I would give forty pound that ye were of a good Opinion. For I ensure you, I have heard you, and had an affection to you.

I thank you Mr. Pope for your heart and mind, and ye know, quoth I, I were a very Fool if I would in this matter dissent from you, if that in my Conscience the truth did not inforce me so to do. For I wist (as ye do perceive I trow) it is somewhat out of my way, if I would esteem Worldly gain.

What say ye, quoth he; to *Cyprian*? Doth he not say plainly, *Panis quem dedit Dominus non effugit, sed natura mutatur, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro, i. The Bread which the Lord did deliver being changed, not according to the form, but according to the nature thereof, by the Omnipotent Word is made Flesh.*

True Sir, so he doth say, and I answer even the same which once by chance I preached at *Paul's-Cross* in a Sermon, for the which I have been as unjustly and as untruly reported of, as any poor man hath been. For the speaking of the Sacrament, and inveigling against them that esteemed it no better than a piece of Bread: told even the same thing of *Penitentes*, *Andentes*, *Catechumini*, *Evergumini*, that I spake of before; and I had them depart as unworthy to hear the mystery; and then I said to those that be *Sandys*, *Cyprian* the Martyr shall tell you how it is that Christ calleth it, saying, *Panis est corpus, calix, potus, caro, &c. i. Bread is the Body, Meant, Drink, Flesh*, because that unto this material Substance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name: and this place then took I to utter as the time would then suffer. But the material Substance of Bread doth remain in *Mr. Fecknam's* which, as is reported to me, did bely me openly in the same matter.

Universality
etha double
under-
standing.

Melancthon
ad
Micomium.

The Do-
ctrine of
the Sacra-
ment not
new.

Doctors
that make
the Sacra-
ment but a
figure.
Tertullian,
Gelasius,
Origen.

Catechumini
add others
went out at
the Minis-
tration.

The Book
of Cate-
chism.

The Sacra-
ment may
bring life
without
the Body
transubstan-
tiated.

Cyprian.

Doctors that
say fully re-
ceived of
the Sacrament
of all at
Tolow.

This is
of St. Cyprian
expressed.

at *Pauls Croft*) heard all this my talk, as red as Scarlet in his Face, and herein answered me not a word.

You do well, quoth Mr. Secretary, that *Origen* and *Tertullian* were not Catholick, but erred.

Sir, quoth I, there is none of all the Doctors that are holden in all points, but are thought to have erred in some things. But yet I never heard that it was either laid to *Origens* charge or to *Tertullian*, that ever they were thought to have erred in this matter of the Sacrament.

What, quoth Mr. *Cholmley* late Chief Justice, doth not Christ plainly say, that it is his very Flesh, and his very Blood, and we must needs eat him, or else we can have no life? Sir, quoth I, if you will hear how *St. Augustine* expoundeth that place, you shall perceive that you are in a wrong Box. And then I began to tell *St. Augustine's* mind in his Book *De Doctrina Christiana*; Yea, yea, quoth Mr. Secretary, that is true, *St. Augustine* doth it figuratively indeed.

Forty years ago, quoth Mr. *Fecknam*, all were of one Opinion in this matter.

Forty years ago, quoth I, all held that the Bishop of Rome was Supreme Head of the Universal Church.

What then? was Mr. *Fecknam* beginning to say, &c. but Mr. Secretary took the tale, and said, that was but a positive Law.

A positive Law? quoth I; No Sir, he would not have it so: for it is in his Decrees, that he challenged it by Christ's own word. For his Decree faith: *Nullus Synodus constituit, neque censuit, sed viva voce Domini prelati est Ecclesia Romana omnibus Ecclesiis in toto mundo; dicente Domino Petro, tu es Petrus, &c.* The Church of Rome was advanced above all other Churches in the World, not by any Synodical Constitutions, nor any Councils, but by the lively voice of the Lord, according as the Lord said to Peter, Thou art Peter, &c. And in another place he intreateth, *Tu es Cephas, id est, Caput. i. Thou art Cephas, that is to say, the Head.*

Truly, it was not counted an Article (quoth Mr. Secretary) of our Faith.

Yes, said I, if we call that an Article of our Faith, which is believed under pain of damnation. For he faith; *Omnino definimus, declaramus, pronunciamus, omnem Creaturam subijcto Romano Pontifici, de necessitate salutis, i. We do absolutely determine, declare, and pronounce, that every Creature is subject to the obedience of the Bishop of Rome upon necessity of Salvation.*

And here when we spoke of Laws and Decrees, Mr. *Roger Cholmley* thought himself much wronged, that he could not be suffered to speak, the rest were so ready to interrupt him: and then he up and told a long Tale, what Laws were of Kings in England made against the Bishop of Rome, and was vehement to tell how they always of the Clergy did fly to him. And here, because he seemed to speak of many things beside our purpose, whereof we spake before, he was answered of his own Fellows, and I let them talk.

Finally, We departed in peace, and Mr. Secretary promised in the end, that of their talk there should come to me no harm. And after I had made my moan for lack of my Books, he said, they were all once given him: but with I know (said he) who hath them now, write me the Names of such as you would have, and I will speak for you the best I can.

Upon the Articles above-mentioned, and Inquisition made upon the same, divers Ministers were divorced from their Wives. Amongst whom was one *John Draper*, and *Joan Gold* his Wife, in the Diocess of London, troubled and vexed for the same by *Bene Bishop* of London, who sent forth a Commission with a Process to sequester and separate them, enjoying also penance to the poor Woman.

Besides this *John Draper*, divers others also were divorced the same time against their wills; and some were contented of their own unconstant accord, to be separated from their Wives: as of *Chichester* one, (who, because he soon recovered again, shall be here nameless) another named *Edmund Aylstone*, another *Alexander Bul*, another I whom I will not name, with many other; whose Names I shall in the end of this story of Queen Mary, when I have proceeded by Gods Grace in a general Catalogue, repeat, and publish.

March 1554.

The 10th of March a Letter was sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower to deliver the bodies of Mr. Doctor *Cranmer* the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Doctor *Ridley*, and Mr. *Latimer*, to Sir *John Williams*, to be conveyed by him unto Oxford.

The 26th of March there was a Letter directed to Sir *Henry Doel*, and one *Foster*, to attach the bodies of Doctor *Taylor* Parson of *Hadley*, and of *Henry Askew*, and to send them up to the Council.

How Thomas Cranmer Archbishop, Bishop Ridley, and Master Latimer, were sent down to Oxford to dispute, with the order and manner, and all other circumstances unto the said Disputation, and also to their Condemnation appertaining.

About the 10th of April, Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley Bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer Bishop also sometime of Worcester, were conveyed as Prisoners from the Tower to *Windsor*; and after from thence to the University of Oxford, there to Dispute with the Divines and Learned Men of both the Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the Presence, Substance, and Sacrifice of the Sacrament. The Names of the University Doctors and Graduates appointed to Dispute against them, were these; of Oxford, Doctor *Weston* Prolocutor, Doctor *Tresham*, Doctor *Cole*, Doctor *Oglethorpe*, Doctor *Pie*, Master *Harpfield*, Master *Fecknam* Of Cambridge, Doctor *Young* Vice-Chancellor, Doctor *Glin*, Doctor *Seaton*, Doctor *Watson*, Doctor *Sedgewick*, Doctor *Atkinson*, &c. The Articles or Questions whereupon they should Dispute were these:

1. Whether the Natural Body of Christ be really in the Sacrament, after the words spoken by the Priest, or no?
2. Whether in the Sacrament, after the words of Consecration, any other Substance do remain, than the Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ?
3. Whether in the Mass be a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the Sins of the quick and the Dead?

Touching the order and manner of all which things there done, with the Notes, Arguments, and all Circumstances thereunto pertaining, to deduce the matter from the beginning, leaving out nothing (as near as we may) that shall seem necessary to be added: First, Here is to be understood, that upon Saturday the 7th day of April, the Heads of the Colleges in Cambridge being congregate together, Letters coming down from *Stephen Gardiner* Lord Chancellor, were read with Articles therewith annexed, that should be disputed upon at Oxford: the contents of which three Articles are sufficiently expressed before. Whereupon in the said Congregation of the aforesaid University of Cambridge, there was granted first a Grace in this Form, proposed by the Senior Proctor; *Placet vobis ut instrumentum fiat, quod horum jam prelatum Articulorum doctrina sana sit & Catholica, atque cum veritate Orthodoxae fidei consentiens, & vestro consensu, & suffragio comprobetur? that is, May it please you to have an Instrument made, that the Doctrine of these foresaid Articles is sound and Catholick, and consonant with the verity of the right meaning Faith, and that the same may be approved by your consent and voices? Secondly, In the said Congregation, another Grace was given and granted, that Doctor *Young* being Vice-Chancellor, Doctor *Glin*, Doctor *Atkinson*, Doctor *Seaton*, and Master *Sedgewick*, should go to Oxford to defend the said Articles against Canterbury, London, and Latimer: Also to have Letters to the Oxford Men, sealed with their Common Seal. Item, Another Grace granted to Master *Sedgewick* to be actual Doctor, being thereupon immediately admitted. The foresaid Letters being then drawn out, the third day after (which was the 11th day of April) were read in the foresaid Congregation-House, and there read.*

Whereupon the next day after (the 12th of the said Month) the foresaid Doctors, with the full Grace of that University, set forward to Oxford: and coming thither the next day after (being Friday, the 13th of April) were lodged all at the *Cross-Ten*, with one *Wakeclime*, being sometime Servant to Bishop *Bene*.

Anno

1554.

April 10.

Dr. Cranmer,

Dr. Ridley,

and Mr. Latimer, sent down to Oxford to dispute.

April 26.

The University Doctors appointed to dispute against the Archbishop and his Fellows.

Three Questions.

Letters sent down from Sir Stephen Gardiner to Cambridge.

A Grace for Articles.

A Grace for the Cambridge Doctors to dispute against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.

The coming of the Cambridge Men to Oxford.

London

None of all the Doctors holden in all points.

St. Augustine taketh the words of the Sacrament figuratively, by reason of his Concession.

Dist. 21. Q. 23.

Doctor Ridley's Books given away.

Ministers who were divorced from their Wives.

Anno

1554.

Their wel-
coming to
Oxford.The Com-
bridge Do-
ctors repair
to Dr. Wilson.The three
Prisoners,
Cranmer,
Ridley, and
Luttrell,
discovered.

Consultation.

The Doctors
in their
Scarlet
Robes.Maf in
Prick-
fong I would
fay.
The causes
of their Af-
fembly de-
clared.Cambridge
Lectures read.
Three No-
taries affig-
ed.Subfcribing
to the Arti-
cles.Proceffion
in Oxford.
The Array
of the So-
lemn Pro-
ceffion.Another
Confultation
of the Do-
ctors and
Poets.

Anon after their coming, Dr. Crooke presented them with Wine for their Welcom; and shortly after two of the Beadles came from the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and presented the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge with a Dish of Apples and a Gallon of Wine. After whom, next came Mr. Pie and Peckham to welcom them. Then after consultation concerning the delivery of their Letters, and Instrument of Grace (which was in Dr. Seton & Dr. Watsons keeping) they went all to Lincoln Colledge to Dr. Weston the Prolocutor, and to the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Trefham: And there they delivered their Letters and declared what they had done touching the Articles, Letters, and Graces. Half an hour after Eight they returned to their Inn again: but first they concluded of a Proceffion, Sermon, and Convocation to be had the Morrow following, and that the Doctors of Cambridge should be incorporate in the University of Oxford, and likewise that the Doctors of Oxford should be incorporate in the University of Cambridge. The same Day the fore-named Prisoners were discovered, as was said afore; Dr. Ridley to Alderman Irfhes Houfe, Mr. Luttrell to another, and Doctor Cranmer remained still in Bocardo.

On Saturday, being the 14th of April, at Eight of the Clock, the forefaid Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge with the other Doctors of the fame University, repaired to Lincoln Colledge again, and found the Prolocutor above in a Chappel, with a Company of the Houfe fing- ing Requiem Maff, and tarried there until the end. Then they, consulting all together in the Masters lodgings, about Nine of the Clock came all to the University Church called St. Maries: and there, after a short Consultation in a Chappel, the Vice-Chancellor, the Prolocutor, &c. of Oxford, caused the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, and the rest of the Doctors of that University, to fend for their Scarlet-Robes, brought from Cambridge, save that Doctor Seton and Watson borrowed of the Oxford Men. And in this time, the Regents in the Congregation-Houfe had granted all the Cambridge Doctors their Graces, to be incorporate there; and so they went up, and were admitted immediately, Dr. Oglesborpe presenting them, and the Proctor reading the Statute and giving them their Oaths.

That done, they came all into the Quire, and there held the Convocation of the University. They had Maff of the Holy Ghost solemnly fung in Prick-fong by the Quire-men of Christ-Church. But first the Cause of the Convocation was opened in English, partly by the Vice-Chancellor, and partly by the Prolocutor, declaring that they were sent by the Queen, and wherefore they were sent, and caused Mr. Say the Register openly to read the Commission. That done, the Vice-Chancellor read Cambridge Letters openly, and then concluded, that three Notaries, Mr. Say for the Convocation, a Beadle of Cambridge for that University, and one Mr. White for Oxford, should testifie of their doing, and then willed the said Notaries to provide Parchment, that the whole Assembly might subscribe to the Articles, save those that had subscribed before in the Convocation-Houfe at London and Cambridge; and so the Vice-Chancellor began first, after him the rest of the Oxford Men, as many as could in the Maff time.

The Maff being done, they went in Proceffion: First, The Quire in their Surplices followed the Crofs; then the first-year Regents and Proctors; then the Doctors of Law, and their Beadles before them; then the Doctors of Divinity of both Universities intermingled, the Divinity and Arts-Beadles going before them, the Vice-Chancellor and Prolocutor going together. After them Bachelors of Divinity, Regents, & non Regents, in their array; and last of all, the Bachelors of Law and Arts. After whom followed a great company of Scholars and Students not graduate. And thus they proceeded through the Street to Christ-Church, and there the Quire fung a Palma, and after that a Collect was read. This done, departed the Commissioners, Doctors, and many other to Lincoln Colledge, where they dined with the Mayor of the Town, one Alderman, four Beadles, Mr. Say and the Cambridge Notary. After Dinner they went all again to St. Maries Church; and there after a short consultation in a Chappel, all the Commissioners came into the Quire, and fate all on Seats before the Altar, to the number of

33 Persons: And first they sent to the Mayor, that he should bring in Dr. Cranmer, which within a while was brought to them with a number of rusty Bill-men.

Thus the Reverend Archbishop, when he was brought before the Commissioners, reverenced them with much humility, and stood with his Staff in his hand, who notwithstanding, having a Stool offered him, refused to sit. Then the Prolocutor sitting in the midst in a Scarlet Gown, began with a short Preface or Oration in praise of Unity, and especially in the Church of Christ: declaring withal his bringing up, and taking Degrees in Cambridge, and also how he was promoted by King Henry, and had been his Counsellor and a Catholick Man, one of the same Unity, and a Member thereof in times past, but of late years did separate and cut off himself from it, by teaching and feting forth of erroneous Doctrine, making every year a new Faith: and therefore it pleased the Queens Grace, to fend them of the Convocation and other Learned men, to bring him to this Unity again, if it might be. Then shewed he him how they of the Convocation-Houfe had agreed upon certain Articles, whereunto they willed him to subscribe.

The Archbishop answered to the Preface very wittily, modestly, and Learnedly, shewing that he was very glad of an Unity, forasmuch as it was *Conferuare omnium rerum publicarum, tam Ecclesiarum quam Christianorum, i. The preserver of all Common-wealths, as well of the Heathen as of the Christians*; and so he dilated the matter with one or two Stories of the Romans Common-wealth. Which thing when he had done, he said, That he was very glad to come to an Unity, so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy Word.

When he had thus spoken his full mind, the Prolocutor caused the Articles to be read unto him, and asked if he would grant and subscribe unto them. Then the Bilhp of Canterbury did read them over three or four times, and touching the first Article, he asked what they meant by these terms, *Verum & Naturale, i. True and Natural*. Do you not mean, said he, *Corpus organicum, i. A sensible Body*? Some answered, *Idem quod natum est ex Virgine, i. The same that was born of the Virgin*; and so confusedly, some said one thing, some another. Then the Bilhp of Canterbury denied it utterly, and when he had looked upon the other two, he said they were all false, and against Gods holy Word: And therefore he would not agree, he said, in that Unity with them. Which done, the Prolocutor first willing him to write his mind of them that Night, said moreover that he should dispute in them, and caused a Copy of the Articles to be delivered him, assigning him to answer thereunto on Monday next, and so charged the Mayor with him again, to be had to Bocardo, where he was kept before; offering moreover unto him, to name what Books he would occupy, and should have them brought unto him. The Archbishop was greatly commended of every body for his modesty: inasmuch, that some Masters of Art were seen to weep for him, which in Judgment were contrary to him.

Then was Dr. Ridley brought in, who, hearing the Articles read unto him, answered without any delay, saying, They were all false; and said further, That they sprang out of a bitter and fowr Root. His Answers were sharp, witty, and very earnest. Then did they lay to his charge a Sermon that he made when he was Bilhp of Rochester, wherein (they said) he spake with *Transubstantiation*. He denied it utterly, and asked whether they could bring out any that heard him, which would say and affirm with them the same. They could bring no proof of it at all. After that, he was asked of one whether he desired not my Lord Chancellor that now is, to stick to the Maff, and other things? He said, That my Lord would say no such things of words of him; for if he did he reported not the truth of him.

Then he was asked, whether he would Dispute or no? He answered, That as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his Heart, but also his Mouth and Pen to defend his Truth; but he required time and Books. They said he could not, and that he should Dispute on Thursday, and till that time he should have Books. He said it was not reason, that he might not have his own Books, and time also to look for his Disputations. Then

Archbishop
Cranmer
brought be-
fore the
Doctors and
High-Priests
at St. Maries
Church.
The Re-
verend humi-
lity and be-
haviour of
the Arch-
bishop be-
fore them.

The Answer
of the Arch-
bishop to
Dr. Weston.

The Articles
denied by
the Arch-
bishop.

Scotting-
Warning gi-
ven to Cras-
mor to Dis-
pute.

Dr. Ridley
brought in.
An wer of
Bilhp Ryd-
ley to the
Articles.

R. Ridley
falsly re-
ported for
his Sermon.

B. Ridley ap-
pointed to
Dispute the
next day.
The Arch-
bishop
gave

gave they him the Articles, and bade him write his mind of them that Night, and so did they command the Mayor to have him from whence he came.

Mr Latimer brought in

Loth of all came in Mr. Latimer in like sort, with a Kerchief, and two or three Caps on his Head, his Spectacles hanging by a string at his Brest, and a Staff in his hand, and was set in a Chair; for so was he suffered by the Prolocutor. And after his denial of the Articles, when he had Wednesday appointed for Disputation, he alleged Age, Sicknes, Dis-use, and lack of Books, saying, That he was almost as meet to dispute as to be a Captain of Calice; but he would, he said, declare his mind either by Writing or Word, and would stand to all they could lay upon his back; complaining moreover, That he was permitted to have neither Pen nor Ink, nor yet any Book but only the New Testament there in his hand, which he said he had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not find the Masi in it, neither the Marrow-bones nor Sinews of the same. At which words the Commissioners were not a little offended; and Dr. Weston said, That he would make him grant that it had both Marrow-bones and Sinews in the New Testament. To whom Mr. Latimer said again, That you will never do, Mr. Doctor, so forthwith they put him to silence; so that where he was desirous to tell what he meant by those Terms, he could not be suffered: there was a very great press and throng of People, and one of the Beadles frowned by reason thereof, and was carried into the Vestry. After this, bringing home the Prolocutor first, the Cambridge Men, viz. Doctor Tunng Vice-Chancellor, Savon, Glin, Atkinson, Scott, Watton, and Sedgewick, went to the Croft-Inne to Supper. And this was on Saturday being the 14th day of April.

April 14.

On Sunday after, Mr. Harpsfield preached at St. Maries the University Church, at Nine of the Clock, where were divers of the Doctors of the University in their Robes, and placed accordingly. After the Sermon they went all to Dinner to Magdalen Colledge, and there had a great Dinner. They Supped at Lincoln Colledge with the Prolocutor, whether Dr. Cranmer sent answer of his mind upon the Articles in Writing.

April 16.

Subscription.

On Monday, being the 16th of April, Mr. Sey, and Mr. White, Notaries, were about in the Morning to the Colleges, to get Subscriptions to the Articles. And about 8 of the Clock the Prolocutor, with all the Doctors and the Vice-Chancellor, met together at Exeter Colledge, and so they went into the Schools, and when the Vice-Chancellor, the Prolocutor and Doctors were placed, and four appointed to be *Exceptores Argumentorum*, set at a Table in the midst, and four Notaries sitting with them, Dr. Cranmer came to the Answerers place, the Mayor and Aldermen sitting by him, and so the Disputation began to be set a work by the Prolocutor with a short *Prælium*. Dr. Chesley began to argue first, and ere he left, the Prolocutor divers times, Dr. Tresham, Ogletborpe, Marshal, Vice-Chancellor, Pys, Cole, and Harpsfield did interrupt and press him with their Arguments, so that every man said somewhat, as the Prolocutor would suffer, disorderly, sometime in *Latin*, sometime in *English*, so that three hours of the time was spent ere the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge began; who also was interrupted as before. He began with three or four Questions subtilly. Here the Beadles had provided Drink, and offered the Answerer; but he refused with Thanks. The Prolocutor offered him, if he would make Water, or otherwise ease himself, he should. Thus the Disputation continued until almost two of the Clock, with this Applause *Audientium*; *vicit versari*. Then were all the Arguments written by the Four appointed, delivered into the hand of Mr. Sey Register. And as for the Prisoner, he was had away by the Mayor; And the Doctors Dined together at the University Colledge.

Dr Cranmer after disputation returned again to the Croft.

And thus much concerning the general order and manner of these Disputations, with such Circumstances as there happened, and things there done, as well before the Disputation, and in the preparation thereof, as also in the time of their Disputing. Now followeth to infer and declare the Orations, Arguments, and Answers, used and brought forth in the said Disputations on both parts.

The Arguments, Reasons, and Allegations used in this Disputation. Anno 1554.

ON Monday, Doctor Weston, with all the residue of the Visitors, Censors, and Opponents, repairing to the Divinity School, each one called themselves in their places. Dr. Cranmer with a rout of Ruffly Bills was brought thither, and set in the Answerers place, with the Mayor and Aldermen sitting by him. Where Dr. Weston Prolocutor, apparelled in a Scarlet-Gown, after the Custom of the University, began the Disputation with this Oration. His Words in *Latin*, as he spake them, were these.

Convenistis hodie, fratres, profigituri detestandum illam hæresim de veritate corporis Christi in Sacramento, &c. that is, *Ye are assembled hither, Brethren, this day, to confound the detestable Heresie of the Verity of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament, &c.* At which Words thus pronounced of the Prolocutor unawares, divers of the Learned Men there present, considering and well weighing the words by him uttered, burst out into a great Laughter, as though, even in the entrance of the Disputations, he had betrayed himself and his Religion, that termed the Opinion of the Verity of Christs Body in the Sacrament a detestable Heresie. The rest of his Oration tended all to this effect, That it was not lawful by Gods Word to call these Questions into Controversie: for such as doubted of the words of Christ, might well be thought to doubt both of the Truth and Power of God. Whereunto Dr. Cranmer desiring license, answered in this wise.

We are assembled (saith he) to dispute these doubtful Controversies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the World; whereof ye think it unlawful to dispute. It is indeed no reason (saith he) that we should dispute of that which is determined upon, before the Truth be tried. But if these Questions be not called into Controversie, surely mine Answer then is looked for in vain. This was the sum and effect of his Answer; and this done he prepared himself to Disputation.

Then Chesley the first Opponent began in this wise to Dr. Cranmer's Disputation.

Reverend Mr. Doctor, these three Conclusions are put forth unto us at present to Dispute upon;

1. In the Sacrament of the Altar is the Natural Body Arden of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also his Blood present really under the forms of Bread and Wine, by virtue of Gods Word pronounced by the Priest.

2. There remaineth no Substance of Bread and Wine after the Consecration, nor any other Substance, but the Substance of God and Man.

3. The lively Sacrifice of the Church is in the Mass Propitiatory, as well for the quick as the dead.

These be the Conclusions propounded, whereupon this our present Controversie doth rest. Now to the end we might not doubt how you take the fame, you have already given up unto us your Opinion thereof. I term it your Opinion, in that it disagreeeth from the Catholic. Wherefore I thus argue.

Ched. Your Opinion differeth from the Scripture.

Ergo. You are deceived.

Cran. I deny the Antecedent.

Ched. Christ when he instituted his last Supper, spake to his Disciples, *Take, eat, this is my Body which shall be given for you.*

But his true Body was given for us:

Ergo. His true Body is in the Sacrament.

The right form of this Argument is thus to be framed.

De. The fame which was given for us is in the Sacrament.

Ched. But his true Body was given for us:

Ergo. His true Body is in the Sacrament.

Cran. His true Body is truly present to them that truly receive him; but spiritually. And so it is taken after a Spiritual sort. For when he said, *This is my Body*, it is all one as if he had said, *This is the breaking of my Body, This is the shedding of my Blood.* As oft as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my Body, and the shedding of my Blood; that as truly as you receive this Sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily.

Ched.

1554.
April 16.

Dr. Weston speaks thus that he will.

Answer How Christs Body is present in the Sacrament.

Anno 1554. Ched. Your Opinion differeth from the Church, which faith that the true Body is in the Sacrament.

Ergo, Your Opinion therein is false. Cran. I say and agree with the Church, that the Body of Christ is in the Sacrament effectually, because the Passion of Christ is effectual.

Ched. Christ when he spake these words, *This is my Body*, spake of the Substance, but not of the effect.

Cran. I grant he spake of the Substance, and not of the Effect after a fort: and yet it is most true that the Body of Christ is effectually in the Sacrament. But I deny that he is there truly present in Bread, or that under the Bread is his organical Body. And because it should be too tedious (he said) to make discourse of the whole, he delivered up there his Opinion thereof to Doctor Weston written at large; which answers to every one of their three Propositions: which he desired Dr. Weston, sitting there on high, to read openly to the People; which he promised to do. But it was not the first Promise that such Papists have broken.

The Copy of this Writing although it were not there read, yet the Contents thereof we have drawn out as follows.

An Explication of Cranmer upon the foresaid Conclusions exhibited in Writing.

Cranmer. In the Assertions of the Church and of Religion, trifling and new fangled Novelities of words, so much as may be, are to be eschewed, whereof ariseth nothing but contention and brawling about words, and we must follow, so much as we may, the manner of speaking of the Scripture.

In the first Conclusion, if ye understand by this word (Really) *Re ipsa*, i. in very deed and effectually, so Christ by the grace and efficacy of his Passion, is in deed and truly present to all his true and holy Members.

But if ye understand by this word (Really) *Corporaliter*, i. Corporally; so that by the Body of Christ is understood a Natural Body and Organical; so the first Proposition doth vary, not only from the usual Speech and Phrase of Scripture, but also is clean contrary to the holy Word of God, and Christian Profession: when as both the Scripture doth testify by these words, and also the Catholick Church hath professed from the beginning, *Christ to have left the World, and to sit at the right hand of the Father till he come to Judgment.*

And likewise I answer to the second Question; that is, *That it suer-verb from the accustomed manner and speech of Scripture.*

The third Conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous words, and differing also much from the true speech of the Scripture, so as the Words thereof seem to import no open sense, is most contumelious against our only Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious Blood, which upon the Altar of the Cross is the only Sacrifice and Oblation for the Sins of all Mankind.

Ched. By this your Interpretation which you have made upon the first Conclusion, this I understand, the Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament only by the way of Participation: inasmuch as we communicating thereof, do participate the Grace of Christ, so that you mean hereby only the effect thereof. But our Conclusion standeth upon the Substance, and not the Efficacy only, which shall appear by the testimony both of Scriptures, and of all the Fathers a Thousand years after Christ.

And first to begin with the Scripture, let us consider what is written in *Matt. 26. Mark 14. Luke 22.* and *1 Cor. 11. Matthew saith, As they sat at Supper, Jesus took Bread, &c. In Mark there is the same sense, although not the same words, who also for one part of the Sacrament speaketh more plainly, Jesus taking Bread, &c. After the same sense also writeth Luke 22. And when Jesus had taken Bread, &c. In the mouth of two or three Witnesses, faith the Scripture, standeth all Truth. Here we have three Witnesses together, that Christ said that to be his Body which was given for many, and that to be his Blood which should be shed for many; whereby is declared the Substance, and not only the Efficacy alone thereof. Ergo, It is not true that*

that you say, there to be not the Substance of his Body, but the Efficacy alone thereof.

Cran. Thus you gather upon mine Answer, as though I did mean of the Efficacy, and not of the Substance of the Body; but I mean of them both, as well of the Efficacy as of the Substance. And forasmuch as all things come not readily to memory, to a man that shall speak extempore, therefore for the more ample and fuller Answer in this matter, this Writing here I do exhibit.

An Explication exhibited by Cranmer.

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the time of his Maundy, preparing himself to dye for our Cause, that he might redeem us from Eternal death, to forgive us all our Sins, and to cancel out the Hand-writing that was against us; that we through ungrateful Oblivion should not forget his Death, therefore at the time of his Holy Supper did institute a perpetual memory of this his Death, to be celebrated among Christians in Bread and Wine, according as it is said: *Do this in remembrance of me. And so often as you eat this Bread and drink this Cup, you shall shew forth the Lords death till he come.* And this Remembrance or Sacrament of his holy Passion, that is, of his Body slain, and Blood shed, he would all Christians to frequent and celebrate in Bread and Wine, according as he said, *Take eat, and drink ye all of this.* Therefore whosoever for mans Tradition denieth the Cup of Christs Blood to Lay men, they manifestly repugn against Christ, forbidding that which Christ commandeth to be done, and be like to those Scribes and Pharisees of whom the Lord spake; *Ye hypocrites, ye have rejected the Commandments of God for your Traditions. Well did Elay prophesie of you, saying, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Without cause do they worship me, teaching the Doctrine, and Precepts of men.* The Sacrament and mystical Bread being broken and distributed after the Institution of Christ, and the mystical Wine being likewise taken and received, be not only Sacraments of the Flesh of Christ wounded for us, and of his Blood-shedding, but also be most certain Sacraments for us, and (as a man would say) Seals of Gods Promises and Gifts, and also of that holy Fellowship which we have with Christ and all his Members. Moreover, they be to us Memorials of that Heavenly food and nourishment, whereby we are nourished unto Eternal life, and the thirst of our boyling Conscience quenched, and finally, whereby the hearts of the Faithful be replenished with unspeakable Joy, and be corroborated and strengthened unto all works of godliness. *We are many (saith St Paul) one Bread, and one Body, all we which do participate of one Bread, and one Cup. And Christ saith: Eat ye this is my Body. And, Drink ye, this is my Blood. And, I am the living Bread which came down from Heaven. He that eateth me, shall also live for ever. Not as your Fathers did eat Manna in the Desert, and are dead: He that eateth me, shall also live for ever.*

Thus therefore true Bread and true Wine remain still in the Eucharist, until they be consumed of the Faithful, to be Signs, and as Seals unto us annexed unto Gods Promises, making us certain of Gods Gifts towards us. Also Christ remaineth in them, and they in Christ, which eat his Flesh and drink his Blood, as Christ himself hath promised: *They that eat my Flesh, and drink my Blood, abide in me, and I in them.* Moreover, he abideth also in them which worthily receive the outward Sacrament, neither doth he depart so soon as the Sacrament is consumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nourishing us so long as we remain Bodies of that Head, and Members of the same. I acknowledge not here the Natural Body of Christ, which is only Spiritual, unintelligible, and Ineffable, having no distinction of Members and Parts in it: But that Body only I acknowledge and worship, which was born of the Virgin, which suffered for us, which is visible, palpable, and hath all the Form, and Shape, and Parts of the true Natural Body of Man. Christ spake not these words of any uncertain Substance, but of the certain Substance of Bread, which he then held in his Hands, and shewed his Disciples when he said, *Eat ye, this is my Body:* And likewise when he said, *Drink ye, this is my Blood* of the Cup, when he said, *Drink ye, this is my Blood*

Substance and efficacy both grace and substance.

Another Explication for Answer, exhibited in writing by the Arch-bishop.

Matth. 23. Luke 7.

Sacraments Seals of Gods Free- miltia.

1 Cor. 10.

Matth. 26.

John 6.

Bread and Wine remain still in the Eucharist, and be Seals to us annexed with Gods Promises.

Christs words are spoken not of an uncertain Substance, but of a certain Substance of Bread.

meaning verily of that Bread which by nature is usual and common with us, which is taken out of the Fruit of the ground, compacted by the uniting of many Grains together made by Man, and by Mans hand brought to that visible shape, being of round compass, and without all fennel or life, which nourisheth the Body, and strengtheneth the Heart of Man: Of this same Bread (I say) and not of any uncertain and wandering Substante, the Old Fathers say that Christ spake these words, *Eat ye, this is my Body.* And likewise also of the Wine, which is the Creature and Fruit of the Vine pressed out of many Clusters of Grapes, and maketh Mans Heart merry, of the very same Wine (I say) Christ spake, *Drink ye, this is my Blood.* And so the Old Doctors do call this taking of Christ Tropical, Figurative, Analogical, Allegorical, which they do interpret after this sort, that although the Substance of Bread and Wine do remain, and be received of the Faithful, yet notwithstanding Christ changed the appellation thereof, and called the Bread by the name of his Flesh, and the Wine by the name of his Blood, *Non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio, i. Not that it is so in very deed, but signified in a mystery.* So that we should consider, not what they be in their own nature, but what they import to us and signify, and should understand the Sacrament not carnally, but spiritually, and should attend not to the Visible nature of the Sacraments, neither have respect only to the outward Bread and Cup, thinking to see there with our Eyes no other things but only Bread and Wine, But that lifting up our Minds we should look up to the Blood of Christ with our Faith, should touch him with our Mind, and receive him with our Inward man, and that being like Eagles in this life, we should fly up into Heaven in our Hearts, where that Lamb is resident at the Right hand of his Father, which taketh away the Sins of the World, by whose Stripes we are made whole; by whose Passion we are filled at his Table, and whose Blood we receiving out of his holy Side, do live for ever, being made the Guests of Christ, having him dwelling in us through the Grace of his true Nature, and through the virtue and efficacy of his whole Passion, being no less assured and certified, that we are fed Spiritually unto Eternal life by Christs Flesh crucified, and by his Blood shed, the true Food of our Minds, than that our Bodies be fed with Meat and Drink in this life: and hereof this said mystical Bread on the Table of Christ, and the mystical Wine, being administered and received after the Institution of Christ, be to us a Memorial, a Pledge, a Token, a Sacrament, and a Seal.

How the
D. do take
the Body
of Christ
Tropically,
Figuratively,
Analogically,
Allegorically.
Bread called
by the name
of the Body.

In the Sacrament
is to be considered
not what is in
Nature, but
what is signified
in Mystery.

The Sacrament
is a Memorial,
a Pledge, a
Token, a
Sacrament,
and a Seal.

What is
meant by
eat up the
Mystical
Bread.

What the
Crucified
Body of
Christ doth
to our Souls.

The Sacrifice
of Christ is
not offered
for all.

Eph. 5.

And thereof it is that Christ saith not thus; *This is my Body, eat ye:* but after he had bidden them eat, then he said, *This is my Body, which shall be given for you,* which is to mean, as though he should say, *In eating of this Bread, consider you that this Bread is no common thing, but a Mystical matter; neither do you attend that which is set before your bodily Eyes, but what feedeth you within: Consider and behold my Body crucified for you, that eat and digest in your Minds, Chew you upon my Passion, be fed with my Death, this is the true Meat, this is the Drink that moisteneth, wherewith you being truly fed, and mebrate, shall live for ever. The Bread and Wine which be set before your Eyes are only Declarations of Me, but I my self am the Eternal Food. Wherefore whensoever at this my Table you shall behold the Sacraments, have not regard so much to them, as consider ye what I promise to you by them, which is my Self to be Meat for you of Eternal life.*

The only Oblation of Christ (wherewith he offered himself to God the Father once to death upon the Altar of the Cross for our Redemption) was of such Efficacy, that there is no more need of any Sacrifice for the Redemption of the whole World, but all the Sacrifices of the Old Law he took away, performing that in very deed, which they did signify and promise. Whosoever therefore shall fix the hope of his Salvation in any other Sacrifice, he falleth from the Grace of Christ, and is contumacious against the Blood of Christ. For He was wounded for our Transgressions, and was broken for our Iniquities. All we like sheep have wandered astray. Every man hath turned after his own way, and the Lord hath laid all our Iniquities upon him. For he hath en-

tered once for all into the Holy place by the Blood, not of Goats or Calves, but by his own Blood, finding eternal Redemption: And hath entered into Heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us, to offer himself oftentimes (for so should he have suffered many times,) but now hath he appeared once to put away sin, through his own Oblation. And as it is appointed to all men once to dye, so also Christ once was offered: Who offering up one Oblation for Sins, sitteth now for ever on the right hand of God. For by one Oblation hath he made perfect for ever those that be sanctified. For where is remission of Sins, there is now no Oblation for Sin, but this only Sacrifice of Christ; whosoever shall seek any other Sacrifice Propitiatory for Sin, maketh the Sacrifice of Christ of no validity, force, or efficacy. For if it be sufficient to remit Sins, what need is there of any other? For the necessity of another argueth and declareth this to be insufficient. Almighty God grant that we may truly lean to one Sacrifice of Christ, and that we to him again may repay our Sacrifices of Thanksgiving, of Praise, of Confessing his Name, of true Amendment, of Repentance, of Mercifulness towards our Neighbours, and of all other good Works of Charity. For by such Sacrifices we shall declare our selves neither ingrateful to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy Sacrifice of Christ. And thus you have out of the Testimonies of holy Scripture, and of the Ancient Doctors of the Church, the true and sincere use of the Lords holy Supper, and the fruit of the true Sacrifice of Christ. Which whosoever through captious or wrested Interpretations, or by mens Traditions, shall go about, otherwise than Christ ordained them, to alter or Transubstantiate, he shall answer to Christ in the latter Day, when he shall understand (but then too late) that he hath no participation with the Body and Blood of Christ, but that out of the Supper of Eternal life he hath eaten and drunken eternal Damnation to himself.

Welf. Because we will not consume and spend the time in waste, this your Writing which you exhibit, hereafter shall be read in this place. In the mean season let us now fall to the Arguments.

Ched. The Scriptures in many places do affirm, that Christ gave his Natural Body, *Matth. 26. Mark 14. Luke 22.*

Ergo, I do conclude that the Natural Body is in the Sacrament.

Cran. To your Argument I answer: If you understand by the Body Natural (*Organicum*), that is, having flesh proportion and members as he had living here, then I Answer Negatively.

Furthermore, Concerning the Evangelists, thus I say and grant, that Christ took Bread, and called it his Body.

Ched. The Text of the Scripture maketh against you, for the Circumstance thereto annexed doth teach us, not only there to be the Body, but also teacheth us what manner of Body it is, and saith, *The same Body which shall be given.*

Ans. That thing is here contained, that is given for us. But the Substance of Bread is not given for us.

Ergo, The Substance of Bread is not here contained.

Cran. I understand not yet what you mean by this word Contained: If ye mean Really, then I deny your Major.

Ched. The Major is the Text of Scripture. He that denieth the Major, denieth the Scripture. For the Scripture saith, *This is my Body which is given for you.*

Cran. I grant he said it was his Body which should be given, but he said it was not his Body which is here contained; but the Body (saith he) that shall be given for you. As though he should say, *This Bread is the breaking of my Body, and this Cup is the shedding of my Blood.* What will ye say then? Is the Bread the breaking of his Body, and the Cup the shedding of his Blood really? if you say so, I deny it.

Ched. If you ask what is the Thing therein contained; because his Apostles should not doubt what Body it was that should be given, he saith, *This is my Body which shall be given for you, and my Blood which shall be shed for many.* Ergo, Here is the same Substance of the Body, This is my Body which the day after was given, and the same Blood which was shed. And here I urge the Scripture, which teacheth that it was no phantasmal, no feigned, no Spiritual Body, nor Body in Faith, but the Substance of the Body.

Anno 1554.

Heb. 9.

Heb. 9. 27.

No Sacrifice now for Sin, but One.

Christ saith, I feed once for Sins, we sacrifice daily by Thanksgiving, and thankful works of Charity.

Answer.

Argument.

Answer:

This word

(Contained)

denieth the

Scripture.

The Body of

Christ con-

tained not

Really, but

Sacramen-

tally.

Christ saith

not, This is

my Body

which is

here con-

tained, but,

This is my

Body which

shall be gi-

ven for you.

Cran.

Anno 1554. Cran. You must prove that it is contained, but Christ said not which is contained. He gave Bread, and called that his Body. I stick not in the words of the Scripture, but in your word, which is figined and imagined of your self.

Ched. When Christ took Bread and brake it, what gave he?

Cran. He gave Bread. The Bread Sacramentally, and his Body Spiritually, and the Bread there he called his Body.

Ched. This Answer is against the Scripture, which saith, that he gave his Body.

Cran. It did signifie that which he did eat.

Ched. They did not eat the Body as the Capernaite did understand it, but the self same Body which was given for the Sins of the World. Ergo, It was his Body which should be given, and his Blood which should be shed.

In some other Copies I find this Argument to be made by Chedley.

Argument. Ba. The same Body is in the Sacrament, which was given for us on the Crofs.

ra. But Bread was not given on the Crofs for us:

co. Ergo, Bread is not given in the Sacrament.

Answer. Cran. I deny the Major, which is, that the same Natural Body is given in the Sacrament, which was given on the Crofs, except you understand it Spiritually. And after he denied also the Argument as utterly naught, as he might well do, the Major in the second Figure being not universal.

When Mr. Chedley had put forth his Argument, and professed the same, and Dr. Cranmer answered as before, as shewed, Dr. Oglethorpe, one of those Doctors which the Prolocutor called Centores (belike to be Arbiters to order the Disputations) said on this wise.

D. Ogle. You come in still with one evasion or starting hole to flee to. He urgeth the Scriptures, saying that Christ gave his very Body. You say, that he gave his Body in Bread. *Quomodo predicatur corpus? qualis est corpus? qualis est predicatio? panis est corpus.*

Cran. You should say, *Quale corpus.* I answer to the Question: It is the same Body which was born of the Virgin, was crucified, ascended; but tropically, and by a figure. And so I say, *Panis est corpus*, is a figurative Speech, speaking Sacramentally, for it is a Sacrament of his Body.

Ogle. This word *Body*, being *predicatum*, doth signifie Substantia.

But *Substantia* is not predicated denominatively. Ergo, It is an Essential predication, and so it is his true Body, and not the figure of his Body.

Cran. *Substantia* may be predicated denominatively in an Allegory, or in a Metaphor, or in a Figurative locution.

Ogle. It is not a likely thing that Christ hath less care for his Spouse the Church, than a wife Houfholder hath for his Family in making his Will or Testament.

Your Reason is drawn out of the affairs of Men, and not taken out of the holy Scriptures.

Ogle. But no Houfholder maketh his Testament after that sort.

Cran. Yes, there are many that so do. For what matter is it so it be understood and perceived? I say Christ did use figurative Speech in no place more than in his Sacraments, and especially in this of his Supper.

Ogle. No man of purpose doth use Tropes in his Testament, for if he do, he deceiveth them that he comprehendeth in his Testament: therefore Christ useth none here.

Cran. Yes, He may use them well enough. You know not what Tropes are.

Ogle. The good Man of the house hath respect that his Heirs, after his departure, may live in quiet and without brabbling.

But they cannot be in quiet if he do use Tropes: Therefore (I say) he useth no Tropes.

Cran. I deny your Minor.

West. Augustine in his Book intituled *De unitate Ecclesie*, the 10th Chapter, hath these words following:

Quid hoc est ergo? cum verba novissima hominis morientis audiantur iuxta ad inferos, nemo cum dicit esse mentum, & illius non iudicatur heres qui forte ea contemplerat. Quomodo ergo effugiamus verum Dei, si vel non credentes, vel contententes, expulsumus verba novissima, & unici filii Dei & Domini nostri Salvatoris, & duri in calum, & inde profecturi, quis ea negligat, quis non observet, & inde venturi ut de omnibus iudicet?

That is to say,

What a thing is this I pray you, when the last words of one lying upon his Death-bed are heard which is ready to go to his Grave, no man saith that he hath made a Lie, and he is not accounted his Heir which regardeth not those Words. How shall we then escape Gods Wrath, if either not believing or not regarding we shall reject the last Words both of the only Son of God, and also of our Lord and Saviour, both ascending into Heaven, and beholding from thence, who despoiled, who observeth them not, and so shall come from thence to judge all Men.

The Argument is thus formed:

Bar. Whosoever saith that the Testator lyeth, is a wicked Heir.

ba. But whosoever saith that Christ spake by figures, saith that he did lye.

ra. Ergo, Whosoever saith that Christ here spake by Figures, is a wicked Heir.

Cran. I deny the Minor. As who say it is necessary, Answer, that he which useth to speak by Tropes and Figures should lye in so doing.

Ogle. Your Judgment is disagreeing with all Churches. Cran. Nay, I disagree with the Papistical Church.

Ogle. This you do through the ignorance of Logick. Cran. Nay, this you say through the Ignorance of the Doctors.

Weston. I will go plainly to work by Scriptures. What took he?

Cran. Bread.

West. What gave he?

Cran. Bread.

West. What brake he?

Cran. Bread.

West. What did he eat?

Cran. Bread.

West. He gave Bread, therefore he gave not his Body. Argument? He gave not his Body, therefore it is not his Body

verily, and in deed and in truth.

Cran. I deny the Argument.

Cole. This Argument holdeth, *a disparatis*: It is *disparatis* is Bread, Ergo, It is not the Body; and it is such an Argument a School

or Reason, as cannot be dissolved. *argum, mouing diverse*

Cran. The like Argument may be made. He is a Rock, *Substantia, being so*

Ergo, He is not Christ. *fundred in nature, that*

Cole. It is not alike. *one can never be said to be the other.*

West. He gave not his Body indeed: Ergo, It was not his Body indeed. *The Sacrament, being the figure*

Cran. He gave his Death, his Passion, and the Sacrament of his Passion. And in very deed, setting the Figure aside, formally it is not his Body. *aside, formally it is not Christ's body.*

West. Why? then the Scripture is false. *dy.*

Cran. Nay, the Scripture is most true. *Christ.*

West. This saith Chrysostom, *Homil. 61. ad Pop. Antioch.* *Necessarium est, dilectissimi, mysterium dicere miraculum quid tandem sit, & quare sit datum, & quare rei utilis, &c.*

That is to say,

Needful it is (Dear Friends) to tell you what the miracle of the Mysteries is, and wherefore it is given, and what profit there is of the thing. We are one Body, and Members of his Flesh and of his Bones. We that be in the Mystry, let us follow the thing which was spoken. Wherefore that we may become this thing, not only by love, but also that we may become one with that Flesh indeed, that is brought to pass by this food, which he gave unto us, minding to shew his great good will that he hath towards us: and therefore he mixed himself with us, and united his own Body with us, that we should be made all as one thing together, as a Body joyued and annexed to the Head, for this is a token of most ardent and perfect love. And the same thing Job also insinuating, said of his Servants, of whom he was desired

D. Oglethorpe breaketh the first of the head, and speaketh false Latin. Cranmer answers to Oglethorpe. Dr. Cranmer might have found fault with this Argument as well as with his Latin, being made in too much of figure.

Tropes may be used in mens Testaments: why not?

A. A. de Unitate Ecclesie

above measure, inasmuch that they; shewing their great desire toward him, said, who shall give unto us to be filled with his Flesh? Therefore also Christ did the same, who, to induce us into a great love toward him, and to declare his desire towards us, did not only give himself to be eaten of them that would, but also to be handled and eaten, and suffered us to fatten our Teeth in his Flesh, and to be united together, and so to fill all our desire. Like Lions therefore, as breathing fire, let us go from that Table, being made terrible to the Devil, remembering our Head in our mind, and his Charity which he shewed unto us. For Parents many times give their Children to other to be fed, but I do not so (saith he) but feed you with mine own Flesh, and set my self before you, desiring to make you all jolly People, and pretending to you great hope and expectation to look for things to come, who here give my self to you, but much more in the World to come. I am become your Brother, I took Flesh and blood for you. Again, my Flesh and Blood, by the which I am made your Kinsman, I deliver unto you.

Thus much out of *Chrysofom*. Out of which words I make this Argument.

The same Flesh whereby Christ is made our Brother and Kinsman, is given of Christ to us to be eaten.

Christ is made our Brother and Kinsman, by his true, natural, and organical Flesh.

Ergo, His true, natural, and organical Flesh, is given to us to be eaten.

Cran. I grant the consequence; and the consequent.

West. Therefore we eat it with our mouth.

Cran. I deny it. We eat it through Faith.

West. He gave us the same Flesh to eat whereby he became our Brother and Kinsman.

But he became our Brother and Kinsman by his true, natural, and organical Flesh.

Therefore he gave his true, natural, and organical Flesh to be eaten.

Cran. I grant he took and gave the same true, natural, and organical Flesh wherein he suffered, and yet he feedeth us spiritually, and that Flesh is received spiritually.

West. He gave us the same Flesh which he took of the Virgin.

But he took not the true Flesh of the Virgin spiritually, or in a figure.

Ergo, He gave his true natural Flesh, not spiritually.

Cran. Christ gave to us his own natural Flesh, the same wherein he suffered, but feedeth us spiritually.

West. *Chrysofom* is against you, *Hom. 83. in 26. cap. Matth.* where he saith; *Veniat tibi in mentem quo sis honore honoratus, qua mensa fruatur. Ea namque re nos alimur, quam Angeli, &c.*

That is to say;

Let it come into thy remembrance with what honour thou art honoured, and what Table thou sittest at: for with the same thing we are nourished, which the Angels do behold and tremble at: neither are they able to behold it without great fear, for the brightness which cometh thereof; and we be brought and compact into one heap or mass with him, being together one Body of Christ, and one Flesh with him. Who shall speak the powers of the Lord, and shall declare forth all his Praises? What Pastor hath ever nourished his Sheep with his own Members? Many Mothers have put forth their Infants after their birth to other Nurses: which he would not do, but feedeth us with his own Body, and conjoyneth and uniteth us to himself.

Whereupon I gather this Argument.

Like as Mothers nurse their Children, with Milk, so Christ nourisheth us with his Body.

But Mothers do not nourish their Infants spiritually with their Milk:

Therefore Christ doth not nourish those that be his spiritually with his Blood.

Cran. He gave us the Wine for his Blood.

West. If he gave the Wine for his Blood (as you say) then he gave less than Mothers do give.

But *Chrysofom* affirmeth, that he gave more than Mothers give.

Therefore he gave not the Wine for his Blood.

Cran. You pervert mine Answer. He gave Wine, yet the Blood is considered therein. As for Example: When he giveth Baptism, we consider not the Water, but the Holy Ghost, and Remission of Sins. We receive with the mouth the Sacrament; but the thing and the matter of the Sacrament we receive by Faith.

West. When Christ said, *Eat ye*, whether meant he by the Mouth or by Faith?

Cran. He meant that we should receive the Body by Faith, the Bread by the Mouth.

West. Nay, the Body by the Mouth.

Cran. That I deny.

West. I prove it out of *Chrysofom*, writing upon the 50th Psalm.

Erubescit fieri nutrix, quæ facta est mater. Christus autem non ita ipse nutritor est noster: idcirco pro cibo carne propria non pascit, & pro potu suum sanguinem nobis propinavit. Item in 26. Matthæi, Homil. 83. Non enim sufficit ipsi hominem fieri, flagellis interim cedi: sed nos secum in unam, ut ita dicam, massam reducit, neque id fide soluit, sed re ipsa nos corpus suum efficit.

That is to say;

She that is a Mother, shameth sometime to play the Nurse. But Christ our Nurse doth not so play with us. Therefore instead of Meat he feedeth us with his own Flesh, and instead of Drink he feedeth us with his own Blood. Likewise, upon the 26th Chapter of *Matthew*, the 83 Homily, he saith: for it shall not be enough for him to become Man, and in the mean while to be whipped; but he doth bring us into one mass or lump with himself (as I may so call it) and maketh us his Body, not by Faith alone, but also in very deed.

Cran. I grant, we make one Nature with Christ. But that to be done with Mouth I deny.

West. *Chrysofom. 2. Cor. cap. 13. Hom. 29.* hath these words, *Chrysofom* alleged by D. W. Hom. 29. in Epist. 3. Cor. cap. 13. *Non vulgarem honorem consequutum est os nostrum, accipiens corpus Dominicum, i. No little honour is given to our Mouth, receiving the Body of the Lord.*

Cran. This I say, that Christ entrench into us both by our Ears and by our Eyes. With our Mouth we receive the Body of Christ, and tear it with our Teeth, that is to say, the Sacrament of the Body of Christ. Wherefore I say and affirm, that the virtue of the Sacrament is much: and therefore *Chrysofom* many times speaketh of Sacraments no otherwise, than of Christ himself, as I could prove, if I might have liberty to speak, by many places of *Chrysofom*, where he speaketh of the Sacrament of the Body of Christ.

With which word of the Sacrament of the Body, &c. D. Cole being highly offended, denied it to be the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, save only of the Mystical Body which is the Church.

Cran. And why should we doubt to call it the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, offered upon the Cross, seeing both Christ and the Ancient Fathers do so call it?

Cole. How gather you that of *Chrysofom*?

Cran. *Chrysofom* declareth himself, *Lib. 3. de Sacram. cap. 3. O miraculum, O Dei in nos benevolentia, Chrysofom* alleged by D. W. Hom. 29. in Epist. 3. Cor. cap. 13. *qui sursum sedet ad dextram Patris, sacrificii tamen tempore hominum manibus continetur, traditurque lambere cupientibus eum! Fit autem id nullis præstigiis, sed a deo. peris & circumspicientibus circumstantium omnium oculis.*

That is to say;

O Miracle, O the good Will of God towards us, which sitteth above at the Right hand of the Father, and is holden in mens hands at the Sacrifices time, and is given to feed upon, to them that are desirous of him: And that is brought to pass by no subtilty or craft, but with the open and beholding Eyes of all the Standers-by.

Thus you hear Christ is seen here in Earth every day, is touched, is torn with the Teeth, that our Tongue is red with his Blood; which no Man having any Judgment will say or think to be spoken without Trope or Figure.

West. What Miracle is it if it be not his Body, and if he spake only of the Sacrament, as though it were his Body?

Eut

Dr. Westons Argument without error or figure.

Dr. Westons Argument denied: we are the true Body of Christ: Ergo, we eat it with our Mouth. A figurative Argument.

Falsely deduced conclusion, and ad simpliciter.

Answer. *Chrysofom* alleged by Dr. Weston. *Hom. 83. in 26. cap. Matth.*

Another fallacious Argument, wherein the third figure the Minor is a Negative.

Answer. Argument.

Anno

1554.

Christ nourished us both with Bread and with his Body: with his Body our Souls.

A gross saying.

Dr. Weston.

Chry. alleged by

Dr. Weston.

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Anno 1554. But hearken what *Chrysoſtom* ſaith, *Hom. 34. Quod ſummo honore dignum eſt, id tibi in terra oſtendo. Nam quemadmodum in Regis non parietes, non lectus aureus, ſed regium corpus in throno ſedens omnium preſantiſſimum eſt: Ita quoque in celis Regium corpus, quod nunc in terra proponitur. Non Angelus, non Archangelus, non celos colorum, ſed ipſum horum omnium Dominum tibi oſtendo. Animadvertis quoniam paſſio, quod omnium maximum eſt, atque præcipuum in terra, non conſpicitur tantum ſed tangis, neque ſolum tangis, ſed comedis; atque eo accepto domum redis. Abſterge igitur ab omni ſorde animam tuam.*

Chryſoſtom alledged by Dr. Wylſon. Chryſoſtom.

14.

That is to ſay.

I ſhew forth that thing on the Earth unto thee, which is worthy the greateſt Honour. For like as in the Palace of Kings, neither the Walls, nor the ſumptuous Bed, but the Body of Kings ſitting under the cloth of Eſtate, and Royal Seat of Maſteſty, is of all things elſe the moſt Excellent: ſo is in like manner the Kings Body in Heaven, which is now ſet before us on Earth. I ſhew thee neither Angels nor Archangels, nor the Heaven of Heavens, but the very Lord and Maſter of all theſe things. Thou perceivelt after what ſort thou doelt not only behold, but touchelt, and not only toucheſt, but eatelt that which on the Earth is the greateſt and chiefelt thing of all others, and when thou haſt received the ſame, thou goeſt home; wherefore cleanſe thy Soul from all Uncleaneſſe.

Upon this, I conclude that the Body of Chriſt is ſhewed us upon the Earth.

Cran. What? upon the Earth? no Man ſeeth Chriſt upon the Earth: He is ſeen with the Eyes of our Mind, with Faith and Spirit.

Wylſ. I pray you, what is it that ſeemeth worthy hiſt Honour on the Earth? Is it the Sacrament, or elſe the Body of Chriſt?

Cran. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaketh of the Sacrament, and the Body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth in the Sacrament.

Wylſ. *Ergo*, Then the Sacrament is worthy greateſt Honour.

Cran. I deny the Argument.

Wylſ. That thing is ſhewed forth, and is now in the Earth (*oſtenditur*) & (a) (*eſt*) which is worthy hiſt Honour.

But only the Body of Chriſt is worthy hiſt Honour. *Ergo*, The Body of Chriſt is now on the Earth.

Cran. I anſwer, the Body of Chriſt to be on the Earth, but ſo as in the Sacrament, and as the Holy Ghoſt is in the Water of Baptiſm.

Wylſ. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith (*oſtendo*) I ſhew forth, which noteth a Subſtance to be preſent.

Cran. That is to be underſtood Sacramentally.

Wylſ. He ſaith (*oſtendo in terra*) I ſhew forth on Earth, declaring alſo the place where.

Cran. That is to be underſtood Figuratively,

Wylſ. He is ſhewed forth, and is now on the Earth, &c. as before.

Cran. Your Major and Conclusion are all one.

Wylſ. But the Major is true: *Ergo*, the Conclusion ſhould be true.

That thing is on the Earth, which is worthy of moſt high Honour.

But no Figure is worthy of hiſt Honour.

Ergo, That which is on the Earth, is no Figure.

Cran. I anſwer, that is true Sacramentally.

Here *Wylſon* crieth to him, that he ſhould anſwer to one part, bidding him repeat his Words. Which when he went about to do, ſuch was the Noiſe and crying out in the School, that his mild Voice could not be heard. For

when he went about to declare to the People how the Prolocutor did not well Engliſh the Words of *Chryſoſtom*, uſing for *oſtenditur* in terra, He is ſhewed forth on the Earth, *eſt in terra*, He is on the Earth, whereas *Chryſoſtom* ſaith not (*eſt*) nor any ſuch word of being on the Earth, but only of ſhewing, as the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, in Baptiſmo *oſtenditur*, i. is ſhewed forth in Baptiſm: and oftentimes he did inculcate the word *oſtenditur*. Then the Prolocutor, ſtretching forth his hand, ſet on the rude People to cry out at him, filling all the School with hiſſing, clapping of hands, and noiſe, calling him *indoctum, imperitum, impudentem*, i. unlearned, unſkilful, impudent. Which impudent and reproachful words this Reverend Man moſt patiently and meekly did abide, as one that had been inu-

red with the ſuffering of ſuch-like reproaches. And when the Prolocutor, not yet ſatiſfied with this rude and unſenſibly demeanour, did urge and call upon him to anſwer the Argument: Then ſic bad the Notary repeat his Words again.

Notary. That which is worthy moſt high Honour, here I ſhew forth to thee on Earth.

The Body of Chriſt is worthy hiſt Honour.

Ergo, He ſheweth forth the Body of Chriſt here in Earth. *Cran.* That is ſhewed forth here on the Earth which

may be ſeen, which may be touched, and which may be eaten, but theſe things be not true of the Body.

Cole. Why ſhould not theſe things be true of the Body of Chriſt?

Cran. The Major out of *Chryſoſtom* is true, meaning of the Sacraments. For in the Sacrament the true Body of Chriſt, and not the Figurative Body, is ſet forth:

Wylſ. Shew me ſomewhat in Earth worthy greateſt Honour.

Cran. I cannot, but in the Sacrament only.

Wylſ. *Ergo*, The Sacrament is worthy greateſt Honour.

Cran. So it is.

Judges. Let it be written.

Cran. I pray you let my Anſwer be written likewiſe: I affirm, that the Body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth unto us. It is our Faith that ſeeth Chriſt.

Wylſ. *Oſtendo tibi*, i. I ſhew it to thee, ſaith *Chryſoſtom*, not to thy Faith.

Cran. He ſpeaketh Sacramentally.

Wylſ. *Ergo*, *Chryſoſtom* lieth. For he ſpeaketh of ſhewing, ſaith: *Ego Chryſoſtomus oſtendo*, i. I Chryſoſtom do ſhew. But he can ſhew nothing Sacramentally.

Cred. By force of Argument we are brought to this Point, That the Body of Chriſt is proved to be on Earth, not only Sacramentally, but in very deed alſo, by this reaſon, that it is worthy hiſt Honour. The reaſon is indiſſoluble.

Cran. I never heard a more vain Argument, and it is moſt vain; alſo it hath mine Anſwer unto it.

Cred. Will you affirm, that it is abſurd which *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, that the Body of Chriſt is touched?

I touch the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, as *Thomas* touched Chriſt.

Thomas touched Chriſt, and ſaid, *Dominus meus; Deus meus*, my Lord, my God.

Ergo, That which he touched was the Lord, the God.

¶ This Argument, as I received it out of the Notaries Book, is not formal; but rather he ſhould conclude in the third Figure thus:

Da. As *Thomas* touched the Body of Chriſt, ſo we touch it in the Sacrament.

ti. *Thomas* touched the Body of Chriſt Corporally.

ſi. *Ergo*, We touch the Body of Chriſt Corporally in the Sacrament.

Cran. I deny your Argument. He touched not God, but him which was God. Neither is it found Doctrine to affirm, that God is touched.

Cred. This is becauſe of the Union; jo that God is ſaid to be touched, when Chriſt, which is both God and Man, is touched.

Tertullian de *carnis Reſurrectione*, ſaith, *Videamus de propria Chriſtiani hominis forma, quam a huius ſubſtantiæ ſtrivola & ſordida apud Deum prerogativa ſit. Eſt iuſſerit illi, quod nulla omnino anima ſalutem poſſet adipiſci, dum eſt in carne, crediderit: adeo caro ſalutis caro eſt, de qua cum anima Deo alligatur, ipſa eſt qua eſſicit ut anima alligari poſſit; ſed & caro abſolvitur, ut anima emanculeſcit; caro ungitur, ut anima conſecratur; ſignatur, ut anima muniatur; caro manibus impoſitione adumbratur; ut anima Spiritu illuminetur; caro corpore & ſanguine Chriſti reſcitur, ut anima de Deo ſignetur.*

That is to ſay.

Let us conſider as concerning the proper form of the Chriſtian Man, what great Prerogative this vain and foul ſubſtance of ours hath with God. Although it were ſufficient to it, that no Soul could ever get Salvation, unleſs it believe while it is in the fleſh: ſo much the fleſh availeth to Salvation; by the which fleſh it cometh, that whereas the Soul ſeis linked unto God, it is the ſaid fleſh that cauſeth the Soul to be linked: Yet the Fleſh moreover is waſhed that

How the Body of Chriſt is ſhewed us upon the Earth.

(c) This word (*eſt*) is not in *Chryſoſtom*. This Argument of *Wylſon*, ſtanding only upon affirmatives in the ſecond figure, hath no perfect form in Logic.

Cranmer anſwereth to the place of *Chryſoſtom*, how Chriſt is ſhewed forth on the earth, not bodily, but in a Sacrament, that is Sacramentally and figuratively.

Wylſon ſaith, ſeeth the words of *Chryſoſtom*.

There were words uſed in the ſchool againſt Dr. *Cranmer*.

The Argument of *Chryſy* is not formal.

God cannot be touched.

Tertullian de *Reſurrectione* hominis forma, quam a huius ſubſtantiæ ſtrivola & ſordida apud Deum prerogativa ſit. Eſt iuſſerit illi, quod nulla omnino anima ſalutem poſſet adipiſci, dum eſt in carne, crediderit: adeo caro ſalutis caro eſt, de qua cum anima Deo alligatur, ipſa eſt qua eſſicit ut anima alligari poſſit; ſed & caro abſolvitur, ut anima emanculeſcit; caro ungitur, ut anima conſecratur; ſignatur, ut anima muniatur; caro manibus impoſitione adumbratur; ut anima Spiritu illuminetur; caro corpore & ſanguine Chriſti reſcitur, ut anima de Deo ſignetur.

Phoebe al-
 ledged by
 Chedsey.

D. Tresham
disputech.

Anno 1554. him, did (as you do now) elude the right meaning of it by his false Interpretations. But the Catholick Church hath always believed and ever maintained, *That Christ is one with the Father in Nature, and not by consent of Will only.* To the proof whereof, when the Catholicks vouched this Testimony of *John, Pater & Ego unum sumus*, i. *The Father and I are one:* The *Arrians* Answered, that (*unum sumus*) was to be understood by the assent of their Wills, and agreement of their Minds, not by Unity of their Natures. Thus it happeneth now adays, where Men do doubt of the Sacrament. But *Hilary* going on, and proving the Natural conjunction between the Father and the Son *à fortiori*, questioneth with his Adversaries after this manner. I demand of them now which will needs have the Unity of Will only between the Father and the Son, whether Christ be now in us truly by Nature, or only by the agreement of Wills. If (saith he) the word be incarnate in very deed, and we receive at the Lords Table the Word made flesh, how then is he to be thought not to dwell in us naturally, who being born Man, hath both taken the nature of our Flesh upon him that is now inseparable, and hath also mingled that nature of his own Flesh unto the nature of Eternity under the Sacrament of his Flesh, to be communicated unto us? Thus much hath *Hilary*. Whereupon I ask of you this question: How Christ dwelleth now in us? according to Faith, or according to Nature?

Cran. I say that Christ dwelleth verily in us Carnally and Naturally, for that he hath taken of the Virgin our Flesh upon him, and because he hath communicated his Nature unto us.

Tresh. *Bucer contra Abrincensem*, referreth these words only to the Eucharist, saying, *Christ doth exhibit all this unto us in his holy Supper, and according to the holy Fathers (saith he) Christ liveth thereby in us, not only by faith and love, as absent, but naturally, corporally, and carnally. Therefore he is not absent, neither are we joynted to Christ only by a spiritual Union (as you suppose) but also by a corporal and carnal Union.*

Cran. I know that Mr. *Bucer* was a Learned man. But your Faith is in good case, which leaseth upon *Bucer*. *Tresh.* I do not bring *Bucer* as a Patron of our Faith, but because he is a man of your sort, and yet bringeth this place of *Hilary* for that Union which we have by the Sacrament, and confesseth, that by it we are Carnally united to Christ, whereas you think we are joynted by it only through Faith and Love.

Cran. I say that Christ was communicated unto us, not only by Faith, but in very deed also when he was born of the Virgin. We have fellowship with Christ, when we are united in the Unity of the Church, when we are made flesh of his Flesh, and bones of his Bones, and so we are united in the Communion, in Baptism, and in Faith.

Tresh. I pray you what fellowship have we with Christ, in that he is made Man? Are not the *Turks* and *Jews* therein joynted with him? For they are Men as we are, and are joynted with him in Mans nature, in that he was born of a Woman. I speak now of a more near Unity. We are made one with Christ by the Communion in a perfect Unity.

Cran. We are made so, I grant: but we are made so also by Baptism; and the Unity in Baptism is perfect.

Tresh. We are not made one by Baptism in a perfect Unity, as *Hilary* there speaketh, but by the Communion, by which we are carnally made one, but not likewise by Baptism: wherefore you understand not *Hilary*. You shall hear his words, which are these: *He had now declared before the Sacrament of his perfect Union, saying: As the living Father sent me, so do I also live by the Father. And he that eateth my Flesh, shall also live through me.* And a little after that he writeth thus: *This truly is the cause of our Life, that we have Christ dwelling by his Flesh in us that are fleshy, which also by him shall live in flesh (for as he liveth by his Father). Wherefore of these Words it is manifest, that we obtain this perfect Unity by means of the Sacrament, and that Christ by it is Carnally united unto us.*

Cran. Nay, *Hilary* in that same place doth teach, that it is done by Baptism: and that Doctrine is not to be fulfilled in the Church, which teacheth, that we are not joynted to Christ by Baptism.

West. Repeat the Argument.

Cran. You must first make an Argument.

Tresh. It is made already, but it shall be made again in this form:

Da. As Christ liveth by his Father, so they that eat Christ's Flesh live by the same flesh.

ti. But Christ liveth by the Father, not only by Faith and Love, but Naturally.

fi. Ergo, We live not through the eating of Christ's flesh, by Faith and Love only, but Naturally.

Cran. We live by Christ, not only by Faith and Love, but Eternally indeed.

Tresh. Nays (b) Naturally; I prove it thus:

As Christ liveth by the Father, so live we by his Flesh eaten of us.

But Christ liveth not by his Father, only by Faith and Love, but Naturally.

Therefore we do not live by eating of Christ's Flesh only by Faith and Love (as you suppose), but Naturally.

Cran. The Minor is not true.

Tresh. This is the Opinion of *Arrius*. That Christ is united to his Father by conjunction of Mind, and not Naturally.

Cran. I say not so yet, neither do I think so. But I will tell you what I like not in your Minor. You say, *That Christ doth not live by his Father only by Faith and Love:* but I say, *That Christ liveth not at all by his Faith.*

West. Mark and consider well this word (by Faith) left any occasion of Cavilling be given.

Tresh. Let that word (by Faith) be omitted. Neither did I mean, that Christ liveth by his Father through Faith. Yet the strength of the Argument remaineth in force; for else *Hilary* doth not confute the *Arrians*, except there be a greater conjunction between us and Christ, when he is eaten of us, than only a Spiritual conjunction. You do only grant an Union. As for a Carnal or Natural Union of the Substance of Flesh, by which we are joynted more than Spiritually, you do not grant. But our Lord Jesus give you a better Mind, and shew you the light of his Truth, that you may return into the way of Righteousness.

West. We came hither, to dispute, and not to Pray.

Tresh. Is it not lawful to pray for them that Err?

West. It is not lawful yet. But proceed.

Tresh. Again, I reason thus: As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by the eating of his Flesh.

But Christ liveth not by his Father, only in unity of Will, but Naturally.

Ergo, We do not live when we eat the Flesh of Christ, only by Faith and Unity of Will, but Naturally.

Cran. This is my Faith, and it agreeth with the Scripture, Christ liveth by his Father Naturally, and maketh us to live by himself indeed Naturally, and that not only in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, but also in Baptism. For Infants, when they are baptized, do eat the Flesh of Christ.

West. Answer either to the whole Argument, or to the parts thereof. For this Argument is strong, and cannot be dissolved.

Cran. This is the Argument.

As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by his Flesh, being eaten of us.

But Christ liveth not by his Father only in Unity of Will, but Naturally.

Ergo, We eating his Flesh do not live only by Faith and Love, but Naturally.

But the Major is false; namely, That by the same manner we live by Christ, as he liveth by his Father.

West. (a) *Hilary* saith, *After the same manner, upon these words, He that eateth my Flesh shall live by me.* Ergo, Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner we shall live by his Flesh. Here you see, that *Hilary* saith, *After the same manner.*

So our Spirit and Soul, receiving the Natural body of Christ in the Mystere, by Faith do receive also the nature of his Body, that is, the Power, Indification, and Life: the operation whereof re-feeding like aye unto our Bodies, which make the same allowable of the same Glory and Immortality. And that it is so, that as Christ liveth Naturally by his Father, so we live Naturally by the Body of Christ eaten in the Sacrament, having received both to the Manhood of him and us. So as the Flesh of Christ is respect of bare Flesh, liveth not Naturally by the Father, but for us it is joynted to his Immortality: So our Flesh liveth not naturally by Christ's body eaten in the Sacrament, but for every wicked Man eating the Sacrament should live Naturally by him, but for that our flesh is joynted to the Spirit and Soul, which naturally eateth the body of Christ by faith, and only the bodies of the faithful do live by eating the Body of Christ naturally, and not the bodies of the wicked.

Argument:

(b) The Pa-

phits by this

one word

Naturally,

confound

themselves.

For if the

Natural Body

of Christ

were eaten,

and went

naturally

into our Bo-

dies, then

should it fol-

low, that

the name of

his Body be-

ing Imma-

ortality, and

now also

Immortal,

our Bodies

united in

Nature to

his pure and

Immortal

Body, natu-

rally should

never, in

our dye.

Wherefore

it remain-

eth, that the

Natural unit-

ing to

Christ's Bo-

dy, cometh

not by the

bodily eat-

ing of the

Sacrament,

unto our

Body, not

to our Soul,

and so fall

redound as

length unto

our Bodies.

If that U-

nion of the

Substance of

Flesh should

be granted

unto our Bo-

dies, then

should our

Bodies ne-

ver dye, nor

see corrup-

tion.

The same

Argument

again re-

ceived.

Answer.

Conjunction
between
Christ and
his

Answer to
Hilary.

Bucer contra
Abrincensem
alleged by
Tresham:

Christ com-
municated
and united
to us by
Birth, by U-
nity of the
Church, by
the Commu-
nion, by
Baptism, by
Faith.

We are u-
nited to
Christ by
Communion
so as we are
by Baptism.

Objection of
Hilary.

Answer to
the place of
Hilary.

Cran. After the same manner, doth not signifie alike in all things, but in deed and eternally: for so do we live by Christ, and Christ liveth by his Father. For in other respects Christ liveth otherwise by his Father, than we live by Christ.

Welf. He liveth by his Father naturally and eternally.

Cran. We live by Christ naturally and eternally. We do not live naturally, but by Grace, if you take Naturally for the manner of Nature; as Christ hath Eternal life of his Father, so have we of him.

Welf. I stick to this word Naturally.

Cran. I mean it touching the truth of Nature. For Christ liveth otherwise by his Father, than we live by Christ.

Naturally
expounded.

Welf. Hilary in his Eighth Book De Trinitate, denyeth it, when he saith: He liveth therefore by his Father, and as he liveth by his Father, after the same manner we shall live by his Flesh.

Cran. We shall live after the same manner, as concerning the Nature of the Flesh of Christ: For as he hath of his Father the Nature of Eternity, so shall we have of him.

Welf. Answer unto the Parts of the Argument.

The Argu-
ment the
third time
repeated.

As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner shall we live by his Flesh.

But Christ doth not live by his Father only in Unity of Will, but Naturally.

Ergo. We eating of his Flesh, do not live only by Faith and Love, but Naturally.

Cran. I grant (as I said) we live by Christ naturally: but I never heard that Christ liveth with his Father in Unity of Will only.

Welf. Because it seemeth a Marvel unto you, hear what Hilary saith: These things are recited of us to this end, because the Hereticks, feigning an Unity of Will only between the Father and the Son, did use the Example of our Unity with God, as though we being United to the Son, and by the Son to the Father only by Obedience and Will of Religion, had no propriety of the Natural Communion by the Sacrament of the Body and Blood.

Put answer to the Argument. Christ liveth by his Father Naturally and Eternally: Therefore do we live by Christ Naturally and Eternally.

Ex ample
of man
Cranmer
descrip-
t.

Cran. Cyril and Hilary do say, that Christ is united to us not only by Will, but also by Nature: He doth communicate to us his own Nature, and so is Christ made one with us Carnally and Corporally, because he took our Nature of the Virgin Mary. And Hilary doth not say only that Christ is naturally in us, but that we also are naturally in him, and in the Father; that is, that we are Partakers of their Nature, which is Eternity, or Everlastingness. For as the Word, receiving our Nature, did joynt in Unity of Person, and did communicate unto that our Nature, the Nature of his Eternity, that like as he, being the Everlasting Word of the Father, had everlasting Life of the Father; even so he gave the same Nature to his Flesh. Likewise also did he communicate with us the same Nature of Eternity, which he and the Father have, and that we should be one with them, not only in Will and Love, but that we should be also Partakers of the nature of everlasting Life.

Naturally
expounded,
that is, our
Bodies to
participate
the nature
and prop-
erty of
Christ's Holy
Immortal
Body.

Welf. Hilary, where he saith, Christ communicated to us his Nature, meaneth that not by his Nativity, but by the Sacrament.

Cran. He hath communicated to us his Flesh by his Nativity.

Welf. We have communicated to him (b) our Flesh when he was born.

Then had
Christ a sin-
nall Flesh.

Cran. Nay, he communicated to us his Flesh, when he was born, and that I will shew you out of Cyril upon this place, *Et homo factus est.*

Welf. Ergo, Christ being born, gave us his Flesh.

Cran. In his Nativity he made us (c) Partakers of his Flesh.

That is,
made us par-
takers of the
properties,
life, immor-
tality, and
resurrection
of his Body.
Dr. chedley
again dispa-
rech.
H. ar. 8. de
Trinit.

Welf. Write, Sirs.

Cran. Yea, write.

Ched. This place of Hilary is so dark, that you were compelled to falsifie it in your Book, because you could not draw it to confirm your Purpose.

If Christ have taken verily the Flesh of our Body, and the Man that was verily born of the Virgin Mary is Christ, and also we receive under the true Mystery the Flesh of his Body, by means whereof we shall be one (for the

Father is in Christ, and Christ in us) how shall that be called the Unity of Will, when the natural Property, brought to pass by the Sacrament, is the Sacrament of Unity. We must not speak in the sense of Man, or of the World in matters concerning God: Neither must we perversely wrest any strange or wicked Sense out of the wholesome Meaning of the Holy Scripture, through impudent and vile Contention. Let us read those things that are written, and let us understand those things that we read, and then we shall perform the Duty of perfect Faith. For as touching that Natural and True Being of Christ in us, except we learn of him, we speak foolishly and ungodly that thing that we do speak. For he saith, My Flesh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is drink indeed: He that eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, abideth in me, and I in him. As touching the Verity of his Flesh and Blood, there is left no place of doubt: For now, both by the Testimony of the Lord, and also by our Faith, it is Verily Flesh, and Verily Blood.

Anno
1554.

Here you have falsified Hilary, for you have set *vero* sub *mysterio*, for *vere* sub *mysterio*, we receive truly under a Mystery. Hilary twice reporteth *vere* sub *mysterio*, and you interpret it twice *vero* sub *mysterio*, but the third time you have *vero* for *vere*.

Thus far will
their talk be
English.
Being Mr.
Cranmer had
twice *vere*,
and but once
vero, they
had no cause
to be grie-
ved, but that
they were
disposed to
find a Roost
in a Eagle

Cran. Affuredly, I am not guilty of any deceit herein. It may be that the Copy which I followed had *sub vero* *mysterio*, i. under a True Mystery; although touching the Sense it differeth little. God I call to witness, I have always hated falsifying, and if you had leisure and lust to hear false Citations, I could recite unto you fix hundred.

Welf. Here shall be shewed you two Copies of Hilary, the one printed at Basil, the other at Paris.

Cran. I suppose that Dr. Smith's Book hath *vero*.

Welf. Here is Dr. Smith; let him answer for himself. Mr. Smith, Mr. Doctor, what say you for your self? speak, if you know it.

¶ Here Dr. Smith, either for the Truth in his Book alleged, or else affronted with Dr. Welf's hasty calling, staid to answer: For he only put off his Cap, and kept silence.

Welf. But your own Book, printed by Welf your own Printer, hath *vero*.

Cran. That Book is taken from me, which easily might have ended this Controverfie. I am sure, the Book of Decrees, hath *vero*.

Cole. Now you admit the Book of Decrees, when it maketh for you.

Here Dr.
Cole begin-
neth to charge

Cran. Touching the sense of the matter there is little difference. The change of one Letter for another, is but a small matter.

Welf. No? Yes; *Pastor* (as you know) signifieth a Bishop, and *Pistor* signifieth a Baker. But *Pastor* shall be *Pistor*, a Bishop shall be a Baker by this your change of one Letter, if *vere* and *vero* do nothing change the sense.

Cran. Let it be so, that in *Pistor* and *Pastor* one Letter, maketh some difference: Yet let *Pistor* be either a Maker or Baker of Bread, ye see here the change of a Letter, and yet no great difference to be in the sense.

Tong. This Disputation is taken in hand, that the Truth might appear. I perceive that I must go another way to work than I had thought. It is a common saying, *Against them that deny Principles, we must not dispute*. Therefore, that we may agree of the Principles, I demand, Whether there be any other Body of Christ, than his Instrumental Body?

Cran. There is no Natural Body of Christ, but his Organical Body.

Tong. Again, I demand, whether Sense and Reason ought to give place to Faith?

Cran. They ought.

Tong. Thirdly, Whether Christ be True in all his Words?

Cran. Yea, he is most True, and Truth it self.

Tong. Fourthly, Whether Christ at his Supper minded to do that which he spake, or no?

Cran. *Dicendo dixit, non fecit dicendo; sed fecit Disce- pulis Sacramentum.* i. In saying he spake, but in saying he made not, but made the Sacrament to his Disciples.

Tong. Answer according to the Truth, Whether did Christ that as God and Man which he spake, when he said, This is my Body?

D. Tonge So-
phistical In-
terrogato-
ries.

Cran.

Anno 1554. Cran. This is a Sophistical Cavillation; go plainly to work. There is some deceit in these Questions. You seek subtilties, leave your crafty fences.

Tong. I demand, Whether Christ by these Words wrought any thing or no?

Cran. He did institute the Sacrament.

Tong. But answer, whether did he work any thing?

Cran. He did work in instituting the Sacrament.

Tong. Now I have you; for before you said, it was a Figurative Speech.

But a Figure worketh nothing.

Ergo, it is not a Figurative Speech. A Lyar ought to have a good Memory.

Cran. I understood your Sophistry before. You by Working understand Converting into the Body of Christ; But Christ wrought the Sacrament, not in Converting, but in Instituting.

Tong. Wo be to them that make Christ a Deceiver. Did he work any other thing than he spake, or the self same thing?

Cran. He wrought the Sacrament, and by these Words he signified the Effect.

Tong. A Figurative Speech is no working thing;

no But the Speech of Christ is Working:

no. Ergo, It is not Figurative.

Cran. It worketh by Instituting, not by Converting.

Tong. The thing signified in the Sacrament, is it not that Sacrament?

Cran. It is. For the thing is ministred in a Sign. He followeth the Letter that taketh the thing for a Sign. Augustine separateth the Sacrament from the thing. The Sacrament (saith he) is one, and the thing of the Sacrament another.

Wesl. Stick to this Argument;

It is a Figurative Speech.

Ergo, It worketh nothing.

Tong. But the Speech of Christ is a Working thing;

Ergo, It is not Figurative.

Cran. Oh how many Crafts are in this Argument? they are meer Fallacies; I said not, That the Words of Christ do work, but Christ himself; and he worketh by a Figurative Speech.

Wesl. If a Figure works, it maketh of Bread the Body of Christ.

Cran. A Figurative Speech worketh not.

Wesl. A Figurative Speech, by your own Confession, worketh nothing.

But the Speech of Christ in the Supper (as you grant) wrought somewhat.

Ergo, The Speech of Christ in the Supper was not Figurative.

Cran. I answer, These are meer Sophisms: The Speech doth not work, but Christ by the Speech doth work the Sacrament.

I look for Scriptures at your Hands, for they are the Foundation of Disputations.

Tong. Are not these Words of Scripture, *This is my Body*? The Word of Christ is of strength; and by the Lords Words the Heavens were made. He said, *This is my Body*: Ergo, he made it.

Cran. He made the Sacrament, and I deny your Argument.

Tong. If he wrought nothing, nothing is left there. He said, *This is my Body*. You say contrary to the Scriptures, it is not the Body of Christ, and fall from the Faith.

Cran. You interpret the Scriptures contrary to all the Old Writers, and sign a strange Sense.

Tong. Ambrose, *De iis qui initiantur Sacris, cap. 9.* saith: *De totius mundi operibus legisti, quia ipse dixit, & facta sunt, ipse mandavit & creata sunt. Sermo Christi qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea quae sunt in id mutare quae non erant? Non enim minus est novus rei dare, quam mutare naturam. Sed quid argumentis utimur? Ipsi utamur exemplis, incarnationis; quae exemplo astruamus mysterii veritatem. Nunquid naturae usus praecessit cum Dominus Jesus ex Maria nasceretur? Si ordinem querimus, vitro mixta femina generare consuevit; Liqueat igitur quod praeter naturae ordinem virgo generavit: & hoc quod conficimus corpus ex virgine est. Quid hic queris naturae ordinem in Christi corpore, cum*

praeter naturam sit ipse Dominus Jesus partus ex Virgine? Vera utique caro Christi quae crucifixa est, quae sepulta est: Verè ergo illius Sacramentum est. Clamat Dominus Jesus; Hoc est corpus meum. Ante benedictionem corporum caelestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus significatur. Ipse dicit sanguinem suum. Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur: post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur. Et in dicit, Amen, hoc est, verum est. Quod os loquitur, mens interna fateatur: quod sermo sonat, affectus sentiat.

That is:

Thou hast read of the Works of all the World; That he spake the Word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Cannot the Word of Christ, which made of nothing that which was not, change those things that are, into that they were not? For it is no less matter to give new things, than to change Natures. But what use Arguments? let us use his own Examples, and let us confirm the Verity of the Mystery by Example of his Incarnation. Did the Use of Nature go before, when the Lord Jesus was born of Mary? If you seek the Order of Nature, Conception is wont to be made by a Woman joyned to a Man. It is manifest therefore, that contrary to the "order of Nature, a Virgin did conceive: " As Christ And this Body that we make, is of the Virgin. What Jesus was conceived against the order of nature; so in this is the thing of this it is truly the Sacrament of him. The Lord Jesus himself crieth; *This is my Body*. Before the Blessing of the Heavenly Words, it is named another kind: but after the Consecration the Body of Christ is signified. He calleth it his Blood. Before Consecration it is called another thing: After Consecration it is called Blood; and thou saist, *Amen*; that is, It is true. That the Mouth speaketh, let the inward Mind confess; that the Word foundeth, let the Heart perceive.

The same Ambrose in his Fourth Book of Sacraments the Fourth Chapter, saith thus: *Panis iste panis est ante consecrationem; ubi accesserit consecratio, de panis verba Sacramentorum; ubi accesserit consecratio, de panis fit caro Christi. Hoc igitur astruamus; quomodo patet, qui panis est, corpus esse Christi, & cuius sermonibus Dominus Jesus. Nam ad reliqua omnia quae dicuntur, laus Deo deferatur, oratione potius pro Populo, pro Regibus, pro ceteris; ubi venit ut consecraret venerabile Sacramentum, jam non suis sermonibus Sacerdos utitur, sed sermonibus Christi. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit Sacramentum. Quis sermo? Nemo est quo facta sunt omnia. Fuit Dominus & factum est caelum; fuit Dominus & facta est terra; fuit Dominus & facta sunt Maria, &c. Vides ergo quam operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini, ut inciperent esse quae non erant, quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint quae erant, & in aliud commutentur.*

That is to say,

This Bread is Bread before the Words of the Sacraments; when the Consecration cometh to it, of Bread it is made the Flesh of Christ. Let us confirm this therefore; How can that which is Bread, by Consecration be the Body of Christ? By what words then is the Consecration made, and by whose Words? By the Words of our Lord Jesus. For touching all other things that are said, Praise is given to God, Prayer is made for the People, for Kings, and for the rest: When it cometh that the Reverend Sacrament must be made, then the Priest useth not his own Words, but the Words of Christ: Therefore the Word of Christ maketh this Sacrament. What Word? That Word, by which all things were made: The Lord "commanded, and Heaven was made; the Lord commanded, and the Earth was made; the Lord commanded, and the Seas were made; the Lord commanded, and all Creatures were made. Dost thou not see then how strong in working the Word of Christ is? If therefore so great Strength be in the Lords Word, that those things should begin to be which were not before, how much the rather is it of Strength to work, that these things which were, should be changed into another thing? Ambrose saith, that the Words are of Strength to work.

Wesl. con.

This Syllogism, speaking of a Figure, hath no perfect Form nor Figure.

Answer to D. Yong. by Wesl.

The figurative speech worketh not but Christ by the figurative speech worketh the Sacrament.

Amb. de iis qui initiantur, &c. cap. 9.

The words of Ambrose in English.

But the Lord Jesus here useth not such words of consecrating in the Sacrament as in the Creation; for we read not, *Let us create* &c.

Weston. You omit those Words which follow, which maketh the Sense of *Ambrose* plain: Read them.

Amb. de Sacram. cap. 1.

"Almonds return & furboloweth."

Tong. *Calam non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat. Sed quid dicentem, ipse dixit & facta sunt; ipse mandavit & creata sunt. Ergo tibi ut respondeam, non erat corpus Christi ante consecrationem, sed post consecrationem dico tibi quod jam corpus Christi est.* That is, Heaven was not, the Sea was not, the Earth was not, but hear him that said: He spake the word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Therefore to answer thee, it was not the Body of Christ before Consecration, but after the Consecration, I say to thee, that now it is the Body of Christ.

Cran. All these things are common. I say, that God doth chiefly work in the Sacraments.

Tong. How doth he work?

Cran. By his Power, as he doth in Baptism.

Tong. Nay, by the Word he changeth the Bread into his Body, This is the Truth, acknowledge the Truth, give place to the Truth.

Cran. O Glorious Words! You are too full of words.

Tong. Nay, O Glorious Truth! You make no Change at all.

Cran. Not so, but I make a great change; as in them that are baptized, is there not a great change, when the Child of the Bondslave of the Devil, is made the Son of God? so it is also in the Sacrament of the Supper, when he receiveth us into his Protection and Favour.

Tong. If he work in the Sacraments, he worketh in this Sacrament.

Cran. God worketh in his Faithful, not in the Sacraments.

West. In the Supper the Words are directed to the Bread; in Baptism to the Spirit. He said not, the Water is the Spirit, but of the Bread he said, *This is my Body.*

As the Dove is called the Spirit, so the Bread is called the Body.

Cran. He called the Spirit a Dove, when the Spirit descended in likeness of a Dove.

West. He doth not call the Spirit a Dove; but he saith, that he descended as a Dove. He was seen in the likeness of a Dove. As in Baptism the words are directed to him that is baptized, so in the Supper the words are directed unto the Bread.

John 1. August. in John cap. 1.

Cran. Nay it is written, *Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending.* He calleth that which descended the Holy Spirit. And *Augustine* calleth the Dove, the Spirit. Hear what *Augustine* saith in 1 *Joh.* *Quid voluit per Columbam, id est, per Spiritum Sanctum docere, qui miserat eum.* That is, What meant he by the Dove, that is, by the Holy Ghost? forsooth to teach, who sent him.

Ambrosius again repeated. De Sacram. cap. 4.

Tong. He understandeth of the Spirit descending as a Dove: The Spirit is invisible. If you mind to have the Truth heard, let us proceed. Hear what *Ambrose* saith: *Vides quam operarius sit Sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis in sermone Domini, &c. ut supra.* That is, You see what a working Power the Word of Christ hath. Therefore if there be so great Power in the Lords Word, that those things which were not, begin to be, how much more of strength is it, to work, that those things that were, should be changed into another thing?

Idem cap. 1.

And in the fifth Chap. *Antequam consecratur panis est: ubi autem verba Christi accesserint, corpus est Christi, i.* Before it is consecrated, it is Bread: but when the Words of Christ come to it, it is the Body of Christ.

But hear what he saith more; *Accipite, edite, hoc est corpus meum; Take ye, eat ye, this is my Body. Ante verba Christi calix est vini & aqua plenus: ubi verba Christi operata fuerint, ibi sanguis efficitur, qui redemit plebem.* Before the Words of Christ, the Cup is full of Wine and Water; when the Words of Christ have wrought, there is made the Blood of Christ which redeemed the People.

It followeth to Ambrose.

Cran. Nay, what can be left to the purpose? The words are of strength to work in this Sacrament, as they are in Baptism.

Pie. The Words of Christ (as *Ambrose* saith) are of strength to work. What do they work? *Ambrose* saith, they make the blood which redeemed the People.

Ergo. The Natural Blood is made.

Cran. The Sacrament of his Blood is made. The words make the Blood to them that receive it: Not that the Blood is in the Cup, but in the Receiver.

Pie. There is made the Blood which redeemed the People.

Anno

1554

Cran. The Blood is made, that is, the Sacrament of the Blood, by which he redeemed the People. (For) it is made, that is to say, (offenditur) it is shewed forth there. And *Ambrose* saith, we receive in a Similitude. As thou hast received the Similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the Similitude of his precious Blood.

West. He saith, in a Similitude, because it is ministered under another likeness. And this is the Argument:

"There is made the Blood which redeemed the People. But the Natural Blood redeemed the People.

Ergo. There is the Natural Blood of Christ.

You answer, that words make it Blood to them that receive it; not that Blood is in the Cup, but because it is made Blood to them that receive it. That all men may see how fully you would avoid the Fathers, hear what *Ambrose* saith in the sixth Book and first Chapter.

Forté dicas, quomodo vera? qui similitudinem vides, non video sanguinis veritatem. Primum omnium dixi tibi de sermone Christi, qui operatur, ut possit mutare & convertere genera instituta nature. Deinde ubi non tulerunt sermonem Discipuli ejus, sed audientes, quod carnem suam dedit manducari, & sanguinem suum dedit bibendum, recedebant. Solus tamen Petrus dixit, Verba vite eterne habes, & ego a te quod recedam? Ne igitur plures hoc dicerent, veluti quidam esset horror crucis, sed maneret gratia redemptionis, ideo in similitudinem quidem accipis sacramentum, sed verè naturæ gratiam virtutemque consequeris.

Mark how D. Weston expoundeth to eat in a Similitude. "It is his Syllogism be in the second Figure (as by finding of the Terms appereth) then is it false, because it concludeth affirmatively. Ambrosius cap. 1. de Sacramentis Operari. Mitare."

That is to say.

Peradventure thou wilt say, How be they true? I which see the Similitude, do not see the truth of the Blood. First of all I told thee of the Word of Christ, which so worketh, that it can change and turn kinds ordained by nature. Afterward, when the Disciples could not abide the Words of Christ, but hearing that he gave his Flesh to eat, and his Blood to drink, they departed. Only *Peter* said, Thou hast the Words of Eternal Life, Whether should I go from thee? Left therefore more should say this thing, as though there should be a certain horror of Blood, and yet the Grace of Redemption should remain: Therefore in a Similitude thou receivest the Sacrament, but indeed thou obtainest the Grace and Power of his Nature.

Cran. These words of themselves are plain enough. And he read this place again, *Thou receivest the Sacrament for a Similitude.* But what is that he saith, *Thou receivest for a Similitude?* I think he understandeth the Sacrament to be the similitude of his Blood.

Answer to Ambrose.

Ched. That you may understand that Truth dissenteth not from Truth, to overthrow that which you say of that similitude; hear what *Ambrose* saith, lib. 4. de Sacrament.

Si operatus est sermo calefactis in aliis rebus, non operatur in Sacramentis calefactis? Ergo didicisti quod & pane corpus fiat Christi, & quod vinum & aqua in calicem miratur, sed sit sanguis consecratione verbi calefactis. Sed forte dices, speciem sanguinis non videri. Sed habet similitudinem. Sicut enim mortis similitudinem sumpsisti, ita etiam similitudinem preciosi sanguinis bibis, ut nullus horror crucis sit, & pretium tamen operetur redemptionis. Didicisti ergo, quia quod accipis corpus est Christi.

Ambrosius de Sacrament. lib. 4.

That is to say.

If the Heavenly Word did work in other things, doth it not work in the Heavenly Sacraments? Therefore thou hast learned, that of Bread is made the Body of Christ, and that Wine and Water is put into that Cup, but by consecration of the Heavenly Word it is made Blood. But thou wilt say peradventure, that the likeness of Blood is not seen. But it hath a Similitude. For as thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious Blood, so that there is no horror of Blood, and yet it worketh the price of Redemption. Therefore thou hast learned, that that which thou receivest is the Body of Christ.

Cran. He speaketh of Sacraments sacramentally. He calleth the Sacraments by the Names of the Things; Sacraments for he useth the Signs for the Things signified: And therefore the Bread is not called Bread, but his Body, for the Things the

Note, that Ambrose saith, we drink a similitude of Christs Blood. Answer to the place of Ambrosius. Sacraments are called by the name of the things for the Things the

West. Now then take this Argument.

Wherefore Gods authority is, there is Christs Body.
But Gods authority is in every place,
Ergo, What letteth the Body of Christ to be in every place?

Moreover you have also corrupted Duns.

Cran. That is a great offence, I promise you.

West. For you have omitted *secundum apparentiam*, i. as it appeareth. Where his words are these, *Et si queras quare voluit Ecclesia eligere istum intellectum ita difficilem huius articuli, cum verba Scripturæ possint salvari secundum intellectum facilem & veriores, secundum apparentiam, de hoc articulo, &c.* That is, if you demand why the Church did chuse this so hard an understanding of this Article, whereas the words of Scripture may be saved after an easie and true understanding (as appeareth) of this Article, &c.

Cran. It is not so.

West. Also you have set forth a Catechism in the name of the Synod of London, and yet there be 50. which witnessing that they were of the number of the Convocation, never heard one word of this Catechism.

Cran. I was ignorant of the setting of that Title; and as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it: Therefore when I complained thereof to the Council, it was answered me by them, that the Book was so entitled because it was set forth in the time of the Convocation.

West. Moreover, you have in Duns translated *In Romana Ecclesia, pro Ecclesia Catholica*. In the Church of Rome, for the Catholick Church.

Cran. Yea, but he meant the Romish Church.

West. Moreover you have depraved S. Thomas, namely, where he hath these words; *In quantum vero est sacrificium, habet vim satisfactoriam: Sed in satisfatione attenditur magis effectus offerentis, quam quantitas oblationis. Unde Dominus dicit apud Lucam de vidua quæ obtulit duo æra, quod plus omnibus misit. Quamvis ergo hæc oblatio ex sui quantitate sufficiat ad satisfaciendum pro omni peccata: tamen fit satisfactoria illis pro quibus offeritur, vel etiam offerentibus, secundum quantitatem suæ devotionis, & non pro tota peccata.* That is, Inasmuch as it is a Sacrifice, it hath the power of satisfaction: But in satisfaction the affection of the offerer is more to be weighed than the quantity of the oblation. Wherefore the Lord said in Lukes Gospel, of the widow which offered two mites, that she cast in more than they all. Therefore although this oblation of the quantity of it self will suffice to satisfy for all pain, yet it is made satisfactory to them, for whom it is offered, or to the offerers, according to the quantity of their devotion, and not for all the pain.

You have thus turned it, *Quod sacrificium Sacerdotis habet vim satisfactoriam, &c.* That is, That the Sacrifice of the Priest hath power of satisfaction, &c. And therefore in this place you have chopped in this word (*Sacerdotis*) of the Priest, whereas in the translation of all the New Testament you have not set it, but where Christ was put to death. And again, where S. Thomas hath (*pro omni peccata*) for all pain, your Book omitteth many things there.

Thus you see, Brethren, the Truth steadfast and invincible; you see also the craft and deceit of Heretics; the Truth may be pressed, but it cannot be oppressed: therefore cry altogether; *Vincit veritas, i. The Truth overcometh.*

This disordered disputation sometime in Latin, sometime in English, continued almost till two of the Clock. Which being finished, and the Arguments written and delivered to the hands of M. Sey, the Prisoner was had away by the Mayor, and the Doctors dined together at the University Colledge.

Disputation at Oxford between Doctor Smith, with his other Collegues and Doctors, and Bishop Ridley.

The next day following, which was the 12. of April, was brought forth Doctor Ridley to dispute, against whom was set D. Smith to be principal Opponent. Touching which D. Smith, inasmuch as mention here happeneth of his name, first the Reader is to be adverted what is to be attributed to his judgment in Religion, which so oftentimes before had turned and returned to and fro, grounded (as it seemeth) upon no firm conscience of

Doctrine, as both by his Articles by him recited may appear, and also by his own Letter sent a little before in K. Edwards days to the Archbishop of Canterbury from Scotland. Which Letter I thought here to exhibit as a certain Preface before his own Arguments, or rather as a Testimony against himself, whereby the Reader may understand how devoutly he magnified them and their Doctrine a little before, against whom he now disputeth so busily. Read I beseech thee his Epistle, and judge.

The true Copy of a certain Epistle of D. Richard Smith, declaring his affection to the setting forth of Gods sincere Word.

Most honourable, I commend me unto your Lordship, doing the same to understand, that I wrote Letters to your Grace in January last and the tenth day of February, declaring the causes of my sudden and unadvised departing from your Grace over the Sea; and desiring your good Lordship of your Charity toward them that repent of their ill Acts, to forgive me your self all the wrong I did towards your Grace, and to obtain in writing the Kings Majesty's Pardon for me in all points concerning his Laws: upon the receipt whereof I would return again home, and within half a year (as the uttermost) afterwards write de Sacerdotum communibus, &c. a Latin Book that should be a just satisfaction for any thing that I have written against the same. Reliqua; omnia dogmata vestra tum demum libenter amplecturum, ubi Deus mentem meam, ut ea citra conscientie læsionem agnoscam, doceamque. I wrote not this that I want any good living here, but because mine absence out of the Realm, is dishonour to the Kings Highness and Realm, and because I must needs (if I tarry here a quarter of a year longer) write an answer to your Graces Book of the Sacrament, and also a Book of Common Places against all the Doctrine set forth by the Kings Majesty, which I cannot do with a good conscience. Wherefore I beseech your Grace help me home, as soon as you may conveniently, for Gods sake, and ye shall never, I trust in God, repent that fast.

Exorte divi Andrea. 14. Feb.
Rich. Smithus.

And thus much touching the forenamed Doctor Richard Smith, being set here (as is said) to dispute against Bishop Ridley, who was brought now the next day after the Archbishop to answer in the Divinity School. Against whom also, besides D. Smith, disputed D. Westron, D. Tretham, D. Ogilby, D. Glin, D. Seton, and D. Cole, M. Ward, M. Harpsfield, D. Watson, M. Pits, M. Harding, M. Curton, M. Facknam: To all them he answered very learnedly. He made a Preface to these questions, but they would not let him go forth in it, but caused him to make an end of the same, and said it was Blasphemy; and some said he drove off the time in ambiguous things, nothing to the purpose, and so they would not suffer him to say his mind. D. Smith could get nothing at his hand; inasmuch that other did take his Arguments and prosecuted them. He shewed himself to be learned, and a great Clerk. They could bring nothing, but he knew it as well as they.

The Disputation beginneth.

West. Prolocutor. Good Christian People and Brethren, we have begun this day our School, by Gods good speed I trust, and are entering into a controversy, whereof no question ought to be moved concerning the verity of the Body of our Lord Jesu Christ in the Eucharist. Christ is true, which said the words. The words are true which he spake, yea, Truth it self that cannot fail. Let us therefore pray unto God to send down unto us his holy Spirit, which is the true Interpreter of his Word; which may purge away Errors, and give light, that verity may appear. Let us also ask leave and liberty of the Church, to permit the Truth received to be called this day in question, without any prejudice to the same. Your parts thereof shall to be implore the assistance of Almighty God, to pray for the prosperity of the Queens Majesty, and to give us quiet and attentive ears. Now go to your question.

Dof. Smith. This day (right learned Mr. Doctor) three questions are propounded, whereof no controversy among Christians ought to be moved, to wit:

1. Whether

Cranmer charged with mis-translating Duns.

D. Cranmer challenged for setting forth the Catechism in the name of the Convocation. D. Cranmer purgeth himself concerning the Catechism.

D. Cranmer charged with mis-translating Trin. Agnus Dei.

Weston triumpheth because the victory.

April 19. D. Smith set to dispute against Bishop Ridley.

Anno 1554

A Letter of D. Smith to D. Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury.

D. Smith purposing to write for the marriage of Priests.

Disputes against D. Smith.

Anno
1554.
The questi-
on.

1. Whether the Natural Body of Christ our Saviour, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and offered for Mankind's redemption upon the Cross, is verily & really in the Sacrament by virtue of Gods Word spoken by the Priest, &c.
2. Whether in the Sacrament, after the Words of Consecration, be any other Substance, &c.
3. Whether in the Mass be a Sacrifice Propitiatory, &c.

Touching the which questions; although you have publicly and partly professed your judgment and opinion on *Saturday* last: Yet being not satisfied with that your answer, I will assay again to demand your sentence in the first question; Whether the true Body of Christ after the words pronounced, be really in the *Eucharist*, or else only the figure. In which matter I stand here now to hear your answer.

The Preface or Protestation of Dr. Ridley before his Disputation.

The Prote-
station of
Bishop Ridley.

I Received of you the other day, right worshipful Mr. Prolocutor, and ye my reverend Masters, Commissioners from the Queens Majesty and her Honourable Council, three Propositions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare against this day, what I thought good to answer concerning the same.

Now whilst I weighed with my self how great a charge of the Lords Flock was of late committed unto me, for the which I am certain I must once render an account to my Lord God (and that how soon he knoweth) and that moreover, by the commandment of the Apostle *Peter* I ought to be ready alway to give a reason of the hope that is in me with meekness and reverence, unto every one that shall demand the same: besides this, considering my duty to the Church of Christ, and to your Worship being Commissioners by Publick Authority: I determined with my self to obey your commandment, and so openly to declare unto you my mind touching the foregoing Propositions. And albeit, plainly to confesse unto you the truth in these things which ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwise in times past than now I do, yet (God I call to record unto my Soul, I lie not) I have not altered my Judgement, as now it is, either by constraint of any man, or laws, either for the dread of any dangers of this World, either for any hope of commodity; but only for the love of the Truth revealed unto me by the Grace of God (as I am undoubtedly persuaded) in his holy Word, and in the reading of the Ancient Fathers.

These things I do rather recite at this present, because it may happen to some of you hereafter, as in times past it hath done to me: I mean, if ye think otherwise of the matters propounded in these Propositions than I now do, God may open them unto you in time to come.

But howsoever it shall be, I will in few words do that which I think ye all look I should do; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my Judgment herein. Whicche of this I would ye were not ignorant, that I will not indeed wittingly and willingly speak in any point against Gods Word, or be different in any one yot from the same, or from the rules of Faith, or Christian Religion: which rules that same most sacred Word of God prebicheth to the Church of Christ, whereunto I now and for ever submit my self, and all my doings. And because the matter I have now taken in hand is weighty, and ye all well know how unready I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of time, as also lack of Books: therefore here I protest, that I will publickly this day require of you, that I may be lawful for me concerning all mine answers, explanations, and confirmations, to add or diminish whatsoever shall seem hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpose, through more sound Judgment, better deliberation, and more exact Trial of every particular thing. Having now, by the way of Preface and Protestation, spoken these few words, I will come to the answer of the Propositions propounded unto me, and so to the most brief explanation and confirmation of mine answers.

West. Reverend Mr. Doctor, concerning the lack of Books, there is no cause why you should complain. What Books soever you will name, you shall have them: And as concerning the Judgment of your answers to be had of your self with farther deliberation; it shall (I say) be

lawful for you until *Sunday* next to add unto them what you shall think good your self. My mind is, that we should use short Arguments; lest we should make an infinite process of the thing.

Rid. There is another thing besides, which I would gladly obtain at your hands. I perceive that you have Writers and Notaries here present. By all likelihood our Disputations shall be published, I beseech you for Gods sake let me have liberty to speak my mind freely, and without interruption, not because I have determined to preface the time with a solemn Preface, but lest it may appear that some be not satisfied. God wot I am no Orator; nor have I learned Rhetorick to set colours on the matter.

West. Among this whole company; it shall be permitted you to take two for your part.

Rid. I will chuse two, if there were any here with whom I were acquainted.

Welf. Here are two which Mr. Cranmer had yesterday.
Take them if it please you.

Rid. I am content with them; I trust they are honest
Men:

The first Proposition.
In the Sacrament of the Altar; by the vertue of Gods
Word spoken of the Priest, the Natural Body of Christ
born of the Virgin Mary, and his Natural Blood is real-
ly present under the Forms of Bread and Wine.

The Answer of N. Ridley.

In matters appertaining to God we may not speak according to the sense of Man, nor of the World: Therefore this Proposition or Conclusion is framed after another manner of phrase or kind of speech than the Scripture useth. Again, it is very obscure and dark, by means of such dry words of doubtful signification. And being taken in the sense which the Schoolmen teach, and at this time the Church of *Rome* doth defend, it is false and erroneous and plain contrary to the Doctrine which is according to Godliness.

The Explication.

How far the diversity and newness of the phrase in all this first Proposition is from the phrase of the holy Scripture, and that in every part almost, it is so plain and evident to any that is but meanly exercised in holy Writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men) to spend any time therein, except the same shall be required of me hereafter.

Firſt, there is a double ſenſe in theſe words (*by vertue of Gods Word*) for it is doubtful what Word of God this iſſyeth whether it be that which is read in the Evangelists, or in *Paul*, or any other. And if it be that which is in the Evangelists, or in *S. Paul*, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be known to be Gods Word, and of ſuch vertue that it ſhould be able to work ſo great a matter.

Again there is a doubt of these words (*of the Priest*) whether no Man may be called a Priest, but he which hath Authority to make a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and how it may be proved that this Authority was committed of God to any Man, but to Christ alone.

It is likewise doubted, after what Order the Sacrificing Priest shall be, whether after the Order of *Aaron*, or else after the Order of *Melchisedech*. For as far as I know, the holy Scripture doth allow no more.

West. Let this be sufficient.

Rid. If we lack time at this present, there is time enough hereafter.

West. These are but evasions or starting holes; you
consume the time in vain.

Rid. I cannot start far from you, I am captive and bound.

West, Fall to it my Masters,

Smith. That which you have spoken may suffice at this present.

Red. Let me alone I pray you, for I have not much to say behind.

West. Go forward.

Red. Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word really, & Doib: is
whether it be taken as the Logicians term it, transcendent, the word
really.

What more
ed D. R d
to alter his
Judgment
from the
Church of
Rome.

Bishop Ridley
submit-
teth him-
self to the
Church of
Christ.

This promise was not kept.

Two Notaries permitted to D.
Ridley.
These two Notaries were Master
Just some-
time Bishop
of *Salisbury*
and Master
Gilbert
Mounson.
The first
Proposition.

D. Ridleys' answer to the first Proposition.

The Proposition put forth in dark terms

The first
doubt,

2. Doubt if
the word
Priest.

3. Doubt :
the word
Sacrificing

Dr. Weston is
interrupted
him in his
d explanation

4 Doubt
the word
really.

ter, that is, most generally: and so it may signify any manner of thing which belongeth to the Body of Christ, by any means after which sort we also grant Christs Body to be really in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, (as in disputation, if occasion be given shall be declared) or whether it be taken to signify the very same thing, having Body, Life, and Soul, which was assumed and taken of the Word of God, into the Unity of Person. In which sense, with the Body of Christ is really in Heaven, because of the true manner of his Body, it may not be said to be here in the earth. There is yet a further doubtfulness in these words, under the forms of Bread and Wine, whether the forms be there taken to signify the only accidental and outward shews of Bread and Wine; or therewithal the substantial natures thereof, which are to be seen by their qualities, and perceived by exterior senses.

† Doubt in the words (terms of Bread and Wine.)

† The Propositions after the sense of the Romish Church. Transubstantiation not founded in Scripture.

† The Analogy of the Sacrament to the familiar use and likeness which they have with the things they represent.

Now the Error and fallaciousness of the Proposition after the sense of the Roman Church and Schoolmen, may hereby appear, in that they affirm the Bread to be transubstantiated and changed to the Flesh assumed of the Word of God; and that (as they say) by virtue of the word, which they have devised by a certain number of words and cannot be found in any of the Evangelists, or in Paul, and so they gather that Christs Body is really contained in the Sacrament of the Altar. Which position is grounded upon the Foundation of the Transubstantiation; which Foundation is monstrous, against reason, and destroyeth the Analogy or proportion of the Sacraments: and therefore this Proposition also, which is built upon this rotten Foundation, is False, Erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable Herefie of the Sacramentaries.

West. We lose time.

Rid. You shall have time enough.

West. Fall to reasoning. You shall have some other day for this matter.

Rid. I have no more to say concerning my explication. If you will give me leave and let me alone, I will but speak a word or two for my confirmation.

West. Go to; say on,

The Confirmation of the aforesaid Answer.

Fe. Here ought no Doctrine to be established in the Church of God, which dissenteth from the word of God, from the rule of Faith, and draweth with it many absurdities that cannot be avoided. ti. But this Doctrine of the first Proposition is such.

no. Ergo. It ought not to be established and maintained in the Church of God.

Argument. The Major or first part of my Argument is plain and the Minor or second part is proved thus.

The Doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal Presence of Christs Flesh, assumed and taken of the Word, to be in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and that not by virtue and Grace only, but also by the whole Essence and substance of the Body and Flesh of Christ.

But such a Presence disagreeeth from Gods word, from the rule of Faith, & cannot but draw with it many absurdities.

Ergo. The second part is true.

The first part of this Argument is manifest, and the second may yet further be confirmed thus.

West. Thus you consume time, which might be better bestowed on other matters. Master Opponent, I pray you to your Arguments.

Smith. I will here reason with you upon Transubstantiation, which you say is contrary to the Rule and Analogy of Faith. The contrary whereof I prove by the Scriptures and the Doctors. But before I enter Argumentation with you, I demand first, whether in the sixth Chapter of John there be any mention made of the Sacrament, or of the real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament?

Rid. It is against reason that I should be impeached to prosecute that which I have to speak in this Assembly, being not so long, but that it may be comprehended in few words.

West. Let him read on.

Rid. First of all is Presence contrary to many places of the holy Scriptures. Secondly, it varieth from the Articles of the Faith.

Thirdly, it destroyeth and taketh away the Institution of the Lords Supper.

† Inconvenience cause of the Real Presence.

Fourthly, it maketh precious things common to prophane and ungodly persons; for it calleth that which is holy unto dogs, and pearls unto swine.

Fifthly, it forceth men to maintain many monstrous Miracles without necessity and Authority of Gods word.

Sixthly, it giveth occasion to the Heretics which erre concerning the two natures in Christ, to defend their Heresies thereby.

Seventhly, it falsifieth the sayings of the Godly Fathers; it falsifieth also the Catholick Faith of the Church, which the Apostles taught, the Martyrs confirmed, and the Faithful (as one of the Fathers saith) do retain and keep until this day. Wherefore the second part of mine Argument is true.

The probation of the antecedent or former part of this Argument by the parts thereof.

His carnal Presence is contrary to the word of God, as appeareth, John 16, I tell you the truth. It is profitable to you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter shall not come unto you. Acts 3. Whom the Heavens must receive until the time of refreshing of all things which God hath spoken, Math. 9. The Children of the Bridegroom cannot mourn so long as the Bridegroom is with them: But now is the time of mourning. John 16. But I will see you again, and your hearts shall rejoice. John 14. I will come again and take you to my self. Mar. thew 24. If they shall say unto you, Behold here is Christ, or there is Christ, believe them not: for whosoever the dead carcase is, thither the Eagles will resort.

It varieth from the Articles of the Faith; He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, from whence (and not from any other place, saith S. Augustine) he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead.

It destroyeth and taketh away the Institution of the Lords Supper, which was commanded only to be used and continued until the Lord himself should come. If therefore he be really present in the Body of his Flesh, then must the Supper cease: For a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing past and absent. And there is a difference between remembrance and presence, and (as one of the Fathers saith) A figure is in vain where the thing figured is present.

It maketh precious things common to prophane and ungodly persons, and constraineth men to confess many absurdities. For it affirmeth, that Whoremongers and Murderers, yea, and (as some of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithles Mice, Rats, and Dogs, also may receive the very real and corporal Body of the Lord, wherein the fulness of the Spirit of Light and Grace dwelleth; contrary to the manifest words of Christ in six places and sentences of the sixth Chapter of S. John.

It confirmeth also and maintaineth that beastly kind of cruelty as the Antrophophagi, that is, the devourers of mans Flesh: For it is a more cruel thing to devour a quick man, than to slay him.

Pie. He requirith time to speak Blasphemies. Leave your Blasphemies.

Rid. I had little thought to have had such reproachful words at your hands.

West. All is quiet. Go to your Arguments Mr. Doctor.

Rid. I have not many things more to say.

West. You utter Blasphemies with a most impudent Face: leave off (I say) and get you to the Argument.

Rid. It forceth men to maintain many monstrous Miracles, without any necessity and authority of Gods word. For at the coming of this Presence of the Body and Flesh of Christ, they thrust away the Substance of Bread, and affirm that the Accidents remain without any Subject, and in stead thereof they place Christs Body without his qualities and the true manner of a Body. And if the Sacrament be referred so long until it mould, and worms breed, some say that the substance of Bread miraculously returneth again, and some deny it. Other some affirm the real Body of Christ goeth down into the stomach of the receivers, and doth there abide so long only as they shall continue to be good: but another sort hold, that the Body of Christ is carried into Heaven, so soon as the forms of Bread be bruised with the teeth. O works of miracles!

Altho the rest which was not read because the Prolocutor made post haste to the Arguments.

Truly,

ANNO 1554.

Anno Truly, and most truly I see that fulfilled in these men, whereof S. Paul prophesied, 2. Thess. 2. *Because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe lies, and be all damned which have not believed the truth.* This gross Preference hath brought forth that fond phantasmie of concomitance, whereby is broken at this day and abrogated the commandment of the Lord for distributing of the Lords Cup to the Laity.

It giveth occasion to Hereticks to maintain and defend their Errors; as to *Marcion*, which said that Christ had but a Phantastical Body; and to *Eniches*, which wickedly confounded the two Natures in Christ.

Finally, It fulfilleth the sayings of the Godly Fathers and the Catholick Faith of the Church, which *Vigilius* a Martyr and grave writer faith, was taught of the Apostles, confirmed with the Blood of Martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithful, until his time. By the sayings of the Fathers, I mean of *Justine*, *Irene*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *Emilene*, *Athanasius*, *Cyrius*, *Epiphanius*, *Hierome*, *Chrysostom*, *Augustine*, *Vigilius*, *Fulgensius*, *Bertram*, and others most ancient Fathers. All those places, as I am sure, have read making for my purpose, so am I well assured that I could shew the same. If I might have the use of mine own Books, which I will take me to do, even upon the peril of my Life, and loss of all that I may lose in this World.

But now (my Brethren) think not, because I disallow that Preference which the first Proposition maintaineth (as a Preference which I take to be forged, Phantastical, and besides the authority of Gods Word, perniciously brought into the Church by the Romanists) that I therefore go about to take away the true Preference of Christs Body in his Supper rightly and duly ministered, which is grounded upon the Word of God, and made more plain by the commentaries of the Faithful Fathers. They that think so of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceived. And to make the same evident unto you, I will in few words declare what true Preference of Christs Body in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper I hold and affirm, with the Word of God and the ancient Fathers.

I say and confesse with the Evangelist *Luke*, and with the Apostle *Paul*, that the Bread on the which thanks are given, is the Body of Christ in the remembrance of him and his death, to be set forth perpetually of the faithful until his coming.

I say and confesse the Bread which we break to be the communion and partaking of Christs Body, with the Ancient and the Faithful Fathers.

I say and believe that there is not only a signification of Christs Body set forth by the Sacrament, but also that therewith is given to the Godly and Faithful the Grace of Christs Body, that is, the Food of Life and Immortality. And this I hold with *Cyprian*.

I say also with *S. Augustine*, that we eat Life and we drink Life; with *Emilene*, that we eat the Lord to be present in Grace; with *Athanasius*, that we receive Celestial Food, which cometh from above; the propriety of natural Communion, with *Hilarius*; the nature of Flesh and Benediction which giveth Life in Bread and Wine, with *Cyrius*; and with the same *Cyrius*, the virtue of the very Flesh of Christ, Life and Grace of his Body, the property of the only begotten, that is to say, Life, as he himself in plain words expoundeth it.

I confesse also with *Basil*, that we receive the Mystical Advent and coming of Christ, Grace and virtue of his very Nature; the Sacrament of his very Flesh, with *Ambrose*; the Body by Grace, with *Epiphanius*; spiritual Flesh, but not that which was crucified, with *Hierome*; Grace flowing into a Sacrifice, and the Grace of the Spirit, with *Chrysostom*; Grace and invisible verity, Grace and society of the Members of Christs Body, with *Augustine*.

Finally, with *Bertram* (which was the last of all these) I confesse that Christs Body is in the Sacrament in this respect; namely (as he writeth) because there is in it the Spirit of Christ, that is, the power of the Word of God, which not only feedeth the Soul, but also cleanseeth it. But of this I suppose it may clearly appear unto all men, how far we are from that opinion, whereof some go about falsely to slander us to the World saying, we teach that the Godly and Faithful should receive nothing else at

the Lords Table, but a figure of the Body of Christ.

The second Proposition.

After the consecration there remaineth no substance of Bread and Wine, neither any other substance, than the substance of God and Man.

The Answer.

The second conclusion is manifestly false, directly against the Word of God, the nature of the Sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the Godly Fathers; and it is the rotten Foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first, and also of the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explication of this answer, being contented with that which is already added afore to the answer of the first Proposition.

The first Argument for the confirmation of this Answer.

It is very plain by the Word of God, that Christ did give Bread unto his Disciples, and called it his Body. But the substance of Bread is another manner of substance, than is the substance of Christs Body, God and Man: Therefore the conclusion is false.

The second part of mine Argument is plain, and the first is proved thus:

The second Argument.

Da- That which Christ did take, on the which he gave thanks, and the which he brake, he gave to his Disciples, and called it his Body:

ti- But he took Bread, gave thanks on Bread, and brake Bread;

si- Ergo, The first part is true. And it is confirmed with the Authorities of the Fathers, *Irene*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, *Hierome*, *Augustine*, *Theodore*, *Cyrius*, *Rabanus*, and *Bede*. Whole places I will take upon me to shew most manifest in this behalf, if I may be suffered to have my Books, as my request is.

Bread is the Body of Christ:

Ergo, It is Bread.

* A tertio adiacente ad secundum adiacenti cum verbi substantivorum para copula.

The third Argument.

Ba- As the Bread of the Lords Table is Christs natural Body, so is his Mystical Body.

ro- But it is not Christs Mystical Body by Transubstantiation.

co- Ergo, It is not his natural Body by Transubstantiation.

The second part of my Argument is plain, and the first is proved thus: As Christ who is the verity, spake of the Bread, *This is my Body which shall be betrayed for you*, speaking there of his Natural Body: even so *Paul*, moved with the same Spirit of Truth, said, *We, though we be many, yet are we all one Bread, and one Body, which be partakers of one Bread.*

The fourth Argument.

We may no more believe Bread to be Transubstantiated into the Body of Christ, than the Wine into his Blood.

But the Wine is not Transubstantiated into his Blood:

Ergo, Neither is that Bread, therefore, Transubstantiated into his Body.

¶ The first part of this Argument is manifest, and the second part is proved out of the Authority of Gods Word in *Matthew* and *Mark*, *I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine*, &c. Now the fruit of the Vine was Wine, which Christ drank and gave to his Disciples to drink. With this sentence agreeth plainly the place of *Chrysostom* on the 20. Chapt. of *Mat. As Cyprian* doth also, affirming that there is no Blood, if Wine be not in the Cup.

The fifth Argument.

Ba- The words of Christ spoken upon the Cup and upon the Bread, have like effect and working.

ro- But the words spoken upon the Cup have not virtue to Transubstantiate:

co- Ergo, It followeth, that the words spoken upon the Bread have no such virtue.

Answer to the second Proposition: The second Proposition of Transubstantiation denied.

Confirmation of his answer.

* The rule of Logick is this: A proposition of tertio adiacenti ad secundum adiacenti cum verbi substantivorum para copula. The Major proved. 1 Cor. xxi

The Argument holdeth. A destrudione amec denit, ad destrudione conde quentis. Mat. x.6. Mark 14.2

Chrysostom; Cyprian.

The second part of the Argument is proved; because they would then Transubstantiate the Cup, or that which is in the Cup into the New Testament. But neither of these things can be done, and very absurd it is to confesse the same.

The sixth Argument.

De- The Circumstances of the Scripture, the Analogy and proportion of the Sacraments, and the Testimony of the Faithful Fathers ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the Holy Scripture touching the Sacrament.

ti- But the words of the Lords Supper, the Circumstances of the Scripture, the Analogy of the Sacraments, and the Sayings of the Fathers, do most effectually and plainly prove a figurative speech in the words of the Lords Supper.

fi- Ergo, a figurative sense and meaning is specially to be received in these words, *This is my Body.*

The Circumstances of the Scripture, do this in remembrance of me. As oft as ye shall eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, ye shall shew forth the Lords death. Let a man prove himself, and so eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup. They came together to break Bread; and they continued in breaking of Bread. The Bread which we break, &c. For we being many, are all one Bread and one Body, &c.

The Analogy of the Sacraments. The Analogy of the Sacraments is necessary: for if the Sacraments had not some similitude or likeness of the things whereof they be Sacraments, they could in no wise be Sacraments. And this similitude in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper is taken three manner of ways.

1. The first consisteth in nourishing, as ye shall read in *Rabana, Cyprian, Augustine, Irene*, and most plainly in *Isidore* out of *Bertram*.
2. The second in the uniting and joyning of many into one, as *Cyprian* teacheth.
3. The third is a similitude of unlike things: Where, like as the Bread is turned into one Body; so we, by the right use of this Sacrament, are turned through Faith into the Body of Christ.

The sayings of the Fathers declare it to be a figurative speech, as it appeareth in *Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom in opere imperitissimo, Augustine, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory, Nazianzen, Hilary*, and most plainly of all in *Bertram*. Moreover, the sayings and places of all the Fathers, whose names I have before recited against the assertion of the first Proposition, do quite overthrow Transubstantiation. But of all most evidently and plainly, *Irene, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom to Celsarius* the Monk, *Augustine* against *Adamantius*, *Gelasius*, *Cyril*, *Epphanus*, *Chrysostom* again one the 20. of *Matthew*, *Rabana*, *Damasce* and *Bertram*.

Here right worshipful Mr. Prolocutor and ye the rest of the Commissioners, it may please you to understand, that I do not lean to these things only, which I have written in my former Answers and Confirmations, but that I have also for the proof of that I have spoken, whatsoever *Bertram*, a man learned, of found and upright judgment, and ever counted a Catholic for these seven Hundred years until this our age, hath written. His Treatise, whosoever shall read and weigh, considering the time of the Writer, his Learning, Godliness of life, the Allegations of the ancient Fathers, and his manifold and most grounded Arguments, I cannot (doubtless) but much marvel, if he have any fear of God at all, how he can with good Conscience speak against him in this matter of the Sacrament. This *Bertram* was the first that pulled me by the Ear, and that first brought me from the common Error of the Romish Church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the Writings of the Old Ecclesiastical Fathers in this matter. And this I protest before the face of God, who knoweth I live not in the things I now speak.

The third Proposition.

In the Mass is the lively Sacrifice of the Church, propitiatory and available for the sins as well of quick as of the dead.

The answer to this Proposition.

I answer to this third Proposition as I did to the first.

And moreover I say, that being taken in such sense as the words seem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal so much to the derogation and defacing of the Death and Passion of Christ, that I judge it may and ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious Blood of our Saviour Christ.

The Explication.

Concerning the Romish Mass which is used at this day, or the lively Sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the sins of the quick and the dead, the holy Scripture hath not so much as one syllable.

There is Ambiguity also in the name of Mass: what it signifyeth, and whether at this day there be any such indeed as the ancient Fathers used; seeing that now there be neither *Catechists* nor *Parientes* to be sent away.

Again, touching these words (*The lively Sacrifice of the Church*.) There is doubt whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally, for the Sacrament of the lively Sacrifice (after which sort we deny it not to be in the Lords Supper) or properly and without any figure: of the which manner there was but one only Sacrifice, and that once offered, namely upon the Altar of the Cross.

Moreover, in these words (*as well as*) it may be doubted whether they be spoken in mockery, as men are wont to say in sport, of a foolish and ignorant person, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge; being apt indeed in neither of them both.

There is also a doubt in the word (*Propitiabile*) whether it signifye here that which taketh away sin, or that which may be made available for the taking away of sin; that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the passive signification.

Now the falseness of the Proposition, after the meaning of the Schoolmen and the Romish Church, and Impiety in that sense which the words seem to import, is this: that they, leaning to the foundation of their fond Transubstantiation, would make the quick and lively Body of Christs Flesh (united and knit to the Divinity) to lye hid under the accidents, and outward shew of Bread and Wine. Which is very false, as I have said afore: and they, building upon this Foundation, do hold that the same Body is offered unto God by the Priest in his daily Massingsto put away the sins of the quick and the dead, whereas by the Apostle to the *Hebrews* it is evident, that there is but one Oblation, and one true and lively Sacrifice of the Church offered upon the Altar of the Cross, which was, is, and shall be for ever the propitiation for the sins of the whole World: and where there is Remission of the same; there is (saith the Apostle) no more offering for sin.

Argument confirming his Answer.

Ce- No Sacrifice ought to be done, but where the Priest is meet to offer the same.

la- All other Priests be unmeet to offer Sacrifice propitiatory for sin, save only Christ.
rent. Ergo, no other Priests ought to Sacrifice for sin, but Christ alone.

The second part of my Argument is thus proved.
Fe- No honour in Gods Church ought to be taken where a man is not called, as *Aaron*.

ri- It is a great honour in Gods Church to Sacrifice for sin. Ergo, No man ought to Sacrifice for sin, but only they which are called.

But only Christ is called to that honour.

Ergo, No other Priest but Christ ought to Sacrifice for Sin. That no man is called to this degree of Honour but Christ alone, it is evident. For there are but two only orders of Priesthood allowed in the word of God: Namely, the order of *Aaron*, and the order of *Melchisedech*. But now the order of *Aaron* is come to an end, by reason that it was unprofitable, and weakend of the order of *Melchisedech* there is but one Priest alone, even Christ the Lord, which hath a Priesthood that cannot pass to any other.

An Argument.

Ba- That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where no necessity is wherefore it is done.

ro- To offer up any more Sacrifice Propitiatory for the quick and the dead there is no necessity, for Christ our Saviour

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Explication of the same. Doubts in the third Proposition. In the Primitive Church the newly instructed in the Faith and unworthy were put away from the Communion

The third doubt.

The fourth doubt.

The falseness of the third Proposition proved.

But offe Sacrifice in the Scriptures.

The first Argument. Heb. 5.

Heb. 7.

Anno 1554. Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all.
co. Ergo, To do the same in the Mass it is vain.

Another Argument.

Feb. 9. After that Eternal Redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily Offering for the same. But Christ coming an High Bishop, &c. found and obtained for us Eternal Redemption.
ri- *Ergo*, Their needeth now no more daily Oblation for the sins of the quick and the dead.

Another Argument.

Ca. All Remission of Sins cometh only by shedding of Blood.
mef. In the Mass there is no shedding of Blood.
tres. *Ergo*, In the Mass there is no Remission of Sins and so it followeth also that there is no Propitiatory Sacrifice.

Another Argument.

In the Mass the Passion of Christ is not in Verity, but in a Mystry representing the same: Yea, even there where the Lords Supper is duly ministrif.

Feb. 9. But where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in Verity: For the Apostle saith, *Not that he might offer up himself often times (for then must he have suffered often times since the beginning of the world.)* now where Christ is not offered, there is no Propitiatory Sacrifice:

Ergo, In the Mass there is no Propitiatory Sacrifice: For Christ appeared once in the later end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And as it is appointed to all men that they shall once dye, and then cometh the Judgment: even so Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many. And unto them that look for him shall be appear again without sin unto Salvation.

Another Argument.

Da. Where there is any Sacrifice that can make the comers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any more Expiatory and Propitiatory Sacrifices.

ri- But in the New Testament there is one only Sacrifice now already long since offered, which is able to make the comers thereto perfect for ever.

i. *Ergo*, In the New Testament they ought to cease from offering any more Propitiatory Sacrifices.

Sentences of the Scripture tending to the same end and purpose, out of which also may be gathered other manifest Arguments for more confirmation thereof.

Feb. 10. **B**y the which will (saith the Apostle) we are sanctified, by the offering up of the Body of Jesus Christ once for all. And in the same place, *But this man, after that he had offered one Sacrifice for sins, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God, &c.* For with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified, and by himself hath he purged our sins. I beseech you to mark these words (by himself) the which well weighed, will without doubt cease all Controversie.

The Apostle plainly denieth any other Sacrifice to remain for him that treadeth under his feet the Blood of the Testament, by the which he was made holy. Christ will not be crucified again, he will not his Death to be had in derision.

Calof. 1. He hath reconciled us in the Body of his Flesh. Mark, I beseech you, he saith not, in the Mystry of his Body; but in the Body of his Flesh.

1 John 2. If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins, not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.

I know that all these places of the Scripture are avoided by two manner of subtil shifts: The one is by the distinction of the bloody and unbloody Sacrifice, as though our unbloody Sacrifice of the Church were any other than the Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving, than a Commemoration, a shewing forth, and a Sacramental Representation of that one only bloody Sacrifice, offered up once for all.

The other is by depraving and wresting the sayings of the ancient Fathers unto such a strange kind of sense, as the Fathers themselves indeed never meant. For

what the meaning of the Fathers was, it is evident by that which S. Augustine writeth in his Epistle to Boniface, and in the 83. Chapter of his Ninth Book against Faustus the Manichee; besides many other places; likewise by Eusebius, Emifene, Cyprian, Chrysostom; Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, which do wholly concord and agree together in this Unity in the Lord, that the Redemption, once made in verity for the Salvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceasing unto the end of the World, that the Sacrifice once offered cannot be continued; That the Lords Death and Passion is as effectual, the virtue of that Blood once shed, as fresh at this day for the washing away of sins, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour: And finally, That the whole substance of our Sacrifice, which is frequented of the Church in the Lords Supper, consisteth in Prayers, Praise, and giving of Thanks, and in remembering and shewing forth of that Sacrifice once offered upon the Altar of the Cross; that the same might continually be had in reverence by Mystry; which one only, and no more, was offered for the Price of our Redemption.

These are the things (right worshipful Mr. Prolocutor, and ye the rest of the Commissioners) which I could presently prepare to the answering of your three fore-said Propositions being destitute of all help in this shortness of time, sudden warning, and want of Books. Wherefore I appeal to my first Protestation, most humbly desiring the help of the same (as much as may be) to be granted unto me. And because ye have lately given most unjust and cruel Sentence against me, I do here Appeal (so far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and just Censure and Judgment of some other Superior, competent, and lawful Judge, and that according to the approved state of the Church of England. Howbeit, I confess, that I am ignorant what that is at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the Realm. But if this Appeal may not be granted to me upon Earth, then do I fly (even as to my only Refuge and alone Haven of Health) to the Sentence of the Eternal Judge, that is, of the Almighty God, to whose most merciful Justice towards us, and most just Mercifulness, I do wholly commit my self and all my Cause, nothing at all despairing of the Defence of mine Advocate and alone Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Everlasting Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier of us all, be now and for ever all Honour and Glory. Amen.

Albeit this Learned Bishop was not suffered to read all that is above prefixed before the Disputations, yet because he had it then ready, and offered it up to the Prolocutor after the Disputations and Sentence pronounced: I thought here the place not unmeet to annex the same together with the rest. Now let us hear the Arguments and Answers between Dr. Smith and him.

Dr. Smith beginneth to Oppose.

Smith. You have occasioned me to go otherwise to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Me seemed you did in your Supposition abuse the Testimonies of Scripture concerning the Ascension of Christ, to take away his Presence in the Sacrament, as though this were a strong Argument to enforce your matter withal.

Christ did ascend into Heaven:
Ergo, He is not in the Sacrament.

Now therefore I will go about to disprove this reason of yours.

Christs Ascension is no let to his Real Presence in the Sacrament.

Ergo, you are deceived, whereas you do ground your self upon those places.

Rid. You import as though I had made a strong Argument by Christs going up into heaven. But howsoever mine Argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only stay upon his Ascension, but upon his Ascension and his abiding there also.

Smith. Christs going up to Heaven, and his abiding there, hinder not his Real Presence in the Sacrament.

This Papist and vain their Sacrifice by the old Doctors fully witness.

Doctors making against the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass.

The whole substance of the Sacrifice, wherein it consisteth.

R. Ridley appeals from the unjust Sentence of his Advocates, to some other Superior competent Judge.

R. Ridley, for lack of equal indifference, appeals to Almighty God.

Smiths Argument.

Answer.

The Popish distinction between bloody and unbloody Sacrifice.

* The verity of Mr. Tullys answer touching the real being of Christ in Earth to be retained by his Ascending and abiding in Heaven, standeth upon the necessity, which we call (Necessitas consequentiae) by this demonstration.

Ergo,

Da. Every Natural Body most necessarily be contained in his peculiar and certain place.
 R. Christ's Body is a Natural Body.
 i. Ergo, Christ's Body not to be in one certain place at once contained, it is impossible, according to the Rule, Omnes propositiones de impossibili & de necesse æquipollent dictis dissimiliter se habent, & modo similiter.

Ergo, You are deceived.
 Rid. Of Christ's Real Presence there may be a double understanding: If you take the Real Presence of Christ according to the Real and Corporal Substance which he took of the Virgin, that Presence being in Heaven, cannot be on the Earth also. But if you mean a Real Presence, secundum rem aliquam quæ ad Corpus Christi pertinet; i. according to some thing that appertaineth to Christ's Body, certes the Ascension and abiding in Heaven are no let at all to that Presence. Wherefore Christ's Body after that sort is here present to us in the Lords Supper; by Grace I say, as Epiphanius speaketh it.

Wesl. I will cut off from henceforth all equivocation and doubt. For whensoever we speak of Christ's Body, we mean that which he took of the Virgin.

Rid. Christ's Ascension and abiding in Heaven cannot stand with his Presence.

Argument. Smith. Christ appeared corporally and really on the Earth, for all his Ascension and continual abode in Heaven unto the Day of Doom.

Ergo, His Ascension and abiding in Heaven, is no let to his Real Presence in the Sacrament.

Answer. Rid. Mr. Doctor, this Argument is nothing worth. I do not so freightly tie Christ up in Heaven, that he may not come into the Earth at his Pleasure. For when he will, he may come down from Heaven, and be on the Earth as it liketh himself: howbeit I do affirm, That it is not possible for him to be both in Heaven and Earth at one time.

Smith. Mark, I pray you my Masters, that be here diligently, what he answereth. First he saith, That the sitting of Christ at the right Hand of his Father, is a let to the Real Presence of his Body in the Sacrament, and then afterward he flieth from it again.

Rid. I would not have you think that I do imagine or dream upon any such manner of sitting, as these men here sit in the School.

Smith. Ergo, It is lawful for Christ then to be here present on the Earth, when he will himself.

Rid. Yes, when he will, it is lawful indeed.

Smith. Ergo, He ascending into Heaven, doth not restrain his Real Presence in the Sacrament.

Rid. I do not gainsay, but that it is lawful for him to appear on the Earth when he will; but prove you that he will.

Smith. Then your Answer dependeth upon the will of Christ, I perceive: Therefore I will joyn again with you in that short Argument.

Christ, albeit he doth always abide in Heaven after his Ascension, was seen really and corporally on Earth.

Ergo, Notwithstanding his Ascension and continual sitting at the right hand of his Father, he may be really and corporally in the Sacrament.

Rid. If the Notaries should so Record your Argument, as you have framed it, you peradventure would be ashamed of it hereafter.

Smith. Christ after his Ascension was seen really and corporally upon the Earth.

Ergo, Notwithstanding his Ascension and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the Sacrament.

Rid. I grant the Antecedent, but I deny the Consequence.

Smith. Do you grant the Antecedent.

Rid. Yes, I grant the Antecedent. I am content to let you have so much. Because I know that there be certain ancient Fathers of that opinion, I am well content to let you use that Proposition as true. And I will frame the Argument for you.

He was seen on Earth after his Ascension, Ergo, &c.

Smith. Nay, nay, I will frame it myself.

Christ after his Ascension was seen really and corporally on Earth, albeit he do abide in Heaven continually.

Ergo, Notwithstanding his Ascension and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on the Earth.

Rid. Let us first agree about the continual sitting at the right hand of the Father.

Smith. Doth he so sit at the right hand of his Father, that he doth never forsake the same?

Rid. Nay, I do not bind Christ in Heaven to straight-

ly. I see you go about to beguile me with your Equivocations. Such Equivocations are to be distinguished. If you mean by his sitting in Heaven, to reign with his Father, he may be both in Heaven and also in Earth. But if ye understand his sitting to be after a corporal manner of sitting, so is he always permanent in Heaven. For Christ to be corporal here on Earth, when corporally he is resident in Heaven, is clean contrary to the Holy Scriptures, as Augustine saith; Corpus Christi est in Cælo, sed veritas ejus ubique diffusa est; i. The Body of Christ is in Heaven, but his Truth is dispersed in every place.

Now if continually he abide in Heaven after the manner of his Corporal Presence, then his perpetual abiding there stoppeth or letteth that the same Corporal Presence of him cannot be in the Sacrament.

Smith. Añs. 3. We read that Christ shall sit perpetually at the right hand of God, unto the consumption of the World.

Wesl. I perceive you are come here to this Issue, whether the Body of Christ may be together both in Earth and in Heaven. I will tell you that Christ in very deed is both in Earth and in Heaven together, and at one time, both one and the same Natural Christ, after the Verity and Substance of his very Body: Ergo, &c.

Rid. I deny the Antecedent.

Wesl. I prove it by two Witnesses. First by Chrysostom. Hom. 17. ad Hebr. Nonne per singulos dies offerimus? Offerimus quidem, sed recordationem facientes mortis ejus. Et una est hæc hostia, non multe. Et quomodo una, & non multe, quæ semel oblata est in sancto sanctorum? Hoc autem sacrificium exemplar est illius; id ipsum semper offerimus, nec nunc quidem alium agnum, crastina alium, sed semper eundem ipsum. Proinde unum est hoc sacrificium; alioqui hæc ratio, quoniam in multis locis offertur, multi Christi sunt? Nequaquam, sed unus ubique est Christus; & hic plenus existens, & illic plenus, unum corpus, i. Do we not offer every day? We do so indeed; but doing it for the remembrance of his Death. And this offering is one, and not many. And how is it one, and not many, which was offered in the holy place: This Sacrifice is a pattern of that: The self same we always offer; Not now as offering one Lamb to day, and another to morrow, but always one and the same Lamb. Wherefore here is but one Sacrifice; for else by this means, seeing there be many Sacrifices in many places, be there many Christs? Not so; but one Christ in all places, both perfect here and perfect there, one only Body. Now thus I argue.

We offer one thing at all times.

There is one Christ in all places, both here compleat and there compleat.

Ergo, By Chrysostom there is one Body both in Heaven and Earth.

Rid. I remember the place well. These things make nothing against me.

Wesl. One Christ is in all places, here full and there full.

Rid. One Christ is in all places; but not one Body in all places.

Wesl. One Body saith Chrysostom.

Rid. But not after the manner of bodily Substance but in all places, not by circumscription of place. For (hic) and (illic) here and there, in Chrysostom do assign no place, as Augustine saith; Sursum est Dominus, sed ubique est veritas Domini; i. The Lord is above, but the Truth of the Lord is in all places.

Wesl. You cannot so escape. He saith not the Verity of Christ is one; but one Christ is in all places, both here and there.

Rid. One Sacrifice is in all places, because of the Unity of him whom the Sacrifice doth signify: Not that the Sacrifices be all one and the same.

Wesl. Ergo, By your saying it is not Christ, but the Sacrifice of Christ.

But Chrysostom saith, One Body and one Christ is there, and not one Sacrifice.

Rid. I say, that both Christ and the Sacrifice of Christ is there: Christ by Spirit, Grace, and Verity; the Sacrifice by signification.

* Thus I grant with Chrysostom, that there is one Host or Sacrifice, and not many: And this our Host is called one, by reason of the Unity of that one, which one only

Christ's body in Heaven is no let for him to appear on Earth when he will; but whether he will, that must be proved. Again, it is something to appear on Earth, and then still in the Sacrament, and to be present the same time with his Body in Heaven, when he is bodily present in Earth.

Christ continually sitting in Heaven expanded.

Anno 1554. Christ cannot be both corporally here, and corporally also in Heaven at one time.

Chrys. Hom. 17. ad Hebræos.

Argument. Answer.

One Christ and one Sacrifice in all places, and how? to wit, Christ by Verity, the Sacrifice by signification. * Ex libro Ridley ipsius manu descripto. Sacrifices, why it is called one.

Anno 1554. all our Hosts do represent. That only Host was never other, but that which was once offered on the Altar of the Cross, of which Host all our Hosts are but Sacramental Examples.

How one Christ is offered in many places at once. And where you alledge out of *Chrysostom*, that Christ is offered in many places at once, both here full Christ, and there full Christ: I grant it to be true, that is, that Christ is offered in many places at once, in a Mystery and Sacramentally, and that he is full Christ in all those places, but not after the Corporal Substance of our Flesh which he took, but after the Benediction which giveth life; and he is given to the godly Receivers in Bread and Wine, as *Cyril* speaketh concerning the Oblation of Christ, whereof *Chrysostom* here speaketh, he himself doth clearly shew what he meaneth thereby, in saying by the way of correction, *We always do the self same bowbeit by the re-creation or remembrance of his Sacrifice.*

Sarnard.

West. The second Witness is *Bernard* in a Sermon that he made of the Supper of the Lord, who saith;
Unde hoc nobis, piissime Iesu, ut nos vermiculi, reptantes super faciem terre, nos, inquam, qui pulvis & cinis sumus, te præsentem habere mereamur præ manibus, præ oculis, qui totus & integer sedes ad dextram Patris, qui etiam unus bore momento, ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, ab Aquilone usque ad Austrum præsto es, unus in multis, idem in diversis locis? That is to say, How cometh this to us, most gentle Jesus, that we silly Worms creeping on the face of the Earth, that we I say, which are but dust and ashes, may deserve to have thee present in our hands, and before our eyes, who both together, full and whole, dost sit at the right hand of the Father, and who also in the moment of one hour, from the rising of the Sun to the going down of the same, art present one and the self same in many and divers places?

The time of

Rid. These words of *Bernard* make for you nothing at all. But I know that *Bernard* was in such a time, that in this matter he may worthily be suspected. He hath many good and fruitful sayings; as also in the same foresaid place by you alledged. But yet he followed in such an Age, whereas the Doctrine of the Holy Supper was fore perverted. Notwithstanding yet I will so expound him, rather than reject him, that he shall make nothing for you at all. He saith, That we have Christ in a Mystery, in a Sacrament, under a veil or cover, but hereafter shall have him without veil or cover. In the mean time, here now he saith, That the verity of Christ is every where. The verity of Christ is both here and there, and in all places.

**Bernard re-
jected.**

West. What do you call Verity? He saith not the Verity of Christ, but the Verity of the Body of Christ.

**What is the
Verity of the
Body of
Christ.**

Rid. The Verity of the Body of Christ is the true Faith of the Body of Christ: after that Verity he is with them which truly believe upon him.

West. Christ is one and the same in divers places. I urge these words [in *diversis locis*] in divers places, and yet I am not satisfied.

Smith. Christ was seen Really and Corporally on the Earth after his Ascension, and continually sitting at the right hand of the Father.

Ergo. The Ascension and perpetual sitting in Heaven hinder nothing, but that he may be Really and Corporally in the Sacrament.

Rid. If by perpetual sitting you mean the Residence of his Body in Heaven, your Reason containeth manifest contradiction.

Smith. These two have no contradiction in them at all, both fit continually at his Fathers right hand, and also to be seen here really in Earth after his Ascension. First, You will give me, that Christ sitteth in Heaven at the right hand of his Father. For so it is written, *Acts 5. Heaven must needs receive him unto the time of the restoring of all.* Secondly, He was also seen of *Paul* here Corporally on Earth.

Wherefore these two do import, as ye see, no contradiction.

Rid. What letteth, but that Christ, if it please him, and when it pleaseth him, may be in Heaven and in Earth, and appear to whom he will? And yet notwithstanding you have not yet proved that he will so do. And though Christ continually shall be resident in Heaven unto the Judgment, yet there may be some intermission, that notwithstanding. But this Contraversion, as I said, is amongst all the ancient Doctors and Writers. And that Christ hath been

here seen, that they grant all: but whether then he being in Earth or in Heaven, that is doubtful.

Smith. I will prove that he would appear in Earth.

He so would, and also did appear here in Earth after his Ascension: *Ergo, &c.*

Rid. He appeared, I grant; but how he appeared, whether then being in Heaven or in Earth, that is uncertain. So he appeared to *Steven*, being then Corporally sitting in Heaven. For speaking after the true manner of mans Body, when he is in Heaven, he is not the same time in Earth; and when he is in Earth, he is not the same time Corporally in Heaven.

Smith. Christ hath been both in Heaven and in Earth all at one time.

Ergo. You are deceived in denying that.

Rid. I do not utterly deny Christ here to have been seen in Earth. Of uncertain things I speak uncertainly.

Smith. He was seen of *Paul*, as being born before his time, after his ascending up to Heaven, 1 Cor. 15:

But his Vision was a Corporal Vision:

Ergo. He was seen Corporally upon the Earth after his ascending into Heaven.

Rid. He was seen Really and Corporally indeed, but whether being in Heaven or Earth, is a doubt. And of doubtful things we must judge doubtfully. Howbeit you must prove that he was in Heaven at the same time, when he was Corporally on Earth.

Smith. I would know of you, whether this vision may enforce the Resurrection of Christ?

Rid. I account this a sound and firm Argument to prove the Resurrection. But whether they saw him in Heaven or in Earth, I am in doubt: to say the truth, it maketh no great matter. Both ways the Argument is of like strength. For whether he were seen in Heaven, or whether he were seen on Earth, either of both maketh sufficiently for the matter. Certain it is, he rose again: for he could not have been seen, unless he had risen again.

Smith. *Paul* saw him as he was here conversant on Earth, and not out of Heaven, as you affirm.

Rid. You run to the beginning again: That you take for granted, which you should have proved.

Smith. You make delays for the nonce.

Rid. Say not so, I pray you. Those that hear us learned: They can tell both what you oppose, and what I answer well enough, I warrant you.

Tresh. He was seen after such sort, as that he might be heard.

Ergo. He was Corporally on the Earth, or else how Argument could he be heard?

Rid. He that found the means for *Steven* to behold him in Heaven, even he could bring to pass well enough, that *Paul* might hear him out of Heaven.

Da- Smith. As other saw him, so *Paul* saw him.

ti. Other did see him Visibly and Corporally on Earth.

fi. *Ergo.* *Paul* saw him Visibly and Corporally on Earth.

Rid. I grant he was seen Visibly and Corporally: but yet have you not proved that he was seen in Earth.

Smith. He was seen of him as of other:

But he was seen of other being on Earth, and appeared visibly to them on Earth:

Ergo. he was seen of *Paul* on Earth.

Rid. Your Contraversion is about (*existens in terra*) that is, being on Earth: If *existere* so be, referred as unto the place, I deny that Christ after that sort was on Earth. But if it be referred as to the Verity of the Body, then I grant it. Moreover, I say that Christ was seen of men in Earth after his Ascension, it is certain: For he was seen of *Steven*; he was seen also of *Paul*. But whether he descended unto the Earth, or whether he being in Heaven did reveal or manifest himself to *Paul*, when *Paul* was wrapt into the third Heaven, I know that some contend about it: And the Scripture, as far as I have read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherefore we cannot but judge uncertainly of those things which be uncertain.

Smith. We have *Egeppus* and *Linus* against you, which testify, that Christ appeared Corporally on the Earth to *Peter* after his Ascension, *lib. 3. cap. 3.* *Peter* overcome with the requests and mournings of the People, which desired him to get him out of the City because of *Nero's* lying in wait for him, began without Company to convey himself away from thence: And when he was come to the Gate, he seeth

Christ ap-
pearing on
the Earth
toward
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redeem
Here
How Cl
appears
Earth

This Argu-
ment hold-
eth: ther
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sacris form

Whether
Paul saw
Christ in
Heaven or
in Earth, all
is one to
prove his
Resurrecti-
on.

Petition Print
clij.

Argument
Answer

Egeppus
lib. 3. cap. 3.

Christ

To be re-
jected and
not re-
jected.
Contradi-
ction in re-
spect of
fidelity
sues.

Innes de
passione Pe-
tri. Ambro-
sius. Abdis.

Christ come to meet him, and worshipping him, he said, Master, whether walk you? Christ answered, I am come again to be crucified. *Linus* writing of the Passion of Peter, hath the self same story. *Ambrose* hath the same likewise, and also *Abdias*, Scholar to the Apostles, which saw Christ before his Ascending into Heaven. With what face therefore dare you affirm it to be a thing uncertain, which these men do manifestly witness to have been done?

Rid. I said before that the Doctors in that matter did vary.

Smith. Do you think this story is not certain, being approved by so ancient and probable Authority?

Rid. I do so think, because I take and esteem not their words for the words of Scripture. And though I did grant you that story to be certain, yet it maketh not against me.

Smith. Such things as be certain, and approved of them, you do reject as things uncertain.

Rid. The story of *Linus* is not of so great authority; although I am not ignorant that *Eusebius* so writeth also in the story of the Church. And yet I account not these mens Reports so sure as the Canonical Scriptures. Albeit if at any time he had to any man appeared here on the Earth after his Ascension, that doth not disprove my saying. For I go not about to tie Christ up in fetters (as some do untruly report of us) but that he may be seen upon the Earth according to his Divine Pleasure, whensoever it liketh him. But we affirm, That it is contrary to the Nature of his Manhood, and the true manner of his Body, that he should be together and at one instant both in Heaven and Earth, according to his Corporal Substance. And the perpetual sitting at the right hand of the Father, may (I grant) be taken for the stability of Christs Kingdom, and his continual or everlasting Equality with his Father in the Glory of Heaven.

Smith. Now whereas you boast that your Faith is the very Faith of the Ancient Church; I will shew here that it is not so, but that it doth directly strive against the Faith of the old Fathers, I will bring in *Chrysostom* for this point. *Hom. 2. ad populum Antiochenum. Tanquam maximam hereditatem, Eliseum melorem suscepit. Et enim vere maxima fuit hereditas, omni auro pretiosior: & erat duplex Helias ille: & erat sursum Helias, & deorsum Helias. Novi quod iustum illum beatum putatis, & velleis quisque esse ut ille. Quid igitur, si vobis demonstravero quid aliud, quod illo multo majus omnes sacris mysteriis imbuti recipimus? Helias quidem melorem discipulo reliquit: Filius autem Dei ascendens suam nobis civitatem dimisit. Sed Helias quidem exiit: Christus autem & nobis reliquit, & ipsam habens ascendit. That is, *Eliseus* received the Mantle, as a right great Inheritance. For it was indeed a right excellent Inheritance, and more precious than any Gold beside. And the same was a double *Helias*: He was both *Helias* above, and *Helias* beneath. I know well you think that just man to be happy, and you would gladly be every one of you as he is. What will you then say if I shall declare unto you a certain other thing, which all we that are indued with these holy Mysteries do receive much more than that? *Helias* indeed left his Mantle to his Scholar: But the Son of God ascending did leave here his Flesh unto us. *Helias* left it, putting off the same: but Christ both left it to us, and ascended also to Heaven, having it with him.*

Rid. I grant that Christ did both; that is, both took up his Flesh with him ascending up, and also did leave the same behind him with us, but after a divers manner and respect. For he took his Flesh with him, after the true and Corporal Substance of his Body and Flesh: Again, he left the same in Mytery to the Faithful in the Supper, to be received after a Spiritual Communication, and by Grace. Neither is the same received in the Supper only, but also at other times, by hearing the Gospel, and by Faith. For, the (Bread) which we break, is the communication of the Body of Christ: And generally, unless ye eat the Flesh of the Son of man, and drink his Blood, ye shall have no life in you.

Smith. *Chrysostom* in his Book De Dignitate Sacerdotij, lib. 2. cap. 3. saith, O miraculum, O Dei benevolentiam! Quod in sum sedet tempore sacrificij, hominum manibus con-
tinetur. Or as other have translated it, O miraculum, O Dei benignitatem! Qui cum parte sursum sedet, in illo

ipse temporis articulo, omnium manibus pertrahatur, ac se ipse tradit volentibus ipsum accipere & compleri: i. O Miracle, O good will of God! He that sitteth above at the Sacrifice time, is contained in the hands of men. Or else as other have translated it, thus: O Miracle, O the gentleness of God! He that sitteth above with the Father, is handled with the hands of all men at the very same moment of time, and doth himself deliver himself to them that are desirous to take him and embrace him.

Rid. He that sitteth there is here present in Mytery and by Grace, and is holden of the godly, such as communicate him, not only Sacramentally with the Hand of the Body, but much more wholly with the Hand of the Heart, and by inward drinking is received; but by the Sacramental signification he is holden of all men.

Smith. Where is then the Miracle if he be only present through his Grace and Mytery only?

Rid. Yes, there is a Miracle, good Sir, Christ is not idle in his Sacraments. Is not the Miracle great, to throw you, when Bread, which is wont to sustain the Body, becometh Food to the Soul? He that understandeth not that Miracle, he understandeth not the force of that Mytery. God grant we may every one of us understand his Truth, and obey the same.

Smith. *Chrysostom* calleth it a Miracle, that Christ sitteth at the right hand of God in Heaven, and at the same time is held in the hands of men: Not that he is handled with the hands of men: Only in a Mytery, and is with them through Grace. Therefore while you deny that, you are altogether deceived, and stray far from the Truth.

Harps. The former part of *Chrysostom* is not to be let slip. Let me, before I begin, ask this one question of you. Is it not a great matter that *Eliseus* left his Cloak or Mantle, and the Gift of his Prophecy to his Scholar?

Rid. Yes surely, it is a great matter.

Harps. Did not *Eliseus* then leave great Grace?

Rid. He did so.

Harps. But Christ left a far greater Grace than *Eliseus*: For he could not both leave his Cloak and take it with him; Christ doth both in his Flesh.

Rid. I am well content to grant, that Christ left much greater things to us than *Eliseus* to *Eliseus*, albeit he be said to have left his double Spirit with him: For that the Strength and Grace of the Body of Christ, which Christ ascending up here left with us, is the only Salvation and Life of all men which shall be saved: Which Life Christ hath here left unto us, to be received by Faith through the hearing of the Word, and the right Administration of the Sacraments. This Virtue and Grace *Chrysostom*, after the phrase and manner of *John* the Evangelist, calleth Christs Flesh.

Harps. But Christ performed a great matter. He carried up, and left behind. You understand not the Comparison. The Comparison is in this, That *Eliseus* left his Mantle, and carried it not with him; Christ left his Flesh behind him, and carried it with him also.

Rid. True it is, and I my self did affirm no less before. Now where you seem to speak many things, indeed you bring no new things at all. Let there be a Comparison between Grace and Grace, then Christ gave the far greater Grace, when he did infuse or graft us into his Flesh.

Harps. If you will give me leave, I will ask you this question. If *Chrysostom* would have meant so, that Christ left his Body in the Eucharist, what plainer words think you, or more evident could he have used than these?

Rid. These things be not of so great force as they bear a great shew outwardly. He might also have used groffer words if he had listed to have uttered his mind so grossly: For he was an eloquent man. Now he speaketh after the manner of other Doctors, which of mystical matters speak mystically, and of Sacraments sacramentally.

Har. The Comparison lieth in this; That which was impossible to *Eliseus*, is possible with Christ.

Rid. I grant it was possible to Christ, which was to the other impossible. *Eliseus* left his Cloak: Christ both left his Flesh and took it with him.

Harps. *Eliseus* left behind him, and could not take with him: Christ both left behind him, and also took with him: Except you will say the Comparison here made to be nothing.

Anno
1594.

The Miracle
in the Sacra-
ment wherein it
consisteth.

The credit
of *Linus's*
story.
This addi-
tion is taken
out of the
Copy of *Sp.*
which own
writing.

Chrysostom
alleged.
Hom. 2. ad
populum
Antioch.

Here, or this
answer great
careful of
translating,
so retail, and
reproachful
words were
cast upon
this good
Bishop.

Chrysost. De
Dignitate
Sacerdotij.
lib. 2. cap. 3.

How Christ
took up his
Body, and
left it with
us.

The phrase
of *Chrysostom*
considered.

Comparison
between *Eliseus's*
Mantle and
Christs
Flesh.

Eliseus took
his Mantle,
and left another
Mantle not Sacra-
ment of his
Mantle be-
hind him.
Christ took
his Flesh, and left a
Sacrament
of his Flesh,
which was
more than
Eliseus did:
and yet the
said *Eliseus*
afterward
cast down
his Mantle.

Rid.

Anno 1554. *Rid.* He took up his Flesh with him to Heaven, and left here the Communion of his Flesh in Earth.

Wesl. You understand in the first place his Flesh for very true Flesh; and in the second place for Grace, and Communion of his Flesh; and why do you not understand it in the second place also for his true Flesh? I will make it evident how blockish and gross your Answer is.

Rid. These be Taunts and Reproaches, not becoming, as I think, the modesty of this School.

Wesl. Elias left his Cloak to his Disciple; but the Son of God going up to Heaven, left his Flesh. But Elias certainly left his Cloak behind, and Christ likewise his Flesh, and yet ascending he carried the same with him too. By which words we make this Reason:

Christ left his Flesh to his Disciples, and yet for all that he took the same up with him:

Ergo, He is present here with us. Here Dr. *Wesl.* crying to the People, said unto them; Mr. Doctor answereth it after this fashion:

He carried his Flesh into Heaven, and he left here the Communion of his Flesh behind. Assuredly the Answer is too unlearned.

Rid. I am glad you speak in English. Surely, I wish that all the whole world might understand your Reasons and my Answers. *Reliqui nobis carnem suam*, i. He left his Flesh. This you understand of his Flesh, and I understand the same of Grace. He carried his Flesh into Heaven, and left behind the Communion of his Flesh unto us.

Wesl. Ye Judges, what think you of this Answer?

Judges. It is ridiculous and a very fond Answer.

Rid. Well, I take your words patiently for Christs cause.

Wesl. *Wesl.* here citeth a place, *Spargimus Sanguine Christi; We are sprinkled with the Blood of Christ.*

Rid. Mr. Doctor, it is the same Blood, but yet spiritually received. And indeed all the Prophets were sprinkled with the same Blood, but yet spiritually I say, and by Grace. And whatsoever they be that are not sprinkled with this Blood, they cannot be partakers of the everlasting Salvation.

Wesl. * Here I bring Bernard unto you again, *Even from the West unto the East, from the North unto the South, there is one and the self same Christ in many and divers places.*

Rid. The Answer is soon made, that one Christ is here and in divers places. For God according to his Majesty, and according to his Providence, as St. *Austin* saith, is every where with the godly, according to his indivisible and unspeakable Grace. Or else if ye would understand

Bernard according to the Corporal Presence, how monstrous, or huge, and Giant-like a Body would you then make Christs Body to be, which should reach even from North to South, from West to East?

Wesl. Nay, nay, you make a monstrous Answer, and unlearned.

Ward. Before I come in with those Reasons which I had purposed to bring against you, I am minded to come again to Mr. Doctors Argument, by which you being brought into the Briars, seemed to doubt of Christs Presence on the Earth. To the proof of which matter I will bring nothing else, then that which was agreed upon in the Catechism of the Synod of London, set out not long ago by you.

Rid. Sir, I give you to wit, before you go any further, that I did set out no Catechism.

Wesl. Yes, you made one Subscribe to it, when you were a Bishop in your Ruff.

Rid. I compelled no man to Subscribe.

Ward. Yes, by rood, you are the very Author of that Herefie.

Rid. I put forth no Catechism.

Cole. Did you never consent to the setting out of those things which you allowed?

Rid. I grant that I saw the Book; but I deny that I wrote it. I perused it after it was made, and I noted many things for it. So I consented to the Book: I was not the Author of it.

Judges. * The Catechism is so set forth, as though the whole Convocation House had agreed to it. *Crammer* whole Convocation House had agreed to it. *Crammer* said yesterday, that you made it.

Rid. I think fairly, that he would not say so.

Ward. The Catechism hath this Clause; *Si visibiliter*

in terra, &c. If visibly on the Earth.

Rid. I answer, That those Articles were set out, I both writing and consenting to them. Mine own hand will testify the same, and Mr. *Crammer* put his hand to them likewise, and gave them to other afterward. Now, as for the place which you alledge out of it, that may easily be expounded, and without any inconvenience.

Ward. Christ is the power and the virtue of his Father.

Ergo, He was not of so little strength, that he could not bring to pass whatsoever he would himself.

Rid. I grant.

Ward. Christ was the wisdom of the Father.

Ergo, That he spake he spake wisely, and so as every man might understand: neither was it his mind to speak one thing instead of another.

Rid. All this I grant.

Ward. Christ was likewise the very Truth: *Ergo*, he made and performed indeed that which he intended to make. And likewise it is, that he doth neither deceive, nor could be deceived, nor yet would go about to deceive other.

Wesl. *Hilarius* in *Psal.* 118. hath these words: *Vera omnia sunt, & neque citius, neque inutiliter constituta Deo verba, sed extra omnem ambiguitatem superflua innotant, ignita, & ignita vehementer, ne quid ille ejus, quod non perfectum ac proprium sit, existimetur.* All Gods words or sayings are true, and neither idly placed, or unprofitably, but fiery, and wonderful fiery, without all doubtfulness of superfluous vanity, that there may be nothing thought to be there, which is not absolute and proper.

Ward. He is the Truth of the Father: *Ergo*, He can neither deceive, nor yet be deceived; especially I mean when he spake at his later end, and his Testament.

Rid. Christ is the very Truth of the Father: and I perceive well to what scope you drive your reason. This is but a far fetch compass of words. If that these words of Christ, *This is my Body*, which you mean, be rightly understood, they are most true.

Ward. He took, he brake, he gave, &c. What took he?

Rid. Bread, his Body.

Ward. What brake he?

Rid. Bread.

Ward. What gave he?

Rid. Bread.

Ward. Gave he Bread made of Wheat, and material Bread?

Rid. I know not whether he gave Bread of Wheat; but he gave true and material Bread.

Ward. I will prove the contrary by Scriptures.

He delivered to them that which he bade them take.

But he bade not them take material Bread, but his own Body.

Ergo, He gave not material Bread, but his own Body.

Rid. I deny the Minor. For he bade them take his Body

Sacramentally in material Bread: and after that sort it was both Bread which he bade them take, because the Substance was Bread, and it was also his Body, because it was the Sacrament of his Body, for the sanctifying and the coming of the Holy Ghost, which is always assitant to those Mysteries which were instituted of Christ, and lawfully administered.

Harps. What is he that so saith, *By the coming unto of the Holy Spirit?*

Rid. I have *Theophilact* for mine Author for this manner of speaking. And here I bring him, that ye may understand that phrase not to be mine, upon *Matthew* 26. Furthermore, the said *Theophilact* writing upon these words, *This is my Body*, sheweth, that the Body of the Lord is Bread, which is sanctified on the Altar.

Ogle. That place of *Theophilact* maketh openly against you. For he saith in that place, that Christ said not, *This is the Figure of my Body, but my Body*. For, saith he, by an unspeakable operation it is transformed, although it seem to us to be Bread.

Rid. It is not a Figure, that is to say, *Non tantum est figura*, i. it is not only a Figure of his Body.

Wesl. Where have you that word (*tantum*) only?

Rid. It is not in that place, but he hath it in another, and *Augustine* doth so speak many times, & other Doctors more.

Wesl. Here *Wesl.* repeating the words of *Theophilact* in English, said, He saith it is no Figure, and you say it is a Figure.

A possible
ad esse non
valet con-
sequens.

Hilar.
in
Psal. 118.

Answer et
Mr. Ward
Argument.

This Argu-
ment is not
formal in
the second
Figure.
Answer.
Theophyl-
act. in Mat.
26.

The words
of Theophyl-
act (who
said not this
is a figure of
my Body)
undevied.

Harpsfield
answered.

Quam fit
poda & cras-
sa responsio
est.

Dr. Wesl
speaks to
the Audi-
ence in Eng-
lish.

But were
these
Judges in K.
Edwards
time?

How we are
sprinkled
with Christs
Blood.

* this he re-
peated in
English to
the People
also.

Answer to
Bernard.

The Papists
make Christ
to have a
monstrous
Body.

Here they
returned a
gain to La-
tin.

Dr. Ridley
falsely charged
to set
forth the
Catechism.
Dr. Wesl
in K. Edwards
days laboured.

Of this Ca-
techism read
before.
* The Judge
as give an
untrue Ver-
dict: for Dr.
Crammer,
meaning by
the Council,
spoke no
word of
Ridley.

Anno
1554

Plurimum convertio me ad Christum, quia ipsum quero hic, & invenio quomodo sine impietate adoratur scabellum pedum ejus. Suscipe enim de terra terramque caro de terra est, & de carne Maria carnem accepit, & quia in ipsa carne hic ambulavit, & ipsum carnem nobis manducandum ad salutem dedisti: nemo autem illam carnem manducat nisi prius adoraverit. Invenitum est quo modo tale scabellum pedum Domini adoratur, ut non solum non peccemus adorando, sed peccemus non adorando ipsum, &c. i. I ask (faith he) what is the footstool of his feet? and the Scripture telleth me, The Earth is the Footstool of my Feet. And so in searching thereof I turn my self to Christ, because I seek him here in the Earth, and find how, without impiety, the footstool of his feet may be worshipped; for he took Earth of Earth, in that he is Flesh and Earth, and of the Flesh of Mary he took Flesh, and because that in the same Flesh here he walked, and also he gave the same Flesh to us to be eaten unto Salvation. But no man catch that Flesh except he have worshipped before. And so it is found, how such a footstool of the feet of the Lord is to be worshipped, so that not only we Sin not in worshipping, but also do Sin in not worshipping the same.

Da. He gave to us his Flesh to be eaten, the which he took of the Earth, in which also here he walked, &c. ti. But he never gave his Flesh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his Supper, saying, This is my Body. si. Ergo, in the Eucharist he gave us his Flesh.

Rid. You do alledge the place of Austin upon the 98. Psalm, where he faith, that Christ gave his Flesh to be eaten which he took of the Earth, and in which here he walked, inferring hereupon that Christ never gave the same his Flesh to be eaten, but only in the Eucharist: I deny your Minor: for he gave it both in the Eucharist to be eaten, and also otherwise, as well in the Word, as also upon the Cross.

Smith. What if Augustine say, that Christ did not only give himself to us in a figure, but gave his own very Flesh indeed and really?

Rid. I never said that Christ gave only a figure of his Body. For indeed he gave himself in a real Communication, that is, he gave his Flesh after a Communication of his Flesh.

Wesl. Here Weslsey read the place of Augustine in English, and afterward said; Ye say, Christ gave not his Body, but a figure of his Body.

Rid. I say not so, I say he gave his own Body verily. But he gave it by a real, effectual, and spiritual Communication.

¶ After this, Doctor Glin began to reason, who notwithstanding Mr. Ridley had always taken him for his old friend made a very venomous Preface against him. This Preface Mr. Ridley therefore did the more take to heart, because it proceeded from him. Howbeit he thought, that Doctor Glin's mind was to serve the time. For afterward he came to the house where Mr. Ridley was kept, and, as far as Mr. Ridley could call to remembrance, before Doctor Young and Doctor Ogleshorpe he desired him to pardon his words. The which Mr. Ridley did even from the very heart, and wished earnestly, that God would give not only to him, but unto all other, the true and evident knowledge of Gods Evangelical Sincerity, that all offences put a part; they being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meet together in the house of the Heavenly Father.

Glin. I see that you elude or shift away all Scriptures and Fathers. I will go to work with you after another sort.

Christ hath here his Church known in Earth, of which you were once a Child, although now you speak contumeliously of the Sacraments.

Rid. This is a grievous contumely, that you call me a shifter away of the Scripture, and of the Doctors. As touching the Sacraments, I never yet spake contumeliously of them. I grant that Christ hath here his Church in Earth: but that Church did ever receive and acknowledge the Eucharist to be a Sacrament of the Body of Christ, yet not the Body of Christ really, but the Body of Christ by Grace.

Glin. Then I ask this question: whether the Catholic Church hath ever or at any time been Idolatrous?

Rid. The Church is the Pillar and stay of the Truth, that never yet hath been Idolatrous in respect of the whole: but peradventure in respect of some part thereof, which

sometimes may be seduced by evil Pastors, and through ignorance.

Glin. (a) That Church ever hath worshipped the Flesh of Christ in the Eucharist.

But the Church hath never been Idolatrous:

Ergo, It hath always judged the Flesh of Christ to be in the Eucharist.

Rid. And I also Worship Christ in the Sacrament, but not because he is included in the Sacrament: Like as I Worship Christ also in the Scriptures, not because he is really included in them. Notwithstanding I say, that the Body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, but yet Sacramentally and Spiritually, according to his Grace giving Life, and in that respect really, that is, according to his Benediction giving Life.

Furthermore, I acknowledge gladly the true Body of Christ to be in the Lords Supper, in such sort as the Church of Christ (which is the Spouse of Christ, and is taught of the Holy Ghost, and guided by Gods Word) doth acknowledge the same. But the true Church of Christ doth acknowledge a Presence of Christs Body in the Lords Supper to be Communicated to the Godly by Grace, and spiritually, as I have often shewed, and by a Sacramental signification, but not by the Corporal Presence of the Body of his Flesh.

Glin. Austin contra Faustum, lib. 20. cap. 13. Nemo nulli propter panem & calicem, Cererem & Bacchum nos colere existimabam, &c. i. Some there were which thought us instead of Bread and of the Cup to Worship Ceres and Bacchus.

*Upon this place I gather, that there was an Adoration of the Sacrament among the Fathers, and *Ergo, nunc* in an Epistle to the Brethren of Low-Germany, faith, that the Worshipping of the Sacrament was before Austin and Cyprian.*

Rid. We do handle the signs reverently: but we Worship the Sacrament as a Sacrament, not as a thing signified by the Sacrament.

Glin. What is the Symbol or Sacrament?

Rid. Bread.

Glin. Ergo, We Worship Bread.

*Rid. There is a deceit in this word (*Adornamus*) We Worship the Symbols, when reverently we handle them. We Worship Christ whereforever we perceive his benefits. But we understand his benefit to be greatest in the Sacrament.*

Glin. So I may fall down before the Bench here, and Worship Christ: and if any man ask me what I do, I may answer, I Worship Christ.

Rid. We Adore and Worship Christ in the Eucharist. And if you mean the external Sacrament, I say, that also is to be Worshipped as a Sacrament.

Glin. So was the Faith of the Primitive Church.

Rid. Would to God we would all follow the Faith of that Church.

Glin. Think you that Christ hath now his Church?

Rid. I do so.

Glin. But all the Church adoreth Christ, verily, and really in the Sacrament.

Rid. You know your self that the Eastern Church would not acknowledge Transubstantiation, as appeareth in the Council of Florence.

Cole. That is false. For in the same they did acknowledge Transubstantiation, although they would not intreat of the matter, for that they had not in their Commission so to do.

Rid. Nay, they would determine nothing of the matter, when the Article was propounded unto them.

Cole. It was not because they did not acknowledge the same, but because they had no Commission so to do.

*Cantop. Reverend Sir, I will prove and declare, that the Body of Christ is truly and really in the Eucharist: and whereas the Holy Fathers, both of the West and East Church, have written both many things and no less manifest of the same matter, yet will I bring forth only *Chrysostom*. The place is in *cap. 10. Corinth. 1. Item. 24. (a) That which is in the Cup, is the same that flowed from the side of Christ.**

*But true and pure Blood did I flow from the side of Christ. *Ergo*, His true and pure Blood is in the Cup.*

Rid. It is his true Blood which is in the Chalice, I grant, and the same which is from the side of Christ,

(a) This Argument having the minor a negative, neither is it possible in the third figure, neither doth it conclude rightly, but should conclude thus: *Ergo, to Worship the Flesh of Christ is not to be done.*

Augustine contra Faustum, lib. 20. cap. 13. Nemo nulli propter panem & calicem, Cererem & Bacchum nos colere existimabam, &c. i. Some there were which thought us instead of Bread and of the Cup to Worship Ceres and Bacchus.

Encomium of this word Worshipping.

We Worship Christ in the Eucharist: but we Worship not the Eucharist for Christ.

This Council of Florence was but of late years in the time of the Council of Basel.

Chrysostom in 1. Cor. 10. 24. (a) The Marjorah of the Church, which is the Body of Christ, is in the Cup, &c. or else the Argument being in the second figure is affirmative, it is true.

If the minor of this Argument (so is said before) be equalled to affirmative, then it cometh next to the Minor. But how Christ gave his Flesh to be eaten, and when.

Christ gave himself not only in a figure, but indeed by a real and effectual communication of his Flesh. D. Glin disputes.

B. Ridley for greiveth D. Glin.

But how? It is Blood indeed; but not after the same manner, after which manner it sprang from his side. For here is the Blood, but by way of a Sacrament.

Again, I say, like as the Bread of the Sacrament and of Thanksgiving is called the Body of Christ given for us: so the Cup of the Lord is called the Blood which sprang from the side of Christ. But that Sacramental Bread is called the Body, because it is the Sacrament of his Body: even so likewise the Cup is called the Blood also which flowed out of Christ's side, because it is the Sacrament of that Blood which flowed out of his side, instituted of the Lord himself for our singular commodity: namely, for our Spiritual nourishment: like as Baptism is ordained in water to Spiritual Regeneration.

Cur. The Sacrament of the Blood is not the Blood.

Rid. The Sacrament of the Blood is the Blood, and that is attributed to the Sacrament, which is spoken of the thing of the Sacrament.

Wyl. Here *Wyl.* repeated *Cur.*'s Argument in English.

(b) That which is in the Chalice, is the same which flowed out of Christ's side.

But there came out very Blood:

Ergo, There is Blood in the Chalice.

Rid. The Blood of Christ is in the Chalice indeed, but not in the Real Presence, but by Grace, and in a Sacrament.

Wyl. That is very well. Then we have Blood in the Chalice.

Rid. It is true, but by Grace, and in a Sacrament.

Here the people lifted at him.

Rid. O my Masters! I take this for no Judgment: I will stand to Gods Judgment.

Wat. Good Sir, I have determined to have respect of the time, and to abstain from all those things which may hinder the entrance of our disputation: and therefore first I ask this question; when Christ said in the sixth of John, *Qui manducat carnem meam*, i. He that eateth my Flesh, &c. doth he signifie in those words the eating of his true and Natural Flesh, or else of the Bread and Symbol?

Rid. I understand that place of the very Flesh of Christ to be eaten, but spiritually: And further I say, that the Sacrament also pertaineth unto the Spiritual Manducation. For without the Spirit to eat the Sacrament is to eat it unprofitably. For who so eateth not Spiritually, he eateth his own Condemnation.

Wat. I ask then whether the Eucharist be a Sacrament? *Rid.* The Eucharist, taken for a sign or Symbol, is a Sacrament.

Wat. Is it instituted of God?

Rid. It is instituted of God.

Wat. Where?

Rid. In the Supper.

Wat. With what words is it made a Sacrament?

Rid. By the words and deeds which Christ said and did, and commanded us to say and do the same.

Wat. It is a thing commonly received of all, that the Sacraments of the New Law give Grace to them that worthily receive.

Rid. True it is, that Grace is given by the Sacrament, but as by an instrument. The inward vertue and Christ give the Grace through the Sacrament.

Wat. What is a Sacrament?

Rid. I remember there be many definitions of a Sacrament in *Augustine*: But I will take that which seemeth most fit to this present purpose. A Sacrament is a visible sign of invisible Grace.

Wat. *Ergo*, Grace is given to the receivers.

Rid. The Society or Conjunction with Christ through the Holy Ghost is Grace, and by the Sacrament we are made the Members of the Mystical Body of Christ, for that by the Sacrament the part of the Body is grafted in the bread.

Wat. But there is difference between the Mystical Body, and Natural Body.

Rid. There is (I grant you) a difference, but the head of them both is one.

Wat. (a) The Eucharist is a Sacrament of the New Testament.

Ergo, It hath a promise of Grace.

But no promise of Grace is made to Bread and Wine:

Ergo, Bread and Wine be not the Sacraments of the New Testament.

Rid. I grant that Grace pertaineth to the Eucharist, Anno according to this saying, *The Bread which we Break is it* 1554.

Wat. *not the Communication or partaking of the Body of Christ?* And like as he that eateth, and he that drinketh unworthily the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own Damnation: Even so he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth Life, and drinketh Life. I grant also that there is no (b) promise made to Bread and Wine. But inasmuch as they are sanctified, and made the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of the Lord, they have a promise of Grace annexed unto them, namely, of Spiritual partaking of the Body of Christ to be Communicated and given, not to the Bread and Wine, but to them which worthily do receive the Sacrament.

Wat. If the Substance of Bread and Wine do remain, then the society betwixt Christ and us is promised to them that take Bread and Wine.

But that Society is not promised to Bread and Wine, but to the receivers of the Flesh and Blood. *Joan 6. Qui manducat, &c.*

Ergo, The substance of Bread and Wine remaineth not.

Rid. The promise undoubtedly is made to the Flesh and Blood, but the same is to be received in the Sacrament through Faith.

Wat. Every Sacrament hath a promise of Grace annexed unto it.

Ergo, The Bread and Wine are not Sacraments.

Rid. True it is, every Sacrament hath Grace annexed unto it instrumentally. But there is divers understanding of this word (*Haber*) hath. For the Sacrament hath not Grace included in it; but to those that receive it well, it is turned to Grace. After that manner the water in Baptism hath Grace promised, and by that Grace the holy Spirit is given, not that Grace is included in Water, but that Grace cometh by Water.

Wat. This promise is made to the Flesh and Blood of Christ, and not to the Bread and Wine.

Ergo, The Sacrament is not Bread and Wine, but the Body and Blood of Christ.

Rid. There is no promise made to him that taketh common bread and common Wine but to him that receiveth the Sanctified Bread, and Bread of the Communion; there is a large promise of Grace made, neither is the promise given to the Symbols, but to the thing of the Sacrament. But the thing of the Sacrament is the Flesh and Blood.

Wat. Every Sacrament of the New Testament giveth Grace, promised of God to those that worthily receive it.

Rid. This Sacrament hath a promise of Grace, made to those that receive it worthily, because Grace is given by it, as by an instrument, not that Christ hath transfused Grace into the Bread and Wine.

Wat. But this promise which is made, is not but to those that worthily receive the Flesh and Blood; not the Bread and Wine.

Rid. That proposition of yours hath a divers understanding. There is no promise made to them that receive Common Bread, as it were; but to those that worthily receive the Sanctified Bread, there is a promise of Grace made, like as *Origen* doth testify.

Wat. Where is that promise made?

Rid. The Bread which he brake, is it not a Communion? 1. Cor. 10: 17. *Quia non dixit participatio Quia amplius quid significare voluit, & multam inter hac convenientiam ostendere. Non enim participatio tantum & acceptio, sed unitate communicamus. Quomodo modum enim corpus illud unum est Christus, ita & nos per hunc panem unione conjungimur.* That is the Bread which we Break, is it not the Communication of Christ's Body? Wherefore did he not say participation? Because he would signifie some great matter, and that he would declare a great convenience

Wat. What doth he mean by Bread in that place?

Rid. The Bread of the Lords Table, the Communion of the Body of Christ.

Wat. Harken what *Chrysostom* saith upon that place, *Chryf. in*

Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Christi est? Quare non dixit participatio? Quia amplius quid significare voluit, & multam inter hac convenientiam ostendere. Non enim participatio tantum & acceptio, sed unitate communicamus. Quomodo modum enim corpus illud unum est Christus, ita & nos per hunc panem unione conjungimur. That is the Bread which we Break, is it not the Communication of Christ's Body? Wherefore did he not say participation? Because he would signifie some great matter, and that he would declare a great convenience

(c) This Argument consisteth not directly and being in the second figure, it is not formal.

Spiritual eating of the Flesh of Christ.

The Sacrament gives no Grace, but as by an instrument.

(d) The Symbolism is thus to be formed: The Sacrament of the New Testament hath a promise of Grace annexed to it.

(e) The Sacrament of the New Testament hath a promise of Grace annexed to it.

Anno
1554.Answer to
Cyprian.In a Cor.
cap. 10.Bread signi-
fies the Bo-
dy of
Christ.
One Bread
one Mysti-
cal Body.Ways in
which a-
bout the
word (All.)Cyprian de
Cyril Dom.M. Fekeem
Reafon.August. In
Pfal. 33.
Con. 1.The place
of
anwered.

venience and conjunction betwixt the same. For we do not Communicate by Participation only and receiving, but also by co-uniting. For likewise as that Body is co-united to Christ, so also we by the same Bread are conjoined and united to him.

Rid. Let *Chrysofom* have his manner of speaking, and his sentence. If it be true, I reject it not. But let it not be prejudicial to me to name it true Bread.

Wat. All (saith *Chrysofom*) which sit together at one board, do Communicate together of one true Body. What do I call (saith he) this communicating? We are all the self same Body. What doth Bread signifie? The Body of Christ. What be they that receive it? The Body of Christ. For many are but one Body. *Chrysofom* doth interpret this place against you. All we be one Bread, and one Mystical Body, which do participate together one Bread of Christ.

Rid. All we be one Mystical Body, which do communicate of one Christ in Bread, after the efficacy of Regeneration or quickening.

Wat. Of what manner of Bread speaketh he?

Rid. Of the Bread of the Lords Table.

Wat. Is that Bread one?

Rid. It is one, of the Church being one, because one Bread is set forth upon the Table: And so of one Bread all together do participate which communicate at the Table of the Lord.

Wat. See how absurdly you speak. Do you say all which be from the beginning to the end of the World?

Rid. All, I say, which at one Table together have Communicated in the Mysteries might well so do. Albeit the Heavenly and Celestial Bread is likewise one also, whereof the Sacramental Bread is a Mytery: The which being one, all we together do participate.

Wat. A perverse answer. Which all? Mean you all Christian men?

Rid. I do distribute this word (All) for all were wont together to Communicate of the one Bread divided into parts. All, I say, which were one Congregation, and which all did communicate together at one Table.

Wat. What? Do you exclude then from the Body of Christ all them which did not Communicate, being present?

Rid. But *Cyprian* saith, *Panis quem nulla multitudo consumit, i. Bread which no multitude doth consume.* Which cannot be understood but only of the Body of Christ.

Rid. Also *Cyprian* in this place did speak of the true Body of Christ, and not of material Bread.

Wat. Nay, rather he did there intreat of the Sacrament in that tractation *De Canna Domini*, writing upon the Supper of the Lord.

Rid. Truth it is, and I grant he intreateth thereof of the Sacrament: But also he doth admix something therewithal of the Spiritual manducation.

Smith. When the Lord saith, *This is my Body*, he useth no Tropical Speech:

Ergo, You are deceived.

Rid. I deny your Antecedent.

Smith. I bring here *Augustine* in *Psal. 33. Conc. 1.* expounding these words, *Ferebatur in manibus suis, i. He was carried in his own hands.* *Regum.*

*Hoc quomodo possit fieri in homine, quis intelligat? Manibus enim suis nemo portavit, sed alienis. Quomodo intelligatur de David secundum litteram, non invenimus; de Christo autem invenimus. Ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis cum diceret; Hoc est corpus meum. Ferebatur enim illud corpus in manibus suis, &c. That is, How may this be understood to be done in man? For no man is carried in his own hands, but in the hands of other. How this may be understood of David after the Letter, we do not find; Of Christ we find it. For Christ was born in his own hands, when he saith, *This is my Body*, for he carried that same Body in his own hands, &c.*

Augustine here did not see how this place after the Letter could be understood of David, because no man can carry himself in his own hands. Therefore, saith he, this place is to be understood of Christ after the Letter. For Christ carried himself in his own hands in his Supper, when he gave the Sacrament to his Disciples, saying, *This is my Body*.

Rid. I deny your Argument, and I explicate the same. *Augustine* could not find after his own understanding how

this could be understood of David after the Letter. *Augustine* goeth here from other in this exposition, but I go not from him. But let this exposition of *Augustine* be granted to you; although I know this place of Scripture be otherwise read of other men, after the verity of the Hebrew Text, and it is also otherwise to be expounded. Yet to grant to you this exposition of *Augustine*, say yet notwithstanding it maketh nothing against my Assertion: For Christ did bear himself in his own hands, when he gave the Sacrament of his Body to be eaten of his Disciples.

Smith. Ergo, It is true of Christ after the Letter, that he was born in his own hands.

Rid. He was born literally, and after that Letter which was spoken of David: but not after the Letter of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*.

I grant that *Augustine* saith, that it is not found literally of David, that he carried himself in his own hands, but that it is found of Christ. But this word, *ad litteram, literally*, you do not well refer to that which was born, but rather it ought to be referred to him that did bear it. *S. Augustines* meaning in this; that it is not read any where in the Bible, that this carnal David, the Son of Jesse did bear himself in his hands, but of that Spiritual David that overthrew Goliath the Devil; that is, of Christ our Saviour, the Son of the Virgin, it may well be found literally, that he bare himself in his own hands after a certain manner, namely, in carrying the Sacrament of himself. And note, that *S. Augustine* hath these words, *quodam modo, after a certain manner*; which manifestly declare how the Doctors meaning is to be taken.

Smith. When then was he born in his own hands, and after what Letter?

Rid. He was born in the Supper Sacramentally, when he said, *This is my Body*.

Smith. Every man may bear in his own hands a figure of his Body.

But *Augustine* denieth that David could carry himself in his hands.

Ergo, He speaketh of no figure of his Body.

Rid. If *Augustine* could have found in all the Scripture, that David had carried the Sacrament of his Body, then he would never have used that exposition of Christ.

Smith. But he did bear himself in his own hands:

Rid. He did not bear a figure only.

Rid. He did bear himself, but in a Sacrament: and *Augustine* afterward addeth, *quodam modo*, that is, sacramentally.

Smith. You understand not what *Augustine* meant when he said, *quodam modo*; for he meant that he did bear his very true body in that Supper, not in figure and form of a Body, but in form and figure of Bread.

Ergo, You are holden fast, neither are you able to escape out of this labyrinth.

Doctor *Wesley* repeated this place again in English. Which done, then Doctor *Tresham* began thus to speak, moved (as it seemed to *M. Ridley*) with great zeal, and desired that he might be in stead of John Baptist, in converting the hearts of the Fathers, and in reducing the said Bishop Ridley again to the Mother Church. Now at the first, not knowing the person, he thought he had been some good old man, which had the Zeal of God, although not according to Knowledge, and began to answer him with manifold and Reverence. But afterward he smelt a Fox under a Sheeps clothing.

GOD Almighty grant that it may be fulfilled in me, that was spoken by the Prophet Malachi of John Baptist, which may turn the hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the hearts of the Children to their Fathers, that you at length may be converted. The wife man saith, Sow, Honour thy Father, and Reverence thy Mother. But you dishonour your Father in Heaven, and pollute your Mother the Holy Church here on Earth, while ye sit not by it.

Rid. These by-words do pollute your School.

Tresh. If there were an *Arrian* which had that subtil wit that you have, he might soon shift off the Authority of the Scriptures and Fathers.

Wesl. Either dispute, or else hold your peace, I pray you.

Tresh. I bring a place here out of the Council of *Lateran*, the which Council representing the Universal Church, wherein were congregated 300. Bishops,

The place
of
Augustine
is
literally.Ferebatur
in
manibus
suis
Augustine
Christ was
born in his
own hands
Sacramen-
tally.A figure
he may
bear, but
not a Sacra-
ment.Quodam
modo.D. Tresham
preyeth for
converting
Ridley.The Decree
of the
Council
alleged for
Transub-
stantiation.
Of this
Council
read before.

The decree
of the Late
Councel
alleged
for Transub-
stantiation,
Or this
Councel
read before.

and 70. *Metropolitans*, besides a great multitude of o-
ther, decreed that Bread and Wine, by the power of
Gods Word, was Transubstantiated into the Body and
Blood of the Lord. Therefore whosoever faith contrary,
cannot be a Child of the Church, but an Heretick.

Rid. Good Sir, I have heard what you have cited out of
the Councel of *Laterane*, and remember that there was a
great multitude of Bishops and *Metropolitans*, as you said:
But yet you have not numbered how many *Abbas*, *Pri-
ors*, and *Friers* were not in that Councel, who were to the
number of 800.

One of the
Scribours
en against
R. Ridley.

One of the *Scribes*. What, will you deny then the
Authority of that Councel for the multitude of those *Priors*?

Rid. No Sir, not so much for that cause, as for that
especially, because the Doctrine of that Councel agreed
not with the Word of God, as it may well appear by the
Acts of that Councel, which was holden under *Innocen-
tius* the third, a man (if we believe the Histories) most
pernicious to the Church and Common-wealth of Christ.

Of this time
the third read
before.

Tregh. What, do you not receive the Councel of *La-
terane*? Whereupon he with certain other cried, *Scribite,
scribite*, Write, write.

Rid. No Sir, I receive not that Councel; *Scribite, &
rescribite*, Write, and write again.

R. Ridley re-
jecteth the
Councel of
Laterane.
Good men
do eat the
very true
Body of
Christ both
Sacramen-
tally and
Spiritually.

Tregh. Evil men do eat the Natural Body of Christ.
Ergo, The true and Natural Body of Christ is on the Altar.

Rid. Evil men do eat the very true and Natural Bo-
dy of Christ Sacramentally, and no further, as *S. Augu-
stine* faith: But good men do eat the very true Body
both Sacramentally, and Spiritually by Grace.

Aug. lib. 1.
cont. Don.
ca. 3.

Tregh. I prove the contrary by *S. Augustin*, Lib. 5.
contra Donatistas cap. 8. *Sicut enim Judas, cui buccellum
Dominus tradidit, non malum accipiendo, sed male
accipiendo peccavit, &c.* Like as *Judas*, to whom the
Lord gave the *Morsellum* did offend, not in taking a thing that
was evil, but in receiving it after an evil manner, &c. And
a little after, *Quia aliquis non ad salutem manducat, non
ideo non est Corpus.* Because some do not eat unto Salva-
tion, it followeth not therefore that it is not his Body.

Rid. It is the Body to them, that is, the Sacrament of
the Body: and *Judas* took the Sacrament of the Lord to
his condemnation. *Austin* hath distinguished these things
well in another place, where he faith, *Panem Domini, &
panem Domini. Mali manducant panem Domini, non pa-
nem Domini: boni autem manducant & panem Domini,
& panem Domini*, i. The Bread of the Lord,
the Bread the Lord. Evil men eat the Bread of the
Lord, but not Bread the Lord. But good men eat both
the Bread of the Lord, and Bread the Lord.

Manducare,
panem Do-
mini, & pa-
nem Domi-
ni Aug.

West. Paul faith, the Body, and you say, the Sacrament
of the Body.

This West-
speake in En-
glish.

Rid. Paul meaneth so indeed.
Wat. You understand it evil concerning the Sign: For
the Fathers say, that evil men do eat him which descended
from Heaven.

Rid. They eat him indeed, but Sacramentally. The
Fathers use many times the Sacrament for the matter of
the Sacrament, and all that same place maketh against
you, and so here he cited the place.

The Old
Doctors do
use many
times, the Sa-
crament for
the matter
of the Sacra-
ment
Theophylact
alleged.

Wat. I bring *Theophylact*, which faith: That *Judas*
did take the Body of the Lord. *Offendit Dominus cruce-
latum Judas, qui cum argueretur, non intellexit, &
gustavit carnem Domini, &c.* i. The Lord did shew the
cruelty of *Judas*, which, when he was rebuked, did not
understand, and tasted the Lords Flesh, &c.

Answer.

Rid. This phrase to Divines is well known, and used
of the Doctors. He tasted the Flesh of the Lord, *Insen-
sibiliter, Insensibiliter*, that is, the Sacrament of the Lords Flesh.
West. *Chrysostom* faith, that the same punishment re-
maineth to them which receive the Body of the Lord
unworthily, as to them which Crucified him.

Chrysostom
alleged.

Rid. That is, because they defile the Lords Body: for
evil men do eat the Body of Christ Sacramentally, but
good men eat both the Sacrament and the matter of the
Sacrament.

The Coun-
cel of Nice
is alleged.

Wat. You reject the Councel of *Laterane*, because (you
say) it agreeth not with Gods Word. What say you then to
the Councel of *Nice*? The words of the Councel be these,
*Ne humiliter spectemus propositum panem & potum, sed
exaltata mente fideliter credamus facere in illa sacra men-
sa Agnus Dei tollentem peccata mundi à sacerdotibus*

sacramentum, i. Let us not look away by the ground up-
on the Bread and the Drink set before us, but lifting up
our mind let us faithfully believe, there upon the Holy
Table to lye the Lamb of God taking away the Sins of
the World, being Sacrificed of the Priests.

Anno
1554.

Rid. That Councel was collected out of ancient Fa-
thers: and is to use a great Authority; for it faith, *Postum
esse panem in altari, & exaltata mente considerandum
eum qui in Calice est*, i. That Bread is set upon the Altar,
and having our minds lifted up, we must consider him
which is in Heaven. The words of the Councel make for me.

Wat. (*Exaltata mente*) with a mind exalted: that is,
not as brut Beasts at the rack or manger, having an eye
only upon the thing that is set before them. *Agnus Dei
jacet in mensa*, i. the * Lamb of God lieth on the Table,
faith the Councel.

* If the
Lamb of
God lieth
ly upon the
Table, then
why doth
the Councel
bid us lift
up our
minds,
which ra-
ther should
bid us let
down our
minds to the
Altar?
The place
of the Coun-
cil ex-
pounded.

Rid. The Lamb of God is in Heaven, according to
the verity of the Body: and here he is with us in a My-
stery, according to his power, not corporally.

Wat. But the Lamb of God lieth on the Table.

Rid. It is a figurative speech, for in our mind we un-
derstand him which is in Heaven.

Wat. But he lieth there, the Greek word is *κατα*.

Rid. He lieth there, that is, he is there present, not
corporally, but he lieth there in his operation.

Wat. He lieth, but his operation lieth not.

Rid. You think very grossly of the sitting or lying of
the celestial Lamb on the Table of the Lord. For we may
not imagine any such sitting or lying upon the Table,
as the reason of man would judge: but all things are
here to be understood Spiritually. For that Heavenly
Lamb is (as I confess) on the Table, but by a Spiritual
Presence, by Grace, and not after any corporal Substance
of his Flesh taken of the Virgin *Mary*.

And indeed the same Canon doth plainly teach, that the
Bread which is set on the Table is material Bread; and
therefore it (the Canon I mean) commandeth that we
should not creep on the ground in our cogitation, to those
things which are set before us, as who should say, what
other things are they (as much as pertaineth to their true
substance) than Bread and Wine? but rather, faith the
Canon, lifting up our minds into Heaven, let us consider
with Faith the Lamb of God which taketh away the Sins
of the World, sitting or lying upon the Table. For a li-
fied up Faith, faith he, fetch him which sitteth on the right
hand of God the Father, after the true manner of a Body
set by Grace on the Lords Table, and taking away the
Sins of the World. For I think you mean not so; as
though the Lamb did lie there prostrate with his members
spread upon the Table.

De consi-
derat. 3.

Smith. I bring another place out of the Councel of
Nice: *Nullus Apollonem dixit, hac est figura corporis
Christi: Nullus venerabilium Presbyterorum dixit in cru-
entum altaris sacrificium figuram, &c.* i. None of the
Apostles said, this is a figure of the Body of Christ: None
of the Reverend Elders said, the unbloody Sacrifice of the
Altar to be a figure.

Another
place of the
same Coun-
cel alleged.

Ergo, You are deceived.
Rid. This Canon is not in the Councel of *Nice*. For I
have read over this Councel many times.

Then came in another whom *M. Ridley* knew not, *Quid d.
Ridley* co-
and said, The Universal Church both of the Greeks and *Pr.
Latines*, of the East and of the West, have agreed in the
Councel of *Florence* uniformly in the Doctrine of the
Sacrament, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the
true and real Body.

One of the
Scribes.

Rid. I deny the Greek and the East Church to have
agreed either in the Councel at *Florence*, or at any time
else, with the Romish Church in the Doctrine of Transub-
stantiation of Bread into the Body of Christ. For there
was nothing in the Councel of *Florence*, wherein
the Greeks would agree with the Romanists; albeit hi-
therto I confess it was left free for every Church to use,
as they were wont, leavened or unleavened Bread.

Here cried out Doctor *Cole*, and said, they agreed to-
gether concerning Transubstantiation of Bread into the
Body of Christ. *Mr. Ridley* said that could not be.

Here start up another unknown to *Mr. Ridley*, but
thought to be one of the Scribes, who affirmed with
him, that indeed there was nothing decreed concern-
ing Transubstantiation; the Councel left that, as a mat-
ter

ANNO
1554.

M. P. de dispu-
tatione agitur
R. d. d. d.

Sacrifice cal-
led unbloo-
dy is no-
thing else
but a repre-
sentation of
the bloody
Sacrifice of
Christ.
West-play
ch Galat
with David.

This Argu-
ment, were
the Dispo-
tion and
terms, as it
should, is
not formal.

The same
thing, but
the manner
differs.

D. Weston
bloweth up
the strange.

M. Hugh La-
tiner dispu-
tatione April
18.

M. Smith of
Oriel Col-
lege Oppo-
nent to Mr.
Latimer.

M. Latimer
writing
could not be
read.

ter not meet nor worthy to disturb the Peace and Con- cord of the Church. To whom Mr. Ridley answered a- gain, saying, that he said the truth.

Pie. What say you to that Councel, where it is said, that the Priest doth offer an unbloody Sacrifice of the Body of Christ?

Rid. I say, it is well said, if it be rightly understood.

Pie. But he offereth an unbloody Sacrifice.

Rid. It was called unbloody, and is offered after a certain manner, and in a Mytery, and as a repre- sentation of that Bloody Sacrifice, and he doth not lye which saith Christ to be offered.

West. I with one Argument will throw down to the ground your opinion, out of *Chrysostom*, *Hom. 24. in*

1. ad Cor. and I will teach, not only a figure and a sign, or Grace only, but the very same Body, which was here coeverlant on the Earth, to be in the Eucharist.

We Worship the self same Body in the Eucharist which the wife men did worship in the Manger.

But that was his natural and real Body, not spiritual.

Ergo, The real Body of Christ is in the Eucharist.

Again, the same *Chrysostom* saith, *We have not here the Lord in the Manger, but on the Altar. Here a Wo- man holdeth him not in her hands, but a Priest.*

Rid. We worship, I confess, the same true Lord and Saviour of the World, which the wife men worshipped in the Manger, howbeit we do it in a Mytery, and in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and that in spiritual liberty, as saith *S. Aug. lib. 3. De doctrina Christiana*: not in carnal servitude; that is, we do not worship fervently the signs for the things: For that should be, as he also saith, a part of a servile infirmity. But we behold with the Eyes of Faith him present after Grace, and spiritual- ly fet upon the Table; and we worship him which sitteth above, and is worshipped of the Angels. For Christ is al- ways assitant to his Mysteries, as the said *Augustine* saith. And the Divine Majesty, as saith *Cyprian*, doth never ab- sent it self from the Divine Mysteries; but this assitance and Prefence of Christ, as in Baptism it is wholly spiritual, and by Grace, and not by any Corporal Substante of the Flesh: Even so it is here in the Lords Supper, being right- ly and according to the Word of God duly ministrd.

West. That which the Woman did hold in her Womb, the same thing holdeth the Priest.

Rid. I grant the Priest holdeth the same thing, but after another manner. She did hold the Natural Body; the Priest holdeth the Mytery of the Body.

West. *Weston* repeated again his Argument out of *Chrysostom* in English.

Rid. I say that the Author meant it spiritually.

West. *Weston* here dissolving the Disputations, had these words: *Videris praevalsum hominis animum, glori- osum, vasum, inconstantem: videtur hodie veritatis vires inconstas. Itaque clamate, Vici veritatem.* Here you see the stubborn, the boasting, the crafty, the unconstant mind of this man. Here you see, this day, that the strength of the Truth is without fail. Therefore I beseech you all most earnestly to blow the note; and he began, and they fol- lowed, Verity hath the victory, Verity hath the victory.

The Disputation had at Oxford the 18. day of April, 1554. between Mr. Hugh Latimer Answerer, and M. Smith, and other Opposers.

After these Disputations of Bishop Ridley ended, next was brought out Mr. Hugh Latimer to dispute, up- on *Wednesday*, which was the eighteenth day of April. Which Disputation began at eight of the Clock, in such form as before; but it was most in English. For Mr. La- timer the Answerer alleged that he was out of use with the Latin, and unfit for that place.

There replied unto him Mr. Smith of Oriel College, Doctor *Carwright*, Mr. *Hersfield*, and divers other had inatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He escaped no hissings and scornful laughings, no more than they that went before him, He was very faint, and deli- cated that he might not long tarry. He durst not drink for fear of vomiting. The Disputation ended before eleven of the Clock. Mr. Latimer was not suffered to read that he had (as he said) painfully written: but it was exhibited up, and the Prolocutor read part thereof, and so proceed- ed unto the Disputation.

The Preface of Weston into the Disputation following

MEN and Brethren, we are come together this day (by the help of God) to vanquish the strength of the Arguments, and dispersed opinions of Adversaries, against the Truth of the real Prefence of the Lords Body in the Sacrament. And therefore, you Father, if you have any thing to answer, I do admonish that you answer in short and few words.

Latimer. I pray you good Master Prolocutor, do not exact that of me, which is not in me, I have not these twenty years much used the Latin Tongue.

West. Take your ease, Father.

Lat. I thank you Sir, I am well; Let me here protest my Faith, for I am not able to dispute; and afterwards do your pleasure with me.

The Protestation of M. Hugh Latimer, given up in writ- ing to Doctor Weston.

The Conclusions wherunto I must answer, are these: The three Conclusions?

1. The first is, That in the Sacrament of the Altar by the virtue of Gods Word pronounced by the Priest, there is really present the Natural Body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearance of Bread and Wine, in like manner his Blood.
2. The second is, That after Consecration there remain- eth no Substance of Bread and Wine, nor any other Substance, but the Substance of God and Man.
3. The third is, That in the Mass there is the lively Sacrifice of the Church, which is Irreproachable, as well for the sins of the quick, as of the dead.

CONCERNING the first Conclusion, me thinketh it is set forth with certain new found terms that be obscure, and do not found according to the speech of the Scripture. Howbeit; howsoever I understand it, this I do answer plainly, though not without peril; I answer I say, that to the right Celebration of the Lords Supper there is no other Prefence of Christ required, than a Spiritual Pre- fence: and this Prefence is sufficient for a Christian man, as a Prefence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal Life, if we persevere. And this same Prefence may be called most fitly a Real Prefence, that is, a Prefence not feigned, but a true and a Faithful Prefence. Which thing I should re- hearce, lest some Sycophant, or Scornor should suppose me, with the Anabaptists, to make nothing else of the Sacrament, but a naked and a bare sign. As for that which is feigned of many concerning their Corporal Prefence, I for my part take it but for a Papistical Invention; there- fore think it utterly to be rejected.

Concerning the second Conclusion, I dare be bold to say; that it hath no stay or ground in Gods Word, but is a thing invented and found out by man; and there- fore to be taken as fond and false: and I had almost said, as the Mother and Nurse of the other Errors. It were good for my Lords and Masters of the Transubstantiation, to take heed lest they conspire with the *Nesarians*, for I do not see how they can avoid it.

The third Conclusion (as I do understand it) seemeth subtilly to sow Sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his own proper Person, according to that pithy place of Paul, *Heb. 1.* Where he saith, *That Christs own self hath made purgation of our Sins.* And afterward, *That he might* (saith he) *be a merciful and Faithful Bishop, concerning those things which are to be done with God, for the taking away of our Sins.* So that the expiation or taking away of our Sins may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering Bishop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himself: and therefore it is need- less that he should be offered of any other. I will speak nothing of the wonderful Presumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation, special- ly in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruit- less (if not wholly, yet partly) of the Cross of Christ, for truly it is no bafe or mean thing to offer Christ. And there- fore worthily a man may say to my Lords and Masters the offerers, By what Authority do ye this? and who

Weston Pres- face.

M. Latimer requesteth to dispute in the English Tongue.

The answer of M. Latimer given up in writ- ing concern- ing the ques- tion as af- forsaide.

The Pre- sence of Christ in the Sacrament, how it is a real Pre- sence.

Answer to the second Conclusion.

Answer to the third Conclusion.

The taking away of Sins dependeth rather in the Person of the offerer, than in the thing offer- ed, but that he that was the offerer was offered himself.

who gave you this Authority? Where? when? A man cannot (saith the Baptist) take any thing except it be given him from above: Much less then may any man presume to usurp any honour, before he be thereto called. Again, *If any man sin* (saith S. John) *we have* (saith he) not a Master or Officer at home, which can sacrifice for us at Mass; but *we have* (saith he) *an Advocate Jesus Christ*, which once offered himself long ago; of which Offering the efficacy and effect is perdurable for ever, so that it is needles to have such Officers.

What meaneth Paul, when he saith, *They that serve at the Altar, are partakers of the Altar*? and so addeth; *So the Lord hath ordained, that they that Preach the Gospel, shall live of the Gospel*. Whereas he should have said, *The Lord hath ordained, that they that Sacrifice at Mass, should live of their Sacrificing*; that there might be a living assigned to our Sacrificers now, as was before Christs committing to the Jewish Priests. For now they have nothing to alledge for their living, as they that be Preachers have. So that it appeareth, that the Sacrificing Priesthood is changed by Gods Ordinance into a Preaching Priesthood, and the Sacrificing Priesthood should cease utterly, saving in as much as all Christian men are Sacrificing Priests.

1 John 2.
The Sacrificing Priesthood changed into Preaching Priesthood. The final cause why the Lords Supper was chiefly ordained.

The Supper of the Lord was instituted to provoke us to Thanksgiving for the Offering which the Lord himself did offer for us, much rather than that our Officers should do there as they do. *Feed* (saith Peter) *as much as ye may the Flock of Christ*: Nay rather let us Sacrifice as much as we may for the Flock of Christ. If so be the matter be as now men make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this Office of Sacrificing, which at this day is in such a price and Estimation, that to feed is almost nothing with many. If thou cease from feeding the Flock, how shalt thou be taken? Truly Catholick enough. But if thou cease from Sacrificing and Massing, how wilt thou be taken? at the least, I warrant thee, thou shalt be called an Heretic. And whence, I pray you, come these Papistical Judgments? Except perchance they think a man feedeth the Flock in Sacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned Pastors? For no man is so foolish, but soon may he learn to Sacrifice and Mass it.

Sacrificing taken away preaching.

Preposterous Judgment of Papists.

Thus loe, I have taken the more pains to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debility thereto: that all men may know, how that I have so done not without great pains, having not any man to help me, as I have never before been debarr'd to have. O Sir, you may chance to live till you come to this age and weaknes that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two Kings more than once, two or three hours together, without interruption: But now, that I may speak the truth (by your leave) I could not be suffered to declare my mind before you, no, not by the space of a quarter of an hour, without snatches, reviling, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like, in such an audience, all my Life long. Surely it cannot be but an heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forsooth I had spoken of the four Marrowbones of the Mass. The which kind of speaking I never read to be a sin against the Holy Ghost.

Mr. Latimer found more audience with Kings and Princes, than with judicial Doctors.

I could not be allowed to shew what I meant by my Metaphor: But sir, now by your favour I will tell you Master ship what I mean.

The first is the Popish consecration, which hath been called a Gods Body-making.

The second is Transubstantiation.

The third is Massal Oblation.

The fourth Adoration.

The four Marrowbones of the Mass by Mr. Latimer expounded. Consecration, Transubstantiation, Oblation, Adoration.

These chief and principal portions, parts and points belonging or incident to the Mass, and most esteemed and had in price in the same, I call the Marrowbones of the Mass; which indeed you, by force, might, and violence intrude in fount of words in some of the Scripture, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the same: but else indeed, plain out of the Scripture, as I am thoroughly perswaded, although in Disputation I now could nothing do to persuade the same to others, being both unapt to study, and also to make a shew of my former study in such readines as should be requisite to the same. I have heard much talk of Mr. Doctor Wetsom to and fro in my time: but I never knew your Person

to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the Queens Majesties Comissioner. I pray God send you so right Judgment, as I perceive you have a great wit, great learning, with many other qualities. God give you Grace ever well to use them, and ever to have in remembrance, that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the low things on the Earth; and that there is no counsel against the Lord; and also that this World hath been, and yet is a tottering World. And yet again, that though we must obey the Princes, yet that hath this limitation, namely, in the Lord. For who so doth obey them against the Lord, they be most pernicious to them, and the greatest adversaries that they have: For they so procure Gods vengeance upon them, if God be only the ruler of things.

There be some so corrupt in mind, the truth being taken from them, that they think gain to be godliness; Great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging about questions and strife of words. I call them men of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much else sever they know. And on this sort we are wont to call great learned Clerks, being ignorant of Christ, unlearned men, for it is nothing but plain ignorance, to know any thing without Christ: Whereas who so knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to feck. The Apostle S. Paul confesteth of himself to the Corinthians, that he did know nothing but Jesus Christ Crucified. Many men babble many things of Christ which yet know not Christ; but pretending Christ do craftily colour and darken his glory. Depart from such men, saith the Apostle S. Paul to Timothy.

And so 1554.

Pride of D. Wetsom privily touched.

Obedience to Princes hath its limitation.

Knowledge without Christ is most ignorance.

Many there be which under pretence of Christ darken the glory of Christ.

It is not out of the way to remember what S. Augustine saith. The place where, I now will remember not, except it be against the Epistles of Petilian; *Whosoever* (saith he) *teaches any thing necessarily to be believed, which is not contained in the Old and New Testament, the same is accursed*. Oh! beware of this curse if you be wile. I am much deceived if *Basilius* have not such like words; *Whosoever* (saith he) *is besides the Holy Scripture, if the same be taught as necessarily to be believed, that is Sin*. Oh therefore take heed of this Sin!

Augustine

Basilius

There be some that speak many false things more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth it self. Therefore Paul giveth a watchword; *Let no man* (saith he) *deceive you with probability and persuasions of words*. But what mean you, saith one, by this talk so far from the matter? Well, I hope, good Masters, you will suffer an Old Man a little to play the Child, and to speak one thing twice. O Lord God! you have changed the most holy Communion into a private action; and you deny to the Laity the Lords Cup, contrary to Christs commandment: and you do blemish the Annunciation of the Lords death till he come: For you have changed the Common Prayer, called the Divine Service, with the Administration of the Sacraments, from the vulgar and known Language, into a strange Tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his Word. God open the door of your heart, to see the things you should see herein. I would as fain obey my Sovereign as any in this Realm: but in these things I can never do it with an upright conscience. God be merciful unto us. Amen.

The subtleties of the Papists opened in rebuking the Lords Supper.

But God few it good, that Wetsom never came to this Age.

Wets. Then refuse you to dispute? Will you here then subscribe?

Lat. No, good Master, I pray be good to an Old Man. You may, if it please God, be once Old, as I am: you may come to this Age, and to this Debility.

Wets. Ye said upon Saturday last, that ye could not find the Mass, nor the Marrowbones thereof in your Book: but we will find a Mass in that Book.

Lat. No, good M. Doctor, ye cannot.

Wets. What find you then there?

Lat. Forsooth a Communion I find there.

Wets. Which Communion, the first or the last?

Lat. I find no great diversity in them; they are one Supper of the Lord: but I like the last very well.

Wets. The first was naught belike.

Lat. I do not well remember wherein they differ.

Wets. Then Cake Bread and Loaf Bread are all one with you. Ye call it the Supper of the Lord, but you are deceived in that: for they had done the Supper before, and therefore the Scripture saith, *Postquam canitum est*; i. After they had

By this first and second Communion, he meant the two Books of public order set forth in K. Edwards days, the one in the beginning, the other in the latter end of his Reign. D. Wetsom cavilleth against the name of the Lords Supper.

Anno 1554. had supped. For ye know that S. Paul findeth fault with the *Corinthians*, for that some of them were drunken at this Supper; and ye know no man can be drunken at your Communion.

Cena Judaica. Lat. The first was called *Cena Judaica*; i. The Jewish Supper, when they did eat the Paschal Lamb together: the other was called *Cena Dominica*; i. The Lords Supper. *Welf.* That is false; for *Chrysostom* denieth that. And S. *Amvrosius* in cap. 10. prior ad *Corinthios*, saith, that *Mysterium Eucharistiae inter canandum datum est Cena Dominica*; i. The Mystery of the Sacrament, given as they were at Supper, is not the Supper of the Lord.

Greg. Nazianzenus saith the same, *Rursus Pasche sacrum Discipulis in cenaculo ac post cenam, dieque unica ante passionem celebrat. Nos vero ea in orationis domibus, & ante cenam & post resurrectionem peragimus*: that is, Again he kept the Holy Feast of Pasche with his Disciples in the dining Chamber after the Supper, and one day before his Passion. But we keep it both in the Churches and Houses of Prayer, both before the Supper, and also after the Resurrection.

And that first Supper was called *Agape*: can you tell what that is?

Lat. I understand no Greek. Yet I think it meaneth Charity.

Welf. Will you have all things done that Christ did then? Why, then must the Priest be hanged on the morrow. And where find you, I pray you, that a woman should receive the Sacrament.

Lat. Will you give me leave to turn my Book: I find it in the 11. Chapter to the *Corinthians*. I trow these be his words, *Probat autem seipsum homo, &c.*

I pray you good Master, what Gender is *homo*?

Welf. Marry the Common Gender.

Cole. It is in the Greek, *ἡ ἀνδρῶν*.

Harps. It is *ἀνδρῶν*, that is, *vir*.

Lat. It is in my Book of *Erasmus's* Translation, *Probat seipsum homo*.

Feck. It is *Probat seipsum* indeed, and therefore it importeth the Masculine Gender.

Lat. What then? I trow when the woman touched Christ, he said, *Quis tetigit me? Scio quod aliquis me tetigit*; i. Who touched me? I know that some man touched me.

Welf. I will be at Host with you anon. When Christ was at his Supper, none were with him but his Apostles only.

Ergo, He meant no woman, if you will have his Institution kept.

Lat. In the twelve Apostles was represented the whole Church, in which you will grant both men and women to be.

Welf. So through the whole Heretical translated Bible ye never make mention of Priest, till ye come to the putting of Christ to death. Where find you then that a Priest or Minister (a Minister I may call him well enough) should do it of necessity?

Lat. A Minister is a more fit name for that Office; for the Name of a Priest importeth a Sacrifice.

Welf. Well, remember that ye cannot find that a woman may receive by Scripture. Mr. Opponent fall to it.

Smith. Because I perceive that this charge is laid upon my neck to dispute with you: to the end that the same may go forward after a right manner and order, I will propose three Questions, so as they are put forth unto me.

And first I ask this question of you, although the same indeed ought not to be called in question: but such is the condition of the Church, that it is always vexed of the wicked fort. I ask, I say, whether Christ's Body be really in the Sacrament?

Lat. I trust I have obtained of Mr. Prolocutor, that no man shall exact that thing of me which is not in me. And I am sorry that this worshipful Audience should be deceived of their expectation for my sake. I have given up my mind in writing to Mr. Prolocutor.

Smith. Whatsoever ye have given up, it shall be registered among the A.G.s.

Lat. Disputation requireth a good memory; *Ass abolita est mihi memoria*: My memory is gone clean, and marvelously weakened, and never the better, I wis, for the Prison.

Welf. How long have ye been in Prison?

Lat. This three quarters of this year.

Welf. And I was in Prison six years.

Lat. The more pity, Sir.

Welf. How long have you been of this Opinion?

Lat. It is not long, Sir, that I have been of this Opinion.

Welf. The time hath been when you said Mass full devoutly.

Lat. Yea, I cry God mercy heartily for it.

Welf. Where learned you this new fangleness?

Lat. I have long fought for the Truth in this matter of the Sacrament; and have not been of this mind past seven years: And my Lord of *Canterbury's* Book hath especially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to answer any man in this matter.

Tresh. There are in that Book six hundred Errors.

Welf. You were once a Lutheran.

Lat. No, I was a Papist: For I never could perceive how *Luther* could defend his Opinion without Transubstantiation. The *Tygerines* once did write a Book against *Luther*, and I oft desired God, that he might live so long to make them answer.

Welf. *Luther* in his Book *De privata Missa*, said, That the Devil reasoned with him, and persuaded him that the Mass was not good, fol. 14. *Conigit me, &c.* Whereof it may appear, that *Luther* said Mass, and the Devil dissuaded him from it.

Lat. I do not take in hand here to defend *Luther's* sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough. I trow. I told you before that I am not meet for Disputations. I pray you read mine Answer, wherein I have declared my Faith.

Welf. Do you believe this, as you have written?

Lat. Yea, Sir.

Welf. Then have you no Faith.

Lat. Then would I be sorry, Sir.

Tresh. It is written, *John 6. Except ye shall eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye shall have no life in you.* Which when the *Capernaimites*, and many of Christ's Disciples heard, they said, *This is a hard saying, &c.* Now that the Truth may the better appear, here I ask of you, Whether Christ speaking these words, did mean of his Flesh to be eaten with the mouth, or of the spiritual eating of the same?

Lat. I answer (as *Augustine* understandeth) that Christ meant of the spiritual eating of his Flesh.

Tresh. Of what Flesh meant Christ, his true Flesh, or not?

Lat. Of his true Flesh, spiritually to be eaten in the Supper by Faith, and not corporally.

Tresh. Of what Flesh mean the *Capernaimites*?

Lat. Of his true Flesh also; but to be eaten with the mouth.

Tresh. They (as ye confess) did mean his true Flesh to be eaten with the mouth. And Christ also (as I shall prove) did speak of the receiving of his Flesh with the mouth.

Ergo, They both did understand it of the eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the Body.

Lat. I say, Christ understood it not of the bodily mouth, but of the mouth of the Spirit, Mind, and Heart.

Tresh. I prove the contrary, that Christ understood it of the eating with the bodily mouth. For wherever custom is a right good Mistress and Interpreter of things, & where as the acts put in practice by Christ, do certainly declare those things which he first spake: Christ's deeds in his Supper, where he gave his Body to be taken with the mouth, together with the custom which hath been ever since that time of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth evidently infer that Christ did understand his words, here cited of me out of the sixth of *John*, of the eating with the mouth.

Lat. He gave not his Body to be received with the mouth, but he gave the Sacrament of his Body to be received with the mouth: He gave the Sacrament to the mouth, his Body to the mind.

Tresh. But my reason doth conclude, That Christ spake concerning his Flesh to be received with the corporal mouth: For otherwise, (which God forbid) he had been a deceiver, and had been offensive to the *Capernaimites* and his Disciples, if he had not meant in this point as they thought he meant: for if he had thought as you do feign, it had been an easie matter for him to have said:

* You

Cena Judaica.
Cena Dominica.
Chrysostom.
Amvrosius.
Greg. Nazianzenus.

Greg. Nazianzenus.

Agape.
Welf. So were the Feasts called wont to be given, so the Feasts.

Welf. Opposed in his Grammar.
Erasmus.
John 6.
Capernaimites.
John 6.

Argument.

The Apostles represented the whole Church.
Welf. Concerned the Name of Minister.

The name of Minister more fit than the name of Priest.

Mr. Latimer modestly humbly humble to dispute.

Then they lift and close their hands at him.
Mr. Latimer confirmed by Dr. *Canmer* Book.

The zeal of Mr. *Latimer* sometimes in Popery against the *Tygerines*.

In that Book the Devil saith not divide him so much from saying Mass, as he laboureth to bring him to desperation for Mass: such temptations many times happen to good men.

Here *Tresh.* began to dispute in Latin.

Dr. *Tresh.* Argument without Form or Mood, concluding affirmatively in the second Figure.

Dr. *Tresh.* seemeth to say: Room.

The Sacrament given to the Mouth, the Body to the Faith.

* And what doth Christ esse mean by these words where he saith, My words be spirit and life, the flesh profiteth nothing?

* You shall not eat my Flesh with your mouth, but the Sacrament of my Flesh; that is to say, ye shall receive with your mouth not the thing it self, but the Figure of the thing, and thus he might have satisfied them: but so he said not, but continued in the truth of his words, as he was wont. Therefore Christ meant the self same thing that the Capernaues did, I mean concerning the thing it self to be received with the mouth, *videlicet*, that his true Flesh is truly to be eaten with the mouth. Moreover, forasmuch as you do expound for (*corpus Christi*) the Body of Christ (*sacramentum corporis Christi*) the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, and hereby do suppose that we obtain but a Spiritual Union, or Union of the Mind between us and Christ, plain it is, that you are deceived in this thing, and do err from the mind of the Fathers: for they affirm by plain and expresse words, that we are corporally and carnally joyed together. And these be the words of Hilary, *Si verè igitur carnem corporis nostri Christum asumpsit, & verè homo ille qui ex Maria natus fuit; nos quoque verè sub mysterio, carnem corporis sui sumimus, & per hoc unum erimus, quia pater in eo est, & ille in nobis: Quando volentis unitas asseritur, cum naturalis per sacramentum proprietates perfectè sacramentum sit unitatis?* That is, Therefore if Christ did truly take the Flesh of our Body upon him, and the same Man be Christ indeed which was born of Mary; then we also do receive under a mystery the Flesh of his Body indeed, and thereby shall become one, because the Father is in him, and he in us. How is the Unity of Will affirmed, when a Natural Propriety by the Sacrament is perfect Sacrament of Unity?

Mr. Latimer charged to preach the contrary Doctrine before the King at Greenwich.

Thus far hath Hilary. Lo here you see how manifestly these words confound your Assertion. To be short, I myself have heard you preaching at Greenwich before King Henry the Eighth, where you did openly affirm, That no Christian man ought to doubt of the True and Real Presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, forasmuch as he had the Word of Scripture on his side, (*videlicet*) *Hoc est corpus meum*. This is my Body: whereby he might be confirmed. But now there is the same Truth; the Word of Scripture hath the self same thing which it then had. Therefore why do you deny at this present that, whereof it was not lawful once to doubt before when you taught it?

Lat. Will you give me leave to speak?
Tresh. Speak Laith, I pray you, for ye can do it, if ye list, promptly enough.

Lat. I cannot speak Latin so long and so largely. Mr. Prolocutor hath given me leave to speak English. And as for the words of Hilary, I think they make not so much for you. But he that shall answer the Doctors had not need to be in my case, but should have them in a readinesse, and know their purpose. Melancthon saith, If the Doctors had foreseen that they should have been so taken in this Controuersie, they would have written more plainly.

Smith. I will reduce the words of Hilary into the form of a Syllogism.

Argument.

Da. Such as is the Unity of our Flesh with Christs Flesh, such (yea greater) is the Unity of Christ with the Father.

ti. But the Unity of Christs Flesh with ours is true and substantial.

fi. Ergo, The Unity of Christ with the Father is true and substantial.

Lat. I understand you not.

Seaton. I know your learning well enough, and how subtil ye be: I will use a few words with you, and that out of Cyprian, *De cana Domini*. The Old Testament doth forbid the drinking of Blood; The New Testament doth command the drinking and tasting of Blood: but where doth it command the drinking of Blood?

Dr Seaton reasoneth against Mr. Latimer out of Cyprian.

Lat. In these words, *Bibite ex hoc omnes; i. Drink ye all of this.*

Seaton. Then we taste true Blood.

Lat. We do taste true Blood, but spiritually; and this is enough.

Seaton. Nay, the Old and New Testament in this do differ: for the one doth command, and the other doth forbid to drink Blood.

* By that reason the New and Old Testament should not differ, but should be contrary one from the other, which cannot be true in natural or moral Precepts

Lat. It is true as touching the matter, but not as touching the manner of the thing.

Seaton. Then there is no difference between the drinking

of Blood in the New Testament, and that of the Old: Anno for they also drank spiritually.

Lat. And we drink spiritually also, but a more precious Blood.

West. Augustine upon the 45th Psalm, saith, *Securè bibite sanguinem quem iudicatis*: That is, Drink boldly the Blood which ye have poured out.

Ergo, It is Blood.

Lat. I never denied it, nor ever will I go from it, but that we drink the very Blood of Christ indeed, but spiritually: For the same S. Augustine saith, *Crede, & manducasti*. i. Believe, and thou hast eaten.

West. Nay, *Credere, non est bibere nec edere*; i. To believe, is not to drink or eat. You will not say, I pledge you, when I say, I believe in God.

Lat. Is not (*manducare*) to eat, in your learning put for (*credere*) to believe?

i. est. I remember my L. Chancellor demanded Mr. Hooper of these questions, Whether * (*edere*) to eat, were (*credere*) to believe, and (*altare*) an Altar, were Christ in all the Scripture &c. &c. And he answered, Yea.

Then said my L. Chancellor, Why then * *Habemus altare de quo non licet edere*; i. We have an Altar of which it is not lawful to eat as much to say, as *Habemus Christum, in quo non licet edere*; i. We have a Christ, in whom we may not believe.

Tresh. Believe, and thou hast eaten, is spoken of the spiritual eating.

Lat. It is true, I do allow your saying; I take it so also.

West. We are commanded to drink Blood in the New Law.

Ergo, It is very Blood.

Lat. We drink Blood, so as appertaineth to us to drink to our comfort, in Sacramental Wine. We drink Blood sacramentally: he gave us his Blood to drink spiritually, he went about to shew, that as certainly as we drink Wine, so certainly we drink his Blood spiritually.

West. Do not you seem to be a Papist, which do bring in new words, not found in Scripture? Where find you that (*sacramentaliter*) sacramentally, in Gods Book?

Lat. It is necessarily gathered upon Scripture.

West. The Old Testament doth forbid the tasting of Blood, but the New doth command it.

Lat. It is true, not as touching the thing, but as touching the manner thereof.

West. Hear ye People, this is the Argument:

That which was forbidden in the Old Testament, is commanded in the New.

To drink Blood was forbidden in the Old Testament, and commanded in the New.

¶ This Argument, because the Major thereof is not universal, is not formal, and may well be retorted against Weston thus.

Ce. No natural or moral thing, forbidden materially in the Old Testament, is commanded in the New.

la. To drink mans natural Blood is forbidden materially in the Old Testament.

rent. Ergo, To drink mans natural Blood materially is not commanded in the New.

Lat. It is commanded spiritually to be drunk, I grant it is Blood drunk in the New Testament, but we receive it spiritually.

Pie. It was not forbidden spiritually in the Old Law.

Lat. The Substance of Blood is drunk, but not in one manner.

Pie. It doth not require the same manner of drinking.

Lat. It is the same thing, not the same manner. I have no more to say.

West. Here Weston cited the place of Chrysostom, of Judas's Treason: *O Judea dementia! Ille cum Judæis triginta denariis pacificabatur; ut Christum venderet, & Christus ei sanguinem, quem vendidit, offerebat*; i. O the madness of Judas! He made bargain with the Jews for Thirty pence to sell Christ, and Christ offered him his Blood which he sold.

Lat. I grant he offered to Judas his Blood which he sold, but in a Sacrament.

West. Because ye can defend your Doctors no better,

* done in same places is taken for credere: but that to all places it is so taken, it followeth not.

* This place of the Hebrews allude to the old Sacrifice of the Jews, who, in the Feast of Propitiation the tenth day, used to carry the flesh of the sacrifice out of the Tents to be burned on an Altar without, because none of them which served in the Tabernacle should eat thereof: only the blood was carried by the high Priest into the holy place.

Answer,

Argument

retorted against him.

self.

Anno 1554. ye shall see what worshipful men ye hang upon, and one that hath been of your mind, shall dispute with you. Mr. Cartwright, I pray you dispute.

Dr. Cartwright urged to dispute, Cartwright returned to his old error again.
Cart. Reverend Father, because it is given me in commandment to dispute with you, I will do it gladly. But first understand ere we go any further, that I was in the same Error that you are in: But I am sorry for it, and do confess my self to have erred, I acknowledge mine offence, and I will and desire God that you may also repent with me.

Argument. 1. per se legis durum & difficile.
Lat. Will you give me leave to tell what hath caused Mr. Doctor here to recant? It is *per se legis*, the pain of the Law, which hath brought you back, and converted you, and many more; the which letteth many to confess God. And this is a great Argument, there are few here can dissolve it.

Cart. That is not my cause, but I will make you this short Argument, by which I was converted from mine Errors.

Argument. 2. de traditione consequentia, ad de traditionem antecessoria.
If the true Body of Christ be not really in the Sacrament, all the whole Church hath erred from the Apostles time.

But Christ would not suffer his Church to err:

Ergo, It is the true Body of Christ.

Lat. The Popish Church hath erred, and doth err. I think for the space of fix or seven hundred years, there was no mention made of any eating but spiritually: For, before these five hundred years, the Church did ever confess a spiritual Transubstantiation. But the Romish Church began the Error of Transubstantiation. My Lord of Canterbury's Book handleth that very well, and by him I could answer you, if I had him.

Cart. Linus and all the rest do confess the Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament: And S. Augustine also upon the 98. Psalm, upon this place, *Adorate scabellum pedum, &c.* granted that it is to be worshipped.

Lat. We do worship Christ in the Heavens, and we do worship him in the Sacrament: But the Massing Worship is not to be used.

Smith. Do you think that Cyril was of the Ancient Church?

Lat. I do think so.

Smith. He saith, *That Christ dwelleth in us corporally*: These be Cyrils words of the Mystical Benediction.

Lat. That *(corporally)* hath another understanding than you do grossly take it.

Cyril saith, that Christ dwelleth Corporally in us, but he saith not that Christ dwelleth Corporally in the Bread. Which dwelling of Christ in us, is as our dwelling is also in Christ, not local or corporal, but spiritual and heavenly. Corporally therefore is to be taken here in the same sense as S. Paul saith the fulness of Divinity to dwell in Christ corporally, that is, not lightly nor accidentally, but perfectly and substantially, with all his virtue and power, &c. And so dwelleth Christ corporally in us also.

Smith. Here Smith repeateth these words of Cyril, *Per communionem corporis Christi, habitat in nobis Christus corporaliter*; i. By the communicating of the Body of Christ, Christ dwelleth in us corporally.

Lat. The Solution of this is in my Lord of Canterbury's Book.

Smith. Cyril was no Papist, and yet these be his words, *Christ dwelleth in us corporally*: but you say he dwelleth in us spiritually.

Lat. I say both, that he dwelleth in us both corporally and spiritually, according to his meaning: Spiritually by Faith, and corporally by taking our Flesh upon him. For I remember I have read this in my Lord of Canterbury's Book.

West. Because your learning is let out to firm, and shut up in my Lord of Canterbury's Book, I will recite unto you a place of S. Ambrose, *De apparitione ad Missam*, where he saith, *Videmus principem sacerdotem ad nos venientem, & offerentem sanguinem, &c.* that is, We see the chief Priest coming unto us, and offering Blood, &c.

Angla. Paf. 18. Chrysoft. de incomprehensibili Dei natura.
Likewise both Augustine in the 38. Psalm, and Chrysoftom concerning the incomprehensible Nature of God, Tom. 3. say, *Non solum homines, &c.*

Lat. I am not ashamed to acknowledge mine ignorance, and these testimonies are more than I can bear away.

West. Then you must leave some behind you for lack of carriage.

Lat. But of Chrysoftom, he hath many figurative Speeches, and emphatical Locutions in many places; as in that which you have now recited, but he saith not, for the quick and the dead: he taketh the Celebration for the Sacrifice. West. You shall hear Chrysoftom again, upon the ninth Chapter of the *Acti*, *Quid dicit? Hactenus manibus sacerdotum, &c.* He doth not call it a Cup of Wine.

Lat. Ye have mine answer there with you in a Paper: and yet he calleth it not, *Propitiatorium Sacrificium*, i. a Propitiatory Sacrifice.

West. You shall hear it to be so: and I bring another place of Chrysoftom out of the same Treatise, *Non temerè ab Apostolis est institutum, &c.*

Lat. He is too precious a thing for us to offer; he offereth himself.

West. Here in another place of Chrysoftom to the People of Antioch, Hom. 69. and also to the Philippians he saith, There should be a Memory and Sacrifice for the Dead.

Lat. I do say, that the holy Communion beareth the name of a Sacrifice, because it is a Sacrifice memorative.

West. How say you to the Sacrifice of the Dead?

Lat. I say that it needeth not, and it beareth not.

West. Augustine in his *Enchiridion* the 110. Chapter saith, *Non est negandum de functionis animos pietate suorum, &c. veniunt relevari, quum pro illis Sacrificium Mediatoris offeratur*; i. We must not deny that the Souls of the Dead are relieved by the Devotion of their Friends which are living, when the Sacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them. Where he proveth the verity of Christs Body, and praying for the Dead. And it is said, that the same Augustine said Mass for his Mother.

Lat. But that Mass was not like yours, which thing doth manifestly appear in his Writings, which are against it in every place. And Augustine is a reasonable man, he requirith to be believed no further than he bringeth Scripture for his proof, and agreeth with Gods Word.

West. In the same place he proveth a Propitiatory Sacrifice, and that upon an Altar, and no Oyster-board.

Lat. It is the Lords Table, and no Oyster-board. It may be called an Altar, and so the Doctors call it in many places: But there is no Propitiatory Sacrifice, but only Christ. The Doctors might be deceived in some points, though not in all things. I believe them when they say well.

Cole. Is it not a shame for an old man to lie? You say, you are of the old Fathers Faith where they say well, and yet ye are not.

Lat. I am of their Faith when they say well, I refer my self to my Lord of Canterbury's Book wholly herein.

Smith. Then are not you of Chrysoftom's Faith, nor of S. Augustine's Faith.

Lat. I have said, when they say well, and bring Scripture for them, I am of their Faith; and further Augustine requirith not to be believed.

West. Origen, Hom. 13. upon *Leviticus*.

Lat. I have but one word to say, *Panis sacramentalis*, the Sacramental Bread is called a Propitiation, because it is a Sacrament of the Propitiation. What is your Vocation?

Weston. My Vocation is at this time to dispute; otherwise I am a Priest, and my Vocation is to offer.

Lat. Where have you that Authority given you to offer?

West. *Hoc facite*, Do this; for *facite* in that place is taken for *offerre*, that is, offer you.

Lat. Is *facere* nothing but *Sacrificare* to Sacrifice? Why, then no man must receive the Sacrament but Priests only: For there may none other offer but Priests.

Ergo, There may none receive but Priests.

West. Your Argument is to be denied.

Lat. Did Christ then offer himself at his Supper?

Pis. Yes, he offered himself for the whole World.

Lat. Then if this word *Facite*, Do ye, signifie *Sacrificate*, Sacrifice ye, it followeth, as I said, that none but Priests only ought to receive the Sacrament, to whom it is only lawful to Sacrifice: And where find you that I pray you?

West. Forty year ago whether could you have gone to have found your Doctrine?

Lat. The more cause we have to thank God, that hath now sent the light into the World.

West. The light? Nay light and lewd Preachers; for you could not tell what you might have. Ye altered and

Chrysoftom full of figurative locutions, and emphatical locutions, &c. Act. 9.

Chrysoft. ad populum Antioch. Hom. 69.

August. Enchirid. 110.

Augustine fully believed no Mass for his Mother.

The blasphemous mouth of Dr. Weston calling the Lords Table an Oyster-board.

Doctors legends sunt cum ventis.

If Christ offered himself at the Supper, and the next day upon the Cross, then was Christ twice offered.

Weston railing.

and changed so often your Communion and Altars, and all for this one end, to spoil and rob the Church.

Lat. These things pertain nothing to me, I must not answer other mens deeds, but only for mine own.

West. Well, Mr. Latimer, this is our intent, to will you well, and to exhort you to come to your self, and remember, that without *Noahs* Ark there is no health. Remember what they have been that were the beginners of your Doctrine, none but a few flying Apostates, running out of *Germany* for fear of the Fagot. Remember what they have been which have set forth the same in this Realm: A sort of fling-brains and light heads, which were never constant in any one thing, as it was to be seen in the turning of the Table, where like a sort of Apes they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day West, and another day East, one that way, and another this way. They will be like (they say) to the Apostles, they will have no Churches. A Hovel is good enough for them. They come to the Communion with no reverence. They get them a Tankard, and one faith, I drink, and I am thankful; the more joy of thee, faith another. And in them was true that *Hilary* saith, *Animus & mensuras de Deo fides facimus*; that is, We make every Year and every Month a Faith. A Runnagate Scord take away the adoration or worshiping of Christ in the Sacrament, by whose procurement that Heretic was put into the last *Communion-Book*; so much prevailed that one Mans Authority at that time.

Dr. Weston
Apes have
tails.

Blasphemous
lies of Dr.
Weston sit-
ting in Ge-
neral Assem-
bly.
Who be
these, or
where be
they Mr.
Chilcote,
that will be
like the
Apostles,
that will
have no
Churches?
that be
Runnagates
out of Ger-
many? that
get them
Tankards?
that make
monthly
Faiths? that
worship not
Christ in all
his Sacra-
ments? that
speak truth
and shame the
Devil.

You never agreed with the *Tygerines* or *Germans*, or with the Church, or with your self. Your stubbornness cometh of a vain glory, which is to no purpose: For it will do you no good when a Fagot is in your Beard. And we fee all, by your own Confession, how little cause you have to be stubborn, for your learning is in Feoffers hold. The Queens Grace is merciful, if ye will turn.

Lat. You shall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the Queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this Religion.

West. Here you all see the weakness of Heretic against the Truth: he denieth all Truth, and all the old Fathers.

Here all good Readers may see how this glorious Prolocutor triumpheth: but whether he hath the Victory or no, that I suppose they have yet neither heard nor seen. And give, that he had the Victory, yet what great marvel was it, disputing as he did, *Non sine suo Teleso*, that is, not without his tipping Cup standing at his Elbow all the time of his Disputation; not without a privy noting and smiling of them that beheld the matter, but especially at that time, when Dr. *Ridley* disputing with one of the Opponents, the said Prolocutor took the Cup, and holding it in his hand, said to the Opponent, *Urge hoc, urge hoc, Nam hoc facis pro nobis*. In which words, as he moved no little matter of laughter to the beholders thereof, so I thought here also not to leave the same unmentioned, somewhat also to delight the Reader withal, after his tedious weariness in reading the story thereof.

Urge hoc,
quod West-
on with his
Beer-pot.

To the Reader.

And thus hast thou (loving Reader) the whole Action and Stage of this Doctorly Disputation shewed forth unto thee against these three worthy Confessors and Martyrs of the Lord, wherein thou maist behold the disorderd usage of the University-men, the unmannerly manner of the School, the rude tumult of the Multitude, the fierceness and interruption of the Doctors, the full pith and ground of all their Arguments, the Censures of the Judges, the railing Language of the Oblocutor, with his blast of Triumph in the latter end, being both the Actor, the Moderator, and also Judge himself. And what marvel then if the courage of this victorious Conqueror, having the Law in his own hands, to do and say what him listeth, would say for himself, *Vicit veritas*, although he said never a true word, nor made ever a true Conclusion almost in all that Disputation.

April 19,

If followed furthermore after Disputation of these three days being ended, that Mr. *Harpfield* the next day after, which was the Nineteenth of April, should dispute for his Form, to be made Doctor. To the which Disputation the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was brought forth, and permit-

ted among the rest to utter an Argument or two in defence of his cause. As in sequele hereof may appear.

Disputation of Mr. Harpfield Bachelor of Divinity, answering for his Form to be made Doctor.

Harpfield.

I Am not ignorant what a weighty matter it is to intrate of the whole order and trade of the Scriptures: And most hard it is too, in the great contention of Religion, to shew the ready way whereby the Scriptures may be best understood. For the often reading of them doth not bring the true understanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the ready way, not to follow our own Heads and Senses, but to give over our Judgment unto the holy Catholick Church, who hath had of old years the Truth, and always delivered the same to their Posterity: But if the often reading of Scriptures, and never so painful comparing of places should bring the true understanding, then divers Heretics might prevail even against whole General Councils. The Jews did greatly brag of the knowledge of the Law, and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithstanding, I know right well, that divers places of the Scripture do much warn us of the often reading of the same, and what fruit doth thereby follow; as *Scrutamus*, &c. Search the Scriptures; for they do bear witness of me, &c. *Lex Domini*, &c. The Law of the Lord is pure, able to turn Soules. And that saying of *S. Paul*, *Omnis Scriptura*, &c. All Scripture inspired from above, doth make that a man may be instructed to all good Works. Howbeit doth the Law of the Jews convert their Soules? Are they by reading instructed to every good Work? The Letter of the Old Testament is the same that we have.

The Heretics also have ever had the same Scriptures which we have that be Catholicks. But they are served as *Tantalus* that the Poets speak of, who, in the plenty of things to eat and drink, is said to be oppressed with hunger and thirst. The swifter that men do seek the Scriptures without the Catholick Church, the deeper they fall, and find Hell for their labour. *S. Cyprion* never swerving from the Catholick Church, saith, *He that doth not acknowledge the Church to be his Mother, shall not have God to his Father*. Therefore it is true Divinity, to be wife with the Church, where Christ saith, *Nisi manducaveritis*, &c. Unless ye eat my Flesh, and drink my Blood, ye have no life in you.

If he had meant of only eating Bread and drinking Wine, nothing had been more pleasant to the *Caper-naites*, neither would they have forsaken him. The Flesh profiteth nothing to them that do so take it. For the *Caper-naites* did imagine Christ to be given in such sort as he lived. But Christ spake high things; not that they should have him as Flesh in the Market, but to consider his Presence with the Spirit (a) under the forms whereby it is given. As there is an alteration of Bodies by courses and times of Ages, so there is no less (b) variety in eating of Bodies.

These things which I have recited briefly, Mr. *Harpfield* did with many more words set out: and hereupon Dr. *Weston* disputed against him.

West. Christs Real Body is not in the Sacrament.

Ergo, You are deceived.

Harpf. I deny the Antecedent.

West. John 16. *Dico veritatem vobis*, &c. I speak the truth unto you: It behooveth me that I go away from you. For unless I do depart, that Comforter cannot come, &c.

Upon this I will make this Argument.

Christ is gone away, as he did send the Holy Ghost.

But the Holy Ghost did verily come into the World:

Ergo, Christ is verily gone.

Harpf. He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here.

West. *S. Augustine* saith, that these words, *Ego ero*, &c. I will be with you even to the end of the World, are accomplished, *secundum Manifestationem*, according to his Majesty: but *secundum praesentiam carnis non est hic*; i. by the Presence of his Flesh he is not here. The Church hath him not in Flesh, but by Belief.

Anno
1554.

April 19.
The judgment of Mr. Harpfield for the best way to understand the Scriptures, and not follow our own Heads and Senses, but to give over our Judgment unto the holy Catholick Church, who hath had of old years the Truth, and always delivered the same to their Posterity: But if the often reading of Scriptures, and never so painful comparing of places should bring the true understanding, then divers Heretics might prevail even against whole General Councils. The Jews did greatly brag of the knowledge of the Law, and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithstanding, I know right well, that divers places of the Scripture do much warn us of the often reading of the same, and what fruit doth thereby follow; as *Scrutamus*, &c. Search the Scriptures; for they do bear witness of me, &c. *Lex Domini*, &c. The Law of the Lord is pure, able to turn Soules. And that saying of *S. Paul*, *Omnis Scriptura*, &c. All Scripture inspired from above, doth make that a man may be instructed to all good Works. Howbeit doth the Law of the Jews convert their Soules? Are they by reading instructed to every good Work? The Letter of the Old Testament is the same that we have.

No, but those Jews, picking so much to the old bottom and face of their Church, and not seeking for knowledge, by ignorance of the true state of the Scriptures were deceived, and so be you.

(a) Under the Forms, that is, under the Properties of Bread and Wine, and so all this is true.
(b) In the material eating of mans body there is no variety: for to eat mans flesh either under Accidents, or not under Accidents, both is against the Scripture and against Nature.

Arguments.

This answer doth not falsify the Argument: for the Conclusion speaketh of a bodily absence, not of the Answer speaking of a spiritual remaining.

Harpf.

Anno
1554.

(f) If the natural Presence is here, then is it false that S. Augustine saith, *Secundum praesentiam carnis non est hic.*
(d) And how can we then give honour to him, to whom we can owe no charity, nor give any thing else unto? What manner foever ye give manner of his Presence.

to the Body, if the substantial Body be here indeed, it cannot be avoided, but either it must needs be false that S. Augustine saith, *Non est hic, et sic*, or else Christ must have two Bodies, in two places together, present here after one manner, and in Heaven after another manner.

Note what Harpfield here holdeth, that the Body of Christ, is not present in the Sacrament, but only to them that receive him worthily.

If the Presence of his Flesh be taken away as Cyril saith, how then can the Presence of his Flesh be in the Sacrament? V. I will then prove, that he is not in the Sacrament. *Me autem non semper habebitis, sed qui est in Heaven, is not in the Sacrament.*

Harpf. We must diligently weigh that there are two Natures in Christ: the Divine Nature, and Humane Nature. The Divine Nature is of such fort; that it cannot choise but be in all places. The Humane Nature is not such, that of force it must be in all places, although it be in divers after a divers manner. So where the Doctors do intreat of his Presence by Majesty, they do commend the Majesty of the Divine Nature, not to hinder us of the (c) Natural Presence here in the Sacrament.

Wesf. He saith further, *Me autem non semper habebitis, sed qui est in Heaven, is not to be understood in the flesh.*

Harpf. The Presence of the Flesh is to be considered, that he is not here as he was wont to live in conversation with them; to be seen, talked withal, or in such fort as a man may give him (d) any thing: after that fort he is not present.

Wesf. But what say you to this of Augustine, *Non est hic, et sic*?

Harpf. I do answer out of S. Augustine upon John, *Tractat. 25.* upon these words, *Non videmus me, vado ad Patrem, &c.* I go to the Father, ye shall not see me; that is, *Such as I am now.* Therefore I do deny the manner of his Presence.

Wesf. I will overthrow S. Augustine with S. Augustine, who saith this also, *Quomodo quis possit tenere Christum? fidem mitte, & tenuisti.* i. How may a man hold Christ? send thy Faith, and thou holdest him.

So he sheweth, that by sending our Faith, we do hold Christ.

Harpf. Indeed no man holdeth Christ unless he believe in him; but it is another thing to have Christ merciful and favourable unto us, and to have him present in the Sacrament.

There S. Augustine speaketh of holding him by Faith, as he is favourable unto us.

Wesf. Nay, he speaketh there how the Fathers had him in the flesh, and teacheth that we have him not so in the flesh, as they had him long time, saying, *Tour Fathers did hold Christ present in the flesh: Do you hold him in your heart?* What words can be more plain! Further he saith, *He is gone and is not here: he hath left us, and yet hath not forsaken us. Hic est; Majestate, abiit carne; i. He is here in Majesty, and gone touching the flesh.*

Harpf. I do understand Augustine thus, that Christ is here in his Flesh to them that receive him worthily: to such as do worthily receive him, to them he is not present in the flesh. I judge S. Augustine meaneth so. We have him, and have him not: we have him in receiving him worthily, otherwise not.

Wesf. Nay, *Tenere carnem est tenere corticem literae.* I will prosecute another Argument. Cyril doth say, *By the Majesty of his Divinity he is ever here, but the Presence of his flesh hath been taken away.*

Harpf. The sense of Cyril is thus to be understood; The most true Flesh of Christ is at the right hand of the Father. Thus the Fathers taught, and so they believed. Thus said Cyril: Thus said Augustine; and because this is the Foundation of our Faith, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore when they prove this, (the Body to be in Heaven) they do not make against the Presence in the Sacrament.

So unless ye can plainly shew, that the Fathers do directly say he is not in the Sacrament, you make nothing against me: for I have shewed why the Fathers so spoke. They did teach the great difference between the Divine Nature, and the Humane Nature, as I have before said.

Wesf. I will then prove, that he is not in the Sacrament. *Vigiliis* against the Heretic *Eutiches*, upon these words, *Me autem non semper habebitis, sed qui est in Heaven, is not in the Sacrament.*

Harpf. I will shew you the reason of these words. The Heretic *Eutiches* did believe that the Divine Nature of Christ was fused on the Cross, and believed that Christ had no Natural Body. To this *Vigilius* said, That the Humane Nature was taken up and ascended, which could not so have done, unless he had a Body. This he said not, to take away the Presence in the Sacrament.

For what had he to refer this Sentence to the Sacrament? He never did so much as dream of the Sacrament.

Wesf. Cyril saith, *Although he be absent from us in Cyril's Body, yet are we governed by his Spirit.*

Harpf. By these words he gave us a cheerfulness to aspire upwards, seeking there hence our help. For as touching his conversation, he is not so in the Sacrament as one meet to be lived withal. But let him not teach us that he is not there to feed us; for after that fort he is there.

Wesf. You have satisfied me with your Answers; in doing the same learnedly and catolickly. But now to another Argument.

* Christ is now so absent from the Earth by his Body, as he was absent from Heaven when he lived here.

But when he did live bodily on Earth; the same Natural Body was out of Heaven.

Ergo, Now whilst this Natural Body is in Heaven; it is not in the Earth.

Harpf. I deny the Major.

Wesf. *Fulgentius ad Thrasimundum Regem, libro secundo*, saith, *Secundum humanam substantiam absens erat caelo, cum descendit de caelo.* These are *Fulgentius's* words touching his Humane Substance. He was absent from Heaven, when he descended from Heaven; and touching the same Substance, now he is in Heaven he is not on the Earth: but concerning the Divine Nature, he never forsook, neither Heaven nor Earth.

After these words, not waiting Harpfield's Answer, he offered Mr. Cranmer to dispute; who began in this wise.

Cranmer. I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently intreat of the Dignity of the Scriptures, which I do both commend, and have marvelled thereat within my self. But whereas you refer the true sense and judgment of the Scriptures to the Catholic Church, as Judge thereof, you are much deceived; specially for that under the Name of the Church you appoint such Judges as have corruptly judged, and contrary to the sense of the Scriptures.

I wonder likewise why you attribute so little to the diligent reading of the Scriptures, and conferring of places; seeing the Scriptures do so much commend the same, as well in divers other places, as also in those which you your self have already alleged. And as touching your Opinion of these Questions, it seemeth to me neither to have any ground of the Word of God, nor of the Primitive Church. And to say the truth, the Schoolmen have spoken diversly of them, and do not agree thereof among themselves. Wherefore, minding here briefly to receive my judgment also, I must desire you first to answer to me a few Questions which I shall demand of you. Which being done, we shall the better proceed in our Disputation. Moreover, I must desire you to bear also with my rudeness in the Latin Tongue, which through long disuse is not now so prompt and ready with me as it hath been: And now all other things set apart, I mind chiefly to have regard to the Truth. My first question is this, *How Christ's Body is in the Sacrament, according to your mind or determination?*

Then answered a Doctor, he is there as touching his Substance, but not after the manner of his Substance.

Harpf. He is there in such fort and manner as he may be eaten.

Cran. My next Question is, *Whether he hath his quantity and qualities, form, figure, and such like properties.*

Harpf. Are these your questions, said Mr. Harpfield? I may likewise ask you, When Christ passed through the Virgins Womb, *an rupeit necne?* When they had thus awhile contended, there were divers opinions in this matter. All the Doctors fell in a buzzing, incertain what to answer: some thought one way, some another; and thus Mr. Doctors could not agree.

Then Mr. Cranmer said thus; You put off questions with questions, and not with answers, I ask one thing of you, and you answer another. Once again I ask, *Whether he have these Properties which he had on the Earth.*

Tresf. No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging to a Body.

Smith. Stay you Mr. Tresfham. I will answer you Mr. Doctor, with the words of *Damasene*; *Transformatur panis, &c.* The Bread is transformed, &c. But if thou wilt inquire how, *Modus impossibilis*, The manner is impossible.

The Body of Christ is here to feed our bellies, but not to be lived withal.

The Argument holdeth a proportion.

The opinion of Mr. Harpfield, said reproving the sense of the Scripture rather to the judgment of the Church, than to the diligent reading and conferring of places.

Christ present in the Sacrament in Substance, but not after the manner of Substance.

The Rabbinists could not agree among themselves.

Christ's Body without his Properties in the Sacrament.

A^{no}

1554.

The flesh
Chapter of
Iuse is to be
referred
partly to the
Supper nar-
ly to Faith,
after the Pa-
pists.

Comparison
between
eating of
Manna, and
eating the
Body of
Christ.

Arg. in
John. tra. 26.

Argument
in the fe-
cond figure
and second
mood.

D. Cranmer
commended
for his mo-
desty.

West. Augustinus *ad Frateres in Eremo, Sermon, 28.* Est quidam manducandi modus; That is, There is a certain manner of eating. *Augustine* speaketh of two manners of eating; the one of them that eat worthily, the other that eat unworthily.

Harps. All things in the sixth of *John* are not to be referred to the Sacrament, but to the receiving of Christ by Faith. The Fathers do agree, that there is not intreaty made of the Supper of the Lord, before they come unto, *Panis quem dabo vobis, caro mea est, &c.*

Cran. There is intreating of *Manna* both before and after.

Harps. I will apply another Answer. This Argument hath a kind of Poyson in it, which must be thus bitten away; that *Manna* and this Sacrament are not both one. *Manna* hath not his Efficacy of himself, but of God.

Cran. But they that did take *Manna* worthily had Fruit thereby: And so by your Assertion, he that doth eat the Flesh of Christ worthily, hath his Fruit by that.

Therefore the like doth follow of them both, and so there should be no difference between *Manna* and this Sacrament, by your Reason.

Harps. When it is said, that they which did eat *Manna* are dead, it is to be understood, that they did want the vertue of *Manna*.

If Master Harpsfield do mean of Bodily Life, they which eat the Sacrament do dye as well as they which did eat the *Manna*. If he mean of Spiritual Life, neither be they all damned that did eat *Manna*, nor all saved that do eat the Sacrament. Wherefore the Truth is, that neither the eating of *Manna* bringeth Death, nor the eating of the Sacrament bringeth Salvation: But only the Spiritual believing upon Christ's Bodily Passion, which only justifieth both them and us. And therefore, as the Effect is Spiritual, which Christ speaketh of in this Chapter; so is the Cause of that Effect Spiritual whereof he meaneth, which is our Spiritual believing in him, and not our Bodily eating of him.

Cran. They then which do eat either of them worthily, do live.

Harps. They do live which do eat *Manna* worthily, not by *Manna*, but by the Power of God given by it. The other which do eat this Sacrament, do live by the same.

Cran. Christ did not intreat of the Cause, but the Effect which followed: He doth not speak of the Cause, whereof the Effect proceedeth.

Harps. I do say, The Effects are divers, Life, and Death, which do follow the Worthy and Unworthy eating thereof.

Cran. Since you will needs have an Addition to it, we must use both in *Manna* and in the Sacrament, indifferently, either worthily, or unworthily.

Christ spake absolutely of *Manna*, and of the Supper, so that, after that absolute speaking of the Supper, wicked men can in no wise eat the Flesh of Christ, and drink his Blood.

Further, *Augustine* upon *John, Tractat, 26.* upon these Words, *Qui manducat, &c.* saith, There is no such respect in common Meats; as in the Lords Body. For who that eateth other Meats hath still hunger, and needeth to be satisfied daily: but he that doth eat the Flesh of Christ, and drinketh his Blood, doth live for ever. But you know Wicked Men do not so.

Ergo, Wicked Men do not receive.

Harps. S. *Augustine* meaneth, That he who eateth Christs Flesh, &c. after a certain manner, should live for ever. Wicked Men do eat, but not after that manner.

Ca. Cran. Only they which participate Christ be of the Mystical Body.

me. But the Evil Men are not of the Mystical Body. *tres.* *Ergo*, They do not participate Christ.

West. Your wonderful gentle Behaviour and Modesty (good M. Doctor Cranmer) is worthy much commendation; and that I may not deprive you of your right and just deserving, I give you most hearty thanks in my own name, and in the name of all my Brethren. At which saying, all the Doctors gently put off their Caps. Then M. *Weston* did oppose the Respondent on this wise.

West. *Tertullian* doth call the Sacrament the Sign and Figure of the Lord.

S. *Augustine* *ad Daradanum* saith, *Non dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est Corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis, i. The Lord did not stick to say, This is my Body,* when he gave a Sign of his Body.

Besides this, he giveth rules how to understand the Scriptures, saying: If the Scriptures seem to command some hainous thing, then it is figurative, as by example, *Manducare carnem, & bibere sanguinem est tropicum sermo, i. To eat the Flesh, and drink the Blood, is a Tropical Speech.*

Harps. *Tertullian* did write in that place against *Marcion* an Heretick, who denied Christ to have a True Body; and said, he had only a Fantastical Body. He went about to shew, that we had Christ both in Heaven and in Earth; and though we have the True Body in the Sacrament, yet he would not go about so to confound him, as to say, That Christ was truly in the Sacrament; for that Heretick would have therat rather marvelled, than believed it. Therefore he shewed him, that it was the Figure of Christ: And a Figure cannot be but of a thing that is, or hath been extant.

To the Text of *Augustine*, the Church hath never taught the contrary. There is an outward thing in the Sacrament, which sometimes hath sundry names. For it may be called a Figure in this Declaration, That Body which is in the Sacrament, is a Figure of Christ dwelling in Heaven.

To the third, That which is brought by *Augustine* for example about the understanding of the Scriptures, is thus to be understood, as tending to a general manner of eating; so *Manducare carnem, & bibere sanguinem, i. To eat the Flesh, and drink the Blood,* may be a figurative Speech to exclude *Anthropophagiam, i. The eating of Mans Flesh*. The which is, when we eat Mans Flesh cut in Morfels, as we eat common Meat; so as we neither have, nor eat Christ in the Sacrament.

West. I understand your short and learned Answer; which doth sufficiently content me. But now to the second Question, which is of Transubstantiation.

The Scripture calleth it Bread.

Ergo, It is Bread.

Harps. In the Name of Bread all is signified which we do eat.

West. *Theodoretus* an Ancient Writer, in his first Dialogue, saith, That Christ changed not the Nature, but called it his Body.

Harps. He doth there speak of *Symbolo*, which is *Externa species Sacramenti, i. The outward form of the Sacrament*. He meaneth, that that doth tarry in his own Nature. Moreover, as it was reported, he brought for his Answer *Augustinum in sententiis Properi.*

West. *Theodoret* also in his second Dialogue of those kinds of Bread and Wine, saith, *Nec naturam egrediamur, manent etiam in sua substantia, i. They go not out of their own Nature, but they tarry in their own Substance.*

Harps. They are understood to be of the same Substance wherein they are (a) turned.

West. But what say you to this? *Manent in priori substantia, i. They remain in their former Substance.*

Harps. *Symbola manent, i. The outward signs do tarry.*

West. But what is meant here by this word *Symbolum*?

Harps. The outward form or shape only of the Nature.

West. Then you cannot call them a Substance.

Harps. Yes, Sir, every thing hath a certain Substance in his kind.

West. That is true, but Accidents are not Substances in their kind.

Harps. *Sunt quid in suo genere.* Of this they contented much.

West. *Chrysostom* *ad Casarium Monachum*, saith, *Sicut antequam consecratur, panis est: sic, postquam consecratur, liberatur est ab appellatione panis, donatusque est appellatione Corporis Domini, cum natura remanet; That is, Like as before it is consecrated, it is Bread: so after it is consecrated, it is delivered from the name of Bread, and is indued with the name of the Lords Body, whereas the Nature doth remain.*

Harps. Where read you this place, I pray you?

West. Here in *Peter Martyr* I find it; I have his Book in my Hand.

Tertullian cont.
Marcion.
Augustus
Dardanus.

Augustus de
Doctrina
Christianis.

Answer to
Tertullian.

Answer to
Augustine.

Answer to
Augustine.
De Doctrina
Christianis.

The second
question.

Theodoretus
Dialog. 1.
A single-sole
answer to
Theodoretus.

Theodoretus
Dial. 2.

(a) And how
are they turned
if they remain
in prior substantia,
i. They remain
in their former
Substance.

Symbolum
quid.

Chrysostom ad
Casarium
Monachum.

D. Weston
completh
his Arguments
out of
Peter Martyr's
Story.

Harps. The Author shall be of more Credit, before that I make so much of him, as to frame an Answer unto it.

Gelasius.

West. Indeed I know not well where he findeth it. But *Gelasius* saith, That the Nature of Bread and Wine do tarry.

Harps. What is that *Gelasius*?

West. A Bishop of Rome.

Harps. Then he allowed the Mass?

West. Yea, and oftentimes said it: And Purgatory he also allowed, and so Prayer for the Dead, Reliques, and Invocation to Saints.

Harps. Belike then he meant nothing against Transubstantiation.

Origen in Mat. cap. 15.

West. It doth appear so indeed. But *Origen* upon *Mat* shew the 15. Chapter saith, That the material Bread doth tarry, and is conveyed into the Privy, and is eaten of Worms.

Harps. Tuff, tuff, this place appertaineth unto Holy Bread.

West. What, doth it appertain to Holy Bread?

Harps. Yea, unto Holy Bread.

West. By what means can you shew how this miraculous work bringeth Christ into the Sacrament?

Harps. By the Scriptures I prove that, which saith, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my Body.

West. It doth rejoice all us not a little, that you have so well maintained the sound Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar, wherein you have faithfully cleaved to the Catholick Church, as an only Stay of our Religion: By the which means you have proved your self meet to be authorized further towards the practising of the Scripture.

And here, I do openly witness, that I do thoroughly consent with you, and have, for Disputations sake only, brought these Arguments against you, which you have right learnedly satisfied: And now all things being done, after our Form and Manner, we will end this Disputation, saying, *In oppositum est sacra Theologia, In oppositum est, &c.*

¶ Thus have ye heard in these aforesaid Disputations, about the Holy Supper of the Lord, the Reasons and Arguments of the Doctors, the Answers and Resolutions of the Bishops, and the Triumph of the Prolocutor, triumphing before the Victory, with *Viciis veritas*, who rather, in my mind, should have exclaimed, *Viciis potestas*; as it happeneth always, *Ubi pars major vincit meliorem*. For else if *potestas* had not helped the Prolocutor more than *veritas*, there had been a small *victoria*. But so it is where Judgments be partial, and Parties be addicted, there all things turn to Victory, though it be never so mean and simple, as in this Disputation might well appear.

For first, of the Opponents party, neither was there almost any Argument in true mood and figure rightly framed: Neither could the Answers be permitted to say for themselves: And if they answered any thing, it was condemned before they began to speak. Again, Such disturbance and confusion, more like a Conspiration than any Disputation, without all Form and Order, was in the Schools during the time of their answering, that neither could the Answerers have place to utter their Minds, neither would the Opponents be satisfied with any Reasons. Concerning the which Disturbance of that misruled Disputation, you shall hear what Master *Ridley* himself reporteth by his own Description, in manner as followeth.

The Report and Narration of M. Ridley, concerning the misordered Disputation had against him and his Fellow-prisoners at Oxford.

R. Ridley reports of the misorder of this Disputation.

I Never yet, since I was born, saw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuously, than the Disputation which was with me in the Schools at Oxford. Yea verily, I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found amongst men recounted to be of Knowledge and Learning in this Realm, any so brazen-faced and shameless, so disorderly and vainly to behave themselves, more like Stage-players in Enterludes to set forth a Pageant, than to grave Divines in Schools to dispute. The Sorbonical Clamours (which at Paris I have seen in times past, when Popery most reigned) might be worthily thought (in comparison of this Thrafonical ostentation) to have had much Modesty. And no

great marvel, seeing they which should have been Moderators, and Overseers of others, and which should have given good Examples in Words and Gravity; they themselves, above all other, gave worst Example, and did, as it were, blow the Trump to the rest, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. By reason whereof (good Christian Reader) manifestly it may appear, that they never fought for any Truth or Verity, but only for the Glory of the World, and their own bragging Victory. But left by the innumerable Railings and reproachful Taunts, wherewith I was baited on every side, our cause, yea rather Gods cause and his Churches, should be evil spoken of, and slandered to the World through false Reports, and untrue Examples given out of our Disputation, and so the Verity might sustain some Damage, I thought it no less than my Duty to write mine Answers; to the intent, that whosoever is desirous to know the Truth thereof, may by this perceive as well those things which were chiefly objected, as summarily that which was answered of me unto every of them. Howbeit (good Reader) I confess this to be most true, that it is impossible to set forth either all that was, God knoweth, tumultuously and confusedly objected of their parts, being so many, speaking many times altogether so thick, that one could not well hear another, neither all that was answered on my behalf to them so sundry and divers Opponents.

Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the Disputations was vainly consumed in opprobrious Checks and reviling Taunts, with hissing and clapping of hands, and that in the English Tongue, to procure the Peoples Favour withal. All which things, when I with great grief of Heart did behold, protesting openly, that such excessive and outrageous Disorder was unbecomly for those Schools, and Men of Learning and Gravity, and that they which were the Doers and Stirrers of such things, did nothing else but betray the slenderness of their Cause, and their own Vanities: I was so far off by this my Humble Complaint, from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to hear such Rebukes, Checks, and Taunts for my Labour, as no person of any Honesty, without blushing, could abide to hear the like spoken of a most vile Varlet, against a most wretched Russian.

At the first beginning of the Disputation, when I should have confirmed mine Answer to the first Proposition in few words, and that (after the Manner and Law of Schools) afore I could make an end of my first Probation, which was not very long, even the Doctors themselves cried out, He speaketh Blasphemies, he speaketh Blasphemies. And when I on my Knees besought them, and that heartily, that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the End, (whereat the Prolocutor being moved, cried out on high, Let him read it, let him read it.) Yet, when I began to read again, there followed immediately such shouting, such a noise and tumult, such confusion of Voices, crying, Blasphemies, Blasphemies, as I, to my Remembrance, never heard or read the like, except it be that one, which was in the Acts of the Apostles, stirred up of Demetrius the Silver-Smith, and other of his Occupation, crying out against Paul, Great is Diana of the Ephesians, great is Diana of the Ephesians: And except it be a certain Disputation which the Arrians had against the Orthodoxes, and such as were of Godly Judgment in Africa, where it is said, that such as the President and Rulers of the Disputation were, such was the end of the Disputations. All were in a hurly-burly, and so great were the Slanders which the Arrians cast out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This wretched *Vidior* in the second Book of his History.

The which Cries and Tumults of them against me so prevailed, that, will I tell I, I was enforced to leave off reading of my Probations, although they were short. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the same ask any one that was there, and not utterly perverted in Popery, and, I am assured, he will say, I speak the least. But to complain of these things further, I will cease.

And further speaking of this Disputation, he concluded with these Words: And thus was ended this most glorious Disputation of the most Holy Fathers, Sacrificers, Doctors and Masters, which fought most manfully, as ye may see, for their God and Goods, for their Faith and Felicity, for their Country and Kitchen, for their Beauty

Anno

1554.

no verity but glory sought for in this Disputation.

taunts and revilings uttered in this Disputation.

D. Ridley could not be suffered to read forth his Proclamation.

Año
1554.The three
Prisoners at
Oxford called
before the Com-
missioners.
April 20.

and Belly, with triumphant Applauses and Favour of the whole University.

After the Disputation of M. *Latimer* ended, which was the 18. day of *April*; the Friday following, which was the 20. day of the said Month, the Commissioners sit in *Saint Maries Church*, as they did the Saturday before, and Doctor *Weston* used particularly Diffusions with every one of them, and would not suffer them to answer in any wise, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to say whether they would subscribe, or no. And first to the Bishop of *Canterbury* he said, he was overcome in Disputations: To whom the Bishop answered, That whereas Doctor *Weston* said, he hath answered and opposed, and could neither maintain his own Errors, nor impugn the Verity; all that he said, was false. For he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he would have brawled with them, so thick their Reasons came one after another. Ever four or five did interrupt him, that he could not speak. Master *Ridley* and Master *Latimer* were asked what they would do: They replied, That they would stand to that they had said. Then were they all called together, and Sentence read over them, that they were no Members of the Church. And therefore they, their Fautors and Patrons, were condemned as Heretics: And in reading of it, they were asked, Whether they would turn, or no: And they had them read on in the Name of God, for they were not minded to turn. So they were condemned all three.

After which, Sentence of Condemnation being awarded against them, they answered again every one in his turn, in manner and effect of words, as followeth: The Archbishop first beginning thus:

The Archbishop of Canterbury.

From this your Judgment and Sentence I appeal to the Just Judgment of God Almighty, trusting to be present with him in Heaven, for whose presence in the Altar I am thus condemned.

Doctor Ridley.

Although I be not of your Company, yet doubt I not but my Name is written in another place, whether this Sentence will find us fonder, than we should by the course of Nature have come.

Master Latimer.

I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my Life to this End, that I may in this case glorifie God by that kind of death.

Doctor Westons Answer unto Latimer.

If you go to Heaven in this Faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus perfwaded.

*Weston gi-
veth Sen-
tence +
quint him-
self.*

*The Arch-
bishop and
his fellow-
Prisoners re-
sponded.*

After the Sentence pronounced, they were separated one from another, *videlicet*, The Archbishop was returned to *Bocardo*, D. *Ridley* was carried to the Sheriffs House, Mr. *Latimer* to the Bayliffs.

On Saturday following, they had a Mass with a general Procession and great Solemnity. Doctor *Cranmer* was caused to behold the Procession out of *Bocardo*; Doctor *Ridley* out of the Sheriffs House. *Latimer* also, being brought to see it from the Bayliffs House, thought that he should have gone to Burning, and spake to one *Augustine Cooper* a Catchpole, to make a quick Fire. But when he came to *Carfax*, and saw the matter, he ran as fast as his old Bones would carry him, to one *Spensers* Shop, and would not look towards it. Last of all, Doctor *Weston* carried the Sacrament, and four Doctors carried the Canopy over him.

Immediately after the Sentence was given, Doctor *Ridley* writeth to the Prolocutor in manner as followeth.

Doctor Ridley to the Prolocutor.

After Prolocutor, you remember, I am sure, how you promised me openly in the Schools, after my Protestation, that I should see how my Answers were taken and written of the *Notaries* whom ye appointed (*me futor neminem recitare*) to write what should be said, and to have had License to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more deliberation should have seemed me best. Ye granted me also, at the delivery of my Answer unto your first Proposition, a Copy

*D. Ridley
Letter to the Prolo-
cutor.*

of the same: These Promises are not performed. If your sudden departure be any part of the cause thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed; for performance of Promise is to be looked for at a Righteous Judges Hands: Now I send you here my Answers in writing to your second and third Propositions, and do desire and require earnestly a Copy of the same, and I shall by Gods Grace procure the pains of the Writer to be paid for, and satisfied accordingly. Master Prolocutor, in the time of my Answering in the Schools, where I would have confirmed my Sayings with Authorities and Reasons, ye said then openly, that I should have time and place, to say and bring whatsoever I could; another time, and the same your saying was then and there confirmed of other of the Commissioners: Yes, and (I dare say) the Audience also thought then that I should have had another Day, to have brought and said what I could for the Declaration and Confirmation of mine Assertions: Now that this was not done, but so suddenly Sentence given before the Cause was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvel, &c.

On Monday next ensuing, after these things done and *April 21* past, being the 23. of the said Month of *April*, Doctor *Weston* Prolocutor took his Journey up to *London*, with the Letters Certificatory from the University unto the Queen, by whom the Archbishop of *Canterbury* directed his Letters Supplicatory unto the Council: The which Letters, after the Prolocutor had received, and had carried them well-near half way to *London*, by the way he opened the same, and seeing the Contents thereof, sent them back again, refusing to carry them, &c. Likewise Bishop *Ridley* hearing of the Prolocutors going to *London*, writeth to him his Letters, wherein he desired him to carry his Answers up to certain Bishops in *London*, the Form of which Letters, first of D. *Ridley*, then of the Archbishop; and lastly, another Letter of D. *Ridley* to the Archbishop, here in order followeth.

A Letter of Bishop Ridley to the Prolocutor.

After Prolocutor, I desire you, and in Gods Name require you, that you truly bring forth and shew all mine Answers, written and subscribed with mine own Hand, unto the Higher House of the Convocation, and especially to my Lord Chancellor, my Lords of *Duresm*, *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Norwich*, and *Chichester*; and also to shew and exhibit this my Writing unto them, which in these few Lines here I write unto you: And that I did make this Request unto you by this my Writing, know ye, that I did take Witnesses of them by whom I send you this Writing, and also of those which were then with them present, *videlicet*, The two Bayliffs of *Oxford*, and of Mr. *Irish*, Alderman; then there called to be a Witnesses.

By me Nicholas Ridley, 13 of
April An. 1554.

The Copy of the Archbishop of Canterburys Letter to the Council, sent by Doctor Westons, who refused to deliver them.

In right humble wise sheweth unto your Honourable Lordships *Thomas Cranmer* late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, beseeching the same to be a Means for me unto the Queens Highness for her Mercy and Pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the Will of our late Sovereign Lord King *Edward* the Sixth, and what I spake against the same, wherein I refer me to the Reports of your Honours and Worthships. Furthermore, this is to signify unto your Lordships, that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open Disputations here in *Oxford* against me, Mr. *Ridley*, and Mr. *Latimer*, in three matters concerning the Sacrament: First, Of the Real Presence. Secondly, Of Transubstantiation: And thirdly, Of the Sacrifice of the Mass. Upon Mondays against me; upon Tuesdays, against Dr. *Ridley*; and upon Wednesdays, against Mr. *Latimer*. How the other two were ordered, I know not; for we were separated, before that of us knoweth what

*Papists have
shall conside-
ence in per-
forming of
Promises.*

*The Arch-
bishop writeth
to the
Council.*

the other said, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning my self, I can report: Doctor *Chedsey* was appointed to dispute against me; but the Disputation was so confused, that I never knew the like; every man bringing forth what him liked without Order; and such haile was made, that no Answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any Argument, before another brought a New Argument. And in such Wighty Matters the Disputation must needs be ended in one day, which can scarcely be ended in three Months. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our Proofs, that they might answer us, being required by me thereunto, whereas I my self have more to say, than can be well discussed, as I suppose, in twenty days. The means to resolve the truth, had been to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say, and then they again to answer us fully to all that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their Matter, that they were not able to answer us, or else for some consideration they made such haile, not to seek the Truth, but to condemn us, that it must be done in post-haile before the matters could be thoroughly heard: For in haile we were all three condemned of Herefie. Thus much I thought good to signify unto your Lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the Judgment thereof unto your Wisdoms. And I beseech your Lordships, to remember me, a poor Prisoner, unto the Queens Majesty; and I shall pray, as I do daily unto God, for the long Preservation of your good Lordships in all Godliness and Felicity. April 23.

Doctor Ridley to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Archbishop not suffered to answer fully to any Argument.

With made in condemning the Archbishop and his Followers.

B. Ridley writeth to the Archbishop.

This Notice Morgan gave in presence against Lady Isas.

Disputation in Cambridge is intended.

I With ye might have seen these mine Answers before I had delivered them, that ye might have corrected them. But I trust, in the substance of the matter we do agree fully, both led by one Spirit of Truth, and both valking after one Rule of Gods Word. It is reported, that Sergeant *Morgan*, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, is gone Mad. It is said also, that Justice *Halerhath* recanted, perverted by Doctor *Mareman*. Item, That Master *Rogers*, Doctor *Crome*, and Master *Bradford* shall be had to Cambridge, and there be disputed with, as we were here; and that the Doctors of Oxford shall go likewise thither, as Cambridge-men came hither. When ye have read mine Answers, send them again to *Austen*, except ye will put any thing to them. I trust the day of our delivery out of all Miseries, and of our entrance into perpetual Rest, and unto perpetual Joy and Felicity, draweth nigh: The Lord strengthen us with his mighty Spirit of Grace. If you have not to write with, you must make your Man your Friend. And this Bearer deserveth to be rewarded; so he may, and will do you pleasure. My Man is Trusty, but it grieveth both him and me, that when I find him write any thing to you, your Man will not let him come up to see you, as he may to Master *Lattimer*, and yours to me. I have a Promise to see how my Answers were written in the Schools, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for me, I pray for you, and so shall I for you. The Lord have Mercy of his Church, and lighten the Eyes of the Magistrates, that God's extrem Plagues light not on this Realm of England. Turn, or burn.

These Disputations being thus discussed and ended, which were at Oxford in the Month of April, as is aforesaid: Now let us return again to the prosecuting of our Story, touching other things likewise that happened in other parts of the Realm, in this Tumultuous Time of Q. Mary. And because things that hapned in that Time were so many and divers, that it is hard to keep a perfect order in reciting them all: To the intent therefore to insert things left out before, or else to prosecute the same more at full, we have thought here a little to interrupt the order of time (albeit not much) returning again to the Month of July the Year before, viz. 1553. In the which Month of July I shewed before, how the Duke of Northumberland was apprehended by the Guard, and brought to London by the Earl of Arundel, and other Lords and Gentlemen appointed for that purpose, on Saint James's day, being the 25. day of July, and so to the

Tower, where he remained. These be the Names of them which were committed to the Tower with the Duke.

First, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Huntington, Lord Ambrose, and Lord Henry Dudley, Lord Hastings, who was delivered again the same Night; Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sands Chancellor of Cambridge.

The 26. day, the Lord Marquess of Northampton, the Bishop of London, Lord Robert Dudley, and Sir Richard Corbet were brought and committed to the Tower.

The 27. day, the Lord Chief Justice of England, and the Lord Mountacute Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, were committed to the Tower.

Upon the Friday, being the 28. of July, the Duke of Suffolk, and Sir John Cheek were committed to the Tower.

The 30. of July, the Lord Russell was committed to the Sheriff of London's Custody.

The 31. day, the Earl of Rutland was committed to the Fleet.

Upon the Munday, the last of July, the Duke of Suffolk was delivered out of the Tower again.

Upon Thursday the 3. of August, the Queen entered into the City of London at Aldgate, and so to the Tower, where she remained seven days, and then removed to Richmond.

Upon Friday the 4. day, Doctor Day was delivered out of the Fleet.

Upon the Saturday the 5. day, the Lord Ferris was committed to the Tower, and the same day Doctor Bonner was delivered out of the Marshalsey.

The same day at Night Doctor Cocks was committed to the Marshalsey, and one Master Edward Underhill to Newgate. Also the same day Doctor Tomfall and Stephen Gardiner were delivered out of the Tower, and Gardiner received into the Queens Privy Council, and made Lord Chancellor.

Upon Sunday the 7. day, Henry Dudley, Captain of the Guard at Guines, which before had been sent to the French King by his Cousin the Duke of Northumberland, after the dispatch of his Ambassage with the French King, returned to Guines, and so was taken, and this day brought to the Tower.

Upon Monday the 7. day of August, Drige in Latin was sung within the Tower, by all the Kings Chappel, and the Bishop of Winchester was Chief Minister, whereat was present the Queen, and most part of the Council.

Upon Tuesday the 8. of August, the Kings Body was brought to Westminster, and there buried; where Doctor Day Bishop of Chichester preached. The same day a Mass of Requiem was sung within the Tower by the Bishop of Winchester, who had on his Miter, and did all things as in times past was done; at which Mass the Queen was present.

Upon Thursday the Duke of Norfolk came forth of the Tower, with whom the Dutchess of Somerset was also delivered this Thursday.

Upon Sunday the 11. of August, Doctor Bourne preached at Pauls Cross: Of the which Sermon read before, page 14.

In the Week following, Commandment was given throughout the City, that no Apprentices should come to the Sermon, nor bear any Knife or Dagger.

Upon the Wednesday, being the 16. day of August, Master Bradford, Master Blason, and Master Veron, were committed to the Tower: With whom also Master Sampson should have been committed, and was sought for the same time at Master Elings House in Fleetstreet, where Master Bradford was taken: and because he was not found, the Bishop of Winchester fumed like a Prelate with the Messenger.

Upon the Friday, being the 18. of August, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, and the Earl of Warwick, were arraigned at Westminster, and there the same day condemned, the Duke of Norfolk that day being the High Judge.

Upon the Saturday the 19. of August, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer were arraigned at Westminster, and condemned the same day, the Lord Marquess of Winchester being High Judge.

Upon

Anno

1554.

The Names of them that were committed to the Tower with the Duke of Northumberland.

The Duke of Suffolk delivered out of the Tower.

King Edward's Body buried.

Anno
1554.D. Watson
preached at
Pauls Croft.Execution
at the
Tower-Hill.The Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
purgeth
himself
against false
Rumours.

Upon which day a Letter was sent unto Sir Henry Tirl, Anthony Brown and Edmund Brown, Esquires, praying them to commit unto all such as shall containe the Queens Order of Religion, or shall keep themselves from Church, there to remain until they be conformable, and to signifie their Names to the Councel.

Upon Sunday the 20. of August, D. Watson, the Bishop of Winchester's Chaplain, preached at Pauls-Croft, at whose Sermon was present the Marquess of Winchester, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Rich, and 200 of the Guard with their Halberds, lest the People should have made any stir against the Preacher.

Upon Munday the 21. of August, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gases, and Sir Thomas Palmer, heard a Mass within the Tower, and after Mass they all five received the Sacrament in one kind only, as in the Popish time was used. On the which day also Queen Mary set forth a Proclamation, signifying to the People, That she could not hide any longer the Religion which she from her Infancy had professed, &c. Inhibiting in the said Proclamation, Printing, and Preaching; the Tenor whereof read before, page 14.

Upon the Tuesday, being the 22. of August, the Duke of Northumberland, Sir John Gases, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were beheaded at the Tower-Hill, as before is said page 14. The same day certain Noble Personages heard Mass within the Tower, and likewise after Mass, received the Sacrament in one kind.

Upon Sunday, the 27. day of August, Doctor Chesley preached at Pauls-Croft, and the same day the Bishop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Smith, and the Dean of Pauls were cited to appear the Week following before the Queens Commissioners, in the Bishops Consistory within Pauls.

In this mean time it was noised abroad by running rumours falsely and craftily devised; either to flabstiff the credit of the mass, or else to bring Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury out of credit, that he, to curry Favour with Queen Mary, should promise to say Dirige Mass after the old custom for King Edward, and that he had already said Mass at Canterbury, &c. Wherefore to stop the noise and flanders of those Rumours, the said Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, the 7. day of September set forth a Letter, which was also printed, in purgation of himself, the Copy of which Letter here ensueth.

A Purgation of Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, against certain Slanders falsely raised upon him.

As the Devil, Christs ancient Adversary, is a Liar, and the Father of Lies, even so hath he stirred up his Servants and Members to persecute Christs and his True Word and Religion with lying: which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present time. For whereas the Prince of Darkness Memory King Henry the Eighth, seeing the great abuse of the Latine Mass, reformed some things therein in his Life time, and after, our late Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth, took the same wholly away, for the manifold and great Errors and Abuses of the same, and reformed in the place thereof Christs Holy Supper according to Christs own Institution, and as the Apostles used the same in the Primitive Church, the Devil getteth about now by lying to overthrow the Lords Supper again, and to restore his Latin satisfactory Mass, a thing of his own Invention and Device. And to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused the Name of me Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, by writing abroad, That I have set up the Mass at Canterbury, and that I offered to say Mass at the Burial of our late Sovereign Prince King Edward the Sixth, and that I offered to say Mass before the Queens Highness, and at Pauls Church, and I was not where. And although I have been well exercised these twenty Years to suffer and bear Evil Reports and Lies, and have not been much grieved thereat, but have borne all things quietly: Yet when untrue Reports and Lies turn to the hindrance of Gods Truth, they are in no wise to be suffered. Wherefore I have thought it to signifie unto the World, That it was not I that set up the Mass at Canterbury, but it was a False, Flattering, Lying, and Dissembling Monk, which caused Mass to be set up there without

mine Advice or Counsel; Reddat illi Dominus in die illo. And as for offering my self to say Mass before the Queens Highness, or in any other place, I never did it, as her Grace well knoweth. But if her Grace will give me leave, I shall be ready to prove, against all that will say the contrary, that all that is contained in the Holy Communion, set out by the most Innocent and Godly Prince King Edward the Sixth, in his High Court of Parliament, is conformable to that Order which our Saviour Christ did both observe, and command to be observed, and which his Apostles, and the Primitive Church used many Years; whereas the Mass, in many things, not only hath no Foundation of Christs, his Apostles, nor the Primitive Church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible Abuses in it. And although many, either Unlearned or Malicious, do report, that M. Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet if the Queens Highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said M. Peter Martyr, and other four or five, which I shall choose, will, by Gods Grace, take upon us to defend, not only the Common Prayer of the Church, the Ministration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies, but also all the Doctrine and Religion set out by our Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth, to be more pure, and according to Gods Word, than any other that hath been used in England these 1000 Years: So that Gods Word may be Judge, and that the Reasons and Proofs of both Parties may be set out in writing, to the intent, as will that all the World may examine and Judge thereon, as that no man shall start back from his Writing. And where they boast of the Faith, that hath been in the Church these 1500 Years, we will join with them in this Point; and that the same Doctrine and Usage is to be followed, which was in the Church 1500 Years past: And we shall prove, That the Order of the Church, set out at this present in this Realm by Act of Parliament, is the same that was used in the Church 1500 Years past, and so shall they be never able to prove theirs.

The same Thursday, being the 7. of September, Lord Mountacute Chief Justice, and Lord Chief Baron were delivered out of the Tower.

The 13. of September, the Reverend Father Master Hugh Latimer was committed to the Tower.

The 14. of September, the Bishop of Canterbury was committed to the Tower.

The 26. of September, one Master Gray of Cambridge, called before him one Master Garth, for that he would not suffer a Boy of Peterbours to help him say Mass in Pembroke-Hall, which was before any Law was established for that behalf.

The Queen came to the Tower of London upon the Thursday, being the 28. of September, and upon the Saturday following she rode from the Tower through the City of London, where were made many Pageants to receive her, and so she was triumphantly brought to Westminster to Whitehall.

Upon the Sunday, being the first Day of October, the Queens Highness went from Whitehall to Westminster-Abby, accompanied with the most part of the Nobility of this Realm: Namely, these, The Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Marquess of Winchester, the Earls of Derby, Bedford, Worcester, Cumberland, Westmerland, Oxford, Suffolke, Devonshire, Pembroke, the Lord Dacres of the North, Lord Ferris, Lord Cobham, Lord Aburgeyn, Lord Wentworth, Lord Scroppe, Lord Rich, Lord Vaux, Lord Howard, Lord Comins, Lord Morley, Lord Paget, and the Lord Willoughby; with other Nobles, and all the Ambassadors of divers Countries, the Mayor of London with all the Aldermen. Also out of the Abby, to receive her coming, came three Silver Crosses, and to the number of Fourty, or near upon, of Singing Men, all in very Rich and Gorgeous Coopes. Amongst whom was the Dean of Westminster, and divers of her Chaplains, which bare every one some Ensign in their Hands, and after them, followed ten Bishops, Mitered all, and their Crozier Staves in their Hands, and rich Coopes upon them every one. And in this Order they repaired from Westminster-Hall before the Queen to the Abbey, where she was Crowned by Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester.

This Monk
was Doctor
Thames, a
crafty
master
ther of
Gods People
of whose
horrible and
ye shall read
hereafter,
partially
in the Life
of Cranmer

Amongst
these Page-
ants stood
certain Men
upon the tops
of the Eagle
upon Pauls
Steeple
with a flg
in his hand.

the Queens
Crown

Pr. Dares
Sermons

General
pardon at
the Queens
Coronation.
Exempted
out of the
Pardon.

Q. Mary
death to the
Parliament-
House.
Sergeant
Polesey
Speaker in the
Parliament.

The Earl of
Huntington
delivered
out of the
Tower.

M. Saunders
for preach-
ing against
the Maf, &
committed
to the Mar-
shalsey.
D. Wetton
Popish Ser-
mon at
Pauls.

Wetton Ser-
mons con-
futed by Mr.
Coverdale.

Running be-
fore the
Law.

The Queens
proceedings
maintained
in Cambridge
before the
Law.

and Lord Chancellor of England. At the time of the Coronation Doctor Day Bishop of Chichester made a Sermon to the Queens Majesty, and to the rest of the Nobility.

Also there was a general Pardon proclaimed within the Abbey at the same time of her Coronation, out of which Proclamation all the Prisoners of the Tower and of the Fleet were excepted, and 62. more. Whereof M. Whitchurch and M. Grafton were two.

The third of October, the Vicechancellor of Cambridge did challenge one Mr. Pierfon, for that he ministrified still the Communion in his own Parish, and did receive Strangers of other Parishes to the same, and would not say Maf. Whereupon within two days after, he was clean discharged from farther ministrifying in his Cure.

Upon the Wednesday following, the Archbishop of York was committed to the Tower.

Upon Thursday, being the 5. of October, 1554 the Queen rode to the Parliament in her Robes, and all the Nobility with her, and when they were set in the Parliament House, the Bishop of Winchester made to them a solemn Oration, and Sergeant Pollard was chosen Speaker of the Parliament. The same day the Bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, and Worcester, were discharged from the Parliament and Convocation.

Also the 10. day of October, the Earl of Huntington was delivered out of the Tower.

Upon the Sunday after, being the 15. of October, M. Laurence Saunders preached at Albhallows in Breadstreet in the Morning: Where he declared the Abomination of the Maf, with divers other Matters, very notably and godly. Whereof more shall be heard (by the Lords leave) hereafter when we come to his Story. In which his doing, as he shewed himself to be Gods Faithful Minister, so is he sure not to be defrauded of Gods Faithful Promise, who saith, *Omnis qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor & ego illum coram Patre meo qui est in Caelis, Mat. 10.* But about Noon of the same day, he was sent for by the Bishop of London, and from thence committed to the Marshalsey.

Upon the Sunday following, being the 20. of October, Doctor Wetton preached at Pauls Crofs. Who in the beginning of his Sermon willed the People to pray for the Souls departed, on this wise: You shall pray for all them that be departed, that be neither in Heaven, nor Hell, but in a place not yet sufficiently purged to come to Heaven, that they may be relieved by your devout Prayers. He named the Lords Table an Oyfter-Board. He said, that the Catechism in Latin, lately set out, was abominable Herefie, and likened the setters out of the same Catechism to *Julianus Apostata*, and the Book to a Dialogue set out by the said *Julianus Apostata*, wherein Christ and Pilate were the Speakers; with many other things. Which Sermon, with all the points thereof, Master Coverdale the same time learnedly confuted by writing, which remaineth yet in my hands to be seen.

In the Week following began the Disputations in the Convocation House in Pauls Church, whereof sufficient hath been before declared.

The 26. day of October, the Vicechancellor of Cambridge went to Clare-hall, and in the presence of Doctor Walker, displaced Doctor Madew, and placed Master Swyborne in the Mastership there, by force of the Lord Chancellors Letters, for that he was (as they termed it) *Usoratus*, that is, married.

The 28. day of October, the Papists in the Kings Colledge in Cambridge (not tarrying the making of any Law, but of their blind Zeal) had their whole Service again in the Latin Tongue, contrary to the Law then in force.

The last of October, the Vicechancellor of Cambridge did sharply reprove and threaten one M. Throckold, for that he challenged the said Vicechancellor, who had suffered Master Bovell (contrary to the Statutes then in force) quietly without punishment to depart, notwithstanding that he refused to swear to the Supremacy of the Queen, and the Abrogation of the Bishop of Rome.

The third day of November, the Vicechancellor sent for the Curate of the Round Parish in Cambridge, com-

manding him not to minister any more in the English Tongue, saying, he would have one Uniform Order of Service throughout the Town, and that in Latin, with Maf, which was established the Twelfth day of this Month.

The sixth day of November, Master Pollard preached at Saint Michaels, and in his Sermon approved Purgatory.

The 28. day of November, the Archdeacons Official visited in Hynton, where he gave in charge to prevent all such as did disturb the Queens Proceedings, in letting the Latin Service, the setting up of their Altars, and saying of Maf, or any part thereof: Whereby it was ease to see how these good Fellows meant to proceed, having the Law once on their Side, that thus readily against a manifest Law, would attempt the Punishment of any Man.

The 15. day of December there were two Proclamations at London; the one for the Repealing of certain Acts made by King Edward, and for the setting up of the Maf, for the 20. day of December then next following: The other was, That no Man should interrupt any of those that would say Maf.

The Parliament beginning about the 5. day of October, continued till the 5. of December. In the which Parliament were dissolved as well all the Statutes made of *Premunire*, in the time of K. Henry the Eighth, &c. As also other Laws and Statutes concerning Religion and Administration of Sacraments, decreed under King Edward the Sixth, as is partly above touched. In the which Parliament moreover was appointed the 20. day of December next ensuing the same year 1553. That all the old Form and Manner of Church-Service, used in the last year of King Henry, should now again be restored.

On New-years Even being the last of December, the Lord Marquis of Northampton was delivered out of the Tower.

About this time a Priest of Canterbury said Maf on a Priest of the one day, and the next day after he came into the Pulpit, and desired all the People to forgive him; for he said, he had betrayed Christ; not as *Judas* did, but as *Peter* did, and there made a long Sermon against the Maf.

The day after New-years day, being the second day of January, in the Year of our Lord, 1554. Four Ambassadors came into London from the Emperor, and were Honourably received. Their Names were these: *Le Comte de Egmont, Le Comte de Lalen, Monsieur Corvire, Le Chancelier Nigre.*

About this time a great Number of New Bishops, Deans, &c. were chosen, more than were made at one time since the Conquest. Their Names are these:

- D. Holyman Bishop of Bristol.
- D. Coates Bishop of Westchester.
- D. Hopton Bishop of Norwich.
- D. Bourne Bishop of Bath.
- D. White Bishop of Lincoln.
- D. Mores Bishop of Rochester.
- D. Morgan Bishop of S. Davids.
- D. Poole Bishop of S. Asaph.
- D. Brookes Bishop of Gloucester.
- D. Moreman, Coadjutor to the Bishop of Exeter, and after his decease Bishop of Exeter.
- D. Glyn Bishop of Bangor.
- Master Fecknam Dean of Pauls.
- D. Rainolds Dean of Bristol, with others.

The 12. day of January, the Vicechancellor of Cambridge called a Congregation general, wherein amongst other things he shewed, that the Queen would have there a Maf of the Holy Ghost upon the 18. day of February then next following, for that it was her Birthday, which was fulfilled the day appointed, and that very solemnly.

Upon the Saturday, being the 13. of January, Doctor Crome was committed to the Fleet. Also upon the Sunday following, one Mr. Addington was committed to the Tower. Also this same Sunday knowledge was given in the Court openly by the Bishop of Winchester, that the Marriage between the Queens Majesty and the King of Spain was concluded, and the day following, being

Anno
1554.

K. Edwards
Acts re-
pealed.

Canterbury
repenting
his saying
Maf.

New Bishop
made.

Dr. Crome
committed
to the Fleet

The Mar-
age of Q.
Mary
being

Anno 1554. being Monday, and the 15th of January, the Mayor with the Aldermen and certain Commons were at the Court, and there they were commanded by the Lord Chancellor to prepare the City ready to receive the said King of Spain; who declared unto them what a Catholic, mighty, prudent, and wise Prince the said King was, with many other commendations of him.

Upon the Saturday following, being the 20th of January, the Court of the First-Fruits and Tenths was dissolved.

Upon the Thursday at night following, the 25th day of January, the Lord Marquis of Northampton was again committed to the Tower, and Sir Edward Warner with him. Who were brought to the Tower by the Mayor.

Upon the Saturday following, being the 26th of January, Justice Hales was committed to the Marshalsey, and the same day Mr. Rogers was committed to the Newgate. Upon this Saturday, Sunday and Monday following, the Londoners prepared a number of Soldiers, (by the Queens Commandment) to go into Kent against the Commons: whereof were chief Captains the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Wornwood, Sir Henry Feringham, Sir George Haward, and ten other Captains. Which Soldiers when they came to Rochester-Bridge, where they should have set upon their Enemies, most of them (as it is said) left their own Captains and came wholly to the Kentish Men, and so the foresaid Captains returned to the Court both void of Men and Victory, leaving behind them both six pieces of Ordnance and Treasure.

About the latter end of January, the Duke of Suffolk with his Brethren departed from his House at Shene, and took his Voyage into Leicester-shire. After whom was sent the Earl of Huntingdon to take him and bring him to London, who proclaimed the said Duke Traytor by the way as he rode.

And thus passing to the Month of February, here is to be noted by way of story, that upon the 15th day of the said Month, being Thursday, there were seen within the City of London, about Nine of the Clock in the Forenoon strange fights. There were seen two Suns both shining at once, the one a good pretty way distant from the other. At the same time was also seen a Rainbow turned contrary, and a great deal higher than hath been accustomed. The common handling of the Rainbow is thus—but this flood thus—with the Head downward, and the Feet as it were upward. Both these fights were seen as well at Westminster, in Cheap-side, on the South-side of Pauls, as in very many other places, and that by a great number of honest men. Also certain Aldermen went out of the Guild-Hall to behold the fight.

As touching the rising of Mr. Wyatt, with Sir William Cobham and others in Kent, and their coming to London in the Month of February; also of the Queens coming to Guild-Hall, and her Oration there made; and after of the taking of the said Wyatt and his Company; likewise of the apprehension of the Duke of Suffolk with his Brother Lord John Gray; and the next day after of the Beheading of the Lord Guildford and Lady Jane, which was the 12th day of February, and how the day before which was the 11th of the said Month, Lord William Howard, and Sir Edward Hastings were sent for the Lady Elizabeth; and how the same Sunday, Sir Henry Isley, Mr. Culpepper, and Mr. Winter were committed to the Tower, the Bishop of Winchester the same day, being the 11th of February, preaching before the Queen, and perfwading her to use no mercy toward these Kentish Men, but severe Execution, all which was in the Month of February; because most of these matters have been briefly touched before or else may be found in other Chronicles, I will cease to make any further story of them: having somewhat notwithstanding to declare touching the Arraignement and Death of the Duke of Suffolk.

Upon Saturday, being the 17th day of February, the Duke of Suffolk was Arraigned at Westminster, and the same day condemned to dye by his Peers; the Earl of Arundel was chief Judge for this day.

Upon the Sunday following, which was the 18th day of the said Month, Sessions was kept in London, which hath not before been kept upon the Sunday.

Upon the Monday, the 19th of February, the Lord Cobham three Sons; and four other Men were Arraigned at Westminster: of which Sons the youngest was condemned, whose name was Thomas, and the other two came not at the Bar, and the other four were condemned.

Upon the Tuesday, being the 20th of February, the Lord John Gray was Arraigned at Westminster, and there condemned the same day, and other three Men, whereof one was named Naile.

Upon Wednesday, the 21st of February, the Lord Thomas Gray and Sir James Croft were brought through London to the Tower with a number of Horiamen.

Upon the Thursday, being the 22nd of February, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the Tower.

Upon the Friday, being 23rd of February, 1554, the Duke of Suffolk was beheaded at the Tower-Hill, the order of whose Death here followed.

The godly End and Death of the Duke of Suffolk Beheaded at Tower-Hill, 23rd February 1554.

ON Friday the 23rd of February, 1554, about Nine of the Clock in the Forenoon, the Lord Henry Gray, Duke of Suffolk, was brought forth of the Tower of London unto the Scaffold on the Tower-Hill, with a great Company, &c. and in his coming thither, there accompanied him Dr. Weston as his ghostly Father, notwithstanding, as it should seem, against the will of the said Duke. For when the Duke went up to the Scaffold, the said Weston, being on the left hand, pressed to go up with him. The Duke with his hand, put him down again off the Stairs: and Weston, taking hold of the Duke, forced him down likewise. And as they attended the second time, the Duke again put him down.

Then Weston said, that it was the Queens pleasure he should do so. Wherewith the Duke calling his hands abroad, ascended up the Scaffold, and paused a pretty while after. And then he said: *Majesty, I have offended the Queen, and her Laws, and thereby am justly condemned to dye, and am willing to dye, desiring all Men to be obedient, and I pray God that this my Death may be an example to all Men, beseeching you all to bear me witness, that I dye in the Faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by his Blood only, and by no other Trumpeter, the which died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and steadfastly trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me, and that when you see my Breath depart from me, you will pray to God that he may receive my Soul. And then he desired all Men to forgive him, saying, that the Queen had forgiven him.*

Then Mr. Weston declared with a loud Voice, that the Queens Majesty had forgiven him. With that divers of the Standers-by said with meety, good, and audible Voice: *Such Forgiveness God send thee*, meaning Dr. Weston. Then the Duke kneeled down upon his Knees, and said the Psalm *Miserere mei Deus* unto the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to Heaven. And when he had ended the Psalm, he said, *In manus tuas Domine commendo Spiritum meum, &c.* Then he arose and stood up, and delivered his Cap and his Scarf unto the Executioner.

Then the said Executioner kneeled down, and asked the Duke forgiveness. And the Duke said, God forgive thee, and I do: and when thou dost thine Office, I pray thee do it well, and bring me out of this World quickly, and God have mercy to thee. Then stood there a man and said, My Lord, how shall I do for the Money that you do owe me? And the Duke said, Alas good Fellow, I pray thee trouble me not now, but go thy way to my Officers. Then he knit a Kerchief about his Face, and kneeled down and said, *Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.* unto the end. And then he said, *Christ have mercy upon me*, and laid down his Head on the Block, and the Executioner took the Ax, and at the first clop strook off his Head, and held it up to the People, &c.

The same day a number of Prisoners had their Par-bout their Necks. There were in (a) number about 200, who were hanged through the City to Westminster, and had their Pardons.

Lipton

Justice Hales committed to the Marshalsey. Mr. Rogers committed to Newgate.

Strange fights seen before the coming in of King Philip, and before the death of Religion.

The Lady Elizabeth sent for. The Bishop of Winchester preached.

The Duke of Suffolk Arraigned.

The Lord John Gray Arraigned.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton committed to the Tower.

The order and manner of the Duke of Suffolk's Death. Dr. Weston accompanied him as his ghostly Father, notwithstanding, as it should seem, against the will of the Duke.

Weston put the Duke back by the Duke's hand.

The godly Faith and Confession of the Duke at his Death.

The Duke prayeth.

The Duke prepares himself to Death.

The end of the Duke of Suffolk.

(a) The number of those who were hanged which was about 200.

Upon the Saturday, the 24th of February, Sir William Sentlow was committed as Prisoner to the Master of the Horse to be kept. This Sir William was at this time one of the Lady Elizabeth's Gentlemen.

Upon the Sunday, being the 25th of February, Sir John Rogers was committed to the Tower.

Priests divorced.

In this Week, all such Priests within the Dioceses of London as were married, were divorced from their Livings, and commanded to bring their Wives within a fortnight, that they might be likewise divorced from them. This the Bishop did of his own power.

Gentlemen sent into Kent to be Executed.

Upon the Tuesday in the same Week, being the 27th of February, certain Gentlemen of Kent were sent into Kent, to be Executed there. Their Names were these, the two Mantels, two Knevetts, and Brea; with these Mr. Rudfow also and certain others were condemned, and should have been Executed, but they had their Pardon.

Mr. Rudfow with certain others pardoned.

As touching the foresaid Mr. Mantel the Elder, here by the way is to be noted, that as he was led to Execution, and at his first calling under the Gallows, the Rope brake. Then they would have had him recanted the Truth, and received the Sacrament of the Altar (as they term it) and then they said he should have the Queens Pardon: but Mr. Mantel, like a worthy Gentleman, refused their Serpentine counsel, and chose rather to dye, than to live for dishonouring of God.

Moreover, as touching the said Mr. Mantel, for that he was reported falsely to have fallen from the constancy of his Profession; to clear himself thereof, and to prove the finisler surmise of his Recantation, he wrote this brief Apology in purgation of himself: the Copy whereof you shall hear.

The Apology of Mr. Mantel the Elder.

March 20. The Boile of Mr. Mantel the Elder.

Perceiving that already certain false Reports are raised of me concerning my Answer in the behalf of my Belief, whilst I was Prisoner in the Tower of London, and considering how sore a matter it is to be an occasion of Offence to any of those Little ones that believe in Christ: I have thought it the duty of a Christian man, as near as I can (with the Truth) to take away this Offence. It pleased the Queens Majesty to send unto me Mr. Doctor Bourne, unto whom at the first meeting I acknowledged my Faith in all points to agree with the four Creeds, that is, the common Creed, the Creed of Nice, Quicunque vult, and Te Deum laudamus.

Dr. Bourne sent to Mr. Mantel.

Further, as concerning Confession and Penance, I declare that I could be content to shew unto any learned Minister of Christs Church any thing that troubled my Conscience, and of such a man I would most willingly hear Absolution pronounced.

Mr. Mantel opposed in the Sacrament.

Toucing the Sacrament of the Altar (as he termed it) I said that I believed Christ to be there present at the Holy Ghosts mean; when these words were written, Hoc est corpus meum.

Further, when this would not satisfy, I desired him to consider, that I was a condemned Man to dye by a Law, and that it was more meet for me to seek a readines and preparation to Death. And inasmuch as I dissented not from him in any Article of the Christian Faith necessary to Salvation, I desired him for Gods sake no more to trouble me with such matters, as which to believe, is neither Salvation; nor not to believe, damnation. He answered, that if I dissented but in the least matter from the Catholick Church, my Soul was in great danger; therefore much more in this great matter, alleging this Text, Qui offenderit in minimo, factus est reus omnium, &c. He that offendeth in the least of these, is guilty of them all. Yea, quoth I, Verum ex hinc mandatum est. It is true of these Commandments of God. To this I desired him to consider it was not my matter, nor could I in these matters keep Disputation, nor minded so to do; and therefore to take these few words for a full Answer, that I not only in the matter of the Sacrament, but also in all other matters of Religion, believe as the holy Catholick Church of Christ (grounded upon the Prophets and Apostles) believeth. But upon this word Church was agreed not; for I took exception at the Antichristian Popish Church.

The Church.

Then fell we in talk of the Mass, wherein we agreed

not; for I both for the occasion of Idolatry, and also the clear subversion of Christs Institution, thought it naught; and he, & contra, upon certain considerations supposed it good. I found fault that it was accounted a Sacrifice propitiatory for Sin, and at certain other applications of it. But he said that it was not a Propitiatory Sacrifice for Sin (for the death of Christ only was the Sacrifice) and this but a commemoration of the same. Then, if ye think so, (certain blasphemous Collets left out) I could be content (were it not for offending my poor Brethren that believe in Christ, which know not so much) to bear your Mass. See, quoth he, how vain glory toucheth you. Not so Sir, quoth I, I am not now I thank God, in case to be vain-glorious.

Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a Communion. Yea, saith he, one Priest saying Mass here, and another there, and the third in another place, &c. is a Communion. This agreeth scarcely with these words of Paul, said I, Non in melius, sed in deterius convenitis. Ye come not after a better manner, but after a worse. Yea, and it is a Communion too, said he, when they come together. Now draweth on the time (quoth he) that I must depart from you to the Court, to say Mass before the Queen, and must signifie unto her in what case I find you, and methinks I find you sore seduced. Then I said, I pray you report the best: for I trust you find me not obstinate. What shall I say? are ye content to bear Mass, and to receive the Sacrament of the Mass? I beseech you, said I, signifie unto her Majesty, that I am neither obstinate nor stubborn; for time and persuasion may alter me, but as yet my Conscience is such, that I can neither bear Mass, nor receive the Sacrament after this sort. Thus, after certain Requests made to the Queens Majesty concerning other matters, he departed.

The next day he came to me again, and brought with him St. Cyrilians Works; for so I had required him to do the day before, because I would see his Sermon De Mortalitate. He had in this Book turned and interlined certain places both concerning the Church and the Sacrament, which he willed me to read. I read as much as my time would serve, and at his next coming I said, that I was wofully of Cyrilians mind in the matter of the Sacrament. Dr. Welton and Dr. Mallet came after to me, whom I answered most after this sort as I did the other. Dr. Welton brought in the place of St. Cyrilian, Panis iste non effigie, sed natura mutatur, &c. I asked of him how Natura was taken in the Convocation-House, in the Disputation upon the place of Theodorot.

To be short, Dr. Bourne came often unto me, and I always said unto him, that I was not minded, nor able to dispute in matters of Religion: but I believed as the holy Catholick Church of Christ, grounded upon the Prophets and Apostles, doth believe: and namely in the matter of the Sacrament, as the holy Fathers, St. Cyrilian and St. Augustine do write, and believed; and this Answer and none other they had of me in effect; what words soever have been spread abroad of me, that I should be conformable to all things, &c. The truth is, I never heard of Mass, nor received the Sacrament during the time of my Imprisonment.

One time he willed me to be confessed. I said, I am content. We kneeled down to pray together in a Window. I began without Benedicere, desiring him not to look at my hand for any superstitious particular enumeration of my Sins. Therewith he was called away to the Council; & ego liberatus. Thus much I bear only for my Life, as God knoweth. If in this I have offended any Christian, from the bottom of my heart I ask them forgiveness. I trust God hath forgiven me, who knoweth that I durst never deny him before men, lest he should deny me before his Heavenly Father.

Thus I have left behind me written with mine own hand the effect of all the Talk, especially of the worst that ever I granted unto, to the uttermost I can remember, as God knoweth. All the whole Communication I have not written; for it were both too long and too foolish so to do. Now I beseech the living God, which hath recovered me to his mercy, and brought to pass, that I dye steadfast and undefiled in his Truth, at utter defiance and detestation of all Papisical and Antichristian Doctrine; I beseech him (I say) to keep and defend all his chosen

Anno 1554.

Dr. Bourne and Mr. Mantel disagree in the Mass.

Quoth Mantel that the Mass is a Communion.

Mantel not the obstinate nor stubborn.

Mr. Mantel consulted in his Religion.

Anno 1554. for his Names sake, from the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome that Antichrist, and from the assaults of all his Satellites. Gods indignation is known: he will try and prove who be his. Amend your lives. Deny not Christ before men, lest he deny you before his heavenly Father. Fear not to lose your lives for him; for ye shall find them again. God hold his merciful hand over this Realm, and avert the Plagues imminent from the same. God save the Queen, and send her knowledge in his Truth, Amen. Prey, pray, pray ye Christians, and comfort your selves with the Scriptures.

Written the 2. of March, An. 1554. by me Walter Mantel Prisoner, whom both God and the World hath forgiven his Offences. Amen.

And thus much concerning the purgation of M. Walter Mantel, who if he had contented unto the Queen, what time the sent D. Bourne unto him to deny his Faith, it is not otherwise to be thought, but he had had his pardon, and escaped with life.

March 7. Sir Gawen Carew, and M. Gile brought to the Tower.

In London the 17. day of March, every Householder was commanded to appear before the Aldermen of their Ward, and there were commanded, that they, their Wives and Servants, should prepare themselves to shrift, and receive the Sacrament at Easter, and that neither they, nor any of them should depart out of the City, until Easter was past.

March 18. L. Elizabeth brought to the Tower.

March 24. Upon Easter Evening, being the 24. of March, the Lord Marquess of Northampton, the Lord Cobham, and Sir William Cabbam were delivered out of the Tower.

March 25. The five rifen out of the Sepulchre from all the Warden at St. Pancrase Church.

The 25. day (being Easter-day) in the morning, at St. Pancrase in Cheap, the Crucifix with the Pixe were taken out of the Sepulchre, before the Priest rose to the Resurrection: so that when after his accustomed manner he put his hand into the Sepulchre, and said very devoutly, *Surrexit, non est hic*, he found his words true, for he was not there indeed: Whereupon being half dismayed, they consulted amongst themselves who they thought to be likeliest to do this thing. In which debate they remembered one Marib, which a little before had been put from that Parsonage because he was married, to whose charge they laid it. But when they could not prove it, being brought before the Mayor, they then burdened him to have kept company with his Wife, since that they were by commandment divorced. Whereto he answered, *That he thought the Queen had done him wrong to take from him both his Living and his Wife*: which Words were then noted, and taken very grievously, and he and his Wife was both committed to several Counters, notwithstanding that he had been very sick.

M. Mayb buried with suspicion and with his Marriage.

April 8. A Cat hanged with a dozen Crews upon the Gallies in Cheap.

The 8th of April there was a Cat hanged upon a Gallies at the Cross in Cheap, apparelled like a Priest ready to say Mass, with a haven Crown. Her two fore-feet were tied over her Head, with a round Paper like a Wafer-cake put between them: whereon arose great evil Will against the City of London. For the Queen and the Bishops were very angry withal; and therefore the same afternoon there was a Proclamation, that whosoever could bring forth the Party that did hang up the Cat, should have xx. Nobles, which Reward was afterwards increased to xx. Marks, but none could or would catch it.

The number and occasion of sitting up this Gallies in Cheap, is here to be understood, that after the Sermon of the Bishop of Winchester (above-mentioned) made before the Queen for the fruit Execution of Wyat's Soldiers, immediately upon the same the 13. of February, were set up a great number of Gallies in divers places of the City; namely, two in Cheap, one at Leaden-Hall, one at Billings-gate, one at St. Magnus Church, one in Smithfield, one in Fleetstreet, four in Southwark, one at Aldgate, one at Bishopsgate, one at Aldersgate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at St.

James Park Corner, one at Cripplegate: all which Gibbets and Gallies, to the number of 20, there remained for Terror of other, from the 13. of February till the 4. of June, and then at the coming in of King Philip were taken down.

The 11. day of April was Sir Thomas Wyatt beheaded at the Tower-Hill, where he uttered these Words touching the Lady Elizabeth, and the Earl of Devonshire. Concerning, said he, what I have said of others in my Examination, to charge any others as partakers of my doing, I accuse neither my Lady Elizabeth Grace, nor my Lord of Devonshire. I cannot accuse them, neither am I able to say, that to my knowledge they knew anything of my Rising. And when Dr. Weston told him, that his Confession was otherwise before the Council, he answered: *That which I said then, I said; but that which I say now, is true.*

Upon the Tuesday, being the 17. of April, Sir James Croft and Mr. Winter were brought to the Guild-Hall, with whom also the same time, and to the same place was brought Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and there arraigned of Treason, for that he was suspected to be of the Conspiracy with the Duke of Suffolk and thereto, against the Queen: where he so boldly and wisely behaved himself (as well in clearing his own case, as also in opening such Laws of the Realm as were then alleged against him) that the Quest, which was charged with this matter, could not in Conscience but find him not guilty: for the which, the said 12. Persons of the Quest, being also substantial Men of the City, were bound in the Sum of 500 pounds apiece to appear before the Queens Council at a day appointed, there to answer such things as should be laid against them for his acquitting. Which Quest appeared accordingly before the Council in the Star-Chamber upon Wednesday, being the 25. of April, and S. Marks day. From whence, after certain questioning, they were committed to Prison: Emanuel Lucar and Mr. Whetstone were committed to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fleet.

As concerning the Condemnation of Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, of Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, which vv as the 20. of this Month of April, and also of their Disputations, because vve have said enough before, it shall not need now to bestow any further rehearsal thereof.

The Friday next following, after the Condemnation of them, the 27. of April, Lord Thomas Gray, the late Duke of Suffolks Brother, vv as beheaded at Tower-Hill.

Upon the Saturday, being the 28. of April, Sir James Croft and M. Winter vv ere again brought to the Guild-Hall, vv here Sir James Croft vv as arraigned and condemned; and because the day vv as far spent, M. Winter vv as not arraigned.

Upon the Thursday, being the 17. of May, William Thomas vv as arraigned at the Guild-Hall, and there the same day condemned, who the next day after vv as hanged, drawn and quartered. His Accusation vv as, for conspiring the Queens death: vv hich how true it vv as I have not to say. This is certain, that he made a right godly end, and vvrote many fruitful Exhortations, Letters and Sonnets in the Prison before his death.

In the Month of May it vv as given out, and bruted abroad, that a solemn Disputation should be holden at Cambridge (as ye heard before in M. Ridley's Letter, p. 75.) between M. Bradford, M. Saunders, M. Rogers, and others of that side, and the Doctors of both the Universities on the other side, like as had been in Oxford before, as you have heard. Whereupon the godly Preachers which were in Prison having word thereof, albeit they were destitute of their Books, neither were ignorant of the purpose of the Adversaries, and how the cause vv as prejudiced before: also how the Disputations vv ere confusively handled at Oxford, nevertheless they thought not to refuse the offer of Disputation, so that they might be quickly and indifferently heard; and therefore vv idely pondering the matter with themselves, by a public consent directed out of Prison a Declaration of their mind by Writ 15. 25. 8th. day of May. Wherein first, as touching the Disputation, although they knew that they should do no good, whereas all things were so prejudiced before; yet nevertheless they would not deny to dispute, so that the Disputation might be either before the Queen,

M. Wyatt words touching the Lady Elizabeth.

April 17. Sir James Croft and Mr. Winter, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

The Quest remitted to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

April 25.

Lord Thomas Gray beheaded at Tower-Hill.

William Thomas vv as condemned.

A certain Disputation intended to be had at Cambridge.

The Preachers in Prison resolve not to dispute.

or

or before the Council, or before the Parliament-Houses, or else if they might dispute by Writing: for else if the matter were brought to the Doctors handling in their own Schools, they have sufficient proof, they said, by the Experience of Oxford, what little good will be done at Cambridge; and so consequently declaring the Faith and Doctrine of their Religion, and exhorting the People withal to submit themselves with all patience and humility, either to the will or punishment of the Higher Powers, they appeared in the end from them to be their Judges in this behalf, and so ended their Protestation, the Copy and Contents wherof I thought not unfit here to be inserted.

A Copy of a certain Declaration drawn and sent out of Prison by Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, and divers other godly Preachers, concerning their Disputation, and Doctrine of their Religion, as followeth:

A Declaration of the godly preachers, written and sent abroad out of Prison.

Because we hear that it is determined of the Magistrates, and such as be in Authority, especially of the Clergy, to send us speedily out of the Prisons of the Kings-Bench, the Fleet, the Marshalsey, and Newgate, where at this present we are, and of long time some of us have been, not as Rebels, Traytors, Seditious Persons, Thieves, or Transgressors of any Laws of this Realm, Inhibitions, Proclamations, or Commandments of the Queens Highness, or of any of the Councils (Gods Name be praised therefore) but alone for the Confidence we have to God, and his most holy Word and Truth, upon most certain knowledge: because we say, we hear that it is determined, we shall be sent to one of the Universities of Cambridge or Oxford, there to dispute with such as are appointed in that behalf: in that we purpose not to dispute otherwise than by Writing, except it may be before the Queens Highness and her Council, or before the Parliament-Houses; and therefore perchance it will be bruted abroad, that we are not able to maintain by the Truth of Gods Word, and the consent of the true and Catholick Church of Christ, the Doctrine we have generally and severally taught, and some of us have written and set forth, where-through the godly and simple may be offended, and somewhat weakened: we have thought it our bounden duty now whilst we may, by writing to publish and notice the Causes why we will not dispute otherwise than is above-said, to prevent the Offences which might come thereby.

The Causes why they will not otherwise dispute than before indifferent Judges. The matter of Disputation is against Gods Word. The second Cause.

First, Because it is evidently known unto the whole World; that the Determinations of both the Universities in matters of Religion, especially wherein we should dispute, are directly against Gods Word, yea, against their own Determinations in the time of our late Sovereign Lord and most godly Prince, King Edward: and further it is known they be our open Enemies, and have already condemned our Causes, before any Disputation had of the same.

Secondly, Because the Prelates and Clergy do not seek either us or the Verity, but our destruction and their glory. For if they had fought us (as Charity requireth) then would they have called us forth hereabouts before their Laws were so made, that frankly and without peril we might have spoken our Consciences. Again, If they had fought for the Verity, they would not have concluded of Controversies before they had been disputed; so that it easily appeareth, that they seek their own glory and our destruction, and not us and the Verity: and therefore we have good cause to refuse Disputation, as a thing which shall not further prevail than to the setting forth of their glory, and the suppression of the Verity.

The third Cause. The Judges or the Disputation promised Enemies against the Truth.

Thirdly, Because the Censors and Judges (as we hear who they be) are manifest Enemies to the Truth, and that which worke is, obstinate Enemies, before whom Pearls are not to be cast, by the Commandment of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by his own Example. That they be such, their doings of late at Oxford, and in the Convocation-House in October last past, do most evidently appear.

The fourth Cause. Want of Books necessary for Disputation.

Fourthly, Because some of us have been in Prison these 8 or 9 Months, where we have had no Books, no Paper, no Pen, no Ink, or convenient place for study, we think we should do evil, thus suddenly to defend into Disputa-

tion with them, which may alledge, as they list, the Fathers and their Testimonies, because our Memories have not that which we have read so readily, as to reprove, when they shall report and wreathe the Authors to their purpose, or to bring forth that we may have there for our advantage.

Fifthly, Because in Disputation we shall not be permitted to prosecute our Arguments, but be stoppt when we should speak; one saying this, another that, the third his mind, &c. As was done to the godly Learned Fathers, especially Dr. Ridley at Oxford, who could not be permitted to declare his mind and meaning of the Propositions, and had oftentimes half a dozen at once speaking against him, always letting him to prosecute his Argument, and to answer accordingly: we will not speak of the hissing, scoffing and taunting, which wonderfully then was used. If on this sort, and much worse they handled these Fathers, much more will they be shameless bold with us, if we should enter into Disputation with them.

Sixthly, Because the Notaries, that shall receive and write the Disputations shall be of their appointment, and such as either do not or dare not favour the Truth, and therefore must write either to please them, or else they themselves (the Censors and Judges we mean) at their pleasure will put to, and take from that which is written by the Notaries; who cannot, or must not have in their custody that which they write, longer than the Disputation endureth, as their doings at Oxford declareth. No Copy nor Scroll could any man have by their good will. For the Censors and Judges will have all delivered into their hands. Yea, if any man was seen there to write, as the report is, the same man was sent for, and his Writings taken from him: so must the Disputation serve only for the glory, not of God, but of the Enemies of his Truth.

For these causes we all think it so necessary not to dispute with them, as if we did dispute we should do that which they desire and purposely seek, to promote the Kingdom of Antichrist, and to suppress (as much as may be) the Truth. We will not speak of the offence that might come to the godly, when they should hear, by the report of our Enemies, our Answers and Arguments framed (you may be sure) for their Fantasies, to the flandering of the Verity.

Therefore we publish, and by this Writing notice unto the whole Congregation and Church of England, that for these aforesaid causes we will not dispute with them, otherwise than with the Pen, unless it be before the Queens Highness and her Council, or before the Houses of the Parliament, as is above-said. If they will write, we will answer, and by writing confirm and prove out of the infallible Verity, even the very Word of God, and by the testimony of the good and most ancient Fathers in Christs Church, this our Faith and every piece thereof, which hereafter we in a Sum, do write and send abroad purposely, that our good Brethren and Sisters in the Lord may know it: and to seal up the same, we are ready through Gods help and Grace to give our lives to the Halter or Fire, or otherwise, as God shall appoint: humbly requiring, and in the bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ beseeching all that fear God, to be have themselves as obedient Subjects to the Queens Highness and the Superior Powers, which are ordained of God under her, rather after our example to give their Heads to the Block, than in any point to rebel, or once to mutter against the Lords Anointed; we mean our Sovereign Lady Queen Mary, into whose heart we beseech the Lord of Mercy plentifully to pour the wisdom and grace of his holy Spirit, now and for ever. Amen.

First, We confess and believe all the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, and all the Books of the New Testament, to be the very true Word of God, and to be written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and therefore to be heard accordingly, as the Judge in all Controversies and matters of Religion.

Secondly, We confess and believe, that the Catholick Church, which is the Spouse of Christ, as a most obedient and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the Doctrine of these Books in all matters of Religion; and therefore is she to be heard accordingly; so that those which will not hear this Church thus following and obeying the word

Anno 1554.

The faith Cause. Example of the Disputation at Oxford.

The sixth Cause.

Notaries now indifferent.

Exceptions taken against the Adversaries.

Conditions signed how they would dispute.

Exhortation to Obedience.

The Canonical Books of the New Testament, and the Faith of the prisoners, and Preachers.

The Catholick Church.

Anno
1554.
The Creed.

of her Husband, we account as Heretics and Schismatics, according to this saying, *If he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as a Heathen.*

Thirdly, We believe and confess all the Articles of Faith and Doctrine set forth in the Symbol of the Apostles, which we commonly call the Creed, and in the Symbols of the Councils of *Nice*, kept *An. Dom. 324.* of *Constantinople*, *An. Dom. 384.* of *Ephesus*, kept *An. Dom. 431.* of *Chalcedon*, kept *An. Dom. 454.* of *Toletum* the first and fourth. Also in the Symbols of *Athenasius*, *Tertullian*, and of *Damasus*, which was about the year of our Lord 376. we confess and believe (we say) the Doctrine of the Symbols generally and particularly; so that whosoever doth otherwise, we hold the same to erre from the Truth.

Justification
by Faith on-
ly in Christ.

Fourthly, We believe and confess concerning Justification, that as it cometh only from Gods mercy through Christ, so it is perceived and had of none, which be of years of discretion, otherwise than by Faith only: which Faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of Man, where-through as the Mind is illuminated, so the heart is supplied to submit it self to the will of God unfeignedly, and so sheweth forth an inherent Righteousness, which is to be discerned in the Article of Justification, from the Righteousness which God endueth us withal, justifying us, although inseparably they go together. And thus we do not for curiosity or contention sake, but for Conscience sake, that it might be quiet, which it can never be, if we confound without distinction Forgiveness of Sins, and Christs Justice imputed to us, with Regeneration and inherent Righteousness. By this we disallow Papistical Doctrine of Free-will, of works of Supererogation, of Merits, of the necessity of Auricular Confession and Satisfaction to God-worsh.

Service in
the Vulgar
Tongue.

Fifthly, We confess and believe concerning the exterior Service of God, that it ought to be according to the Word of God; and therefore in the Congregation all things publick ought to be done in such a Tongue as may be most to edifie and not in Latin, where the People understand not the same.

Invocation
to God a-
lone.

Sixthly, We confess and believe that God only by Christ Jesus is to be prayed unto and called upon; and therefore we disallow Invocation or Prayer to Saints departed this life.

Purgatory
and Masses
supererogatory
denied.

Seventhly, We confess and believe, that as a man departeth this life, so shall he be judged in the last day generally, and in the mean season is entred either into the state of the Blessed for ever, or Damned for ever; and therefore is either past all help, or else needs no help of any in this life. By reason whereof we affirm Purgatory, Masses of *Scels calis*, Trentals, and such Sufferages as the Popish Church doth obtrude as necessary, to be the Doctrine of Antichrist.

Two Sacra-
ments.

Eighthly, We confess and believe the Sacraments of Christ, which be Baptism and the Lords Supper; that they ought to be ministered according to the Institution they ought concerning the substantial parts of them: and that they be no longer Sacraments, than they be had in use, and used to the end for which they were instituted.

The Supper
to be mini-
stered in
both kinds.

And here we plainly confess, that the mutilation of the Lords Supper, and the subtraction of the one kind from the Lay People, is Antichristian. And so is the Doctrine of Transubstantiation of the Sacramental Bread and Wine after the words of Consecration, as they be called.

Item, The Adoration
of the Sacra-
ment.

Item, The Adoration of the Sacrament with honour due unto God: the reservation and carrying about of the same.

Item, The Mass to be
a Propitiatory
Sacrifice.

Item, The Mass to be a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the quick and dead, or a work that pleaseth God.

All these we believe
and confess to be
Antichristian Do-
ctrine: as is the inhibition
of Marriage as unlaw-
ful to the laity.

All these we believe and confess to be Antichristian Doctrine: as is the inhibition of Marriage as unlawful to the laity. And we doubt not by Gods Grace, but we shall be able to prove all our Conclusions here to be most true by the verity of Gods Word, and consent of the Catholic Church, which followeth and hath followed the governance of Gods Spirit, and the judgment of his Word.

And thus through the
Lords help we will do,
either in
Dispensation by word
before the Queens High-
ness and her Council,
either before the Parlia-
ment Houses, of whom
we doubt not but to be
indifferently heard, or
else with

our Pens, whensoever we shall be thereto by them that have Authority, required an i commended.

In the mean season, as obedient Subjects, we shall be have our selves towards all that be in Authority, and not cease to pray to God for them, that he would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the Spirit of wisdom and grace. And so we heartily desire, and humbly pray all men to do, in no point consenting to any kind of Rebellion or Sedition against our Sovereign Lady the Queens Highness: but where they cannot obey, but they must disobey God, there to submit themselves with all patience and humility to suffer as the will and pleasure of the higher Powers shall adjudge: as we are ready through the goodness of the Lord to suffer whatsoever they shall adjudge us unto, rather than we will consent to any Doctrine contrary to this which we here confess, unless we shall be justly convinced thereof, either by writing or by word before such Judges as the Queens Highness and her Council, or the Parliament Houses shall appoint. For the Universities and Clergy have condemned our causes already by the bigger, but not by the better part, without all dispensation of the same: and therefore most justly we may, and do appeal from them to be our Judges in this behalf, except it may be in Writing, that to all Men the matter may appear. The Lord of mercy endue us all with the Spirit of his Truth and Grace of perseverance therein unto the end. Amen.

The 8th day of May, Anno Dom. 1554.

Robert Menegren, alias
Robert Ferrar.
Rowland Taylor.
John Philpot.
John Bradford.
John Wigorne, and
Glauc. Episcopus, alias
John Hoper.
Edward Crome.
John Rogers.
Lawrence Saunders.
Edmund Lawrence.
J. P.
T. M.

To these things, above said, do I Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, consent and agree, with these mine afflicted Brethren being Prisoners, mine own hand.

And thus much concerning this present Declaration subscribed by these Preachers, which was on the 8th day of May.

Furthermore, the 19th day of the said Month, the Lady Elizabeth, Sister to the Queen, was brought to the Tower, and committed to the custody of Sir John Williams, after Lord Williams of Tamesof whom her Highness was gently and courteously intreated: who afterward was had to Woodstock, and there committed to the keeping of Sir Henry Bensfield Knight, of Oxfordshire in Norfolk: who on the other side both forgetting his estate, and his own duty (as it is reported) shewed himself more hard and straight unto her, than either cause was given of her part, or reason of his own part would have led him, if either grace or wisdom in him might have been before, what danger afterward might have ensued thereof. Whereof we have to intreat more at large (the Lord willing) hereafter in the story and life of Queen Elizabeth.

Upon the Friday following, being the 20th of July, and St. Margarets day, the Prince of Spain landed at Southampton. The Prince himself was the first that landed: who immediately as he set foot upon the Land, drew out his Sword, and carried it naked in his hand a good pretty way.

Then met him, a little without the Town, the Mayor of Southampton with certain Commoners, who delivered the Keys of the Town unto the Prince, who removed his Sword (naked as it was) out of his right into his left hand, and so received the Keys of the Mayor without any word speaking, or countenance of thankfulness, and after a while delivered the Keys to the Mayor again. At the Town-Gate met him the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Williams, and so he was brought to his Lodging.

Upon the Wednesday following, being St. James day, and the 25th of July, Philip Prince of Spain, and Mary Queen of England were married together solemnly in the Cathedral Church at Winchester, by the Bishop of Winchester, in the presence of a great number of Noble Men of both the Realms. At the time of this Marriage the Emperours Ambassador being present, openly pronounced, that in consideration or that Marriage the Emperor had granted and given unto his Son the Kingdom of Naples &c.

Exhortation
against Re-
bellion.

The figure
of a good
the better
Appeal from
the Univer-
sity Doctors,
is not in-
cluded at
the sig-
a.

The Names
of the pri-
soners
Preachers
contributing
to this De-
claration.

May 19.
Lady Elizabeth.
Sir John Wil-
liams.

Sir Henry
Bensfield.

July 20.
King Philip
arrived at
Southampton.
King Philip
carried his
Sword naked
into Eng-
land.
The Keys of
Southampton
delivered to
him.

July 25.
Marriage
between
Philip and
Mary.

August 1.

Wherupon the first day of *August* following, there was a Proclamation, that from that time forth the stile of all manner of Writings should be altered, and this following should be used.

Philip and Mary by the Grace of God, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Princes of Spain and Sicil, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Millaine, Burgundy, and Brabant, Countes of Halspurg, Flaunders and Tyrol.

Of this Marriage as the Papists chiefly seemed to be very glad, so divers of them after divers studies, to shew forth their inward affections, made Interludes and Pageants, some drew forth Genealogies, deriving his Pedigree from Edward the Third, and John of Gaunt, some made Verses. Amongst all other, *M. White*, then Bishop of Lincoln (his Poetical Vein being drunken with joy of the Marriage) spued out certain Verses: the Copy whereof we have here inserted.

Philippi & Mariæ Genealogia, qua ambo Principes ex Johanne de Gamleve, Edwardi Tertii, Angliæ, Franciæque Regis, filio, descendisse ostenduntur. White Lincolniensi Authore.

Ille patris Regum Gandava ex urbe Johannes
Somerſetensis Comitem proferit Johannem:
Somerſetensis venit hoc patre Dux Johannes,
Qui Margaretam Richmondii habuit Comitiſſam.
Hæc dedit Henricum, qui Regni ſepimus hujus
Henrico Octavo ſolum Regale eliquit.
Hoc Patre proprio, & ſauſto quaſi ſidere nata
Jure tenes ſacram, teneſque Maria coronam.

Verses of *M. White* Bishop of Lincoln, concerning the Marriage of Philip and Mary.

Nubat ut Angla Anglo, Regina Maria Philippo,
Inque ſuum fontem Regia ſtirps redeat,
Noluit humani generis Dæmon vetus hoſtis;
Sed Deus Anglorum provida ſpes voluit.
Nollet Scotus inopis, timidusque ad prælia Gallus:
Cæſar, & Italia, & Flandria tota voleat.
Noluit Hæreticus (ſtirps Caiphæ) Pontificum grex,
Pontificum ſed grex Catholicus voluit.
Oſo uxorati Patres in Dæmone nollent:
Quinque Cathenati pro pietate volent.
Sed ſidam regni Concilium voluit.
Noluit etatis noſtræ Catilina Viatus,
Sed proceres & plebs & pia turba voleat.
Nollet Graius Dux, & Cantia turba rebellans:
Nos, quoniam Dominus ſic voluit, volumus.
Clarior effectus repetat ſua limina ſanguis,
Cum ſit Philippo junctæ Maria viro.

Answer by the Reverend Biſhop of Norwich to the Biſhop of Lincoln.

Fæternò nubat Maria ut Regina Philippo,
Ut ſint pulſa ſuis Sceptra Britanna locis,
Vult Dæmon generis noſtri antiquiſſimus hoſtis;
Anglorum non vult anchora ſola Deus.
Nolunt hunc Galli, nolunt Scoti arripentes,
Vult Cæſar, Flandrus, vult Italus Galias:
Vult grex Pontificum, ſtirps Caiphæ, turba bicornis,
Non vult ſanctorum ſed pia turba Patrum.
Nolunt oſio, quibus ſunt vincula jugalia curæ,
Quinque cathenati Dæmonis arte volent.
Hoc neque tu proſuſi Dudlec animoſe volebat:
Invocant regni Conſilium voluit.
Dedecus hoc non vult fortiffimus ille Viatus:
Invocis populus, ſic proceresque volent.
Vos vultis, quoniam ſemper mala cuncta volitis:
Non vult Graius Dux, nec pia turba voleat.
Quot tulit Hiſpanus Rex ergo commoda ſecum,
Regina ſocias tam dedit ille manus?

Another Answer by the ſaid Author.

Hiſpano nubat Maria ut Regina Philippo,
Exſtipetur ſtirps ut quæque Nobiliſſum,
Vult pater id veſter diſturbans omnia Dæmon:
Non vult Anglorum ſed Pater Alitonans.
Non vult bellipotens Gallus, non vult Scotus acer:
Vult Cæſar, Flandrus, Papicolæque volumus.

Goex miratorum vult, Cayphas ipſa propago:
Non vult ſanctorum ſed pius ordo Patrum.
Nolunt oſio, pios qui jure colunt hymenæos:
Quinque cathenati pro impietate volent.
Dudleus minimi vult Northumbrius Heros:
Cui ſua perchara eſt Patria, nemo vult.
Libertatis amans non vult bonus ille Viatus,
Non proceres, non plebs, nec pia turba voleat.
Vos vultis, pietas qui vultis ut exulet omnis:
Non Graius, ſed nec Cantia turba voleat.
Ergo magis clarus qui ſit (rogo) ſanguis avitus,
Quando jugalis ſit junctus uterque iboro?

Other Verses answering to Biſhop White, made by *J. C.*

Ouamlibet Anglorum ſtirps ementia Philippo,
Et Maria Hiſpano de genetrice ſuit.
Ut tamen Hiſpano, conſuſi ſanguinis Angla
Nuberet in Gentis dedecus atque Patriæ.
Noluit Anglorum priſcæ virtutis amator:
Sed Deus in noſtram perniciem voluit.
Noluit in noſtram, niſi conſpirata, ſalutem
Turba: quid ad nos ſi gens inimica vult?
Pontifices ſati, quaſi Cayphas, omnia dantes
Nolebant: at grex cacolucos voluit.
Elegere pii commiſſa talia nolle:
Velle quidem demens hæreſis illa ſuit.
Conſilium multo præſtantius oſio marij,
Quinque cathenatis ob maleſuſa dabant.
Noluit hoſi jungi thalamus Northumbrius Heros.
O conſulitros, qui voluere, malos.
Noluit baud æquo conſigens Marte Viatus:
Solaque que voluit, turba Papalis erat.
Nolebat Graius, neque terra Britanna volebat:
Nos, quoniam Dominus ſic voluit, tuimus.
Sed tuimus pariter ſata inſelicia: quando
Infelix Maria eſt nupta, Philippo, tibi.

Other Verses answering likewise.

Nubat ut Hiſpano Regina Maria Philippo
Dic age, White, mihi, quos voluiſſe vides?
Noluit aut voluit quid inani turba, reſert nil.
Velle & nolle Dei eſt: quid vult ille, reſert.
Hoc quoniam voluit (inquit) Dominus, voluiſſis:
Quid voluit, quoniam neſcis inepte, ciat.
Scilicet hoc voluit, vates ut vanus & auper,
Et mendax Whitus Pſeudopropheta foret.
Regi nos Regi nupſit, non nupſerat, Angla eſt.
Non Angla eſt, grævida eſt, non grævida eſt, grævis eſt.
Parturit atque parit, ſic vos voluiſſis evantes,
Nil tamen illa parit: hoc voluit Dominus.
Duxerat ad paucos meſes, mox deſerit idem:
Sponſa eſt, mox vidua eſt: hoc voluit Dominus.
Irrita fruſtrantur ſemper ſic vota malorum,
Perniciem Patriæ qui voluere, iæe.

Sic nomen Domini benediſſum.

After the conſummation of which Marriage, they both removed from *Wincheſter* to ſundry other places, and by eaſie Journies came to *Winſor* Caſtle, where he was ſtalled in the Order of the Garter, upon *Sunday*, being the 12. of *Auguſt*. At which time an Herald took down the Arms of *England* at *Winſor*, and in the place of them would have ſet up the Arms of *Spain*, but he was commanded to ſet them up again by certain Lords. From thence they both removed to *Richmond*, and from thence by Water to *London*, and landed at the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Houſe, through which they paſſed both into *Southwark* Park, and ſeto *Southwark* Houſe called *Suffolk* Place, where they lay that Night, being the 18th of *Auguſt*.

And the next day, being *Saturday*, and the 19th of *Auguſt*, the King and Queens Majeſties rode from *Suffolk* Place (accompanied with a great number, as well of Noblemen as Gentlemen) through the City of *London* to *White-Hall*, and at *London-Bridge*, as he entered at the *Draw-Bridge*, was a vain great Spectacle ſet up, two Images preſenting two Giants, one named *Corineus*, and the other *Gogmagog*, holding between them certain Latin Verſes, which for the vain ſolicitation of flattery I overpaſs.

And as they paſſed over the Bridge, there was a number of Ordnance ſhot off at the *Tower*, ſuch as by Old mens report the like hath not been heard or ſeen theſe 100 years.

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Anno 1554. From London-Bridge they passed the Conduit in *Gracious-freet*, which was finely painted, and among other things, the nine Worthies, whereof King Henry the 8th was one. He was painted in Harness, having in one hand a Sword, and in the other hand a Book, whereupon was written *Verbum Dei*, delivering the same Book (as it were) to his Son King Edward, who was painted in a Corner by him.

But hereupon was no small matter made: for the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, sent for the Painter, and not only called him Knave for painting a Book in King Henry's hand, and specially for writing thereupon *Verbum Dei*, but also rank Traytor and Villain, saying to him that he should rather have put the Book into the Queens hand (who was also painted there) for that she had reformed the Church and Religion, with other things according to the pure and sincere Word of God indeed.

The Painter answered and said, that if he had known that had been the matter wherefore his Lordship sent for him, he could have remedied it and not have troubled his L^{ty}.

The Bishop answered and said, that it was the Queens Majesties will and commandment that he should send for him: and so commanding him to wipe out the Book and *Verbum Dei* too, he sent him home. So the Painter departed, but fearing lest he should leave some part either of the Book, or of *Verbum Dei* in King Henry's hand; he wiped away a piece of his Fingers withal.

Here I pass over and cut off other gawds and Pageants of palmist shewed to him in passing through London, with the flattering Verses set up in Latin, wherein were blazed out in one place the five *Philips*: as the five Worthies of the World, *Philip of Macedonia*, *Philip the Emperours*, *Philippus Audax*, *Philippus Bonus*, *Philipp Prince of Spain* and King of England.

In another Poetry King Philip was resembed by an Image representing *Orpheus*, and all English People resembled to brute and savage Beasts following after *Orpheus* Harp, and dancing after King Philip's Pipe. Not that I reprehend the art of the Latin Verses, which was fine and cunning, but that I pass over the matter, having other graver things in hand; and therefore pass over also the fight at Pauls Church side, of them that came down upon a Rope tied to the Bartlements with his Head before, neither staying himself with his hand nor foot, which shortly after cost him his life.

But one thing by the way I cannot let pass, touching the young flourishing Rood, newly set up against this present time to welcome King Philip into Pauls Church. The setting up of which Rood was this, and may make as good a Pageant as the best.

Anno 2. Maria, Bener in his Royalty, and all his Prebendaries about him in Pauls Quire, the Rood laid along upon the Pavements, and also the Doors of Pauls being shut, the Bishop with others said and sung divers Prayers by the Rood: that being done, they anointed the Rood with Oil in divers places, and after the anointing, crept unto it, and kissed it.

After that, they took the said Rood, and weighed him up, and set him in his old accustomed place, and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole Quire sang *Te Deum*, and when that was ended, they rang the Bells, not only for joy, but also for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

Not long after this, a merry Fellow came into Pauls, and spied the Rood with Mary and John new set up; whereto, among a great sort of People, he made low Courtesie, and said: Sir, your Masterhip is welcome to Town. I had thought to have talked further with your Masterhip, but that ye be here clothed in the Queens Colours. I hope that ye be but a Summers Bird, in that ye be dressed in white and green.

The Prince thus being in the Church of Pauls, after Dr. Harpsfield had finished his Oration in Latin, set forward through Fleetstreet, and so came to White-hall, where he with the Queen remained four days after, and from thence removed unto Richmond.

After this, all the Lords had leave to depart into their Countries, with strict commandment to bring all their Harness and Artillery into the Tower of London with all speed. Now remained there no English Lord at the Court, but the Bishop of Winchester. From Richmond

they removed to Hampton Court, where the Hall-door within the Court was continually shut, so that no man might enter, unless his Errand were first known, which seemed strange to Englishmen that had not bin used thereto.

About the 8. day of September Bishop Bener began his Visitation, who charged six men in every Parish to enquire (according to their Oaths) and to present before him the day after St. Matthews day, being the 23. of September, all such persons as either had or should offend in any of his Articles, which he had set forth to the number of 37. Of the which Visitation of Bener I have somewhat more largely to intreat, after that first I shall overpass a few other things following in course of this present story.

The 17. day of September was a Proclamation in London, That all Vagabonds and Mafterles men, as well Strangers as Englishmen, should depart the City within five days; and strictly charging all Inholders, Victuallers, Taverners and Alchouse-keepers, with all other that sell Victuals, that they (after the said five days) should not sell any Meate, Drink, or any kind of Victual to any Servingman whatsoever, unless he brought a Testimonial from his Master to declare whole Servant he was, and were in continual household with his said Master, upon pain to run in danger of the Law, if they offended herein.

Upon the Sunday following, being the 30. day of September, the Bishop of Winchester Lord Chancellor of England, preached at Pauls-Crofs, at whose Sermon were present all the Council that were at the Court: namely, the Marquess of Winchester, the Earl of Arundell, Lord North, Sir Anthony Brown, M. Rochester, M. Walgrave, M. Englefield, Lord Fitzwater, and Secretary Peters, and the Bishops of London, Duresm and Ely, which three sat under the Bishops Arms. The Gospel whereof he made his Sermon, is written in the 22. Chapter of Matthew, where the Pharisees came unto Christ, and amongst them one asked Christ which was the greatest Commandment; Christ answered, *Thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thy heart, &c. and thy Neighbour as thy self, in these two is comprehended the Law and the Prophets.*

After his long declaration of these Words, speaking very much of Love and Charity, at last he had occasion upon S. James his words to speak of the true Teachers, and of the false Teachers; saying, that all the Preachers almost in King Edwards time, preached nothing but Voluptuousness, and filthy and blasphemous Lies, affirming their Doctrine to be that false Doctrine whereof S. James speaketh; saying, that it was full of perverse Zeal, earthly, full of discord and dissention, that the Preachers aforesaid would report nothing truly, and that they taught that it was lawful for a man to put away his Wife for Adultery, and marry another, and that if a man vowed to day, he might break it to morrow at his pleasure, with many other things which I omit. And when he spake of the Sacrament, he said, that all the Church from the beginning have confessed Christs Natural Body to be in Heaven, and here to be in the Sacrament, and so concluded that matter; and then willed all Men to say with Josephs Brethren, *Peccavimus in fratrem: We have all sinned against our Brother*, and so (said he) have I too. Then he declared what a Noble King and Queen we have, saying, that if he should go about to shew that the King came hither for no necessity or need, and what he had brought with him, it should be superfluous, seeing it is evidently known, that he hath ten times as much as we are in hope and possession of, affirming him to be as wife, sober, gentle, and temperate a Prince as ever was in England, and if it were not so proved, then to take him for a false Liar for his so saying: Exhorting all men to make much of him, and to win him whilst we had him, and so should we also win all such as he hath brought with him, and so made an end.

Upon the Tuesday following, being the seventh day of October, twenty Carts came from Westminster laden (as it was noised) with Gold and Silver, and certain of the Guard with them through the City to the Tower, and there it was received in by a Spaniard, who was the Kings Treasurer, and had custody of it within the Tower. It was matted about with Mats, and mailed in little bundles about two foot long, and almost half a foot thick, and in every Cart were six of those bundles. What it was indeed, God knoweth, for it is to us uncertain.

H

A. B. C.

Septemb. 8.

Septemb. 17.

Septemb. 30.

The Bishop of Winchester preaches.

The Church never confessed the Natural Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament, that the Substance of Bread was taken away, before the time of Pope Innocent the Third.

An. 1215.

Winchester preaches in commemoration of King Philip.

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About the same time, or a little before, upon *Corpus Christi* Day, the Procession being made in *Smithfield*, while after the manner the Priest with his Box went under the Canopy, by chance there came by the way a certain simple man, named *John Street*, a Joyner of *Coleman-Street*, who having some haste in his business, and finding no other way to pass through, by chance went under the Canopy by the Priest. The Priest seeing the man so to presume to come under the Canopy, being belike afraid, and worse feared than hurt, for fear let his Pix fall down. The poor Man, being straightways apprehended, was had to the *Counter*, the Priest accusing him unto the Council, as though he had come to flay him, whereas the poor Man, (as himself hath since declared unto us) had no such thought ever in his mind. Then from the *Counter* he was had unto *Newgate*, where he was cast into the Dungeon, there chained to a Post, where he was cruelly and miserably handled, and so extremely dealt withal, that being but simple before, he was now feared out of his Wits altogether, and so upon the same had to *Bedlam*. Whereupon the brief Chronicle of *London* in this point is not to be credited, which truly reported that he feigned himself in *Newgate* to be mad: which thing we in writing of this History, by due Inquisition of the party, have found to be contrary.

About the fifth of *October*, and within a fortnight following, were divers as well Householders as Servants and Apprentices apprehended and taken, and committed to sundry Prisons, for the having and selling of certain Books which were sent into *England* by the Preachers that fled into *Germany* and other Countreys; which Books nipped a great number so near, that within one fortnight there were little left than Threefore imprisoned for this matter: among whom was Master *Brown* a Goldsmith, Mr. *Spark* a Draper, *Randal Tiver* a Stationer, Mr. *Besten* a Merchant, with many other.

Upon the Sunday, being the 14. day of *October*, the old Bishop of *Durham* preached in the *Shroud*.

Upon *St. Lukes* day following, being the 18. of *October*, the Kings Majesty came from *Westminster* to *Pauls* Church along the Streets, accompanied with a great number of Noble men, and there he was received under a Canopy at the West-door, and so came in to the Chancel, where he heard Mass, which a Spanish Bishop and his own Chappell sing, and that done he returned to *Westminster* to Dinner again.

Upon Friday, being the 26. of *October*, certain men, whereof I spake before, which were of Mr. *Throgmortons* Quest, being in number 8. (for the other four were delivered out of Prison, for that they submitted themselves, and said they had offended, like Weaklings, not considering truth to be truth, but of force for fear said so) these eight Men, I say, whereof M. *Emanuel Lucas*, and M. *Whetstone* were chief, were called before the Council of the Star-Chamber: where they all affirmed that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good Consciences, even as they should answer before God at the day of Judgment. Where M. *Lucas* said openly before all the Lords, that they had done in the matter like honest men, and true and faithful Subjects, and therefore they humbly besought the Lord Chancellor, and the other Lords, to be means to the King and Queens Majesties that they might be discharged and set at liberty, and said that they were all contented humbly to submit themselves to their Majesties, saving and reserving their Truth, Consciences, and Honesty. Some of the Lords said, that they were worthy to pay a thousand pounds apiece, and other some said, that Mr. *Lucas* and Mr. *Whetstone* were worthy to pay a 1000 Marks apiece, and the rest 500 l. apiece. In conclusion, Sentence was given by the Lord Chancellor, that they should pay a thousand Marks apiece, and that they should go to Prison again, and there remain till further order were taken for their punishment.

Upon Tuesday, being the 30. of *October*, the Lord *J. Gray* was delivered out of the *Tower*, and set at liberty.

Upon Sunday the 4. of *November*, five Priests did Penance at *Pauls-Cross*, which were content to put away their Wives, and take upon them again to minister. Every of them had a Taper in his hand, and a Rod, whereupon the Preacher did dispel them.

Upon Wednesday the 7. of *November*, the Lord *Paulet*, and Sir *Edward Hastings* Master of the Horse, were sent as Ambassadors, I know not whither, but, as it was adjudged, to Cardinal *Poole*, who lay all that Summer before at *Brussels*: and it was thought they were sent to accompany and conduct him into *England*, where at that time he was nominated and appointed Bp. of *Canterbury*.

Upon the Friday following the 9. of *November*, Mr. *Barlow* late Bishop of *Bath*, and Mr. *Cardmaker*, were brought before the Council in the Star-Chamber, where after communication they were commanded to the *Fleet*.

Upon the Saturday, being the 10. of *November*, the Sheriffs of *London* had commandment to take an Inventory of every one of their goods which were of Master *Throgmortons* Quest, and to seal up their Doors, which was done the same day. M. *Whetstone*, M. *Lucas*, and M. *Kytely*, were judged to pay 1000 pounds apiece, and the rest 1000 Marks apiece, to be paid within one fortnight after. From this payment were exempted those four which confessed a fault, and submitted themselves, whose Names, are these, M. *Lee*, M. *Poynter*, M. *Bejwick*, and M. *Carret*.

Mention was made a little before of the Visitation of *Edmund Boner* Bishop of *London*, which began (as is said) about the Month of *September*: for the better preparation whereof were set forth certain Articles to the number of 37. Which Articles, partly for the tediousness of them, partly for that M. *Bale* in a certain Treatise hath sufficiently painted out the same in their colours, partly also because I will not infect this Book with them, I slip them over, proceeding in the progress of this Bishop in his Visitation in the County of *Essex*. Who passing through the said County of *Essex*, being attended with divers Worshipful of the Shire (for so they were commanded) arrived at *Sterford* in *Hertfordshire*, where he rested certain days, solacing himself after that painful peregrination with no small feasting and banqueting with his Attendants aforesaid, at the house of one *Parsons* his Nephew, whose Wife he commonly called his fair Neice (and fair she was indeed) he took there great pleasure to hear her play upon the *Virginals* (wherein she excelled) inasmuch that every dinner (sitting by his sweet side) he arose and played three several times at his request of his good and spiritual Devotion towards her. These certain days thus passed in this Bishop-like fashion, he proceeded in his Popish Visitation towards *Hadham* his own House and Parish, not past two miles from *Sterford*, being there most solemnly run out, as in all other places whereas he passed. At length drawing near unto *Hadham*, when he heard no stirring there in honour of his Holiness, he grew into some Choler, and the nearer he approached the hotter was his fit: and the quieter the Bells were, the unquieter was his Mood. Thus rode he on chafing and fuming with himself. What meaneth (saith he) that Knave the Clark that be Ringeth us? and the Parson that be meeteth me not? with sundry other furious words of fiery element. There this patient Prelate, coming to the Town, aighted, calling for the Key of the Church, which was then all unread, for that (as they then pretended) he had prevented his time by two hours, whereupon he grew from choler to plain melancholy, so as no man willingly would deal with him to qualifie the raging humor so far incorporated in his Brest. At the last, the Church-door being opened, the Bishop entered, and finding no Sacrament hanged up, nor Rood-loft decked after the Popish Precept (which had commanded about the same time a well favoured Rood, and of tall stature unfastenably in all Churches to be set up) curtailed his small Devotions, and fell from all choler and melancholy to flat madnes in the uttermost degree, swearing and raging with an hunting Oath or two, and by no Beggars, that in his own Church, where he hoped to have seen best order, he found most disorder, to his Honours most heavy discomfort, as he said, calling the Parson (whose name was Doctor *Bricker*) Knave, and Heretic. Who there humbled himself, and yielded, as it were, to his fault, saying, He was sorry his Lordship was come before that he and his Parish looked for him, and therefore could not do their duties to receive him accordingly: and as for those things lacking, he trusted in short time hereafter he should compass that, which hitherto he could not bring about.

There-

John Street.

The Priest worse scared than ever. The Poast let the Pix fall for fear.

John Street innocently cast into the Dungeon.

John Street falsely reported of.

October 5.

Men prisoners led into Books.

October 14.

October 26.

The trouble of the good men which were of M. Throgmortons Quest.

October 30.

November 4.

Anno 1554.

November 7. Card. Poole nominated Archbishop of Canterbury.

November 10.

Bishop Boner goes in his Visitation.

B. Boner be- haviour at Sterford.

Boner be- haviour at Hadham.

Boner in a peeling chair.

D. Bridge Parson of Hadham, called Knave of Boner.

Anno
1554.Sir Thomas
Joffelin
stricken of
Zeal.R. Boner stric-
ken him
thar stand-
eth axate.Folkeham ex-
cuted B.
Boner by the
Marshallcy.Sir Thomas
Joffelin's A-
posthem
enriching
B. Boner.Bishop Boner
driven from
a good Din-
ner.A story of
a Rood set
up in Lan-
caster.The men of
Cockram
pleased with
their Rood.

Therefore if it pleased his Lordship to come to his poor Houfe (where his Dinner was prepared) he would satisfie him in those things which his Lordship thought amiss. Yet this so reasonable an Answer nothing could satisfie nor allwaie his passion unreasonable. For the Catholick Prelate utterly defied him and his Cheer, commanding him out of his sight, saying, as his by-word was, *Before God thou art a Knaave, evant Heretick*, and therewithal, whether thrusting or striking at him, so it was that with his hand he gave Sir Thomas Joffelin Knight (who was then amongst the rest, and stood next the Bishop) a good fiewet upon the upper part of the Neck, even under his Ear, as some say which stood by, but, as he himself said, he hit him full upon the Ear: whereat he was somewhat astonished at the suddenness of the Quarrel for that time.

At last he spake and said, *What meanest thou Lordship? have you been trained in Will Sommers School, to strike him that standeth next you?* The Bishop still in rage either heard not, or would not hear.

Then M. Pecknam Dean of Pauls, seeing the Bishop still in this bitter rage, said, *O M. Joffelin, you must bear with my Lords, for truly his long imprisonment in the Marshalsey, and the misusing of him there hath altered him, that in these Passions he is not ruler of himself, nor it behooveth any man to give him counsel until his heat be past, and then assure your self M. Joffelin, my Lord will be sorry for those abuses that now he cannot see in himself.* Whereunto he merrily replied and said, *So it seems M. Pecknam, for now that he is come forth of the Marshalsey, he is ready to go to Bedlam.* At which merry Conceit some laughed, and mo smiled, because the Nail was so truly hit upon the Head. The Bishop, nothing abashed at his own folly, gave a deaf Ear; as no marvel it was that he turned little to strike a Stranger, which spared not the burning of so many good men.

After this worthy combat thus finished and achieved, this Martial Prelate presently tooketh him to his Horse again, notwithstanding he was minded to tarry at Hadham three or four days, and so had made provision in his own Houfe, and leaving his Dinner rode that Night with a small company of his household to Ware, where he was not looked for three days after, to the great wonder of all the Country, why he so prevented his day aforetalled.

At this hasty posting away this Bishop, his whole Train of Attendants therewith him. Also his Doctors and Chaplains (a few excepted) turried behind, and Dined at Doctor Brickets as merrily, as he rode toward Ware all chafing: which Dinner was prepared for the Bishop himself. Now whether the Bishop were offended at those Solemnities which he wanted, and was accustomed to be saluted withal in other places where he journeyed, joining to that, that his great God was not exalted above-ground over the Altar, nor his Block Almighty set seemly in the Rood-loft to entertain Strangers, and thereupon took occasion to quarrel with Doctor Bricket (whose Religion perchance he somewhat suspected) I have not perfectly to say, but so it was supposed of divers the cause thereof to rise, which dave the Bishop so hastily from such a Dinner. Testified by such as there and then were present. Rich. K. &c.

A story of a Rood set up in Lancashire.

IN this Visitation of Bishop Boner above-mentioned, ye see how the Bishop took on for not setting up the Rood, and ringing the Bells at Hadham. Ye heard also of the Precept, which commanded in every Parish a Rood to be erected, both well favoured and of a tall stature. By the occasion whereof it cometh in mind (and not out of place) to story likewise what happened in a certain Town in Lancashire near to Lancaster, called Cockram, where the Parishioners and Church-wardens, having the same time a like Charge for the erecting of a Rood in their Parish Church, had made their bargain and were at a price with one that could cunningly carve and paint such Idols, for the framing of their Rood: who, according to his Promise, made them one, and set it up in their Church. This done, he demanded his Money: But they, mistaking his Workmanship, refused to pay him, whereupon he arrested them, and the Matter was brought before the Mayor of Lancaster, who was a very meet Man for such a purpose, and an old Favourite of the Gospel, which is rare in that Country. Then the Carver be-

gan to declare how they Covenanted with him for the making of a Rood with the appurtenances, ready carved and set up in their Church, which he according to his Promise had done, and now demanding his Money, they refused to pay him. Is this true, quoth the Mayor to the Wardens? Yea Sir, said they. And why do you not pay the poor Man his due, quoth he? And it please you Master Mayor (quoth they) because the Rood we had before was a well-favoured man, and he promised to make us such another: but this that he hath set us up now is the worst favoured thing that ever you set your eyes on, gaping and grinning in such sort, that none of our Children dare once look him in the face, or come near him. The Mayor thinking that it was good enough for that purpose, if it had been worse; My Masters (quoth he) howsoever the Rood like you, the poor mans labour hath been never the less, and it is pity that he should have any hindrance or loss thereby. Therefore I will tell you what you shall do: Pay him the Money ye promised him, and go your ways home and look on it, and if it will not serve for a god, make no more ado, but clap a pair of Horns on his Head, and so he will make an excellent Devil. This the Parishioners took well in worth: the Poor man had his Money, and divers laughed well therat: but so did not the Babylonish Priests.

This Mayor above-mentioned continued a Protestant almost 50 years, and was the only Reliever of *March* the Martyr (whose story followeth hereafter) with Meat, Drink and Lodging, while he lay in Lancaster Castle, the space of three Quarters of a year, before he was had to *Chester* to be burned, &c.

About this time or the month next before, which was *October*, there came a Precept or Mandate from *Boner* *Bof London*, to all Bishops and Curates within his Diocess, for the abolishing of such Scriptures and Writings as had been painted upon Church-Walls before, in King *Edward* days. The Copy of which Precept or Mandate here we thought good to express, that the World might see the wicked proceedings of their Impious Zeal, or rather their malicious Rage against the Lord and his Word, and against the edifying of Christian People: whereby it might appear, by this blotting out of Scriptures, not only how blasphemously they spake against the holy Scriptures of God, but also how studiously they fought by all manner of means to keep the People still in Ignorance. A Mandate of *Boner* Bishop of *London*, to abolish the Scriptures and Writings painted upon the Church-Walls.

Endured, by Gods permission Bishop of London, to all and every Parsons, Vicars, Clerks, and Lectors, within the Parish of Hadham, or within the precinct of our Diocess of London, wherefoever being, sendeth Greeting, Grace and Benediction.

Because some Children of Iniquity, given up to Carnal desires and Novelities, have by many ways enterprized to banish the ancient manner and order of the Church, and to bring in and establish Sects and Heresies; taking from thence the picture of Christ, and many things besides instituted and observed of ancient time laudably in the same, placing in the rooms thereof such things, as in such a place it behooved them not to do, and also have procured as a stay to their Heresies (as they thought) certain Scriptures wrongly applied to be painted upon the Church-Walls, all which persons tend chiefly to this end; that they might uphold the liberty of the Flesh, and marriage of Priests, and destroy, as much as lay in them, the reverent Sacrament of the Altar, and might extinguish and enervate Holy-days, Fasting-days, and other laudable Discipline of the Catholick Church, opening a window to all Vices, and utterly closing up the way unto Vertue: Wherefore we being moved with a Christian Zeal, judging that the premises are not to be longer suffered, do for discharge of our duty, commit unto you jointly and severally, and by the tenor hereof do straitly charge and command you, that at the receipt hereof, with all speed convenient, you do warn, or cause to be warned, first, second, and third time, and preceptually, all and singular Church-wardens and Parishioners whofoever within our foresaid Diocess of London, wherefoever any such Scriptures or Paintings have been attempted, that they abolish and extinguisht such manner of Scriptures,

The Rood
of Cockram
driving the
Children
out of the
Church.The Mayor
of Lancaster
a good man.The Scrip-
tures paint-
ed on
Church-
Walls read
out.None well
these causes!
Readers, why
the Scrip-
tures should
be razed
out.Some well
these causes!
Readers, why
the Scrip-
tures should
be razed
out.

so that by no means they either read or seen, and shew to proceed moreover, as they shall see good and laudable in themselves. And if after the said monition, the said Churchwardens and Parishioners shall be found remiss and negligent, or culpable, then you jointly and severally shall see the said Scriptures to be razed, avowed and extinguished forthwith: citing all and singular these Churchwardens and Parishioners, (whom we at a for too some do cite here by the tenor hereof) that all and singular the Churchwardens and Parishioners being slack and negligent, culpable therein, shall appear before us, our Vicar general and principal Official, or our Commissary special in our Cathedral Church of St. Paul at London, in the Consistory there, at the hour appointed for the same, the sixth day next after their Citation, if it be a Court-day, or else at the next Court-day after ensuing, whereat either we or our Official or Commissary shall sit: there to say and allege for themselves some reasonable cause, if they have or can tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, or otherwise punished for their such negligence, slackness and fault, to say and to allege, and further to do and receive, as Law and Reason requireth. And what you have done in the premises, do you certify us, or our Vicar, principal Official, and such our Commissary, diligently and duly in all things, and through all things, or let him among you thus certify us, which hath taken upon him to execute this Mandate: In Witness whereof we have set our Seals to these Presents. Dated in the Bishop's Palace at London the 25th day of the Month of October, in the Year of our Lord 1554. and of our Translation the 16th.

M. Christopher sent to Cambridge with Graduation Injunctions.

About this time the Lord Chancellor sent M. Christopher upon the University of Cambridge, with these Articles, which he enjoined them to observe.

The first, That every scholar should wear his apparel according to his degree in the Schools.

The second was touching the pronunciation of the Greek Tongue.

The third, That every Preacher there should declare the whole stile of the King and Queen in their Sermons.

In this University of Cambridge, and also of Oxford, by reason of the bringing of these things, and especially for the alteration of Religion, many good Wits and Learned men departed the Universities: of whom, some of their own accord gave over, some were thrust out of their Fellowships, some were miserably handled: inasmuch that in Cambridge, in the College of St. John, there were four and twenty places void together, in whose rooms were taken in four and twenty other, which neither in Virtue nor in Religion seemed to answer to them before. And no less miserable was the estate of Oxford, by reason of the time, and the strict dealing of the Visitors, that, for setting forward their Papistical proceedings, had no regard or respect to the forwardness of good Wits, and the maintenance of good Letters, beginning then more and more to flourish in that University.

In Cambridge were 24 places void at one time in one College.

A Popish Exhortation of Doctor Trehan.

And for so much as we have entred into the mention of Oxford, we may not pass over in silence the famous Exhortation of Dr. Trehan, who supplying the room of the Subdean in Christ-Church, after he had called all the Students of the Colledge together, with great Eloquence and Art perswatory, began to commend the dignity of the Mass unto them, declaring, that there was stuff enough in the Scriptures to prove the Mass good. Then to allure them to the Catholick Service of the Church, he used these Reasons, declaring that there were a goodly company of Copes, that were appointed to Windsor, but he had found the Queen so gracious unto him, that they should come to Christ-Church. Now, if they like honest men would come to Church, they should wear them on Holy-days. And besides all this, he would get them the Lady Bells of Bampton, and that should make the sweetest Ring in all England. And as for an holy Water sprinkle, he had already the fairest that was within the Realm. Wherefore he thought that no man would be so mad to forgo these Commodities, &c.

The great Reasons of Dr. Trehan.

Which things I rehearse, that it may appear what want of discretion is in the Fathers of Popery, and into what idle Follies such men do fall, whom I beseech the Lord, if it be his pleasure to reduce to a better Truth and to open their eyes to see their own blindness.

To proceed now further in the course and race of our Story whereas we left, being before in the Month of November, it followeth more, that on the xxiiij day of the same Month of November, being Monday, began the Parliament holden at Westminster, to the beginning whereof both the King and Queen rode in their Parliament Robes, having two Swords born before them. The Earl of Pembroke bare his Sword, and the Earl of Westmerland bare the Queens. They had two Caps of Maintenance born before them, whereof the Earl of Arundel bare one, and the Earl of Shrewsbury the other.

Cardinal Pole landed at Dover upon the Wednesday, being the 21. day of November, on which day one Act passed in the Parliament for his restitution in Blood, utterly repealing as false and most slanderous, that Act made against him in King Henry the Eighth's time, and on the next day being Thursday, and the 22. of November, the King and the Queen came both to the Parliament House to give their Royal Assent, and to establish this Act against his coming.

Upon the Saturday, being the 24. of November, the said Cardinal came by Water to London, and so to Lambeth House, which was ready prepared against his coming.

Upon the Wednesday following, being the 28. of November, there was general Procession in Pauls for joy that the Queen was conceived and quick with Child, as it was declared in a Letter sent from the Council to the Bishop of London.

The same day were present at this Procession ten Bishops, with all the Prebendaries of Pauls, and also the Lord Mayor with the Aldermen, and a great number of Commons of the City in their best array. The Copy of the Councils Letter here followeth, *ad perpetuam res memoriam.*

A Copy of a Letter sent from the Council unto Edmund Bener Bishop of London, concerning Queen Maries conceiving with Child.

After our hearty Commendations unto your good Lordship: whereas it hath pleased Almighty God amongst other his infinite benefits of late most graciously poured upon us and this whole Realm, to extend his Benediction upon the Queens Majesty in such sort, as she is conceived and quick of Child: Whereby her Majesty if Q. Mary (being our natural Lady, Queen, and undoubted Inheritor of this Imperial Crown) good hope of certain Succession in the Crown is given unto us, and consequently by the great Calamities (which for want of such Succession might otherwise have fallen upon us and our Posterity) shall by Gods grace be well avoided, if we thankfully acknowledge this benefit of Almighty God, endeavouring our selves with earnest Repentance to thank, honour and serve him, as we be most bounden: These be not only to advertise you of these good news, to be by you published in all places within your Diocess, but also to pray and require you, that both your self do give God thanks with us for this his especial grace, and also give order that Thanks may be openly given by singing of Te Deum in all the Churches within your said Diocess; and that likewise all Priests and other Ecclesiastical Ministers, in their Masses, and other Divine Services, may continually pray to Almighty God so to extend his holy band over her Majesty, the King, Hisness, and this whole Realm, as that this thing, being by his Omnipotent Power graciously thus begun, may by the same be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his Name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not, ye would of your self have had special regard without these our Letters, yet for the earnest desire we have to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have also written these our Letters, to put you in remembrance; and so bid your Lordship most heartily well to fare. From Westminster the 27th of November, 1554.

Your assured loving Friends,

S. Winton. Cancell. } John Bathon.
Arundel. } R. Rich.
F. Shrewsbury. } Thomas Watthom.
Edward Darby. } John Huddilstone.
Henry Suffex. } R. Southwell.

Anno
1554.

Also the same day in the Afternoon Cardinal Poole came to the Parliament-House, which at that present was kept in the great Chamber of the Court at *White-Hall*, for that the Queen was then sick, and could not go abroad: where the King and Queens Majesty sitting under the Cloth of Estate, and the Cardinal sitting on the Right hand, with all the other Estates of the Parliament being present, the Bishop of *Winchester* being Lord Chancellor began in this manner.

The words of *Winchester* for receiving of the Cardinal.

Winchester
Words for
Card. Poole.

MY Lords of the Upper House, and you my Masters of the Nether House, here is present the Right Reverend Father in God my Lord Cardinal Poole, come from the Apostolick See of Rome, as Ambassador to the King and Queens Majesties, upon one of the weightiest Causes that ever happened in this Realm, and which pertaineth to the glory of God, and your Universal benefit. The which Ambassage their Majesties pleasure is to be signified unto you all by his own mouth, trusting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankful wise as their Highnesses have done, and that you will give an attentive and inclinable ear unto him.

When the Lord Chancellor had thus ended his Talk, the Cardinal, taking the time then offered, began his Oration, wherein he declared the causes of his coming, and what were his desires and requests. In the which mean time the Court Gate was kept shut until he had made an end of his Oration.

The renour of Cardinal Pooles Oration, made in the Parliament-House.

Card. Poole
Oration in
the Parliament
House.

MY Lords all, and you that are the Commons of this present Parliament assembled, which in effect is nothing else but the State and Body of the whole Realm. As the cause of my repair hither hath been most wisely and gravely declared by my Lord Chancellor, so, before that I enter to the particularities of my Commission, I have somewhat touching my self, and to give most humble and hearty Thanks to the King and Queens Majesties, and after that to you all, which of a Man exiled and banished from this Commonwealth, have restored me to be a Member of the same, and of a man having no place neither here, or elsewhere within this Realm, have admitted me in a place, where to speak and to be heard. This I protest unto you all, that though I was Exiled my Native Country without just cause, as God knoweth, yet the Ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and desire that I had to profit and do you good. If the offer of my service might have been received, it was never to be feck, and where that could not be taken, you never failed of my Prayer, nor ever shall.

But leaving the rehearsal thereof, and coming more near to the matter of my Commission, I signify unto you all, that my principal Travel is for the reformation of this noble Realm to the ancient Nobility, and to declare unto you, that the See Apostolick, from whence I come, hath a special respect to this Realm above all other, and not without cause, seeing that God himself, as it were by Providence, hath given this Realm prerogative of Nobility above other: which to make more plain unto you, it is to be considered that this Island first of all Islands received the light of Christs Religion. For as stories testify, it was *prima Provinciarum quæ amplexa est fidem Christi*.

For the Britains being first Inhabitants of this Realm (notwithstanding the subjection of the Emperours and Heathen Princes) did receive Christs Faith from the Apostolick See universally, and not in parts as other Countries, nor by one and one, as Clocks increase their hours by distinction of times, but altogether at once, as it were in a moment. But after that their ill Merits or forgetfulness of God had deserved expulsion, and that Strangers being Infidels had possessed this Land, yet God of his goodness, not leaving where he once loved, so illuminated the hearts of the Saxons being Heathen men, that they forsook the darkness of Heathen Errors, and embraced the light of Christs Religion: so that within a small space Idolatry and Heathen Superstition was utterly abandoned in this Island.

This was a great Prerogative of Nobility, the benefit whereof though it be to be ascribed to God, yet the mean occasion of the same came from the Church of Rome. In the Faith of which Church we have ever since continued and consented with the rest of the World in unity of Religion. And to shew further the fervent Devotion of the Inhabitants of this Island towards the Church of Rome, we read that divers Princes in the Saxons time with great Travel and Expences went personally to Rome, as *Offa* and *Adolphus*; which thought it not enough to shew themselves obedient to the said See; unless that in their own persons they had gone to that same place from whence they had received so great a grace and benefit.

In the time of *Carolus Magnus*, who first founded the University of Paris, he sent into England for *Alcuin* a great Learned man, which first brought Learning to that University, whereby it seemeth that the greatest part of the World fetcht the light of Religion from England.

Adrian the Fourth being an English-man converted Norway from Infidelity, which *Adrian* afterwards, upon great affection and love that he bare to this Realm being his Native Country, gave to *Henry* the Second, King of England, the right and Signory of the Dominion of Ireland, which pertained to the See of Rome.

I will not rehearse the manifold benefit, that this Realm hath received from the Apostolick See, nor how ready the same hath been to relieve us in all our necessities. Nor will I rehearse the manifold Miseries and Calamities that this Realm hath suffered by swerving from that Unity. And even as in this Realm, so also in all other Countries which refusing the Unity of the Catholick Faith have followed fantastical Doctrine, the like Plagues have happened. Let *Asia* and the Empire of *Greece* be a Specie unto the World, who, by swerving from the Unity of the Church of Rome, are brought into Captivity and subjection of the *Turk*. All stories be full of like Examples. And to come unto the later time, look upon our Neighbours in *Germany*, who, by swerving from this Unity, are miserably afflicted with diversity of Sects, and divided into Factions.

What shall I rehearse unto you the tumults and effusion of Blood that hath happened these late days? Or trouble you with the rehearsal of those Plagues that have happened since this Innovation of Religion, whereof you have felt the bitterness, and I have heard the Report? Of all which matters I can say no more, but such was the misery of the time. And see how far forth this Fury went. For those that live under the *Turk* may freely live after their Conscience, and so was it not lawful here.

If men examine well upon what grounds these Innovations began, they shall well find that the Root of this, as of many other Mischiefs, was Avarice, and that the lust and carnal Affection of one man confounded all Laws both divine and human. And notwithstanding all these Devices and Policies practiced within this Realm against the Church of Rome, they needed not to have lost you, but that they thought rather as Friends to reconcile you, than as Enemies to infect you. For they wanted not great Officers of the most mighty Potentates in all Europe to have aided the Church in that Quarrel. Then mark the Sequel: There seemed by these Changes to rise a great face of Riches and Gain, which in proof came to great misery and lack. See how God then can confound the wisdom of the wise, and turn unjust Policy to meer folly, and that thing which seemed to be done for relief, was cause of plain ruine and decay. Yet fee that goodness of God, which at no time failed us, but most benignly offered his Grace, when it was of our parts least sought and worst deserved.

And when all light of true Religion seemed utterly extinct, the Churches defaced, the Altars overthrown, the Ministers corrupted: even like as in a Lamp the light being covered, yet it is not quenched, even so in a few remained the confession of Christs Faith, namely in the Breast of the Queens Excellency, of whom to speak without adulation, the saying of the Prophet may be verified, *Eccæ quasi derelicta!*

And see how miraculously God of his goodness preserved her Highness, contrary to the expectation of many, that when numbers conspired against her, and Policies

H 3

were

That the Faith of the Romans came first from Rome, whence it is said, yet that Faith and Doctrine of the Romans was not such then as it is now. Read before. Or this is a read before. Or otherwise read before.

May rather what Reason and Tradition the See of Rome hath sucked out of England, it is incredible. The cause of their subjection to the *Turk* cannot be provided to come by swerving from the Unity of the Church of Rome, for they never fully joynted unto it. And as touching the subjection of Asia and Greece to the *Turk*, read in the story of the *Turk* before. And why? then do ye more cruelly than the *Turk* persecute others for their Conscience?

More for the Venage that was hoped by it, than for any great love.

England, of all Islands, received first the Faith of Christ.

What polle
s this to
make pro
m to get
five p^{ts},
and to break
it as the
Queen did;

were devised to dishonour her, and armed Power prepared to destroy her, yet the being a Virgin helpless, naked and unarmed, prevailed, and had the Victory of Tyrants, which is not to be ascribed to any policy of man, but to the Almighty great goodness and providence of God, to whom the honour is to be given. And therefore it may be said, *Da gloriam Deo*. For in mans Judgment, you her Graces part was nothing in appearance but despair.

The Cardi-
nal here ap-
peareth to
be a false
Voyager.

And yet for all these practices and devices of ill men, here you see her Grace established in her Estate, being your lawful Queen and Governess, born among you, whom God hath appointed to reign over you for the restitution of true Religion, and extirpation of all Errors and Sects. And to confirm her Grace the more strongly in this enterprise, lo how the Providence of God hath joyned her in Marriage with a Prince of like Religion, who being a King of great Might, Armor, and Force, yet useful towards you neither Armor nor Force, but seeketh you by the way of Love and Amity: in which respect great cause you have to give thanks to Almighty God, that hath sent you such a Catholick Governess. It shall be therefore your part again to love, obey, and serve them.

And as it was a singular favour of God to conjoin them in Marriage, so it is not to be doubted but that he shall send them lives, for the comfort and surety of this Commonwealth.

Plain the
Emperour
compared
to David,

Of all Princes in Europe, the Emperor hath travelled most in the cause of Religion, as it appeareth by his acts in Germany: yet happily by some secret Judgment of God, he hath not achieved the end. With whom in my Journey hitherwards I had conference touching my Legation: whereof when we had understandings, he shewed a great appearance of most earnest joy and gladness, saying, That it rejoiced him no less of the re-concilement of this Realm unto Christian Unity, than that his Son was placed by Marriage in the Kingdom, and most glad he was of all, that the occasion thereof should come by me being an English-man born, which is (as it were) to call home our selves. I can well compare him to David, which though he were a Man elect of God, yet, for that he was contaminate with Blood and War, he could not build the Temple of Jerusalem, but left the finishing thereof to Solomon, which was *Rex pacificus*. So may it be thought, that the appealing of Controversies of Religion in Christianity, is not appointed to this Emperor, but rather to his Son, who shall perform the building that his Father had begun. Which Church cannot be perfectly builded, unless universally in all Realmes we adhere to one Head, and do acknowledge him to be the Vicar of God, and to have Power from above. For all Power is of God, according to the saying, *Non est potestas nisi à Deo*. And therefore I consider that all Power being in God, yet, for the conservation of quiet and godly life in the World, he hath derived that Power from above into the parts here in Earth: which is, into the Power Imperial, and Ecclesiastical. And these two several effects, and operations. For Secular Princes, to whom the Temporal Sword is committed, be Ministers of God to execute Vengeance upon Transgressors and Evil livers, and to preserve the well-doers and innocents from Injury and Violence. Which Power is represented in these two most excellent Persons, the King and Queens Majesty here present, who have this Power committed unto them immediately from God, without any Superiour in that behalf.

The Tower
of the Keys
Clarke de-
clared,

The other Power is of Ministration, which is the power of the Keys, and Order in the Ecclesiastical State, which is by the Authority of Gods Word, and examples of the Apostles, and of all old holy Fathers from Christ hitherto, attributed and given to the Apostolick See of Rome, by special Privilege. From which See I am here deputed Legate and Embassador, having full and ample Commission from thence, and have the Keys committed to my hands, I confess to you that I have the Keys, not as mine own Keys, but as the Keys of him that sent me, and yet cannot open; not for want of Power in me to give, but for certain impediments in you touching, which must be taken away before my Commission can take effect. This I protest before you, my Commission is not of prejudice to any person. I come not,

The Tower
of the Keys
sent by the
Cardinal.

to destroy, but to build. I come to reconcile, not to condemn, I am not come to compel, but to call again, I am not come to call any thing in question already done, but my Commission is of grace and clemency, to such as will receive it. For touching all matters that be past they shall be as things cast into the Sea of forgetfulness.

But the mean, whereby you shall receive this benefit, is to revoke and repeal those Laws and Statutes, which be impediments, blocks and bars to the execution of my Commission. For like as I my self had neither place nor voice to speak here among you, but was in all respects a banished man, till such time as ye had repealed those Laws that lay in my way: even so cannot you receive the benefit and grace offered from the Apostolick See, until the abrogation of such Laws, whereby you have disjoyned and differred your selves from the Unity of Christs Church.

It remaineth therefore that you, like true Christians and provident men for the weal of your Souls and Bodies, ponder what is to be done in this so weighty a cause, and so to frame your Acts and proceedings, as they may first tend to the glory of God, and next to the conservation of your Commonwealth, surety and quietness.

The next day after the Three Estates assembled again in the great Chamber of the Court at Westminster: where the King and Queens Majesties and the Cardinal being present, they did exhibit (all kneeling on their knees) a Supplication to their Highnesses, the manner whereof ensueth.

The Copy of the Supplication and Submission exhibited to the King and Queens Majesties, by the Lords and Commons of the Parliament.

WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this present Parliament assembled, representing the whole Body of the Realm of England and Dominions of the same, in our own names particularly, and also of the said Body universally, in this Supplication directed to your Majesties with most humble suit, that it may by your gracious intercession and means, be exhibited to the most Reverend Father in God, the Lord Cardinal Poole Legate, sent specially hither from our most holy Father Pope Julius the Third, and the See Apostolick of Rome, do declare our selves very sorry and repentant for the Schism and Disobedience committed in this Realm and Dominions of the same, against the said See Apostolick, either by making, agreeing or executing any Laws, Ordinances or Commandments against the Supremacy of the said See, or otherwise doing or speaking that might impugn the same: offering our selves, and promising by this our Supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our said Repentance, we be and shall be always ready, under and with the Authority of your Majesties, to the uttermost of our power, to do that which shall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of the said Laws and Ordinances in this present Parliament; as well for our selves as for the whole Body whom we represent.

Whereupon we most humbly beseech your Majesties, as persons unoffended in the offence of this Body towards the said See, which nevertheless God by his Providence hath made subject unto your Majesties, so to set forth this our most humble suit, that we may obtain from the See Apostolick, by the said most Reverend Father, as well particularly as universally, absolution, release and discharge from all danger of such Censures and Sentences, as by the Laws of the Church we be fallen in, and that we may as Children repentant, be received into the bosom and unity of Christs Church, so as this Noble Realm, with all the Members thereof, may in unity and perfect obedience to the See Apostolick, and Pope for the time being, serve God and your Majesties, to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory, Amen.

The Supplication being read, the King and Queen delivered the same unto the Cardinal, who (perceiving the effects thereof to answer his expectation) did receive the same most gladly from their Majesties: and after he had in few words given thanks to God, and declared what great cause he had to rejoice above all others, that his coming from Rome into England had taken most happy success: He by the Popes Authority did give them this Absolution following.

Anno
1554.

The Popes
Keys cannot
work in
England be-
cause the
Lock of
good Laws
be changed.

The Suppli-
cation and
Submission
of the Lords
and Com-
mons, to the
King and
Queens Ma-
jesties.

O great for-
row and
deep Re-
pentance!

The Popes
Absolution
cannot come,
but by inter-
cession of
Kings and
Queens.

The Suppli-
cation given
up by the
King and
Queen to
the Cardi-
nal.

Anno
1554.

An Absolution pronounced by Cardinal Poole to the whole Parliament of England; in the Presence of the King and Queen.

Absolution from the Pope given to the Realm of England, Christ's Absolution in not sufficient, without the Papes be pyced what, England brought from Gods blessing unto the warm Sun.

To Demus sang, but with heavy hearts God knoweth.

Great Joy at Rome for the Conversion of England, and good cause why.

When all this was done, they went into the Chappel, and there singing *Te Demus*, with great Iolemnity declared the Joy and Gladness that for this Reconciliation was pretended.

The Report of this was with great speed sent unto Rome; as well by the King and Cardinals Letters, which hereafter follow, as also otherwise. Whereupon the Pope caused there at Rome Processions to be made, and Thanks to be given to God with great Joy for the Conversion of England to his Church, and therefore praising the Cardinals Diligence, and the Devotion of the King and Queen, on Christmas Even, by his Bulls he set forth a General Pardon to all such as did truly rejoyce for the same.

A Copy of King Philips Letter, written with his own Hand to Pope Julius, touching the restoring of the Realm of England.

Most Holy Father, I wrote yesterday unto Don John Matricus that he should declare by word of Mouth, or else write to your Holiness, in what good State the Matter of Religion stood in this Realm, and of the submission to your Holiness, as to the Chief, as this day which is the Feast of S. Andrew, late in the evening, we have done God that service (to whose only Godness we must impute it, and to your Holiness, who have taken so great pain to gain these Souls) that this Realm with full and general consent of all them that represent the State, being very penitent for that was past, and well bent for that they come to do submit themselves to your Holiness, and to that Holy See; whom, at the Request of the Queen and me, your Legate did absolve. And forasmuch as the said Don John shall signify unto your Holiness all that passed in this matter, I will write no more thereof, but only that the Queen and I, as most faithful and devout Children of your Holiness, have received the greatest Joy and Comfort thereof that may be expressed with Tongue: Considering that, besides the Service done to God hereby, it hath chanced in the time of your Holiness, to place as it were in the Lap of the Holy Catholick Church such a Kingdom as this is. And therefore I think I cannot be thankful enough for that is done this day. And I trust in him, that your Holiness shall always understand, that the Holy See hath not had a more Obedient Son than I, nor more desirous to preserve and increase the Authority of the same. God guide and prosper the most holy Personage of your Holiness as I desire.

From London the 30. of November, 1554.

Your Holiness most Humble Son the King, &c.

Here followeth likewise the Cardinals Letter to the said Pope concerning the same Matter.

Those things which I wrote unto your Holiness of late, of that Hope which I trusted would come to pass, that in short space this Realm would be reduced to the Unity of the Church, and Obedience of the Apostolick See, though I did write then not without great Cause: yet nevertheless I could not be void of all fear, nor only for that difficulty which the Minds of our Countrymen did shew, being so long alienated from the See Apostolick, and for the old Hatred which they had born to

many years to that Name: But much more I feared, lest the first entry into the Cause itself should be put off by some other Matter or Convent in coming betwixt.

For the avoiding whereof, I made great means to the King and Queen, which little needed: For their own godly Forwardness, and earnest Desire to bring the thing to pass, far surmounted my great and earnest Expectation. This day in the Evening, being S. Andrews day (who first brought his Brother Peter to Christ) it is come to pass by the Providence of God, that this Realm is reclaimed to give due obedience unto Peters Seat and your Holiness, by whose means it may be conjoynted to Christ the Head, and his Body which is the Church. The thing was done and concluded in Parliament (the King and Queen being present) with such full consent and great rejoycing, that incontinently after I had made my Oration and given the Benediction, with a great joy and shout there was divers times said, *Amen, Amen*. Which doth evidently declare, that that Holy Seed, although it hath been long oppressed, yet was not utterly quenched in them; which chiefly was declared in the "Noility. Returning home to my House, these things I wrote unto your Holiness upon the sudden, rejoycing that I had so luckily brought to pass, I weighly welcome to a Matter by the Divine Providence, thinking to have sent my Letters by the Kings Post, who (as it was said) should have departed shortly: But afterwards changing my purpose, when I had determined to send one of mine own Men, I thought good to add thus much to my Letters, for the more ample Gratulation and Rejoycing at that good Chance: Which thing as it was right great gladness to me through the Event of the same (being it felt very great, and so holy, so profitable to the whole Church, so healthful to this my Country which brought me forth, so honourable to the same which received me): So likewise I took no less rejoycing of the Princes themselves, through whose Virtue and Godliness the matter did take success and perfection. Of how many, and how great things may the Church (which is the Spouse of Christ, and our Mother) make her Account through those her Children?

Oh notable Zeal of Godliness! Oh Ancient Faith! which undoubtedly doth so manifestly appear in them both, that who so seeth them, must needs (whether he will or no) lay the same which the Prophet spake of the first Children of the Church; *Ipsi sunt semen cui benedixit Dominus. Hec plantatio Domini ad glorificandum*. That is, These are the Seed which the Lord hath blessed. This is the Lords planting to glory in. How holily did your Holiness with all your Authority and earnest Affection favour this Marriage? which truly seemeth to express a great similitude of the Highest King, which being Heir of the World, was sent down by his Father from the Regal Seat to be Spouse and Son of the Virgin, and by this means to comfort all Mankind: For even so this King himself, the greatest Heir of all Men which are in the Earth, leaving his Fathers Kingdoms that are most great, is come into this little Kingdom, and is become both the Spouse, and Son of this Virgin, (for he so behaved himself as though he were a Son, whereas indeed he is a Husband) that he might, as he hath in effect already performed, shew himself an Aider and Helper to reconcile this People to Christ, and his Body, which is the Church. Which things, seeing they are so, what may not our Mother the Church her self look for at his hands, that hath brought this to pass, to convert the Hearts of the Fathers towards their Sons, and the Unbelievers to the Willom of the Righteous? which Virtue truly, doth wonderfully shine in him. But the Queen, which at that time, when your Holiness sent me Legate unto her, did rise up as a Rod of Incense springing out of the Trees of Mirre, and as Frankincense out of the Desert; She, I say, which a little before was forsaken of all men, how wonderfully doth she now shine? What a Saviour of Mirre and Frankincense doth she give forth unto her People? which (as the Prophet saith) of the Mother of Christ) brought forth before the labour, before she was delivered brought forth a Man-Child: Who ever heard of such a thing? and who hath seen the like of this? Shall the Earth bring forth in one day, or shall a whole Nation be brought forth together? But the now hath brought forth a whole Nation before the time of that Delivery, whereof we are in most great Hope.

The Pope, such only as may be welcome to the No. 107 of England, as water to the Sea.

Oh dissolution of a flourishing Cardinal!

What similitude is between light and darkness? a Cox.

Cardinal Paul flattereth the King.

How

How great cause is given to us to rejoyce? How great cause have we to give thanks to Gods Mercy, your Holiness, and the Emperors Majesty, which have been Causes of so Happy and so Godly a Marriage, by which we being reconciled, are joynted to God the Father, to Christ, and to the Church? of the which although I cannot comprehend in words the joy that I have taken, yet I cannot keep silence of it. And to this my rejoycing this also was joynted (which when I had perceived by the Letters of the Reverend Archbishop of Constance, your Holiness Nuncio with the Emperors Majesty, brought me marvellous great gladness) that your said Holiness began to restore to the Ancient Beauty those things, which in the Church of Rome through the corruption of times were deformed, which truly, when it shall be finished, then indeed may we well cry out with the Prophet, and speak unto your Holiness with these words, *Exe te solus iustus & vexationis, & indu te decore, qui a Deo tibi est in gloria sempiterna: nominabitur enim tibi nomen tuum a Deo sempiternum, pax iustitia & honor pietatis. Tum autem dicitur, Circumspice & vide collectos filios tuos ab oriente sole usque in occidentem, verbo sancto gaudentem.* That is, Put off the stole of Sorrow and Vexation, and put on Consoles, which thou hast of God in everlasting Glory. For thy Name shall be named of God everlasting, peace of righteousness, and honour of Godliness; and then it shall be said, Look about and see thy Sons gathered together from the Sun-rising, to the going down of the same, rejoycing in the Holy Word. There is nothing truly (to speak of thy Children gathered together in the West, which prepare themselves to meet their Mother) which they had rather see, than her apparelled (that I may use the words of the Prophet) in that Garment of Righteousness wherewith God adorned her in times past. This one thing remaineth, That your Holiness Joy, and the Joy of all the Universal Church may be perfected, which, together with us her unworthy Children, earnestly not to pray to God for it. The Almighty God preserve your Holiness long to continue in Health for the profit of his Church. From London the last of November, 1554.

Your most humble Servant
Reginald Poole, Cardinal.

December 7.
A Sermon of
Stephen
Gardiner
preached at
Pauls-Cross.

Upon the Sunday following, being the 2. of December, the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor of England, preached at Pauls-Cross, at which Sermon was present the King and Cardinal Poole. He took for his Theme this part of the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romans the 13. Chapter, *This also we know the Season (brethren) that we should now awake out of sleep, for now is our Salvation nearer, than when we believed, &c.* Some Notes whereof as they came to my hands faithfully gathered (as it appeareth by sundry Copies) I have here thought good to set forth.

A dreaming
Sermon of
the B of
Winchester.

First, He shewed how the saying of S. Paul was verified upon the Gentiles, who had a long time slept in dark Ignorance, not knowing God: Therefore S. Paul (quoth he) to stir up their heavy dulness, willed them to awake out of their long sleep, because their Salvation was nearer, than when they believed. In amplifying this matter, and comparing our times with theirs, he took occasion to declare what difference the Jewish Sacraments had from these of the Christians, wherein he used these words:

Even as the Sacrament of the Jews did declare Christ to come, so do our Sacraments declare Christ to be already come: But Christ to come, and Christ to be come, is not all one. For now that he is come, the Jews Sacraments be done away, and ours only remain, which declare that he is already come, and is nearer us, than he was to the Fathers of the Old Law: For they had him but in Signs, but we have him in the Sacrament of the Altar, even his very Body. Wherefore now also it is time that we awake out of our sleep, who have slept rather dreamed these twenty years past, as shall more easily appear by declaring at large some of the Properties and Effects of a Sleep or a Dream. And first, As Men intending to sleep, do separate themselves from company, and desire to be alone; even so have we separated our selves from the Sea Apostolick of Rome: and have been alone, no Realm in Christendom like us.

Secondly, as in sleep Men dream sometime of killing, sometime of maiming, sometime of drowning, or burning, sometime of such beastliness as I dare not name, but will spare your Ears: So we have in this our sleep not only dreamed of Beastliness, but we have done it indeed. For in this our sleep hath not one Brother destroyed another: Hath not half our Money been wiped away at one time? And again, those that would defend their Conscience, were slain, and others also otherwise troubled; besides infinite other things, which you all know as well as I, wherof I report me to your own Consciences. Further, in a mans sleep all his Senses are stopped, so that he can neither see, smell, nor hear: Even so whereas the Ceremonies of the Church were instituted to move and stir up our Senses, they being taken away, were not our Senses (as ye would say) stopped, and we fast asleep? Moreover, when a man would gladly sleep, he will put out the Candle, lest peradventure it may let his sleep, and awake him: So of late all such Writers as did hold any thing with the Apostolick See, were condemned, and forbidden to be read; and Images (which were "Lay-mens Books") were cast down and broken.

The Sleep hath continued with us these twenty years, and we all that while without a Head. For when King Henry did first take upon him to be Head of the Church, it was then no Church at all. After whose death, King Edward (having over him Governours and Protectors, which ruled as them listed) could not be Head of the Church, but was only a Shadow or Sign of a Head: And at length it came to pass, that we had no Head at all; nor, not so much as our two Archbishops. For on the one side, the Queen being a Woman, could not be Head of the Church; and on the other side, they both were convicted of one Crime, and so deposed. Thus, while we desired to have a Supreme Head among us, it came to pass, that we had no Head at all: When the Tumult was in the North in the time of K. Henry the Eighth (I am sure) the K. was determined to have given over the Supremacy again to the Pope; but the hour was not then come, and therefore it went not forward, lest some would have said, that he did it for Fear.

After this, Mr. Knevet and I were sent Ambassadors unto the Emperor, to desire him that he would be a Mean between the Popes Holiness and the King, to bring the King to the obedience of the See of Rome, but the time was not yet come. For it might have been said, that it had been done for a Civil Policy. Again, in the beginning of King Edwards Reign the matter was moved, but the Time was not yet: For it would have been said, that the King (being but a Child) had been bought and sold. Neither in the beginning of the Queens Reign was the hour come; for it would have been said, that it was done in a time of weakness. Likewise when the K. first came, if it had been done, they might have said it had been by Force and Violence. But now, even now, "hora est," the hour is come, when nothing can be objected, but that it is the meer Mercy and Providence of God. Now hath the Popes Holiness, Pope Julius the 3d. sent unto us this Most Reverend Father, Cardinal Poole, an Ambassador from his side. What to do? Not to revenge the Injuries done by us against his Holiness, sed benedicere maledicentibus, to give his Benediction to those that defamed and persecuted him.

And that we may be the more meet to receive the said Benediction, I shall desire you that we may always acknowledge our selves offenders against his Holiness; I do not exclude my self forth of the number. I will fere cum flentibus, & gaudere cum gaudentibus; That is, Weep with them that weep, and rejoyce with them that rejoyce. And I shall desire you, that we may defer the matter no longer; for now, hora est, the hour is come. The King and Queens Majesties have already restored our Holy Father the Pope to his Supremacy, and the three Estates assembled in the Parliament, representing the whole Body of the Realm, have also submitted themselves to his Holiness, and his Successors "for ever, wherefore let us not any longer stay. And even as Saint Paul said to the Corinthians, that he was their Father, so may the Pope say, that he is our Father: For we received our Doctrine first from Rome, therefore he may challenge us as his own. We have all cause to rejoyce, for his Holiness hath sent hither and prevented us, before we sought him: such

Anno
1554.

Winchester
very expert
(as appear-
eth) in
Ghastly
Dreams.

Who put-
teth out the
Candle, but
they which
extinguish
Gods Word,
and forbid
the Scrip-
tures that
should give
us Light?
They for-
bid Lay-
mens Books,
but you for-
bid the
Book of God.

Then helike
Head is no
Head at all
to give life
to his
Church, un-
less the
Popes Head
also be clapt
on the
Churches
Shoulders.

"Tuo pote-
stas tene-
brarum.

Stephen Gar-
diner clueth
the Car-
dinal.

Now how
the meaning
of S. Pauls
words are
here applied
"For ever,
Winchester a
false tro-
phee.
St. Paul,
though he
wrote the Fa-
ther of ma-
ny Churches
in Christen-
dom, yet was
he never so
arrogant to
take upon
him to be
Suprem
Head or any
Church, but
let that
belong to
Christ, and
laboured to
bring all
men to
such

Anno
1554.

such Care hath he for us. Therefore let us say, *Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea*, Rejoyce in this Day, which is of the Lords working, that such a Noble Birth is come, yea, such a Holy Father (I mean my Lord Cardinal *Poole*) which can speak unto us as unto Brethren, and not as unto Strangers, who hath a long time been absent. And let us now awake, which so long have slept, and in our sleep have done so much naughtiness against the Sacraments of Christ, denying the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and pulled down the Altar, which thing *Luther* himself would not do, but rather reproved them that did, examining them of their belief in Christ.

So *Ezechias* pulled down the Altar, which *Moses* did set up: and yet we condemn the Colage of *Ezechias*, and disprove *Moses* for setting up the other.

This was the Sum of his Sermon before his Prayers, wherein he prayed first for the Pope, Pope *Julus* the Third, with all his Colledge of Cardinals, the Bishop of London, with the rest of that Order; then for the King and Queen, and the Nobility of this Realm; and last, for the Commons of the same, with the Souls departed, lying in the pains of Purgatory. This ended, the time being late, they began in *Pauls* to ring to their Evening Song, whereby the Preacher could not be well heard, which caused him to make a short end of his Clerly Sermon.

About this very time a Post or Messenger was sent from the whole Parliament to the Pope, to desire him to confirm and establish the Sale of Abby-lands and Chantry-lands; For the Lords and the Parliament would grant nothing in the Popes behalf, before their Purchases were fully confirmed.

Decemb. 6. The Chapter of *Westm.* dissolved by the Cardinal

Upon the Thursday following, being the 6 day of December, and Saint *Nicholas* day, all the whole Convocation, both Bishops and others, were sent for to *Lambeth* to the Cardinal, who the same day forgave them all their Perjurations, Schisms, and Heresies, and they all there kneeled down and received his Absolution, and after an Exhortation and Gratulation for their Conversion to the Catholick Church made by the Cardinal, they departed.

Decemb. 11. The Question of Mr. *Tregoner* put to the Court, and delivered.

Upon the Wednesday, being the 12. of December, five of the eight men which lay in the Fleet, that were of *Master Throgmorton* Quest, were discharged, and set at liberty upon their Fine paid, which was 22.0 pound a piece; and the other three put up a Supplication, therein declaring, that their Goods did not amount to the Sum that they were appointed to pay; and so upon that Declaration paying 40. li. a piece, they were delivered out of Prison upon St. *Thomas* day before *Christmass*, being the 21. of December.

Decemb. 12.

Upon the Saturday following, being the 22. of December, all the whole Parliament had strict commandment, that none of them should depart into their Countrey this *Christmass*, nor before the Parliament were ended. Which commandment was wonderful contrary to their Expectations. For as well many of the Lords, as also many of the Inferiour sort had sent for their Horses, and had them brought hither.

Decemb. 28.

Upon the Friday following, being the 28. of December, and *Childermas* day, the Prince of *Piedmont* came to the Court at *Westminster*.

ANNO 1555.

January. Mr. *Rose* with 30. persons taken as a Commission in *Bow-Church-yard*.

Upon New-years day at Night following, certain *Holland* Men and Women of the City, to the Number of 30. and a Minister with them named *Master Rose*, were taken as they were in a House in *Bow-Church-Yard* at the Communion, and the same Night they were all committed to Prison. And on the Thursday following, being the 3. day of January, Mr. *Rose* was before the B. of *Winchester*, being Lord Chancellor, and from thence the same day he was committed to the Tower, after certain Communication had between the Bishop and him.

The Act of Supremacy passed in the Parliament.

The same day the Act of Supremacy past in the Parliament. Also the same day at Night was a great Tumult between *Spaniards* and *Englishmen* at *Westminster*, whereof was like to have ensued a great Mischief through a *Spanish* Friar, which got into the Church and rung *Alarum*. The Occasion was about two Whores which were in the Cloyster at *Westminster* with a sort of *Spaniards*, whereof, whilst some plaid the Knaves with them, other some did keep the Entry of the Cloyster with Dogs in harness. In the mean time certain of the Deans Men came into the Cloyster, and the *Spaniards* discharged their Dogs

A stir between the *Spaniards* and *Englishmen* at *Westminster*.

at them, and hurt some of them. By and by the Noise of this doing came into the Streets, so that the whole Town was up almost, but never a stroke was stricken. Notwithstanding the Noise of this doing with the Deans Men, and also the ringing of the *Alarum*, made much ado, and a great Number also to be sore afraid.

Ye heard a little before the Councils Letter sent to Bishop *Boner*, signifying the good News of Queen *Mary* to be not only conceived, but also quick with Child, which was in the Month of November, the 28. day. Of this Child great talk began at this time to rise in every Mans Mouth, with busie preparation, and much ado, especially amongst such as seemed in England to carry *Spanish* Hearts in English Bodies. In Number of whom here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condign Commendation for his worthy Affection toward his Prince and her Issue, one Sir *Richard Southwell*, who being the same time in this Parliament-house, whenas the Lords were occupied in other Affairs and Matters of Importance, suddenly starting up, for fulness of joy burst out in these words following: *Tygh my Masters*, quoth he, *what talk ye of these Matters? I would have you take some Order for our Master that is now coming into the World apace, lest he find us unprovided*, &c. By the which words both of him, and also by the foresaid Letters of the Council, & the common talk abroad, it may appear what an assured Opinion was then conceived in mens Heads of Q. *Mary* to be conceived and quick with Child. Inasmuch that at the same time, and in the same Parliament there was eftsoons a Bill exhibited, and an Act made upon the same, the words whereof, for the more evidence, I thought good here to exemplifie, as followeth.

The Words of the Act.

Albeit we the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, have firm hope and confidence in the Goodness of Almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculously preserved the Queens Majesty from many great imminent Perils and Dangers; even so he will of his Infinite Goodness give her His Highness strength, the rather by our continual Prayers, to pass well the danger of deliverance of Child, whereunto it hath pleased him (to all our great comforts) to bless her: yet forasmuch as all things of this World be uncertain, and having before our eyes the dolorous experience of this inconsistent Government, during the time of the Reign of the late King Edward the Sixth, do plainly see the manifold Inconveniences, great Dangers and Perils that may ensue in this whole Realm, if foresights be not used to prevent all evil Chances, if they should happen: For the observing hereof, we the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, for and in consideration of a most special Trust and Confidence that we have and repose in the King's Majesty, for and concerning the Politick Government, Order, and Administration of this Realm in the time of the young years of the Issue or Issues of her Majesties Body to be born, if it should please God to call the Queens Highness out of this present Life, during the tender years of such Issue or Issues (which God forbid) according to such order and manner, as hereafter in this present Act his Highness most Gracious Pleasure is, should be declared and set forth, have made our humble Suit, by the Assent of the Queens Highness, that his Majesty would vouchsafe to accept and take upon him the Rule, Order, Education, and Government of the said Issue or Issues to be born, as is aforesaid: Upon which our Suit, being of his said Majesty most graciously accepted, it hath pleased his Highness not only to declare, That like as for the most part his Majesty verily trusteth that Almighty God (who hath hitherto preserved the Queens Majesty, to give this Realm so good an Hope of certain Succession in the Blood Royal of the same Realm) will assist her Highness with his Graces and Beneditions, to see the Fruit of her Body well brought forth, live, and able to govern (whereof neither all this Realm, may all the World besides, should or could receive more Comfort than his Majesty should and would) yet if such chance should happen, his Majesty at our humble Desires is pleased and contented, not only to accept and take upon him the care and charge of the Education, Rule, Order, and Government of such Issues as of this

The words of Sir *Rich. Southwell* in the Parliament-house.

Be that an. 1. & 2. Phil. & Mar. ch. 1.

The Judgment of the Parliament decreed in Gods blessing.

Order taken by Parliament for Q. Maries Child.

Trust dispensed.

Anno
1554.

thy Marriage shall be born between the Queens
Husband and him; but also, during the time of such Go-
vernment, would by all ways and means, study, travel,
and employ himself to advance the Weal both publick and
private of this Realm and Dominion thereunto belonging,
according to the said Trust in his Majesty reposed, with
no less good will and affection, than if his Highness had
been naturally born amongst us. In consideration where-
of, be it Enacted by the King and the Queens most
Excellent Majesties, by the assent of the Lords Spiritual
and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parlia-
ment assembled, and by the Authority of the same, &c.
As it is to be seen in the Act more at large ratified and
confirmed at the same Parliament, to the same intent and
Purpose.

¶ Thus much out of the Act and Statute I thought
to rehearse, to the intent the Reader may understand not
so much how Parliaments may sometimes be deceived (as
by this Child of Q. Mary may appear) as rather what
cause we Englishmen have to render most earnest thanks
unto Almighty God, who so mercifully, against the opini-
on, expectation, and working of our Adversaries, hath help-
ed and delivered us in this case, which otherwise might
have opened such a Window to the Spaniards, to have en-
tered and replenished this Land, that peradventure by this
time Englishmen should have enjoyed no great quiet in
their own Countrey: The Lord therefore make us perpetu-
ally mindful of his Benefits: Amen.

Thus we see then how man doth purpose, but God dis-
poseth as pleaseth him. For all this great Labour, Provision
and Order taken in the Parliament-house for their Young
Master long looked for, coming so surely into the World,
in the end appeared neither young Master, nor young
Mistress, that any Man yet to this day can hear of. Further-
more, as the labour of the Lay-folk was herein deluded;
so no less ridiculous it was to behold, what little Effect the
Prayers of the Popes Churchmen had with Almighty God,
who travelled no less with their Processions, Masses and
Collects, for the happy deliverance of this young Master
to come, as here followeth to be seen.

The Prayers
of the Pa-
pists, yet what
little effect
they are
with God.

A Prayer made by Dr. Weston Dean of Westminster, dai-
ly to be said for the Queens deliverance.

A prayer
for Queen
Mary and
her Child,
turned out
of Latin to
to English.

O Most Righteous Lord God, which for the Offence of
the first Woman, hast threatened unto all Women a
common sharpe and inevitable malediction, and hath enjoy-
ned them that they should conceive in sin, and being conceiv-
ed, should be subject to many and grievous torments; and
finally, be delivered with the danger and jeopardy of their
Lives: We beseech thee for thine exceeding great goodness
and bottomless mercy, to mitigate the strictness of that Law.
Assuage thine anger for a while, and cherish in the bosom
of thy favour and mercy our most Gracious Queen Mary,
being now at the point to be delivered. So help her, that
without danger of her Life she may overcome the sorrow,
and in due season bring forth a Child, in Body beautiful
and Comely, in mind Noble and Valiant. So that after-
wards, she, forgetting the trouble, may with joy, laud and
praise be boundfulness of thy Mercy, and, together with
us, praise and bless both thee and thy Holy Name World
without end. This, O Lord, we desire thee, we beseech
thee, and most heartily crave of thee. Hear us, O Lord,
and grant us our Petition: Let not the Enemies of thy
Faith, and of thy Church say, Where is their God?

A solemn Prayer made for King Philip and Queen Ma-
ries Child, that it may be a Male-child, well favoured,
and witty, &c.

A devout
Prayer made
by the Ca-
tholicks for
Q. Mary,
being great
and quick
witted Child.

O Most Mighty Lord God, which regardest the Prayer
of the humble, and despisest not their Request; bow
down from thine high Habitation of the Heavens, the
eyes of thy Mercy unto us wretched Sinners, bowing the
knees of our Hearts, and with many and deep Sighs be-
wailing our sins and offences, humbly with eyes intent, and
hands displayed, praying and beseeching thee, with the shield
of thy Protection, to defend Mary thy Servant, and our Q.
who hath none other Helper but thee, and whom, through
thy Grace, thou hast willed to be conceived with Child:
and at the time of her travel graciously with the help of

thy right Hand deliver her, and from all danger, with
the Child in her conceived, mercifully preserve.

It hath seemed good in thy sight, merciful Father, by
thy Servant Mary, to work these Wonders; that is to say,
In her hands to vanquish and overthrow the stout Enemy,
and to deliver us, thy People, out of the hands of "Here-
ticks, Infidels, Enemies to thee, and to the Cross of thy be-
loved Son Jesus Christ, that of thy Servant thou mightest
speak in far Countries. Therefore for these wonderful
works, which thou dost to thy Servants, thou art magnified
Lord God, for ever, and we thy People bless thee the God
of Heaven, which hath wrought upon us this great Mercy,
and hath excluded from us the Heretick, the Enemy of
Truth, the Persecutor of thy Church. We know, we know,
that we have grievously (Lord) sinned, that we have been
deceived by vanity, and that we have forsaken thee our
God. Our Iniquities be multiplied on our head, and our sins
be increased up to Heaven: and we our selves having offend-
ed, and our Princes and our Priests, for these our Sins, have
deserved an Hypocrite to our Prince, our Sins have de-
served a Tyrant to our Governour, that should bring our
life to bitterness. We be not worthy to have so gentle and
merciful a Queen, so godly a Ruler, and finally, so virtuous
a Prince; at the very beginning of whose Reign, a new
Light, as it were, of Gods Religion seemed to us for to spring
and rise. The Jews did bless the Widow Judith with one
voice, saying, *Thou art the glory of Jerusalem, thou art the
joy of Israel, thou art the honour of our People, for that thou
hast loved Chastity, and thou shalt be blessed for ever.*

And we the English People with one agreeable consent
do cry; Thou Mary art the glory of England, our joy,
the honour of thy People, for that thou hast embraced
Chastity; thine heart is strengthened, for the hand of our
Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou shalt be bless-
ed for ever. But bow down, O most merciful Father, thine
Ear, and open thine Eyes, and behold our Affliction, and
our humble Confession. Thou knowest, Lord, that against
Philip, not by Human, but by thy Ordinance our King, and
against thy Servant Mary, by thy Providence our Queen,
the Restorers and Maintainers of thy Testament of the
Faith, and most constant Defenders of thy Church: Thou
knowest, I say, that against these our two Governors, the
enemies of thy Holy Testament, and of the Church thy
Spouse, be most rank Rebels and spiteful Murmurers, walk-
ing after their Lusts, whose mouth speaketh words of
Pride, to the end they may fit up the Kingdom of Here-
ticks and Schismatics. By the Power of their hands they
"would change thy Promises, and destroy thine Inheri-
tance, and stop and shut up the mouths of them that
praise thee, and extinguish the glory of thy Catholick
Church and Altar.

It is manifest and plain, how many Contentions, how
many Conspiracies and Seditions, how great Wars, what
Tumults, how many and how great troublesome Vexa-
tions, how many Heresies and Schisms (for these be
the most ready devices, and evident tokens of Heresicks)
for our Sins do hang over us, if thy Servant be taken from
this Life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipo-
tent, who hath pitched his dwelling-place in the midst of
his People, to the intent to deliver us out of the hands of
our Enemies. Turn therefore thy Countenance unto us,
shew unto us, O Lord, thy face. Punish us for our Sins
according to thy Will and Pleasure, only now deliver us.
We bowing the knees of our heart, beseech thee, that thou
wilt not reserve unto us punishment for ever, and we shall
praise thee all the days of our life. Hear our cry, and the
Prayer of thy People, and open to them the treasure of thy
Mercy, thy gracious Favour, the Spring of Lively Wa-
ter. Thou that hast begun, make in the hand of thy Ser-
vant a perfect work. Suffer not, we pray thee, the "faith-
less Rebels to say of thy Servant and her Counsellors, that
they have devised matters which they cannot per-
form. And grant unto thy Servant an happy and an ease
Travel. For it is not impossible to thy Power, nor inde-
cent to thy Justice, nor unwonted to thy Mercy.

It is well known unto us, how marvellously thou
diddst work in Sarah of the Age of 90. Years, and in
Elizabeth the barren, and also for stricken in Age: For thy
Counsel is not in the Power of men. Thou Lord that art
the Searcher of Hearts and Thoughts, thou knowest that
thy Servant never lust after Man, never gave her self to

The Papists
call the Pro-
cessions Here-
ticks and
Enemies to
the Cross of
Christ, even
as *Isabel*
called *Elena*
the Distur-
ber of Israel,
when he
was only
the Distur-
ber himself.

Q. Mary
compared
to the
Widow
Judith.

Mark how
forgetting
his Prayer,
he saileth to
the praising
of Q. Mary.

"The Tes-
tament
fetched up
only the
Glory of
Christ.

"If the
changing of
Gods pro-
mises, de-
stroying his
inheritance,
stopping the
mouths of
Gods people
if contenti-
ons, wars, &
schisms be
tokens of
Hereticks,
who so great
Hereticks as
the Papists?

"Cry up
loudly you
Priests, per-
adventure
your God is
asleep.

The Lord
gave a Pro-
mise to Sa-
rah, and El-
izabeth, so
did he not
to Q. Mary.

wantou

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wanton Company, nor made her self Partaker with them that walk in lightness: But she consented to take an Husband with thy fear, and not with her lust. Thou knowest that thy Servant took an Husband not for carnal pleasure, but only for the desire and love of Posterity, wherein thy Name might be blessed for ever and ever. Give therefore unto thy Servants, *Philip* our King, and *Mary* our Queen, a Male Issue, which may fit in the Seat of thy Kingdom. Give unto our Queen thy Servant, a little Infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent.

Grant the same to be in obedience like *Abraham*, in hospitality like *Lot*, in chastity and brotherly love like *Joseph*, in meekness and mildness like *Moses*, in strength and valour like *Samson*. Let him be found faithful as *David* and let thy Heart. Let him be wife among Kings as the most wise *Solomon*. Let him be like *Job*, a simple and an upright man, fearing God, and eschewing evil. Let him finally be garnished with the comeliness of all Vertuous conditions, and in the same Ioschim wax old and live, that he may see his Childrens Children to the third and fourth generation. And give unto our Sovereign Lord and Lady, King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, thy Blessings and long life upon Earth; and grant that of them may come Kings and Queens, which may steadfastly continue in Faith, Love, and Holiness. And blessed be their Seed of our God, that all Nations may know, thou art only God in all the Earth, which art blessed for ever and ever: Amen.

Another Prayer for Queen *Mary*, and her conceived Child

Another
Prayer for
the same.

O Almighty Father, which didst sanctifie the Blessed Virgin and Mother *Mary* in her Conception, and in the Birth of Christ our Saviour thine only Son: Also by thine Omnipotent Power didst safely deliver the Prophet *Jonas* out of the Whales Belly: Defend, O Lord, we beseech thee, thy servant *Mary*, our Queen, with Child conceived, and so visit her in and with thy Godly Gift of health that not only the Child thy Creature, within her contained, may joyfully come from her into this World, and receive the blessed Sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation, enjoying therewith daily increase of all Princely and Gracious Gifts both of Body and Soul; but that also she the Mother, through thy special Grace and Mercy, may in time of her Travell avoid all excessive Dolor and Pain, and abide perfect and pure from all peril and danger of Death, with long and prosperous Life, through Christ our Lord: Amen.

January 10.

It followeth now further in process of the Story, that upon the Tuesday, being the 10. of January, nineteen of the Lower House of the Parliament with the Speaker, came to the Whitehall to the King, and offered him the Government of the Realm and of the Issue, if the Queen should fail, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament within ten days after.

January 26.
The Popes
Supremacy
established
by Parlia-
ment.

Upon Wednesday following, being the 26. of January, the Parliament was clean dissolved. In this Parliament amongst other tidings, the Bishop of *Rome* was established, and all such Laws as were made against him since the twentieth Year of *K. Henry* the 8th. were repealed, and also Cardinal *Pole*, Bishop *Pater*, *Lilly*, and other were restored to their Blood. Also there was an Act made for speaking of Words; That whoever should speak any thing against the King, or Queen, or that might move any Sedition or Rebellion, at the first time to have one of his Ears cut off, or to forfeit an hundred Marks; and at the second time, to have both his Ears cut off, or else to forfeit an hundred pound; and whosoever should write, cypher, or print any of the Premises, to have their Right Hand cut off.

Three Sta-
tutes against
Heretics
revived.

Also in this Parliament three Statutes were revived for trial of Heresie: one made in the fifth year of *R. 2.* another in the second year of *H. 4.* and the third in the second year of *H. 5.* Also the doing of *M. Rafe*, and the other that were with him, was commuted in this Parliament, and upon that occasion an Act was made, That certain Evil Prayers should be Treason against the Queens Highness. The Prayers of these men were thus; *God turn the Heart of Q. Mary from Idolatry, &c. else shorten her days.* Whereof read the Statute *2. 1. & 2. Reg. Phil. & Mar. cap. 9.*

As touching the taking of *M. Rafe* and his Fellows, word was brought thereof to *Mr. Hooper*, being then in

the Fleet. Whereupon the said *Mr. Hooper* sendeth Answer again, with a Letter also of Consolation sent to the said Prisoners; the Copy whereof I thought here not to overpass.

The Answer of *Mr. Hooper* to a Letter sent unto him concerning certain Prisoners taken in Bow-Church-yard.

The Grace of God be with you, Amen. I perceive by your Letter, how that upon New-years day as Night there were taken a godly company of Christians, whilst they were praying. I do rejoice in that men can be so well occupied in this perilous time, and flee unto God for Remedy by Prayer, as well for their own lacks and necessities, as also charitably to pray for them that persecute them. So doth the Word of God command all men to pray charitably for them that hate them, and not to revile any Magistrate with words, or to mean him Evil by force or violence. They also may rejoice that in well-doing they were taken to the Prison. Wherefore I have thought it good to send them this little Writing of Consolation; praying God to send them patience, charity, and constancy in the Truth of his most Holy Word. Thus fare you well, and pray God to send his true Word into this Realm again amongst us, which the ungodly Bishops have now banished. Jan. 4. An. 1555.

Mr. Hooper
answers to a
certain Let-
ter sent unto
him.

A Letter of Consolation sent from *Mr. Hooper* to the Godly Brethren taken in Bow-Church-yard in Prayer, and laid in the Counter in Breadstreet.

The Grace, Favour, Consolation, and aid of the Holy Ghost, be with you now and ever. So be it. Dearly beloved in the Lord, ever since your Imprisonment I have been marvellously moved with great affections and passions, as well of Mirth and Gladness, as of Heaviness and Sorrow. Of Gladness in this, that I perceived how ye be bent and given to Prayer and Invocation of Gods help in these dark and wicked Proceedings of men against Gods Glory. I have been sorry to perceive the malice and wickedness of men to be so cruel, devilish, and tyrannical to persecute the People of God for serving of God, saying and hearing of the holy Psalms, and the Word of eternal life. These cruel doings do declare, that the Papists Church is more bloody and tyrannical, than ever was the Sword of the *Esauicks* and *Gensiles*.

A Letter of
Mr. Hooper
full of most
heavenly
consolation;

When I heard of your taking, and what ye were doing, wherefore, and by whom ye were taken, I remembered how the Christians in the Primitive Church were used by the cruelty of unchristen Heathens, in the time of *Trajan* the Emperor, about 77. years after Christs Ascension into Heaven: and how the Christians were persecuted very sore, as though they had been Traytors and Movers of Sedition. Whereupon the gentle Emperor *Trajan* required to know the true Cause of Christian mens trouble. A great learned Man called *Plinius*, wrote unto him, and said; It was because the Christians said certain Psalms before day unto one called Christ, whom they worshipped for God. When *Trajan* the Emperor understood it was for nothing but for Conscience and Religion, he caused by his Commandments every where, That no man should be persecuted for serving of God. But the Pope and his Church hath cast you into Prison, being taken even doing the Work of God, and one of the excellentest Works that is required of Christian Men: that is to wit, whilst ye were in Prayer, and not in such wicked and superstitious Prayers as the Papists use, but in the same Prayer that Christ hath taught you to pray. And in his Name only ye gave God thanks for that ye have received, and for his Sake ye asked for such things as ye want. O, glad may ye be that ever ye were born, to be apprehended whilst ye were so virtuously occupied. Blessed be they that suffer for Righteousness sake. For if God had suffered them that took your Bodies, then to have taken your Life also, now had they been following the Lamb in perpetual Joys, away from the Company and Assembly of Wicked men. But the Lord would not have you suddenly so to depart, but reserveth you, gloriously to speak and maintain his Truth to the World.

Of this pecc-
tion
read before;The Pope
worse than
Trajan the
Heathen
Emperor;

Be ye not careful what ye shall say, for God will go out and in with you, and will be present in your Hearts, and in your Mouths to speak his Wisdom, although it seemeth

feemeth Foolishness to the World. He that hath begun this good work in you, continue you in the same unto the end; and pray unto him that ye may fear him only, that hath power to kill both Body and Soul, and to cast them into Hell-fire. Be of good comfort. All the Hairs of your Head are numbered, and there is not one of them can perish, except your Heavenly Father suffer it to perish. Now ye be in the field, and placed in the Fore-front of Christs Battel. Doubtless it is a singular Favour of God, and a special Love of him towards you, to give you this forward and preheminance, as a Sign that he trusteth you before others of his People. Wherefore (dear Brethren and Sisters) continually fight this Fight of the Lord. Your Cause is most just and godly, ye stand for the true Christ (who is after the Flesh in Heaven) and for his true Religion and Honour, which is amply, fully, sufficiently, and abundantly contained in the Holy Testament, sealed with Christs own Blood. How much be ye bound to God who puts you in trust with so Holy and just a Cause?

Remember what lookers-on you have to see and behold you in your fight, God and all his Angels, who be ready always to take you up into Heaven, if ye be slain in his fight. Also you have standing at your backs all the multitude of the Faithful, who shall take courage, strength, and desire to follow such Noble and Valiant Christians as you be. Be not afraid of your Adversaries: for he that is in you, is stronger than he that is in them. Shrink not although it be pain to you, your pains be not now so great, as hereafter your Joies shall be. Read the comfortable Chapters to the *Romans* 8. 10. 15, *Hebrewes* 11. 12. And upon your knees thank God that ever ye were accounted worthy to suffer any thing for his Names sake. Read the second Chapter of *S. Lukes Gospel*, and there you shall see how the Shepherds that watched upon their sheep all night, as soon as they heard that Christ was Born at *Bethlem*, by and by went to see him. They did not reason nor debate with themselves, who should keep the wolf from the sheep in the mean time, but did as they were commanded, and committed their sheep unto him, whose pleasure they obeyed. So let us do now we be called, commit all other things to him that calleth us. He will take heed that all things shall be well. He will help the Husband, he will comfort the Wife, he will guide the servants, he will keep the Houle, he will preserve the goods; ye, rather than it should be undone, he will walk the ditches, and rock the cradle. Call therefore all your care upon God for he careth for you.

Besides this, you may perceive by your Imprisonment, that your Adversaries weapons against you be nothing but Flesh, Blood, and Tyranny. For if they were able, they would maintain their wicked Religion by Gods Word: but for lack of that, they would Violently compel us as they cannot by Holy Scripture persuade, because the Holy Word of God, and all Christs doings be contrary unto them. I pray you, pray forme, and I will pray for you. And although we be assunder after the World, yet in Christ (I trust) for ever joyning in the Spirit, and so shall meet in the Palace of the Heavenly Joies, after this short and transitory life is ended. Gods Peace be with you. Amen. The 14. of January, 1555.

Upon the Friday following, being the 18. of January, all the Council went unto the *Tower*, and there the same day discharged and set at liberty all the prisoners of the *Tower*, or the most part of them, namely, the late Duke of Northumberland's Sons, *Ambrose*, *Robert*, and *Hemy*; Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *John Rogers*, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Nicholas Thymorton*, Sir *Nicholas Arna*, Sir *George Harper*, Sir *Edward Warner*, Sir *William Sentlow*, Sir *Gawen Carew*, Master *Gibbes*, *Cuthbert Vaughan*, with many other.

Upon the Tuesday following, being the 22. of January, all the Preachers that were in prison were called before the Bishop of *Winchester* Lord Chancellor, and certain other, at the Bishops Houle at Saint *Mary Overies*. From whence (after Communication, being asked whether they would Convert and enjoy the *Queens* Pardon, or else stand to that they had taught; they all answered, that they would stand to that they had taught) they were committed to straighter prison than before they were, with Charge that none should speak with them.

Among the which Number of prisoners, one *James George* the same time died in prison, being there in Bonds for Religion and Righteousnes sake; who therefore was exempted to be buried in the Popish Churchyard, and was buried in the Field.

Upon the Wednesday following, being the 23. of January, all the Bishops with all the rest of the Convocation Houle were before the Cardinal at *Lambeth*, where he willed them to repair every man where his cure and Charge lay, exhorting them to intreat the people and their flock with all gentleness, and to endeavour themselves to win the people rather by gentleness than by extremity and rigour, and so let them depart.

Upon the Friday following, being the 25. of January, and the day of the Conversion of Saint *Paul*, there was given a General and Solemn Procession thorow *London*, to give God thanks for their Conversion to the Catholick Church: wherein (to set out their Glorious pomp) there were fourscore and ten Crosses, 160. Priests and Clerks, who had every one of them Copes upon their backs, singing very lustily. There followed also for the better estimation of the fight, eight Bishops, and last of all came Bona the Bishop of *London*, carrying the Popish Pix under a Canopie.

Besides, there was also present the Major, Aldermen, and all the Livery of every occupation. Moreover, the King also himself, and the Cardinal came to *Pauls Church* the same day. From whence after Mass they returned to *Westminster* again. As the King was entered the Church at the steps going up to the Quire, all the Gentlemen that of late were let at liberty out of the *Tower*, kneeled before the King, and offered unto him themselves and their services.

After the Procession there was also commandment given to make Bonfires at night. Whereupon did rise among the people a doubtful talk why all this was done. Some said it was that the *Queen* being (as they said) with Child, might have a safe delivery. Others thought that it was for Joy that the Realm was joyned again to the *See of Rome*, which opinion of both seemed most true.

Upon the Munday following, being the 28. of January, the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the other Bishops had Commission from the Cardinal to sit upon, and order, according to the Laws, all such Preachers and Hereticks (as they termed them) as were in prison, and according to this Commission, the same day the Bishop of *Winchester* and the other Bishops, with certain of the Council, sat in *S. Mary Overies* Church and called before them these three, *M. Hooper*, *M. Rogers*, and Master *Cardmaker*, who were brought thither by the Sheriffs; from whence after Communication they were committed to prison till the next day, but *Cardmaker* this day submitted himself unto them.

Upon the Tuesday, being the 29. of January, *Hooper*, *Rogers*, *Doctory Taylor*, and *Bradford* were brought before them, where Sentence of Excommunication and Judgment Ecclesiastical was pronounced upon *M. Hooper* and *M. Rogers*, by the Bishop of *Winchester*, who late as Judge in *Caiphas* seat, who drove them out of the Church, according to their law and order. *Doctory Taylor* and *Bradford* were committed to prison till the next day.

Upon the Wednesday, being the 30. of January, *Doctory Taylor*, *Doctory Crome*, *M. Bradford*, *M. Saunders*, and *Doctory Ferrar*, sometimes Bishop of *S. David*, and *M. Ferrar* were before the said Bishops, where three of them, that is to say, *Doctory Taylor*, Master *Saunders*, and *M. Bradford* were likewise Excommunicated, and Sentence pronounced upon them, and so committed to the Sheriffs. *D. Crome* desired two months respite, and it was granted him; and *M. Ferrar* was again committed to prison till another time. All these men shewed themselves to be learned, as indeed they were no less: but what availeth either learning, reason, or Truth it self, where will beareth rule?

After the examination and Condemnation of these good men and Preachers above recited, Commissions and Inquisitors were sent abroad likewise into all Parts of the Realm; by reason whereof, a great number of most godly and true Christians (out of all the quarters of the Realm, but especially *Ken*, *Essex*, *Northfolk* and *Suffolk*) were apprehended,

Mat. 10.
Luk. 12.

The first
order of
this perfec-
tion given
in New
Church yard

1 John 4.

Comfort to
them out of
the Scrip-
tures.

True obedi-
ence putteth
no doubts.

All careful-
nes to be
call upon
Lord.

All the
strength of
the Popes
Religion
standeth in
 outward
force.

January 18
Sentences
delivered
out of the
Tower by
the Queens
pardon.

January 22.
The Prea-
chers called
before the
B. of Win-
chester at St.
Mary
Overies.

Anno
1555.

James George
died in
prison, and
was buried
in the field;
January 23.

January 25.
General Pro-
cession for
joy of the
Queens
conversion.

January 28.
Commission
from the
Cardinal to
sit upon the
persecuted
Preachers
for Religion

January 29.
M. Hooper
and M. Ro-
gers conde-
mned.

January 30.
Doctory Tay-
lor, D. Taylor
and M. Fer-
rar condemned.

Anno
1554.

were apprehended, brought up to London, cast into prison, and afterward (most of them) either consumed cruelly by fire, or else through evil handling died in the Prisons, and were buried on the Dung-Hills abroad in the Fields, or in some backside of the Prison. Of all which matters, concerning the Tragical handling of the blessed *Martyrs* and Witnesses of Jesus Christ, of all the Bloody Persecution of this time, now followeth (the Lord so granting) severally and more particularly in this next Book in order to be declared: after that I shall first recite a general Supplication, given up in the name of the Preachers aforesaid lying in Prison, unto the King and Queen during the time of the Parliament, as followeth.

Unto the King and Queens most excellent Majesties, and to their most Honourable and High Court of Parliament.

As application of the persecuted Preachers to the King and Queen.

IN most humble and lamentable wise complain unto your Majesties, and to your High Court of Parliament, your poor desolate and obedient Subjects: H. F. T. B. P. R. S. &c. That whereas your said Subjects, living under the Laws of God, and of this Realm in the days of the late most noble King Edward the sixth, did in all things shew themselves true, faithful, and diligent Subjects, according to their vocation, as well in the sincere ministering of Gods most Holy Word, as in due obedience to the higher Powers, and in the daily practice of such virtues and good demeanour, as the Laws of God at all times, and the Statutes of the Realm did then allow: Your said Subjects nevertheless, contrary to all Laws of Justice, Equity, and Right, are in very extreme manner, not only cast into Prison (where they have remained, now these 15. or 16. Months) but their Livings also, their Houses and Possessions, their Goods and Books taken from them, and they slandered to be most Hainous Hereticks, their Enemies themselves being both Witnesses, Accusers, and Judges, belying, slandering, and mis-reporting your said Subjects at their pleasure, where as your said Subjects, being straightly kept in Prison, cannot yet be suffered to come forth, and make answer accordingly.

In consideration whereof, it may please your most ex-

cellent Majesty, and this your High Court of Parliament, graciously to tender the present Calamity of your said poor Subjects, and to call them before your Presence, granting them liberty, either by Mouth or Writing in the plain English Tongue, to answer before you, or before indifferent Arbiters to be appointed by your Majesties, who such Articles of controversie in Religion as their said Adversaries have already condemned them of, as of Hainous Heresies: Provided, that all things may be done with such moderation and quiet behaviour, as becometh Subjects and Children of Peace, and that your said Subjects may have the free use of all their own Books, and conference together among themselves.

Which thing being granted, your said Subjects doubt not but it shall plainly appear, that your said Subjects are true and Faithful Christians, and neither Hereticks, neither Teachers of Heresie, nor cut off from the true Catholick Universal Church of Christ: yea, that rather their Adversaries themselves be unto your Majesties as were the Charmers of Egypt to Pharaoh, Zedechias and his Adherents unto the King of Israel, and Barjesu to the Proconsul Sergius Paulus. And if your said Subjects be not able by the testimony of Christ, his Prophets, Apostles, and Godly Fathers of his Church, to prove, that the Doctrine of the Church, Homiles, and Service taught and set forth in the time of our late most godly Prince and King, Edward the sixth, is the true Doctrine of Christs Catholick Church, and most agreeable to the Articles of the Christian Faith; your said Subjects offer themselves then to the most heavy punishment, that it shall please your Majesties to appoint.

Wherefore for the tender Mercy of God in Christ (which you look for at the day of Judgement) your said poor Subjects in Bonds most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesties, and this your High Court of Parliament, benignly and graciously to hear and grant this their Petition, tending so greatly to the Glory of God, to the edifying of his Church, to the Honour of your Majesties, to the commendation and maintenance of Justice, Right, and Equity both before God and Man. And your said Subjects, according to their bounden duty, shall not cease to pray unto Almighty God for the Gracious preservation of your most excellent Majesties long to endure.

Request of the Preachers to stand to the trial of their Doctrines before your Majesty.

The long imprisonment of the Christian Preachers. Underly proceeding of the adversaries against Gods people.

The end of the Tenth Book.

I

THE

Anno
1555.

THE ELEVENTH BOOK:

WHEREIN

Is discoursed the bloody Murthering of God's Saints, with the particular Proceffes and Names of such good Martyrs, both Men and Women, as in this time of Queen *MARY* were put to Death.

The Story, Life, and Martyrdom of Mr. John Rogers.

February 4.
The life and
Story of Mr.
John Rogers.

THE Fourth day of February suffered the constant Martyr of God, Master *John Rogers*, concerning whose Life, Examinations, and Suffering, here followeth in order set forth. And first touching his Life and bringing up.

Mr. Rogers
Chaplain
the Mer-
chants Ad-
venturers at
Antwerp.

Mr. Rogers
brought to
the Gospel
by Mr. T. J.
Jell and Mr.
Coverdale.

Of Mr. Ro-
gers doing in
this Trans-
lation, read
alone.

Mr. Rogers
goeth to
Wittenberg.

Mr. Rogers
reconverteth
from Awe-
lato Eng-
land in King
Edwards
wards time.

Mr. Rogers
Reader and
Prebendary
to Pauls.

John Rogers brought up in the University of *Cambridge*, where he profitably travelled in good Learning, at the length was chosen and called by the *Merchants Adventurers* to be their Chaplain at *Antwerp* in *Brabant*, whom he served to their good contentation many years. It chanced him there to fall in Company with that worthy Servant and Martyr of God *William Tindal*, and with *Miles Coverdale*, which both for the hatred they bare to Popish Superstition and Idolatry, and love to true Religion, had forsaken their Native Country. In conferring with them the Scriptures he came to great knowledge in the Gospel of God, inasmuch that he cast off the heavy Yoke of Popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy Idolatry, and joyined himself with them two in that painful and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English Tongue, which is intituled, *The Translation of Thomas Matthew*. He knowing by the Scriptures, that unlawful Vows may lawfully be broken, and that Matrimony is both honest and honourable among all men, joyined himself in lawful Matrimony, and so went to *Wittenberg* in *Saxony*, where he with much soberness of living did not only greatly increase in all good and godly Learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch Tongue, that the Charge of a Congregation was orderly committed to his Cure.

In which Ministry he diligently and faithfully served many years, until such time as it pleased God, by the faithful travel of his chosen and dear Servant, King *Edward* the Sixth, utterly to banish all Popery forth of *England*, and to receive in true Religion, setting Gods Gospel at liberty. He then being orderly called, having both a Confidence and a ready good will to help forward the Work of the Lord in his Native Country, left such honest and certain Conditions as he had in *Saxony*, and came into *England* to preach the Gospel, without certainty of any Condition. In which Office, after he had a space diligently and faithfully travelled, *Nicholas Ridley*, then Bishop of *London*, gave him a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of *Pauls*; and the Dean and the Chapter chose him to be the Reader of the Divinity Lesson there, wherein he diligently travelled, until such time as Queen *Mary* obtaining the Crown, banished the Gospel and true Religion, and brought in the Antichrist of *Rome*, with his Idolatry and Superstition.

After the Queen was come to the *Tower* of *London*, he being orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement Sermon at *Pauls Cross*, confirming such true Doctrine as he and other had there taught in King *Edward*'s days, exhorting the People constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all pestilent Popery, Idolatry, and Superstition. The Council being then over-matched with Pupils and Bloody Bishops, cal-

led him to account for his Sermon: To whom he made a stout, witty, and godly Answer, and yet in such sort handled himself, that at that time he was clearly dismissed. But after that Proclamation was set forth by the Queen to prohibite true Preaching, he was called again before the Council; for the Bishops thrifted after his Blood. The Council quarrelled with him concerning his Doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as Prisoner to keep his own House, and so he did: although by flying he might easily have escaped their cruel hands, and many things there were which might have moved him thereunto. He did see the Recovery of Religion in *England*, for that present, desperate: He knew he could not want a Living in *Germany*, and he could not forget his Wife and ten Children, and to seek means to succour them. But all these things set apart, after he was called to answer in Christs Cause, he would not depart, but stoutly stood in defence of the same, and for the trial of that Truth, was content to hazard his Life.

Thus he remained in his own House as Prisoner a long time, till at the length, through the uncharitable procurement of *Boner* Bishop of *London*, who could not abide such honest Neighbours to dwell by him, he was removed from his own House to the Prison called *Newgate*, where he was lodged among Thieves and Murderers for a great space: During which time, what business he had with the Adversaries of Christ, all is not known, neither yet any certainty of his Examinations, further then he himself did leave in Writing, which God would not to be lost, but to remain for a perpetual Testimony in the Cause of Gods Truth, as here followeth recorded and testified by his own writing.

The Examination and Answer of John Rogers made to the Lord Chancellor, and to the rest of the Council, the 22. of January, Anno 1555.

The Lord Chancellor.

First the Lord Chancellor said unto me thus: Sir, Examination and answer of Mr. John Rogers.

Rogers. No, my Lord, I have been kept in close Prison, and except there have been some general thing said at the Table when I was at Dinner or Supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any special thing might be grounded.

L. Chan. Then said the Lord Chancellor; General things, general things, mockingly: Ye have heard of my Lord Cardinals coming, and that the Parliament hath received his Blessing, not one resisting unto it, but one man which did speak against it. Such an Unity, and such a Miracle hath not been seen. And all they, of which there are Eight score in one House, (said one that was by, whose name I know not) have with one assent and consent received Pardon of their Offences, for the Schism that we have had in *England*, in refusing the holy Father of *Rome*.

Mr. Rogers
called in re-
course (at his
Sermon at
Pauls Cross.

Mr. Rogers
again called
before the
Council, and
commanded
to keep his
House.

Mr. Rogers
sent to
Newgate.

Examination
and answer
of Mr. John
Rogers.

Full force
against their
will, as they
could other-
wise have
chosen.

Anno 1555. Rome to be Head of the Catholick Church. How say ye? Are ye content to unite and knit your self to the Faith of the Catholick Church with us, in the state in which it is now in England? Will ye do that?

Rog. The Catholick Church I never did nor will dissent from.

L. Chan. Nay, but I speak of the state of the Catholick Church, in that wife in which we stand now in England, having received the Pope to be Supreme Head.

No Head of the Catholick Church but Christ. Rog. I know none other Head but Christ of his Catholick Church, neither will I acknowledge the Bishop of Rome to have any more Authority than any other Bishop hath by the Word of God, and by the Doctrine of the old and pure Catholick Church four hundred years after Christ.

L. Chan. Why didst thou then acknowledge K. Henry the Eighth to be the Supreme Head of the Church, if Christ be the only Head?

Rog. I never granted him to have any Supremacy in Spiritual things, as are the Forgiveness of Sins, Giving of the Holy Ghost, Authority to be a Judge above the Word of God.

L. Chan. Yea, said he, and Tomfall Bishop of Durham, and N. Bishop of Worcester, if thou hadst said so in his days, and they nodded the head at me with a laughter, thou hadst not been alive now.

Rog. Which thing I denied, and would have told how he was said and meant to be Supreme Head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a business, that I was constrained to let it pass. There lyeth also no great weight thereupon; for all the World knoweth what the meaning was. The Lord Chancellor also said to the Lord William Haward, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Christ to be Supreme Head and the Bishop of Rome also: And when I was ready to have answered that there could not be two Heads of one Church, and have more plainly declared the vanity of that his Reason, the Lord Chancellor said, What saidst thou? Make us a direct Answer whether thou wilt be one of this Catholick Church or not, with us in that state in which we are now?

Rog. My Lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye your selves do think in your hearts that he is Supreme Head in forgiving of Sin, &c. (as is before said) seeing you, and all the Bishops of the Realm have now twenty years long preached, and some of you also written to the contrary, and the Parliament hath so long agoe condescended unto it. And there he interrupted me thus.

L. Chan. Tush, that Parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the Primacy from the Bishop of Rome.

Rog. With cruelty? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way with cruelty to perfwade mens Consciences. For it should appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used hath not perfwaded your Consciences. How would you then have our Consciences perfwaded with cruelty?

L. Chan. I talk to thee of no cruelty, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that Parliament, to let the Act go forward; yea, and even with force driven thereunto, whereas in this Parliament it was so uniformly received, as is aforesaid.

Rog. Here my Lord Pages told me more plainly, what my Lord Chancellor meant. Unto whom I answered: My Lord, what wilt ye conclude thereby; that the first Parliament was of less Authority, because but few condescended unto it? And this last Parliament of great Authority, because more condescended unto it? It goeth not my Lord, by more or lesser part, but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part: And I would have said more, but the L. Chancellor interrupted me with his question, willing me once again to answer him. For, said he, we have, more to speak with than thou, which must come in after thee. And so there were indeed ten persons more out of Newcastle, besides those that were not called. Of which ten, one was a Citizen of London, which granted unto them, and nine were contrary: which all came to Prison again, and refused the Cardinals Blessing, and the Authority of his holy Fathers Church, saying that one of these nine was not asked the question, otherwise than thus, whether he would be an honest man as his Father was before

him, and he answering Yea, he was so discharged by the friendship of my L. William Haward, as I have understood. He bade me tell him what I would do; whether I would enter into the one Church with the whole Realm as it is now, or not? No, said I, I will first see it proved by the Scriptures. Let me have Pen, Ink, and Books, &c. And I shall take upon me plainly to set out the matter, so that the contrary shall be proved to be true; and let any man that will confer with me by writing.

L. Chan. Nay, that shall not be permitted thee? Thou shalt never have so much proffered thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and will not now condescend and agree to the Catholick Church. Here are two things, Mercy and Justice: If thou refuse the Queens Mercy now, then shalt thou have Justice ministred unto thee.

Rog. I never offended, nor was disobedient unto her Grace, and yet I will not refuse her Mercy. But if this shall be denied me to confer by writing; and to try out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. Ye your selves (all the Bishops of the Realm) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended Primacy of the Bishop of Rome, when I was a young man twenty years past: And will ye now without collation have me to say and do the contrary? I cannot be so perfwaded.

L. Chan. If thou wilt not receive the Bishop of Rome to be Supreme Head of the Catholick Church, then thou shalt never have her Mercy thou mayest be sure. And as touching conferring and trial, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to use any conferring and trial with thee. For S. Paul teacheth me, that I should smite and chew an Heretic after one or two Monitions, knowing that such an one is overthrown, and is faulty, inasmuch as he is condemned by his own judgment.

Rog. My Lord, I deny that I am an Heretic: Prove ye that first, and then alledge the foresaid Text. But still the Lord Chancellor played on one string, saying:

L. Chan. If thou wilt enter into one Church with us, &c. tell us that, or else thou shalt never have so much proffered thee again as thou hast now.

Rogers. I will find it first in the Scripture, and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be Supreme Head.

Wer. Why? Do ye not know what is in your Creed: *Credo Ecclesiam sanctam Catholicam*, I believe the holy Catholick Church.

Rog. I find not the Bishop of Rome there. For (Catholick) significeth not the Romish Church: It significeth the content of all true Teaching Churches of all times, and all ages. But how should the Bishop of Rome's Church like be one of them, which teacheth so many Doctrines that are plainly and directly against the Word of God? Can that Bishop be the true Head of the Catholick Church that doth so? that is not possible.

L. Chan. Shew me one of them, one, let me hear one.

Rog. I remembered my self, that amongst so many I were best to shew one, and said, I will shew you one.

L. Chan. Let me hear that, let me hear that.

Rog. The Bishop of Rome and his Church, say, read, and sing, all that they do in their Congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly against the first to the *Corinthians*, the fourteenth Chapter.

L. Chan. I deny that, I deny that that is against the Word of God. Let me see you prove that; how prove you that?

Rog. Thus I began to say the Text from the beginning of the Chapter, *Qui loquitur linguam*, &c. to speak with tongue, said I, is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin or Greek, &c. and so to speak, is not to speak unto men, but to God. But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue, wherefore ye speak not unto men, but unto God * (meaning God only at the most.) This he granted, that they spake not unto men, but unto God.

L. Chan. Well, then it is in vain unto men.

Rog. No, not in vain. For one man speaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well.

L. Chan. Nay, I will prove then, that he speaketh neither to God nor to Man, but unto the Wind.

Rog. I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two Texts do agree (for they must agree, they be both the sayings of the Holy Ghost, spoken

St. Paul intended to have the Truth to be tried by Learning;

The Bishops neither will stand by their Assertion, nor yet will suffer other men to do so.

A fair pretence to excuse your ignorance;

Cardinal will compel us to that which he cannot teach to his true;

The Popes Church is pretended, not to be Catholic;

Latin Sermon.

Speaking in a strange tongue against S. Paul.

* interpreted divine.

1 Cor. 14. To speak of God only;

To speak
both to God
and Man.
To speak
neither to
God nor
Man, but the
Wind.

by the Apostle Paul) as to wit, to speak not to Men, but unto God, and to speak into the Wind: and so to have gone forward with the proof of my matter begun, but here arose a noise and a confusion. Then said the Lord Chancellor:

L. Chan. To speak unto God, and not unto God, were impossible.

Rog. I will prove them possible.

L. Haward. No, said my Lord William Haward to my Lord Chancellor: now will I bear you witness that he is out of the way: For he granted first, that they which speak in a strange speech speak unto God: and now he saith the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to Man.

Rog. I have not granted nor said (turning me to my Lord Chancellor) as you report. I have alledged the one Text, and now I am come to the other. They must agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, you understand not the matter.

L. Haward. I understand so much, that that is not possible. This is a point of Sophistry, quoth Secretary Bournes.

L. Chan. Then the Lord Chancellor began to tell the Lord Haward, that when he was in *High Dutchland*, they at *Hale*, which had before prayed and used their Service all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worcester. Yea, and at *Wittenberg* too.

Rog. Yea, (but I could not be heard for the noise) in an University, where men for the most part understand the Latin, and yet not all in Latin. And I would have told the Order, and have gone forward both to have answered my Lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand: but perceiving their talk and noise to be too noisome, I was fain to think this in my heart, suffering them in the mean while to talk one of them one thing, and another another. Alas! neither will these men hear me if I speak, neither yet will they suffer me to write. There is no remedy, but let them alone, and commit the matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, and said, that I would make the Texts to agree, and to prove my purpose well enough.

L. Chan. No, no, thou canst prove nothing by the Scripture. The Scripture is dead: it must have a lively Expofitor.

Rog. No, the Scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpose.

Wor. All Hereticks have alledged the Scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by none other Expofitor.

Rog. Yea, all Hereticks have alledged the Scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by none other Expofitor.

Wor. But they would not confess that they were overcome by the Scriptures, I am sure of that.

Rog. I believe that: and yet were they overcome by them, and in all Councils they were disputed with and overthrowen by the Scriptures. And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these days, and so have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible: for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the Lord Chancellor, bade to Prison with me again; and away, away, said he, we have more to talk withal: If I would not be reformed (so he termed it) away, away. Then up I stood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Then Sir Richard Southwell, who stood by in a Window, said to me, Thou wilt not burn in this gear when it cometh to the purpose, I know well that.

Rog. Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God, yes, lifting up mine eyes unto Heaven.

B. of Ely. Then my Lord of Ely told me much of the Queens Majesties pleasure and meaning, and set it out with large words, saying, That he took them that would not receive the Bishop of Rome's Supremacy, to be unworthy to have her Mercy, &c.

Rogers. I said I would not refuse her Mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my life: And that I besought her Grace, and all their Honours, to be good to me, relieving my Conscience.

Divers spake at once. No, quoth they then, a great sort of them, and specially Secretary Bournes; A married Priest, and have not offended the Law?

Rog. I said, I had not broken the Queens Law, nor yet any point of the Law of the Realm therein: For I married where it was lawful.

Divers at once. Where was that; said they? thinking that to be unlawful in all places.

Rogers. In *Dutchland*. And if ye had not here in *England* made an open Law that Priests might have had Wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a Wife and eight Children with me: which thing ye might be sure that I would not have done, if the Laws of the Realm had not permitted it before.

Then there was a great noise, some saying that I was come too soon with such a sort: I should find a slow coming of it; and some one thing, and some another. And one said (I could not well perceive who) that there was never a Catholick man or Country, that ever granted that a Priest might have a Wife.

Rogers. I said, The Catholick Church never denied Marriage to Priests, nor yet to any other man; and therewith was I going out of the Chamber, the Sergeant which brought me thither having me by the Arm.

Wor. Then the Bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said that I wist not where that Church was or is.

Rogers. I said, yes, that I could tell where it was, but therewith went the Sergeant with me out of the Door.

This was the very true effect of all that was spoken unto me, and of all that I answered thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect Answer to all the former Objections, as also a due proof of that which I had taken in hand: but at this present I was informed that I should to morrow come to further Answer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, desiring here the hearty and unfeigned help of the Prayers of all Christs true Members, the true Imps of the true unfeigned Catholick Church, that the Lord God of all Consolation will now be my Comfort, Aid, Strength, Buckler and Shield: As also of all my Brethren that are in the same Cafe and Distress, that I and they all may despise all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning Fire, and the dreadful dart of Death, and stick like true Souldiers to our dear and loving Captain, Christ, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and also the only true Head of the Church, that doth all in us all, which is the very property of an Head (and is a thing that all the Bishops of Rome cannot do) and that we do not traitorously run out of his Tents, or out of the plain Field from him, in the most jeopardy of the Battel, but that we may persevere in the Fight (if he will not otherwise deliver us) till we be most cruelly slain of his Enemies. For this I most heartily, and at this present, with weeping tears most instantly and earnestly desire and beseech you all to pray: And also if I dye, to be good to my poor and most honest Wife, being a poor Stranger, and all my little Souls, hers and my Children, Whom, with all the whole faithful and true Catholick Congregation of Christ, the Lord of Life and Death save, keep, and defend in all the troubles and assaults of this vain World, and bring at the last to everlasting Salvation on the true and sure Inheritance of all crossed Christians, Amen, Amen.

The 27. day of January at night.

The second Confession of John Rogers, made, and that should have been made (if it might have been heard) the 28. and 29. day of January, 1555.

First, being asked again by the Lord Chancellor, whether I would come into one Church with the Bishops and whole Realm, as now was concluded by Parliament (in the which all the Realm was converted to the Catholick Church of Rome) and so receive the mercy before proffered me, arising again with the whole Realm out of the Schism and Error in which we had long been, with Recantation of my Errors. I answered, That before I could not tell what his mercy meant, but now I understand that

Annō

1555.

Divers speak at once.

Divers speak at once.

Divers speak at once.

Divers speak at once.

Divers speak at once.

Divers speak at once.

Divers speak at once.

Divers speak at once.

Divers speak at once.

Divers speak at once.

Divers speak at once.

Divers speak at once.

Divers speak at once.

Divers speak at once.

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Secretary Bournes.

A City in Sweden.

Mr. Rogers could not be heard to speak.

Confused talk without order.

Sir Richard Southwell speaks.

The Bp. of Ely speaks.

Mr. Rogers had away to the prison.

Mr. Rogers careful prayer for his Wife and Children.

The second Examination of Mr. Rogers.

Windsor's Mercy, which it meaneth.

Anno 1555. that it was a Mercy of the Antichristian Church of Rome, which I utterly refused; and that the thing which he spake of, was a very fall into Error and false Doctrine. Also that I had and would be able, by Gods grace, to prove that all the Doctrine which I had ever taught was true and Catholick, and that by the Scriptures and the Authority of the Fathers that lived 400. years after Christs Death. He answered, That should not, might not, nor ought not to be granted me: for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the Determination of the whole Realm. Should, quoth he, when a Parliament hath concluded a thing, one, or any private person have Authority to discuss, whether they had done right or wrong? No, that may not be.

Whatsoever is once concluded in a Parliament, ought not to be reformed afterward by Doctrine, nor the Word of God, by the Bishop of Winchester's Divinity.

I answered shortly, That all the Laws of men might not, neither could rule the Word of God, but, that they all must be discussed and judged thereby, and obey thereunto: and neither my Conscience, nor any Christian mans, could be satisfied with such Laws as disagreed from that Word: and so was willing to have said much more. But the Lord Chancellor began a long Tale to very small purpose, concerning mine Answer, to have deceived me; that there was nothing in me whereof I should be heard, but Arrogancy, Pride, and Vain-glory. I also granted mine Ignorance to be greater than I could express, or than he took it: but yet that I feared not, by Gods assistance and strength, to be able by writing to perform my word, neither was I (I thanked God) so utterly ignorant as he would make me; but all was of God, to whom he thanks rendered therefore. Proud man was I never, nor yet vain-glorious. All the world knew well, where and on which side Pride, Arrogancy, and Vain-glory was. It was a poor Pride, that was or is in us, God I knoweth.

Then said he, That at the first dash condemned the Queen and the whole Realm to be of the Church of Antichrist, and burdened me highly therewithal. I answered, That the Queens Majesty (God save her Grace) would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. He said, the Queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said, without fail I neither could, nor would I ever believe it.

Dr. Aldrich witnesseth with the Bishop of Winchester.

Then said Dr. Aldrich the Bishop of Carlisle, that they the Bishops would bear him witness. Yes, quoth I, that I believe well, and with that the People laughed: For that day there were many, but on the morrow they kept the Doors shut, and would let none in, but the Bishops Adherents and Servants in a manner, yea, and the first day the thousand man came not in. Then Mr. Comptroller and Secretary Bourne would have stood up also to bear witness, and did.

I said it was no great matter: and to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereunto themselves: but I ceased to say any more therein, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they should be believed before me, yea, and before our Saviour Christ, and all his Prophets and Apostles too, in these days.

The opinion of Mr. Rogers touching the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, required.

Then after many words, He asked me what I thought concerning the blessed Sacrament, and stood up, and put off his Cap, and all his Fellow Bishops, (of which there were a great sort, new men, of whom I knew few) whether I believed in the Sacrament to be the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and hanged on the Cross, really and substantially.

I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no medler, and therefore suspected of my Brethren to be of a contrary Opinion. Notwithstanding, even as the most part of your Doctrine in other Points is false, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty: so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest.

For I cannot understand (really and substantially) to signify otherwise than corporally: but corporally Christ is only in Heaven, and so cannot Christ be corporally also in your Sacrament. And here I somewhat let out his Charity after this sort: My Lord, quoth I, ye have dealt with me most cruelly: For ye have put me in Prison without Law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my House, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate at great Costs and Charges, having a Wife and ten

Children to feed, and I had never a penny of my Livings; which was against the Law.

He answered, That Dr. Ridley which had given them me, was an Usurper, and therefore I was the unjust Possessor of them.

Was the King then an Usurper, quoth I, which gave Dr. Ridley the Bishoprick?

Yea, quoth he, and began to set out the wrongs that the King had done to the Bishop of London, and to himself also. But yet I do misde my terms, quoth he, to call the King Usurper. But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before: and I think that he was not very sorry for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked him wherefore he put me in Prison. He said, because I preached against the Queen.

I answered that it was not true: and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the Law, that no man should be able to disprove it, and thereupon would set my life. I preached (quoth I) a Sermon at the Cross, after the Queen came to the Tower; but there was nothing said against the Queen, I take witness of all the Audience, which was not small. I alleged also that he had, after Examination, let me go at liberty after the preaching of that Sermon.

Yea, but thou didst read thy Lectures after, quoth he, against the commandment of the Council.

That did I not, quoth I, let that be proved, and let me dye for it. Thus have you now against the Law of God and Man handled me, and never lent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learning, till now that ye have gotten a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my neck, if I will not confend to your mind. This Charity doth all the World understand.

I might and would have added, if I could have been suffered to speak, that it had been time enough to take away mens Livings, and thereto have imprisoned them, after that they had offended Laws: For they be good Citizens that break not Laws, and worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keep men in Prison, until they may catch them in their Laws, and so kill them. I could and would have added the Example of Daniel, which by a crafty devised Law was cast into the Lions Den. Item, I might have declared, that I most humbly desired to be set at liberty, sending my Wife to him with a Supplication, being great with Child, and with her eight honest Women, or thereabouts, to Richmond, at Christmas was a twelve month, whilst I was yet in my House.

Item, I wrote two Supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my Wife many times to him. Mr. Gosnell also that worthy man, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and so did divers other worthy men also take pains in the matter. These things declare my Lord Chancellors Antichristian Charity, which is, that he hath and doth seek my Blood, and the destruction of my poor Wife and my ten Children.

This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the 28. day of January at Afternoon, after that Mr. Hooper had been the first, and Mr. Cardmaker the second in Examination before me. The Lord grant us Grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we be smitten down together, if the Lords will be so to permit it. For there shall not a hair of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. Whereunto the same Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end, and in the end, Amen: Sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, the Son of David and of God: Amen, Amen, let every true Christian say and pray.

Then the Clock being, as I guessed, about four, the Lord Chancellor said, That he and the Church must yet use Charity with me (what manner of Charity it is, all true Christians do well understand, as to wit, the same that the Fox doth with the Chickens, and the Wolf with the Lambs) and gave me reprieve till to morrow, to see whether I would remember my self well to morrow, and whether I would return to the Catholick Church (for so he calleth his Antichristian false Church) again, and repent, and they would receive me to Mercy.

I said that I was never out of the true Catholick Church,

Dr. Gosnell called King James an Usurper.

Mr. Rogers imprisoned against all Law and Right.

Mr. Rogers punished before any Law was broken.

Mr. Gosnell laboured for Mr. Rogers.

Great charity use Charity with me (what manner of Charity it is, all true Christians do well understand, as to wit, the same that the Fox doth with the Chickens, and the Wolf with the Lambs) and gave me reprieve till to morrow, to see whether I would remember my self well to morrow, and whether I would return to the Catholick Church (for so he calleth his Antichristian false Church) again, and repent, and they would receive me to Mercy.

Act 3.

Cruelly forced without a cause.

Mr. Rogers a year and a half in duress.

Church, nor would be: but into his Church would I by Gods Grace, never come.

The Popes Church is the Church of Antichrist.

Well, quoth he, then is our Church false and Antichristian.

Yes, quoth I.

And what is the Doctrine of the Sacrament?

False, quoth I, and cast my hands abroad.

Then said one, that I was a Player. To whom I answered not; for I passed not upon his mock.

Mr. Rogers wanted to appear the next day.

Come again, quoth the Lord Chancellor, to morrow between nine and ten.

I am ready to come again, whensoever ye call, quoth I.

And thus was I brought up by the Sheriffs to the Compter in Southwark, Mr. Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of People being present, so that we had much to do to go in the Streets.

Thus much was done the 28. day of January.

Mr. Rogers and Mr. Hooper brought again before the Chancellor.

The second day, which was the 29. of January, we were sent for in the Morning about 9. of the Clock, and by the Sheriffs fetched from the Compter in Southwark to the Church again, as to wit, to St. Mary Overie, where we were the day before in the Afternoon, as is said. And when Mr. Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, then sent they for me. Then my Lord Chancellor said unto me:

God now words to Mr. Rogers.

Rogers, quoth he, here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyself this night, whether thou wouldst come to the Holy Catholick Church of Christ again or not. Tell us now what thou hast determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and sorry, and wilt return again and take mercy.

Answer of Mr. Rogers to the Bp. of Winchester.

My Lord, quoth I, I have remembered myself right well, what you yesterday said to me, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to say thereunto; and that done I shall answer you to your demanded question.

Mr. Rogers here to defend himself by writing.

When I yesterday desired that I might be suffered by the Scripture and Authority of the first, best, and purest Church to defend my Doctrine by writing (meaning not only of the Primacy, but also of all the Doctrine that ever I had preached) ye answered me, that it might not, nor ought not to be granted me, for I was a private person; and that the Parliament was above the Authority of all private persons, and therefore the Sentence thereof might not be found faulty and valueless by me being but a private person. And yet my Lord, quoth I, I am able to shew Examples, that one man hath come into a General Council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an Act or Article, some one man coming in afterward, hath by the Word of God declared so pithily, that the Council had erred in decreeing the said Article, that he caused the whole Council to change and alter their Act or Article before determined. And of these Examples, said I, I am able to shew two. I can also shew the Authority of S. Augustine; that when he disputed with an Heretick, he would neither himself, nor yet have the Heretick to lean unto the determination of two former Councils, of the which the one made for him, and the other for the Heretick that disputed against him: but said that he would have the Scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

Contra. Mar. 20. 15. 64.

Item, I could shew, said I, the Authority of a learned Lawyer Panormitanus, which saith, that unto a simple Lay-man that bringeth the Word of God with him there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole Council gathered together. By these things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to say my mind, and to be heard against a whole Parliament, bringing the Word of God for me, and the Authority of the old Church 400. years after Christ, albeit that every man in the Parliament had willingly and without respect of fear and favour agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little of; specially seeing the like had been permitted in the old Church, even in General Councils, yes, and that in one of the chiefest Councils that ever was, unto which neither any Acts of this Parliament, nor yet any of the late General Councils of the Bishops of Rome ought to be compared. For, said I, if Henry the Eighth were alive, and should

A Case put to the B. of Winchester.

call a Parliament, and begin to determine a thing (and here I would have alledged the example of the Act of making the Queen a Bastard, and of making himself the Superiour Head; but I could not, being interrupted by one whom God forgive) then will ye (pointing to my Lord Chancellor) and ye, and ye, and so ye all (pointing to the rest of the Bishops) say, Amen: yes, and it like your Grace, it is meet that it be so enacted.

Anno 1555.

This was Sir Anthony Trewar.

Here my Lord Chancellor would suffer me to speak no more; but bade me sit down mockingly, saying, that I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their Instructor.

Mr. Rogers not suffered to speak.

My Lord, quoth I, I stand, and sit not: Shall I not be suffered to speak for my life?

Shall we suffer thee to tell a Tale, and to pray, quoth he? And with that he stood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant proud fashion, for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder by dashing me out of my Tale, and so he did. For I could never be suffered to come to my Tale again, no not to one word of it; but he had much like communication with me, as he had the day before, and as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that case, being Gods cause, I told him he should not make me afraid to speak.

Mark here the Spirit of this Fellow.

Lord Chan. See what a Spirit this Fellow hath, said he, finding fault at mine accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking.

Rogers. I have a true Spirit, quoth I, agreeing and obeying the Word of God, and would further have said, That I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a just and true Cause, and in my Master Christs matters; but I could not be heard. And at the length he proceeded towards his Excommunication and Condemnation, after that I had told him that his Church of Rome was the Church of Antichrist, meaning the false Doctrine and Tyrannical Laws, with the maintenance thereof by cruel persecutions used by the Bishops of the said Church (of which the Bishop of Winchester and the rest of his fellow Bishops, that are now in England, are the chief Members.) Of Laws I mean, quoth I, and not all men and women which are in the Popes Church. Likewise when I was said to have denied their Sacrament (whereof he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his Kingdom thereby, than for the true reverence of Christs Institution; more for his own and his Popish Generations sake, than for Religion or Gods sake) I told him after what order I did speak of it (for the manner of his speaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the Communication that we had in the 28. of January) wherewith he was not contented, but he asked the Audience whether I had not simply denied the Sacrament. They would have said, and did, what he lusted, for the most of them were of his own Servants at that day, the 29. of January I mean. At the last I said, I will never deny that I said, that is, that your Doctrine of the Sacrament is false; but yet I tell you after what order I said it.

The godly Spirit of Mr. Rogers.

The Church of Rome to be the Church of Antichrist, meaning the Laws and Doctrine now used in Rome.

How the B. of Winchester looked for blood.

To be short, he read my Condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two Articles; first, That I affirmed the Romish Catholick Church to be the Church of Antichrist; and that I denied the Reality of their Sacrament. He caused me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the Laity, and so he gave me over into the Sheriffs hands, which were much better than his.

The Copy of which his Condemnation here I thought good to put down in English, to the intent that the same, being here once expressed, may serve for all other Sentences Condemnatory throw the whole Story to be referred unto.

The Sentence Condemnatory against Mr. Rogers.

IN the Name of God, Amen. We Steven by the permission of God Bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour by Authority and Virtue of our Office, against thee John Rogers Priest, also called Matthew, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of Heresie, having heard, seen, and understood, and with all

The Sentence defined against Mr. Rogers.

Anno 1555. all diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered the merits of the cause, all things being observed, which by us, in this behalf in order of Law ought to be observed, sitting in our Judgment Seat, the Name of Christ being first called upon, and having only God before our eyes, because by the Acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own Confession Judicially made before us, we do find that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended divers Errors, Heresies, and Damnable Opinions, contrary to the Doctrine and Determination of the Holy Church,

His Articles. as namely these; *That the Catholick Church of Rome is the Church of Antichrist: Item, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not substantially nor really the Natural Body and Blood of Christ.* The which aforesaid Heresies and Damnable Opinions being, contrary to the Law of God, and Determination of the Universal and Apostolical Church, thou hast arrogantly, stubbornly, and wittingly maintained, held and affirmed, as also defended before us, as well in this Judgment, as also elsewhere, and with the like obstinacy, stubbornness, malice and blindness of heart, both wittingly and willingly hast affirmed, that thou wilt believe, maintain and hold, affirm and declare the same: We therefore *S. Winchester* Bishop, Ordinary, and Diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent as well of our Reverend Brethren the Lord Bishops here present and assistant, as also by the Counsel and Judgment of divers worshipful Lawyers and Professors of Divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee the said *John Rogers*, otherwise called *Matthew*, through thy demerits, transgressions, obstinacies, and wilfulness (which through manifold ways thou hast incurred by thine own wicked and stubborn obstinacy) to have been, and to be guilty of the detestable, horrible, and wicked offences of Heretical Pravity and execrable Doctrine, and that thou hast before us sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended the said cursed and execrable Doctrine in the sundry Confessions, Assertions, and Recognitions here Judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet still dost maintain, affirm and believe the same, and that thou hast been and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf: We therefore, I say, albeit following the example of Christ, *Which would not the death of a Sinner, but rather that he should convert and live;* we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true Faith and Unity of the Universal Catholick Church, notwithstanding have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy Damnable Opinions and Heresies, and; refusing to return again unto the true Faith and Unity of the Holy Mother Church, and as the Child of wickedness and darkness so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy Shepherd, which with a Fatherly affection doth seek after thee, nor wilt be allured with his Fatherly and Godly Admonitions: we therefore

Steven the Bishop aforesaid, not willing that thou which art wicked shouldest now become more wicked, and infect the Lords Flock with thine Heresies (which we are greatly afraid of) with sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee the said *John Rogers*, otherwise called *Matthew*, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable Heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and Unity of the Holy Mother Church, and that thou hast been and art by Law Excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an Excommunicate person. Also we pronounce and declare thee, being an Heretic, to be cast out from the Church, and left unto the Judgment of the Secular Power, and now presently so do leave thee as an obstinate Heretic, and a person wrapped in the Sentence of the Great Curse, to be degraded worsly for thy demerits requiring them notwithstanding in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthy to be done upon thee may so be moderated, that the Rigor thereof be not too extrem, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy Soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion

of the Hereticks; to the Unity of the Catholick Faith) by this our Sentence Definitive which we here lay upon and against thee, and do with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforesaid.

After this Sentence being read, he sent us (Mr. Hooper, I mean, and me) to the *Clink*, there to remain till night and when it was dark, they carried us, Mr. Hooper going before with the one Sheriff, and I coming after with the other, with bills and weapons onow, out of the *Clink*, and led us thorow the Bishops Houfe, and so thorow *S. Mary Overies* Church-yard, and so into *Southwerk*, and over the Bridge on Proceffion to *Newgate* through the City. But I must shew you this also, that when he had read the Condemnation, he declared that I was in the Great Curse, and what a vengeable dangerous matter it was to eat and drink with us that were accursed, or to give us any thing: for all that so did, should be partakers of the same Great Curse.

Well my Lord, quoth I, here I stand before God and you, and all this Honourable Audience, and take him to witness, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false Doctrine; and therefore have I a good Conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you: and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true Member of the true Catholick Church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false Church, ye need not to Excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it these twenty years, the Lord be thanked therefore. But now ye have done what ye can, my Lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.

What is that, quoth he?
That my poor Wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me so long as I live. For she hath ten Children that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her, what were best for her to do.

No, quoth he, she is not thy Wife.
Yes my Lord, quoth I, and hath been these 18. years. Should I grant her to be thy Wife, quoth he?
Chuse you, quoth I, whether ye will or not; she shall be so nevertheless.

She shall not come at thee, quoth he.
Then I have tried out all your Charity, said I. You make your self highly displeased with the Matrimony of Priests, but you maintain open Whoredom: as in *Wales*, quoth I, where every Priest hath his Whore openly dwelling with him, and lying by him: even as your Holy Father suffereth all the Priests in *Deutschland* and in *France* to do the like. Thereto he answered not, but looked as it were a squint at it: and thus I departed, and saw him last.

Other good matter there is beside penned by Mr. Rogers in the Prison, which he thought and would have answered, if he might have been permitted: which matter hereunder followeth to be seen by his own setting down.

Hitherto, dearly beloved, ye have heard what was said: now hear what I purposed the night before to have said, if I could have been permitted. Two things I purposed to have touched. The one, how it was lawful for a private man to reason and write against a wicked Act of Parliament, or ungodly Council, which the Lord Chancellor the day before denied me. The other was to prove that Prosperity was not always a token of Gods Love.

And this I purposed to speak of, because the Lord Chancellor boasted of himself, that he was delivered forth of Prison as it were by Miracle, and preserved of God to restore true Religion, and to punish me and such other, whom he termed Hereticks. Concerning these two points, in this matter I purposed to have proceeded. It is not unknown to you, that King *Henry* the eighth in his time made his daughter, the Queen that now is, a Bastard: he abolished the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*: he pulled down Abbeyes: And all this he did by the consent of Parliament.

King *Edward* the sixth in his time made lawful the marriage of Priests, turned the Service into English, abolished the Idolatrous Mass, with all like Superstitious Trumpetry,

Mr. Rogers and Mr. Hooper per cent to Newgate.

A vengeable thing to be in the Popes Curse.

Mr. Rogers words to the Bishop of Winchester.

Mr. Rogers request, as heave his wife come to him while he lived, could not be granted.

These matters prevent sorrow of heart, and yet they will not cease from murdering.

Tromperry, set up the holy Communion, and all by consent of Parliament.

The Queen that now is hath repealed the Act that made her Bastard, hath brought in the Bishop of Rome, and set him in his old Authority, beginneth to set up Abbeyes again, hath made the marriage of Priests unlawful, hath turned the *English* Service into Latin again, hath set up the Mass again, with like baggage, and pulled down the holy Communion: And all this is done by consent of Parliament.

If the Acts of Parliament, made in King *Henric* time and in King *Edwards*, had their Foundation upon Gods Word, whereupon all positive Law ought to be grounded; then these which are established in the Queens time, being clean contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by Gods Word, so are they wicked, and therefore to be both spoken and written against of all men, as well of private as of publick persons.

If your Acts, my Lord Chancellor, which you have lately coyned (I call them yours, because ye only bear the swinge, devise, and decree what ye list, all other men are forced to follow) be good, and according to Gods Word, then the former Acts were naught, which thing ye seem to say, in utterly taking of them away, and setting up of the contrary: If the former were naught, why then did ye consent unto them, and confirm them to be good by your voluntary and advised writing? as it appeareth, and will do to the Worlds End, in your Book *De vera Obedientia*, where you prove the Queen a Bastard, and the Bishop of Rome to be an Usurper, and to have no Authority in the Realm of England.

Ye must needs confesse, that the most part of your Acts of Parliament in these latter days have been according to the fantasies of a few. King *Henry* in his time established by Parliament in a manner what he listed, and many things that might well have been amended.

In King *Edwards* days the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Northumberland* bare a great stroke in things, and did not all things sincerely. Even so, since the Queen that now is came to the Government of the Realm, all things are ordered by your device, and head, and the whole Parliament House is led as you list; by reason whereof they are compelled to consent to things both contrary to Gods manifest Word, and also contrary to their own Consciences: so great is your cruelty.

For to bring your wicked purposes to pass, and to establish your Antichristian Kingdom (which, I trust, the Lord with the Breath of his Mouth will speedily blow over) ye have called three Parliaments in one year and an half, that, what ye could not compass by subtil perswasion, ye might bring to pass by tyrannical threatening: For if ye had not used cruel force in your doings, ye had never brought to pass such things as this day ye have, to the utter defacing and abolishing of Gods true Religion, and to the casting away and destruction of your Natural Country, so much as in you lieth.

And as it is most true, that Acts of Parliament have in these latter days been ruled by the fantasies of a few; and the whole Parliament House, contrary to their minds, was compelled to consent to such things as a few have conceived: So it must needs be granted, that the Papists at all times were most ready to apply themselves to the present World, and like men-pleasers to follow the fantasies of such as were in Authority, and turn with the State, which waysoever it turned. Yea, if the State should change ten times in one year, they would ever be ready at hand to change with it, and so follow the cry, and rather utterly forsake God, and be of no Religion, than that they should forgoe lust or living, for God or for Religion.

King *Henry* by Parliament, according to Gods Word, put down the Pope: The Clergy consented, and all men openly by oath refused his usurped Supremacy, knowing by Gods Word Christ to be Head of the Church, and every King in his Realm to have, under and next unto Christ, the chief Sovereignty.

King *Edward* also by Parliament, according to Gods Word, set the Marriage of Priests at liberty, abolished the Popish and Idolatrous Mass, changed the Latin Service, and set up the holy Communion: The whole Clergy consented hereunto; many of them set it forth by

their Preaching; and all they by practising confirmed Anno

the same. 1555.
Notwithstanding, now when the State is altered, and the Laws changed, the Papistical Clergy, with other like Worldlings, as men neither fearing God, neither flying Worldly flame, neither yet regarding their Consciences, Oaths, or Honesty, like wavering Weather-Cocks, turn round about, and putting on Harlots foreheads, sing a new song, and cry with an impudent mouth: Come again, come again to the Catholick Church, meaning the Antichristian Church of Rome, which is the Synagogue of Satan, and the very Sink of all Superstition, Heresie, and Idolatry.

Of what force I pray you may a man think these Parliaments to be, which scantily can stand a year in strength? Or what credit is to be given to these Law-makers, which are not ashamed to establish contrary Laws, and to condemn that for evil, which before (the thing it self and the circumstances remaining all one) they affirmed and decreed to be good. Truly ye are so ready, contrary to all right, to change and turn for the pleasure of man, that at length, I fear, God will use you like Changelings, and both turn you forth of his Kingdom, and out of your own Country.

Ye charge the Gospel-Preachers with the undoing of this Realm: Nay, it is the turning Papists, which have not only set to Sale their Country like Traytors, but also troubled the simple People, so that they cannot tell what they may believe. For that which they affirmed, and Preached to be true Doctrine in King *Edwards* days, now they cry against it, as it were most abominable Heresie. This fault, I trust, ye shall never find at our hands.

Therefore to conclude that which I purposed, so much as the Acts of Parliament of these later times are one contrary to another, and those which ye now have established in your time are contrary to Gods most manifest Word, as is the usurped Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, the Idolatrous Mass, the Latin Service, the prohibiting of lawful Marriage (which *S. Paul* calleth the Doctrine of Devils) with many such other: I say, it is not only lawful for any private man, which bringeth Gods Word for him, and the Authority of the primitive and best Church, to speak and write against such unlawful Laws; but it is his duty, and he is bound in every Conscience to do it. Which thing I have proved by divers examples before, and now will add but one other, which is written in the fifth of the Acts, where it appeareth that the High Priests, the Elders, Scribes, and Pharisees, decreed in their Council, and gave the same Commandments to the Apostles, that they should not preach in the Name of Christ, as ye have also forbidden us; Notwithstanding when they were charged therewithal, they answered, *Obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus*: that is, We ought more to obey God than man: even so we may, and do answer you; God is more to be obeyed than man; and your wicked Laws cannot so tongue-eye us, but we will speak the truth.

The Apostles were beaten for their boldness, and they rejoiced that they suffered for Christs cause. Ye have also provided Rods for us, and bloody Whips: Yet when ye have done that which Gods hand and Council hath determined that ye shall do, be it Life or Death, I trust that God will so assist us by his holy Spirit and Grace, that we shall patiently suffer it, and praise God for it and whatsoever become of me and others, which now suffer for speaking and professing of the Truth, yet be ye sure, that Gods Word will prevail and have the upper hand, when your bloody Laws and wicked Decrees, for want of sure Foundation, shall fall in the dust: and that which I have spoken of your Acts of Parliament, the same may be said of the General Councils of these latter days, which have been within these five hundred years, where the Antichrist of Rome, by reason of his usurped Authority, ruled the roast, and decreed such things as made for his gain, not regarding Gods Glory: and therefore are they to be spoken, written, and cried out against of all such as fear God and love his Truth.

And thus much I purposed to have said concerning the first point.

Now

Anno
1555.

Now touching the second Point. That whereas my Lord Chancellor had the day before said his pleasure of them that ruled the Realm while he was in Prison, and also rejoiced as though God had made this Alteration, even for his sake and his Catholick Church; as he called it, and to declare as it were by Miracle, that we were before in a Schism and Heresie, and the Realm was now brought unto an Unity, and to a Truth, and I cannot tell whereto: thereto was I fully purposed to have said. Secondly, my Lord, whereas ye yesterday so highly dispraised the Government of them that ruled in innocent King Edwards days, it may please your Lordship to understand, that we poor Preachers, whom ye so evil allow, did most boldly and plainly rebuke their evil Governance in many things, specially their Covetousness, and neglect and small regard to live after the Gospel, as also their negligence to occasion other to live thereafter, with more things than I can now rehearse. This can all London testify with us. I would also have told him, what I my self for my part did once at Pauls Cross, concerning the misde of Abbeyes, and other Church Goods: and I am assured right well, that never a Papist of them all did ever so much therein as I did, I thank the Lord therefore: I was also, as is well known, faine to answer therefore before all the Council, and many of my Brethren did the like, so that we for the not rebuking of their Faults, shall not answer before God, nor be blameworthy before men. Therefore let the Gentlemen and Courtiers themselves, and all the Citizens of London, testify what we did.

But, my Lord, you could not abide them, for that which they did unto you, and for that they were of a contrary Religion unto you. Wherefore in that you seem so infest against them, it is neither any just or publick Cause, but it is your own private hate that maketh you to report so evil of their Governance. And ye may now say what ye list of them, when they be partly dead and gone, and partly by you put out of Office.

But what shall be said of you when your fall shall follow, ye shall then hear. And I must say my Conscience to you: I fear me, ye have and will with your Governance bring England out of Gods Blessing into a warm Sun. I pray God you do not.

I am an English man borne, and a God knoweth, do naturally will well to my Countrey. And, my Lord, I have often proved that the things, which I have much feared aforehand should come to pass, have indeed followed. I pray God I may fail of my guessing in this behalf: but truly, that will not be with expelling the true Word of God out of the Realm, and with the shedding of Innocent Blood.

And as touching your rejoicing, as though God had set you aloft to punish us by Miracle (for so you report and brag openly of your self) and to minister Justice, if we will not receive your holy Father's Mercy, and thereby do declare your Church to be true, and ours false, to that I answer thus: Gods Works be wonderful, and are not to be comprehended and perceived by mans wisdom, nor by the wit of the most wise and prudent. Yea, they are soonest deceived, and do most easily judge amis of Gods wonderful Works, that are most worldly-wise. God hath made all the wisdom of this World foolishness, first to the *Corinthians*, the first, and the second Chapter.

Dedit dilectum animam suam in manus inimicorum ejus. Hierem. xii.

That is,

He hath put his beloved and dear heart into the hands of the Enemies thereof.

This thing doth God, which thing all wise men account to be the most foolish and unwise part that can be. Will the wife of the world, trow ye, put their most dear Friends and tenderly beloved Children into their Enemies hands, to kill, slay, burn, &c. that is unto them a madness, above all madnes. And yet doth God use this order, and this is an high and singular wisdom in his sight, which the world taketh to be most extrem madnes.

Can the world shew a cause why he suffered the great multitude of innocent Children to be murdered of He-

red of *Alcalon*, or why he put that most holy man, *John Baptif*, into the hands of *Herod* his Son to be beheaded, and that in Prison secretly without open Judgment most tyrannously? Why he suffered his beloved Apostle *James* to be beheaded of another *Herod*? *Levi* 12. Why he suffered his beloved Seed of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, to be four hundred years in thraldom and bondage, and under *Pharaoh*? And all the Stock of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, his beloved Children and Church, to come under the Power, Sword, and Tyranny of *Nebuchadnesor*? No verily, but his true Catholick Church knoweth divers Causes thereof, which are now too long to rehearse, and which I would right gladly shew, if I had time.

But this I am right sure of, that it was not because that the foresaid godly men were in Heresies, and subject to false Gods Services, and Idolatry, and that their Adversaries were men of God, and beloved of God: The contrary was true: *John Baptif* was beloved of God, and *Herod* hated, and so forth of the rest: And *John Baptif*, the innocent Children, *James*, the Children of *Israel* in *Egypt*, and in *Babylon*, were the Catholick Members and People of God: And their Adversaries, unto whose hands they were put and delivered, and that of God, by his good will and pleasure, were Idolaters, and the People of the Devil: But they would be called the chief Members of God, and rejoiced that they had the true God, and that it was now declared by Miracles, that the Israelites had but a false God, and a false Religion, seeing they were delivered into the Babylonians hands. And all the other (the *Herods* and *Pharaohs* I mean) plainly determined, that if the men, which they killed and handled evil, had been Gods People, God would never have suffered them to come into their hands, but rather have done the contrary; and have let *John Baptif* kill *Herod*, and the Israelites *Pharaoh* and *Nebuchadnesor*. Even the like is now to be seen in us, and in our most cruel Adversaries.

They are not therefore the Catholick Church, because our merciful God hath at this present given our lives into their hands: Neither are we therefore Heretics; because we suffer punishment at their hands, as the Lord Chancellor by his rejoicing seemeth to gather: The contrary is hereby to be gathered, that we be the Members of the true Catholick Church, because we suffer for the same Doctrine which *John Baptif*, *James*, the Israelites, yea Christ, and the Apostles did teach: of which none taught any thing of our Adversaries Doctrine, namely, that the rotten Antichristian Head of *Rome* should be the Head of Christs Church: but they have manifestly taught the contrary, specially *Paul*, in the second to the *Thessalonians*, the second Chapter: *John* in the *Apocalypse*: *Daniel* 11. Which thing, if I might have Life and Books, I would so (by Gods grace) set forth, that all the world should see it: and that our Adversaries, with their Antichristian Head, are the Members of the Devils Church, as they undoubtedly are. And in like case, as the above-mentioned holy men, though they in their days were counted to be Heretics, Seditious, and Disturbers of the whole world; for unto *John Baptif* it was said, *Job* 1. Wherefore baptizest thou, if thou be not *Helias*, nor that Prophet? &c. As who should say, Thou hast no such Authority to begin a new Ceremony in the Church: For we be in ordinary possession of the Church: and of us thou hast received no such Power: we abide by our Circumcision: and the like could I declare of *James*, and of all the Apostles and Prophets, and of our Saviour Christ himself, that were all condemned as Heretics, and Blasphemers of God, and Disturbers of the whole World. *Paul* and *Silas*, Acts the sixteenth, heard like words of the *Philippians*; These men trouble our City, seeing they are Jews, and preach Institutions which are not lawful for us to receive, seeing we be Romans. And in the sixteenth; In *Athens*, the wise men of this world, and such as gave their endeavour to wisdom, said by *S. Paul*: *Quid vult sermo-rogis hic dicere?* that is, What wilt this Prater (as my Lord Chancellor said to me, Shall we suffer this Fellow to prate, when I would fain have said that thing that I have here written) Thriller, News-carrier or bringer, that telleth whatsoever men will have him for gain and advantage, that will for a piece

of Bread say what ye will have him, &c. And another said in the same place, He seemeth to be a Preacher of new Devils, &c. And *Act. 21.* the Jews say by *Paul*, laying hands on him, help O ye Israelites, say they, this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the People (meaning the Jews) and the Law of this place (meaning *Jerusalem*) and yet was never a word of these true. And *Act. 22.* the same Jews said of *Paul*: Out of the Earth with that man, or away with him: For it is not lawful for him to live, or he is not worthy to live. And how many more of these Examples are to be found in the Bible? Although I say these men were in their days taken for Hereticks of them that were then in Authority, and of the great multitude of the World, yet it is now well known, yea and very shortly after their deaths this was known, yea, and even in their lives also unto the true Catholick Church, that they were not only the chief and special Members of the true Catholick Church, but also the founders and builders thereof (notwithstanding the sinister Judgment that the wise and mighty men, and the great multitude of the World had of them) and in their Consciences they were always assuredly certified of the same. Even the same shall the World find true in us, shortly after our deaths, as also there beat this hour (the Lord be thanked therefore) not a few that already know it, as we our selves also are by Gods Grace assuredly certified in our Consciences, that we are not Hereticks, but Members of the true Catholick Church, and that our Adversaries the Bishops and Popish Clergy, which will have that Title, are the Members of Satans Church, and their Antichristian Head of *Rome* with them.

But here they will cry out; Lo these men will be still *John Baptists*, the Apostles, and Prophets, &c.

I answer, We make not our selves like unto them, in the singular virtues and gifts of God given unto them; as of doing miracles, and of many other things. The similitude & likeness of them & us consisteth not in all things, but only in this, that is, that we be like them in Doctrine, and in the suffering of Persecution and Infamy for the same.

We have Preached their very Doctrine, and none other thing: That we are able sufficiently to declare by their writings; and by writing for my part, I have proffered to prove the same, as is now often said. And for this cause we suffer the like reproach, shame, and rebuke of the World, and the like persecution, losing of our Lives and Goods, forsaking (as our Master Christ commandeth) Father, Mother, Sister, Brethren, Wives, Children, and all that there is, being assured of a Joyful Resurrection, and to be Crowned in Glory with them, according to the infallible promises made unto us in Christ, our only and sufficient Mediator, Reconciler, Priest, and Sacrifice, which hath pleased the Father, and quieted and pacified his wrath against our Sins, and made us without spot or wrinkle in his sight by imputation, although we, of and in our selves, are bespotted, and be-blotted with many filthy Sins, which if the great Mercy granted in Christ did not put away, by not imputing them unto us of his measureless unspeakable Mercy and Love to save us, they would have brought us to everlasting Damnation, and Death perpetual: Herein, and in no other, do we affirm our selves to be like unto our Head Christ, and all his Apostles, Prophets, Martyrs, and Saints. And herein ought all Christian men to be like them, and herein are all true Christian men and women like them every one, according to the measure of the Faith that God hath dealt unto them, and to the diversity of the gifts of the Spirit given unto them. But let us now consider, that if it be Gods good will and pleasure to give his own beloved heart, that is his beloved Church, and the Members thereof, into the hands of their Enemies, to chasten, try, and prove them, and to bring them to the true unfeigned acknowledging of their own natural stubbornness, disobedience towards God and his Commandment, as touching the Love of God and of their Brethren or Neighbours, and their natural inclination, readiness, and desire to love Creatures, to seek their own lusts, pleasures, and things forbidden of God, to

obtain a true and earnest repentance, and sorrowfulness therefore, & to make them to sigh and cry for the forgiveness of the same, and for the aid of the Spirit, daily to mortify and kill the said evil desires and Lusts; yea, and often falling into gross outward Sins, as did *David*, *Peter*, *Magdalen*, and others, to rise again also therewith with a mighty crying for Mercy, with many other causes: let us also consider what he hereafter doth with the said enemies, into whose hands he hath given his tender beloved dearlings to be chastened and tried. Forsooth, whereas he but chasteneth his dearlings, and croseth them for a small while, according to his good pleasure, as all Fathers do with their Children, *Heb. 12. Prov. 3.* he utterly destroyeth, yea and everlastingly dameth the unrepentant Enemies. Let *Herod* tell me what he was by killing *Jame*, and persecuting *Peter*, and Christs tender dearlings, and beloved Spouse and Wife, his Church. Verily God thought him not worthy to have death inflicted unto him by Men or Angels, or any worthy Creatures, but those small, and yet most vile vermines, lice, and worms must consume and kill his beately, vile, and tyrannous Body; *Pharaoh* and *Nebuchadonors*, for all their pride and most mighty power, must at the length let Gods dearlings go freely away out of their land, yea out of their hands and tyranny. For when it could not be obtained at their hands that Gods Congregation might have true mercy Ministred unto them, but the counterfeit mercy of these our days, that is to say, extreme cruelty, and even the very and that most horrible and cruel death, God arose and awoke out of his sleep, and destroyed those enemies of his flock with a mighty hand, and stretched out arm. *Pharaoh* did with most great and intolerable labors and burdens oppress and bring under the poor Israelites, and yet did the Courtiers undoubtedly noise abroad, that the King was merciful unto them, to suffer them to live in the land, and to set them a work, that they might get them their livings. If he should thrust them out of his Land whither should they go, like a sort of Vagabonds and Rummagates? This Title and Name of mercy would that Tyrant have, and so did his flattering false Courtiers spread his vain praise abroad. Have not we the like examples now-a-days? O that I had now time to write certain things pertaining to our *Winchesters* mercy! How merciful he hath been to me and to my good Brethren I will not speak of, neither yet to the *Dor Suffolks* most innocent Daughter, and to her as innocent Husband. For although their Fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lack of experience deserved a pardon by all true merciful Mens Judgments. O that I had time to paint out this matter aright; but there be many alive that can do it much better when I am dead. *Pharaoh* had his Plagues, and his most flourishing Land was by counterfeit mercy, which was indeed right cruelty and abominable Tyranny, utterly destroyed. And think ye that bloody butcherly Bishop of *Winchester* and his most bloody Brethren shall escape? Or that *England* shall for their offences, and specially for the maintenance of their Idolatry, and wilful following of them, not abide as great brunts? yes undoubtedly.

If God look not mercifully upon *England*, the seeds of utter destruction are sown in it already by these Hypocritical Tyrants, and Antichristian Prelats, Popish Papists, and double Traytors to their Natural Country. And yet they speak of Mercy, of Blessing, of the Catholick Church, of Unity, of Power, and Strengthening of the Realm. This double dissimulation will shew it self one day when the Plague cometh, which will undoubtedly light upon those Crown-thorn Caputins, and that shortly, whoeover the Godly and the poor Realm suffer in the mean while by Gods good sufferance and will.

Spite of *Nebuchadonors* beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall, and miserable Jews must come home again, and have their City and Temple builded up again by *Zerobabel*, *Esdra*, and *Nehemias*, &c. And the whole Kingdom of *Babylon* must go to ruin, and be taken in of strangers, the *Persians* and the *Medes*. So shall the dispersed *English* Flock of Christ be brought again into their former estate, or to a better, I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King *Edwards* days, and our Bloody Babylonian Bishops; and the whole Crown-thorn Company brought to utter shame, rebuke,

Gods Justice
upon his
Enemies and
Persecutors.

Winchester
mercy.

Anno
1555.

rebuke, ruine, decay, and destruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not suffer for ever their abominable lying false Doctrine, their Hypocritie, Blood-thirst, whoredom, idleness, their pestilent Life, pampered in all kind of pleasure, their Traifonical boasting pride, their malicious, envious, and poisoned stomachs, which they bear towards his poor and miserable Christians. *Peter* truly warneth, that *If Judgement beginneth at the House of God, what shall be the end of them that believe not the Gospel? If the righteous shall scarce be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinful appear?* Some shall have their punishment here in this World, and in the World to come; and they that do escape in this World, shall not escape Everlasting Damnation. This shall be your fawce, O ye wicked Papists, make ye merry here as long as ye may.

February.

After that *John Rogers*, as ye have heard, had been long and straitly imprisoned, lodged in *Newgate* amongst Thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably intreated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly by wicked *Winchester* condemned: The fourth of *February*, in the year of our Lord 1555. being *Munday* in the morning he was warned suddenly, by the keepers wife of *Newgate*, to prepare himself to the fire: who being then found asleep, scarce with much thogging could we awaked. At length being raised and waked, and bid to make halt, then, said he, if it be so, I need not tye my points: and so was had down, first to *Boner* to be degraded. That done, he craved of *Boner* but one Petition. And *Boner* asking what that should be: Nothing (said he) but that he might talk a few words with his wife before his burning. But that could not be obtained of him. Then said he, you declare your Charity what it is: and so he was brought into *Smithfield* by *Mr. Chefter*, and *Mr. Woodroffe*, then Sheriffs of *London*, there to be burnt; where he shewed

M. Rogers warned to prepare for Death.

M. Rogers degraded. M. Rogers could not be suffered of Boner to speake his wife before his burning. M. Rogers brought to Smithfield.

most constant patience, not using many words, for he could not be permitted, but only exhorting the people constantly to remain in that Faith and true Doctrine which he before had taught, and they had learned, and for the Confirmation whereof he was not only content patiently to suffer and bear all such bitterness and cruelty as had been shewed him, but also most gladly to resign up his Life, and to give his Flesh to the consuming fire, for the Testimony of the same.

The Copy of M. Rogers examinations by Gods providence preserved.

Briefly, and in few words to comprehend the whole order of his Life, doings and Martyrdom: First, this Godly *M. Rogers* was committed to Prison, as is above said, and there continued a year and half. In Prison he was merry, and earnest in all he wentabout. He wrote much; his examinations he penned with his own hand, which else had never come to light. Wherein is to be noted, by the way, a memorable working of Gods Providence. Ye heard a little above, how *M. Rogers* craved of *Boner*, going to be burning, that he might speake a few words before with his wife, which could not be granted. What these words were, which he had to say to his wife, it is for no man certainly to define. Likewise it may be supposed that his purpose was, amongst other things, to signify unto her of the Book written of his Examinations and Answers, which he had privily hid in a secret corner of the Prison where he lay. But where mans power lacketh, see how Gods Providence worketh. For notwithstanding that during the time of his Imprisonment, strait search there was to take away his Letters and writings; yet after his death, his wife and one of her Sons called *Daniel*, coming into the place where he lay, to see for his Books and writings, and now ready to go away; it chanced her Son aforementioned, casting his eye aside, to spie a Black thing, (for it had a black cover, belike because it should not be known) lying in a blind corner under a pair of Stairs. Who, willing his Mother to see what it was, found it to be the Book written with his own hand, containing these his Examinations, and Answers with other matter above specified. In the latter end whereof, this also was contained; which because it concerneth a Prophetical Forewarning of things pertaining to the Church, I thought to place the same his words, as they be there written, which are these: If God look not mercifully upon *England*, the seeds of utter destruction are sown in it already by these Hypocritical T, rants and Antichristian Prelates, Popish Papists,

M. Rogers is mentioned in propheticall Petition. England is already.

and double Traitors to their Natural Countrey. And yet they speake of Mercy, of Blessings, of the Catholick Church, of Unity, of Power, and strengthening of the Realm. This double dissimulation will shew itself one day when the plague cometh, which undoubtedly will light upon these Crown-horn Captains, and that shortly, whatsoever the Godly and the poor Realm suffer in the mean while by Gods sufferance and will.

Spite of *Nebuchadonozor's* beard, and mauge his heart, the captive, thrall, and miserable Jews must come home again, and have their City and Temple builded up again by *Zorobabel*, *Eldas*, and *Nehemias*, &c. And the whole Kingdom of *Babylon* must go to ruin, and be taken of strangers, the Persians and Meads. So shall the dispersed English Flock of Christ be brought again into their former Estate; or to a better, I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King *Edward's* days; and our Bloody Babylonical Bishops, and the whole Crown-horn Company brought to utter shame, rebuke, ruine, decay, and destruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not suffer for ever their abominable lying false Doctrine, their Hypocritie, Blood-thirst, Whoredom, idleness, their pestilent Life, pampered in all kind of pleasure, their Traifonical boasting Pride, their malicious, envious and poisoned stomachs, which they bear towards his poor and miserable Christians. *Peter* truly warneth, that *If Judgement beginneth in the House of God, what shall be the end of them that believe not the Gospel? If the righteous shall scarce be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinful appear?* Some shall have their punishment here in this World and in the World to come; and they that do escape in this World, shall not escape everlasting Damnation. This shall be your fawce, O ye wicked Papists, make ye merry as long as ye may.

He is mentioned here of the Jews, of the Babylonians, of the Persians, of the Meads.

1 Pet. 4.

Furthermore, amongst other words and sayings, which may seem Prophetically to be spoken of him, this also may be added, and is notoriously to be marked, that he spake, being then in Prison, to the Printer of this present book, who then also was laid up for like cause of Religion: Thou, said he, shalt live to see the Alteration of this Religion, and the Gospel to be freely preached again: And therefore have me commended to my Brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the Papists, and putting good Ministers into Churches, or else their end will be worse than ours. And for lack of Good Ministers to furnish Churches, his device was (*M. Hooper* also agreeing to the same) that for every ten Churches some one good and learned Superintendent should be appointed, which should have under him Faithful Readers, such as might well be got, so that Popish Priests should clean be put out, and the Bishop once a year to oversee the profiting of the Parishes; and if the Minister did not his duty, as well in profiting himself in his Book, and his Parishioners in good instructions, so that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they do profit, then he to be expelled, and another put in his place: And the Bishop to do the like with the Superintendent: This was his Counsel and request: Shewing moreover, and protesting in his commendations to his Brethren by the Printer aforesaid, that if they would not so do, their end, he said, would be worse than theirs.

M. Rogers prophesied of the return of the Gospel.

M. Rogers counsel in placing good Ministers.

Over and besides divers things touching *M. Rogers*, this is not to be forgotten, how in the days of King *Edward* the sixth, there was a controversy among the Bishops and Clergy, for wearing of Priests Caps, and other attire belonging to that order. *M. Rogers* being one of that number which never went otherwise than in a round Cap, during all the time of King *Edward*, affirmed that he would not agree to that decreement of uniformity, but upon this condition, that if they would needs have such an uniformity of wearing the Cap, Tipper, &c. then it should also be decreed vithal, that the Papists, for a difference betwixt them and others, should be constrained to wear upon their sleeves a Chalice with an Host upon it. Whereupon if they would consent, he would agree to the other; otherwise he would not, he said, consent to the sitting forth of the same, nor ever wear the Cap, as indeed he never did.

A note touching Priests Caps.

Provision by
Mr. Rogers
for the Pri-
soners :

Alexander
Andrew,
Gosler of
Newgate,
compared to
Alexander
the Copper-
smith.

The words
of Mr. Wood-
roffe to Mr.
Rogers.

To proceed now further in describing the doings of this man, during the time while he remained Prisoner in *Newgate*, he was to the Prisoners beneficial and liberal; for whom he had thus devised, that he with his Fellows should have but one Meal a day, they paying notwithstanding for the Charges of the whole; the other Meal should be given to them that lacked on the other side of the Prison. But *Alexander*, a Copperfinith indeed, of whose doing more shall be said God-willing hereafter, would in no case suffer that. The *Sunday* before he suffered, he drunk to Mr. Hooper, being then underneath him, and bade them commend him unto him, and tell him, There was never little Fellow better would stick to a man, than he would stick to him, presupposing they should both be burned together, although it happened otherwise; for Mr. Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the Life and such Acts of Mr. Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.

Now when the time came, that he being delivered to the Sheriffs, should be brought out of *Newgate* to *Smithfield*, the place of his Execution, first came to him Mr. Woodroffe, one of the aforesaid Sheriffs, and calling Mr. Rogers unto him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable Doctrine, and his evil Opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar. Mr. Rogers answered and

said, That which I have Preached I will Seal with my Blood. Then, quoth Mr. Woodroffe, thou art an Heretic. That shall be known, quoth Rogers, at the Day of Judgment. Well, (quoth Mr. Woodroffe) I will never pray for thee. But I will pray for you, quoth Mr. Rogers; and so was brought the same day, which was *Monday* the Fourth of February, by the Sheriffs toward *Smithfield*, saying the Psalm *Miserere* by the way, all the People wonderfully rejoicing at his Constancy, with great Praises and Thanks to God for the same: And there in the Presence of M. Rochester, Comptroller of the Queens Household, Sir Richard Southwell, both the Sheriffs, and a wonderful number of People, he was burned into Ashes, walking his hands in the flame as he was in burning. A little before his burning at the Stake, his Pardon was brought, if he would have Recanted, but he utterly refused it. He was the first Protomartyr of all the blessed Company that suffered in Queen Mary's time, that gave the first adventure upon the Fire. His Wife and Children, being eleven in number, and ten able to go, and one sucking on her Breast, met him by the way as he went towards *Smithfield*: This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him, but that he constantly and cheerfully took his Death with wonderful Patience, in the defence and quarrel of Christs Gospel.

ANNO
1555.

Mr. Rogers
refuseth his
Pardon.



The History and Martyrdom of Laurence Saunders, burned for the Defence of the Gospel, at Coventry, Anno 1555, February 8.

ANNO
1555.

The Story of
Laurence
Saunders,
a Martyr.
Scholars are
taken out of
Eaton Col-
ledge into
the Kings
Colledge at
Cambridge.

AFTER that Queen Mary, by publick Proclamation in the first year of her Reign, had inhibited the sincere preaching of Gods holy Word, as is before declared, divers godly Ministers of the Word, which had the Cure and Charge of Souls committed to them, did notwithstanding, according to their bounden Duty, feed their Flock faithfully, not as Preachers authorized by publick Authority, (as the Godly Order of the Realm was in the happy days of blessed King Edward) but as the private Pastors of particular Flocks, among whom Laurence Saunders was one, a man of worshipful Parentage. His bringing up was in Learning from his Youth, in places meet for that purpose, as namely in the School of *Eaton*. From whence (according to the manner there used) he was chosen to go to the *Kings Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where he continued Scholar of the Colledge three whole years, and there profited in knowledge and learning ve-

ry much for that time: Shortly after that, he did forsake the University, and went to his Parents, upon whose advice he minded to become a Merchant, for that his Mother, who was a Gentlewoman of good estimation, being left a Widow, and having a good Portion for him among his other Brethren, she thought to set him up wealthy, and so he coming up to *London*, was bound Apprentice with a Merchant, named Sir William Chester (who afterward chanced to be Sheriff of *London* the same year that Saunders was burned at *Coventry*.) Thus by the mind of his Friends Laurence should needs have been a Merchant; but Almighty God, which hath his secret working in all things, saw better for his Servant, as it fell out in the end: For although that Saunders was bound by fast Indenture to play the Merchant, yet the Lord so wrought inwardly in his heart, that he could find no liking in that Vocation: So that when his other Fellows were busily occupied about that kind of Trade, he would secretly withdraw himself into some privy Corner, and there fall into his solitary Lamentations, as one not liking with that kind and trade of life.

Mr. Saunders
first bound
Apprentice
with M.
Chester.

Anno
1555.M. Sanders
appointed to
the rule of
Merchan-
dise, could
not away
with that
kind of Life.M. Sanders
from Mer-
chandise re-
turned to
his study.

It happened that his Master, being a good man, as hearing his Prentice thus in his fierce Prayers inwardly to mourn by himself, called him unto him, to know what the cause was of that his solitainties and lamentations who then perceiving his mind nothing to finish that kind of Life, (for so Sanders declared unto him) and perceiving also his whole purpose to be bent to the study of his Book, and spiritual contemplation, like a good man directed his Letters incontinently unto his friends, and giving him his Indenture to set him free: and thus Lawrence Sanders being ravished with the love of Learning, and especially with the reading of Gods Word, tarried not long time in the traffick of Merchandize, but shortly returned to Cambridge again to his study, where he began to couple to the knowledge of the Latin, the study of the Greek Tongue, wherein he profited in small time very much: Therewith also he joynd the study of the Hebrew: Then gave he himself wholly to the study of the holy Scripture, to furnish himself to the Office of a Preacher.

In study he was diligent and painful, in Godly Life he declared the fruits of a well exercised Conscience, he prayed often and with great fervor, and in his Prayers as also at other times, he had his part of spiritual exercises, which his hearty fighting to God declared, in which when any special assault did come, by Prayer he felt present relief then was his company marvellous comfortable. For as his exercises were special teachings, so in the end they proved singular Comfortations: wherein he became so expert, that within short space he was able to comfort others which were in any Affliction, by the consolation wherewith the Lord did comfort him. Thus continued he in the University, till he proceeded Master of Arts, and a long space after.

In the beginning of King Edwards Reign, when Gods true Religion was begun to be restored, after Licence obtained, he began to preach, and was so well liked of them which then had Authority, that they appointed him to read a Divinity Lecture in the Colledge at *Fotheringay*, where by Doctrine and Life heedified the Godly, drew many ignorant to Gods true knowledge, and stopped the mouth of the Adversaries. He married about that time, and in the married estate led a Life unblamable before all men. The Colledge of *Fotheringay* being dissolved, he was placed to be reader in the Minster at *Lichfield*: where he to behaved himself in teaching and living, that the very Adversaries did give him a full report as well of Learning, as of much Godliness. After a certain space, he departed from *Lichfield* to a Benefice in *Leicester-shire*, called *Churchington*, whereupon he keeping residence taught diligently, and kept a liberal house. From thence he was orderly called to take a Benefice in the City of London, named *Abthallows* in *Breadstreet*. Then minded he to give over his Cure in the Country: and therefore after he had taken possession of his Benefice in London, he departed from London into the Country, clearly to discharge himself thereof. And even at that time began the broul about the claim that Queen Mary made to the Crown, by reason wherof he could not accomplish his purpose.

In this trouble, and even among the beginners of it, (such I mean as were for the Queen) he preached at *Nor-thampton*, nothing meddling with the State, but boldly uttered his Conscience against Popish Doctrine and Antichrists damnable Errors, which were like to spring up again in England, as a just plague for the little Love which the English Nation did bear to the Blessed Word of God, which had been so plentifully offered unto them. The Queens men which were there and heard him, were highly displeased with him for his Sermon, and for it kept him among them as Prisoner. But partly for love of his Brethren and Friends, which were chief doers for the Queen among them, partly because there was no Law broken by his Preaching, they dismissed him. He, seeing the dreadful days at hand, inflamed with the fire of Godly zeal, preached with Diligence at both those Benefices, as time could serve him, seeing he could resist neither of them now, but into the hand of a Papist.

Thus passed he to and fro Preaching, until that Proclamation was put forth, of which mention is made

in the beginning. At which time he was at his Benefice in the Country, where he notwithstanding the Proclamation aforesaid, taught diligently Gods truth confirming the people therein, and arraigning them against false Doctrine, until he was not only commanded to cease, but also with force resisted, so that he could not proceed there in Preaching. Some of his Friends, perceiving such fearful menacing, counselled him to flee out of the Realm, which he refused to do. But seeing he was with violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towards London to visit the Flock, of which he had there the charge.

On Saturday, the 14. of October, as he was coming nigh to the City of London, Sir John Mordant, a Councellor to Queen Mary, did overtake him, and asked him whether he went. I have (said Sanders) a Cure in London, and now I go to instruct my People according to my duty. If you will follow my Council, quoth Mr. Mordant, let them alone, and come not at them. To this Sanders answered: how shall I then be discharged before God, if any be sick, and desire Consolation, if any want good Counsel and need instruction, or if any should slip into Error and receive false Doctrine? Did you not, quoth Mordant, Preach such a day, and named the day, in Breadstreet in London? Yes verily, said Sanders, that same is my Cure. I heard you my self, quoth Mr. Mordant: and will you Preach now there again? If it please you, said Sanders to morrow you may hear me again in that same place, where I will confirm by the Authority of Gods Word, all that I said then, and whatsoever before that time I taught them.

I would counsel you (quoth the other) not to Preach. If you can and will forbid me by lawful Authority, then I must obey, said Sanders. Nay (quoth he) I will not forbid you, but I do give you Counsel. And thus entered they both the City, and departed each from other. Mordant, of an uncharitable mind went to give warning to Bona Bishop of London, that Sanders would Preach in his Cure the next day. Sanders resorted to his lodging, with a mind bent to do his duty. Where because he seemed to be somewhat troubled, one which was there about him, asked him how he did. In very deed (saith he) I am in Prison, till he was in Prison. His mind was unquiet until he had Preached, and that he should have quietness of mind, though he were put in Prison.

The next day, which was Sunday in the forenoon, he made a Sermon in his Parish, entitulating on that place which Paul writeth to the Corinthians: I have coupled you to one man, that ye should make your selves a chaste *Abthallows*. Virgin unto Christ. But I fear least it come to pass, that as the Serpent beguiled Eve; even so your wits should be corrupted from the singleness which ye had towards Christ. He recited a sum of that true Christian Doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive of him free justification through Faith in his Blood. The Papistical Doctrine he compared to the Serpents deceiving, and left they should be deceived by it, he made a comparison between the voice of God, and the voice of the Popish Serpent; defending to more particular Declaration thereof, as it were to let them plainly see the difference that is between the Order of the Church Service set forth by King Edward in the English Tongue, and comparing it with the Popish Service then used in the Latine Tongue.

The first he said was good, because it was according to the Word of God, *Corinth. 14.* and the order of the Primitive Church. The other he said was evil, and though in that evil be intermingled some good Latin words; yet was it but as a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of Poyson, to make them drink up all. This was the sum of his Sermon.

In the Afternoon he was ready in his Church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the Bishop of London interrupted him by sending an Officer for him. This Officer charged him, upon the pain of Disobedience and Contumacy; forthwith to come to the Bishop his Master. Thus, as the Apostles were brought out of the Temple, where they were teaching, unto the Rulers of the Priesthood was Lawrence Sanders brought before this Bishop of this place of London, who had

M. Sanders
refuseth to
flee the
Realm.M. Mordant
dissuadeth
Sanders
from
preaching.M. Sanders
in Prison,
till he was
in Prison.M. Sanders
Sermon at
Abthallows.
2 Cor. 11.M. Sanders
apprehen-
ded by B.
Sh. or St. his
Sermon.
Sir John
Mordant ac-
cused Law-
rence San-
ders.M. Sanders
Reader in
the Colledge
of Fotheringay.Sanders after
Reading at
Lichfield.The con-
stant pur-
sue of
M. Sanders.

in his company the aforementioned Sir John Mordant and some of his Chaplains. The Bishop laid no more to Laurence Sanders charge, but Treason for breaking the Queens Proclamation, Heresie and Sedition for his Sermon.

*Preaching of
Gods Word
made Treason
with
Bishop Bower.*

The Treason and Sedition his charity was content to let slip, untill another time. But an Heretick he would now prove him, and all those, he said, which did teach and believe that the Administration of the Sacraments and all orders of the Church are most pure, which do come most nigh to the order of the Primitive Church. For the Church was then but in her Infancy, and could not abide that perfection which was afterward to be furnished with Ceremonies. And for this cause Christ himself, and after him the Apostles, did in many things bear with the rudeness of that Church. To this Laurence Sanders answered with the Authority of S. Augustine, That Ceremonies were even from the beginning invented and ordained for the rude infancy and weak infirmity of man, and therefore it was a token of the more perfection of the Primitive Church, that it had few Ceremonies, and of the rudeness of the Church Papistical, because it had so many Ceremonies, partly Blasphemous, partly unfavoury and unprofitable.

*Ceremonies
invented
only for
weak infirmity.*

After much talk had concerning this matter, the Bishop willed him to write what he believed of Transubstantiation. Laurence Sanders did so, saying; My Lord, ye do seek my Blood, and ye shall have it: I pray God that ye may be so Baptized in it, that ye may thereafter loath blood-sucking, and become a better man. This writing the Bishop kept for his purpose, even to cut the writers throat, as shall appear hereafter. The Bishop, when he had his will, sent Laurence Sanders to the Lord Chancellor, as Anna sent Christ to Caiphaz, and like favour found Sanders as Christ his Master did before him. But the Chancellor being not at home, Sanders was constrained to tarry for him by the space of four hours, in the utter Chamber, where he found a Chaplain of the Bishops very merrily disposed, with certain Gentlemen playing at the Tables, with divers others of the same Family or House occupied there in the same exercise.

*B. Bower
seeketh the
Blood of M.
Sanders*

*M. Sanders
sent from
Anna to
Caiphaz.*

All this time Sanders stood very modestly and soberly at the Screen or Capboard bare-headed, Sir John Mordant his Guide or Leader walking up and down by him: who (as I said before) was then one of the Council. At the last the Bishop returned from the Court, whom, as soon as he was entered, a great many suiters met and received: so that before he could get out of one house into another, half an hour was passed. At the last he came into the Chamber, where Sanders was, and went thorow into another Chamber: where in the mean way Sanders leader gave him a writing, containing the Cause, or rather the Accusation of the said Sanders: Which when he had perused; where is the man, said the Bishop? Then Sanders, being brought forth to the place of Examination, first most lowly and meekly kneeled down, and made curtesie before the Table where the Bishop did sit; unto whom the Bishop spake on this wise:

*Winchester
talk with
M. Sanders.*

How happeneth it, said he, that, notwithstanding the Queens Proclamation to the contrary, you have enterprised to preach?

Sanders denied not that he did preach: saying, that forso much as he saw the perillous times now at hand, he did but (according as he was admonished, and warned by Ezekiel the Prophet) exhort his Flock and Parishioners to persevere and stand stedfastly in the Doctrine which they had learned; saying also, That he was moved and pricked forward thereunto by the place of the Apostles, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than man; and moreover, that nothing more moved or stirred him thereunto, than his own Conscience.

*M. Sanders
answers to
Sic. Winchester.*

A goodly Conscience surely, said the Bishop. This your Conscience could make our Queen a Ballard, or misbegotten: Would it not, I pray you?

Winchester.

Then said Sanders, We, said he, do not declare or say, that the Queen is base, or misbegotten, neither go about any such matter. But for that let them care whole writings are yet in the hands of men, witnessing the same, not without the great reproach and shame of the Author: privily taunting the Bishop himself, which had before (to get the favour of Henry the Eighth) written

M. Sanders.

*A privy slip
to Winchester
Bis.*

and set forth in print a Book of true Obedience, wherein he had openly declared Queen Mary to be a Ballard. Now Mr. Sanders going forwards in his purpose, said; We do only profess and teach the sincerity and purity of the Word; the which, albeit it be now forbidden us to Preach with our Mouths, yet notwithstanding, I do not doubt, but that our Blood hereafter shall manifest the same. The Bishop being in this sort prettily ruffled and touched, said; Carry away this frolic fool to Prison. Unto whom M. Sanders answered, that he did give God thanks, which had given him at the last a place of rest and quietness, whereas he might pray for the Bishops conversion.

Anno
1555.

*Winchester
book de vera
obedientia.
Note how
Winchester
conscience
misanders.*

Furthermore, he that did lie with him afterwards in Prison, in the same Bed, reported that he heard him say, that even in the time of his Examination he was wonderfully comforted, inasmuch as not only in Spirit, but also in Body, he received a certain taste of that Holy Communion of Saints, whilst a most pleasant refreshing did issue from every Part and Member of the Body unto the seat and place of the Heart, and from thence did ebb and flow to and fro unto all the parts again.

A notable
example of
the Lord
comforting
his servants
in their
tribules.

This Sanders continued in Prison a whole year and three months. In all which space he sent divers Letters to divers men; as one to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; another to his Wife, and also to others, certifying them both of the Publick Calamity of the time, and also of his private Afflictions, and of sundry his conflicts with his Adversaries: as in writing to his friend he spake of Weston conferring with him in Prison, whereof ye shall hear anon (by the leave of the Lord) as followeth in the story. In the mean time the Chancellor, after this little talk with Mr. Sanders (as is aforesaid) sent him to the Prison of the Marshalsey, &c. For the Caiphaz (Winchester I mean) did nothing but bait him with some of his curish eloquence, and so committed him to the Prison of the Marshalsey, where he was kept Prisoner one whole year and a quarter. But of his Cause and Estate, thou shalt now see what L. Sanders himself did write.

M. Sanders
in Prison a
year and
three
months.

A parcel of a Letter of Laurence Sanders sent to the Bishop of Winchester, as an answer to certain things wherewith he had before charged him.

Touching the cause of my Imprisonment, I doubt & question whether I have broken any Law or Proclamation. In my Doctrine I did not, forasmuch as at that time it was permitted by the Proclamation to use, according to our Conscience, such service as was then established. My Doctrine was then agreeable unto my Conscience and the same service then used. The Act which I did (be meaneth publick teaching of Gods Word in his own Parish, called Alhallowes in Breadstreet in the City of London) was such as being indifferently weighed, sounded no wilful breaking of the Proclamation, or at the least no wilful breaking of it, forasmuch as I caused no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the Pulpit, after the order of Sermons or Lectures. But be it that I did break the Proclamation, this long time of Continuance in Prison may be thought to be more than a sufficient punishment for such a fault.

A fragment
of M. Sanders
denies.

He stretcheth
the Proclamation,
of which mention
is made
before, saying
he cavie qui
resistit non
peccat.

Touching the charging of me with my Religion, I say with S. Paul, this I confess, that after the way which they call Heresie, so worship I the God of my fore-fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law and the Prophets, and have hope towards God, &c. And herein study I to have always a clear Conscience towards God and towards men: So that God I call to witness, I have a Conscience. And this my Conscience is not grounded upon vain fantasies, but upon the infallible verity of Gods Word, with the witnessing of his chosen Church agreeable unto the same.

AR. 22.

A good Testimony of a
good Conscience.

It is an easie thing for them, which take Christ for their true Pastor, and be the very Sheep of his Pasture, to discern the Voice of their true Shepherd, from the Voice of Wolves, Heralings, and Strangers: forasmuch as Christ saith; My Sheep hear my Voice: Ye and thereby they shall have the gift to know the right Voice of the true Shepherd, and so to follow him, and to avoid the contrary, as he also saith; The Sheep follow the Shepherd, for they know.

John 10.

Coloss. 1.
Coloss. 1.

mercies, Which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of Saints in light, which hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the Kingdom of his beloved Son, by whom we have redemption through his Blood, &c. O most happy estate, that in an unspeakable wife our Life is hid with Christ in God: But whensoever Christ which is our Life shall shew himself, then shall we also appear with him in Glory. In the mean season as our sight is but in a glass, even in a dark speaking, so we walk in Faith, not after outward appearance: The which Faith although for want of outward appearance, reason reputeth but as vain, yet the chosen of God do know the effect thereof, to bring a more substantial state and lively fruition of very felicity and perfect blessedness than reason can reach, or senses receive. By this Faith we have in our possession all good things, yea even them which the eye hath not seen, and the ear hath not heard, neither hath entered the heart of man, &c. Then if hereby we do enjoy all good things, it followeth that we must needs possess, have and enjoy you, most Reverend Fathers, who be no small part of our joy and good things given us of God.

Eph. 64.
1 Cor. 2.

We heretofore have had the fruition of you by bodily Presence to our inexpressible benefit, praised be that our most Gracious God therefore. And now in Spirit we have the experience of unspeakable comfort by your Reverend Fatherhoods, for that in this so glorious sort ye become a Town set upon a Hill, a Candle upon a Candlestick, a Spectacle unto the World, both to the Angels and unto men. So that as we to our great comfort do feel, you also may assuredly with S. Paul, that the things which happen unto us, do chance unto the great furtherance of the Gospel; so that our Bonds in Christ are manifest, not only throughout all the Judgment-hall, but in all whole Europe; inasmuch that many of the Brethren in the Lord, being encouraged through our Bonds, dare more boldly speak the word without fear. And herein as you have with S. Paul greatly to rejoice, so we rejoice with you, and we do indeed with you give thanks for this worthy excellent favour of our God towards you, that Christ is thus magnified in you, yea, and hereafter shall be magnified in your Bodies, whether it be through Life or Death. Of which thing truly we are assured in our Prayers for you, and Ministering of the Spirit. And although for our own parts, Christ is unto you in Life and Death advantage, and that your desire is (as indeed it were better for you) to be loosed, and to be with Christ, yet for the Church of Christ were it much more necessary, that ye should abide in the Flesh. Yea, that Merciful God, even for his Christs sake, grant that ye may abide and continue for the furtherance of the Church, and rejoicing of Faith, that the rejoicing thereof may be the more abundant through Christ by your restoring, Amen, Amen.

Mat. 2.

2 Cor. 4.
Phil. 1.Phil. 1.
Phil. 1.

But if it seem better otherwise unto the Divine Wisdom, that by speedy Death he hath appointed you to glorify him, the Lords will be done. Yea, even as we do rejoice both on your behalfs, and also on our own, that God is magnified by Life, and should be more abundantly glad for the continuance thereof; so we shall no less rejoice to have the same wrought by Death. We shall give thanks for this honour given unto you, rejoicing that ye are accounted worthy to suffer for the Name of Christ, and that it is given to you of God, not only that ye should believe in him, but also that ye should suffer for his sake. And herein we shall have to rejoice in the behalf of the Church of Christ, whose Faith may be the faster fixed upon Gods verity, being confirmed with three such worthy witnesses. O thanks be to God for this his unspeakable gift!

And now most Reverend Fathers, that you may understand the truth of us, and our estate how we stand in the Lord, I do assure your Reverences, partly by that I perceive by such of your Brethren as be here in Bonds with me, partly by that I hear of them which be in other places, and partly by that inward experience which I, most unworthy, have of Gods good comfort (more abundance whereof I know there is in others) you may be assured (I say) by Gods Grace, that you shall not be frustrate of your hope of our constant continuance in the cheerful confession of Gods everlasting verity. For even

as we have received the Word of Truth, even the Gospel of our Salvation, wherein we believing are sealed with the holy Spirit of Promise, which is the earnest of our Inheritance (the which I pray certifieth our spirit, that we are the Children of God, and therefore God hath sent the spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father) so after such portion as God measureth unto us, we with the whole Church of Christ, and with you Reverend Fathers, receiving the same Spirit of Faith, according as it is written; *I believed, and therefore I have spoken*: We also believe, and therefore speak. For the which we in this dangerous Bondage and other Afflictions, having even such a fight as we have seen in you, and have heard of you, are in no wise afraid of our adversaries.

And forasmuch as we have such an Office, even as God hath had Mercy on us, we go not out of kind, but even with you, after our little power, we labour to maintain the Faith of the Gospel, knowing most certainly, that though we have this treasure in earthen Vessels, that the excellency of this power might be Gods, and not ours; yet shall we not be dashed in pieces: For the Lord will put his hand under us. When we are troubled on every side, yet are we not without shift: When we are in poverty, we are not utterly without some thing: When we suffer Persecution, we are not forsaken therein: When we are cast down, yet we shall not perish: but to Communicate with our sweet Saviour Christ in bearing the Cross, it is appointed unto us, that even with him also we shall be glorified: For it is a true saying; *If we be dead with him, we shall also live with him; if we be patient, we shall also reign with him: If we deny him, he shall also deny us*. Wherefore be we of good cheer, always bearing about in our Body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the Life of Jesus might appear also in our Body: For we know, that he which raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise us up also by the means of Jesus, & shall join us to himself together with you. Wherefore we are not wearied; but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our Tribulation which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternal weight of Glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. For the things which are seen, are temporal; but the things which are not seen, are eternal.

We testify unto you, Reverend Fathers, that we draw these matters with joy out of the Wells of the Saviour. And I trust we shall continually with you bless the Lord, and give thanks unto the Lord out of the Wells of Israel; we trust to be merry together at that great Supper of the Lamb, whose Spouse we are by Faith, and there to sing that song of everlasting Hallelujah, Amen. Yea, come Lord Jesus. The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, Amen.

Another Letter written to his wife, wherein is to be seen how this worthy Warriour prepared himself to the appointed fight, and to keep his standing in Christs Camp.

Laurence Sanders to his wife.

Grace and Comfort in Christ Jesus, our only Comfort in all extrem assaults, Amen.

Fain would this Flesh make strange of that which the spirit doth embrace; Oh! Lord, how loth is this loytering sluggard to pass forth in Gods path! It phantasizeth forth much fear of fray-bugs: and were it not for the force of Faith which pulleth it forward by the rein of Gods most sweet promise, and of hope which pricketh on behind, great adventures there were of fainting by the way. But blessed and everlastingly blessed be that Heavenly Father of ours, who in his Christ, our sufficient Saviour, hath vouchsafed to shine in our Hearts, that he give us the light of the knowledge of the Glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ: and having this treasure in our earthen Vessels, that the excellency of the power might be Gods and not ours, we are (according to his good will) troubled on every side, yet are we not without shift; we are in poverty, yet are we not without sufficient; we suffer persecution, but are not forsaken therein; we are cast down, nevertheless we perish not; we bear in the Body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the Life of Jesus might also appear in our Body. Wherefore by

Anno 1555.

The constant mind of a Christian Soldier. Ephes. 1. Rom. 1. Gal. 3. 1 Cor. 4. Phil. 1.

Phil. 1.

1 Cor. 4.

1 Cor. 4.

1 Tim. 2.

1 Cor. 4.

Eph. 12.

Phil. 4.

M. Sanders Letter to his Wife.

1 Cor. 4.

1 Cor. 4.

Anno 1555.
 by the Grace of our Christ we shall not be wearied, neither be dismayed by this our probation through the fire of Affliction, as though some strange thing had happened unto us: But by his Power we shall rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of Christs Passion, that when he doth appear, we may be merry and glad, knowing that our Tribulation, which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and an eternal weight of Glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. They that sow in Tears, shall reap in Joy. For he that goeth on his way weeping and scattering his good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his whole sheaves with him. Then, then shall the Lord wipe away all Tears from our Eyes. Then, then shall be brought to pass that saying which is written: Death is swallowed up in victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Yea, thanks be to God, which hath given us Victory through our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

In the mean season it remaineth for us to follow Saint Peters bidding: Let them (saith he) that are troubled, according to the will of God, commit their Souls to him with well doing, as a Faithful Creator and Maker. He is our Maker, we are his handy-work and Creatures, whom now when he hath made, he doth not leave and forsake, as the Shipwright doth the Ship, leaving it at all adventures to be tossed in the Tempest, but he comforteth us his Creatures, and in him we live, move and have our being: Yea, not only that, but now that he hath in his dear Christ repaired us, being before utterly decayed, and redeemed us, purging us unto himself as a peculiar people by the Blood of his Son, he hath put on a most tender good-will and Fatherly Affection towards us, never to forget us unto whom by such promises he hath plighted such Faith, that though it were possible that the Mother could forget her Infant, and not be tender-hearted to the Child of her Womb, yet may not it be, that his Faithful Believers should be forgotten of him. He biddeth us to cast our care on him, and saith, that assuredly he careth for us. And what though for a season he doth suffer us to be troubled in the troublous Tempests of Temptation, and seemeth as in much anger to have given us over, and forgotten us? let not us for all that leave off to put our trust in him, but let us with Godly Job conclude in our selves and say: *Even though he kill me, yet will I put my trust in him. Let us with the Blessed Abraham in hope, even contrary to hope, by Belief lean unto that our loving Lord, who though for our probation he suffereth us to be afflicted, yet will he not be always chiding, neither keepeth he his anger for ever: for he knoweth whereof we are made, he remembereth that we are but dust. Wherefore, look how high the Heaven is in comparison of the Earth, so great is his Mercy towards them which fear him. Look how wide the East is from the West, so far hath he set our sins for us. Yea, like as a Father, pitieth his own Children, even so is the Lord merciful unto them that fear him. Oh! what great cause of rejoicing have we in our most Gracious God? we cannot but burst forth in the praising of such a bountiful Benefactor, and say with the same Psalms: Praise the Lord, O my Soul, and all that is within me Praise his holy Name. Praise the Lord, O my Soul, and forget not all his benefits.*

Dear Wife, Riches I have none to leave behind me, wherewith to endow you after the Worldly manner: But that Treasure of talking how sweet Christ is unto hungry Consciences, (whereof, I thank my Christ, I do feel part, and would feel more) that I bequeath unto you, and to the rest of my beloved in Christ, to retain the same in sense of heart always. Pray, pray. I am merry, and I trust I shall be merry, maugre the teeth of all the Devils in Hell. I utterly refuse my self, and resign my self unto my Christ, in whom I know I shall be strong, as he seeth needful. Pray, pray, pray.

Job. 13.
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come into the Prison, yet did he take the little Babe out of her Arms, and brought him unto his Father: Laurence Sanders seeing him, rejoiced greatly, saying, that he rejoiced more to have such a Boy, than he should if two Thousand pounds were given him. And unto the standers by, which praised the goodness of the Child, he said, What man fearing God, would not lose this Life present, rather than by prolonging it here, he should adjudge this Boy to be a Bastard, his Wife a Whore, and himself a Whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cause, for which a man of my Estate should lose his Life, yet who would not give it, to avouch this Child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?

I do, good Reader, recite this saying, not only to let thee see what be thought of Priests marriage: but chiefly to let all married Couples and Parents learn to bear in their bosom true affections: natural, but yet seasoned with the true Salt of the Spirit, unfeignedly and unfeignably mortified to do the Natural Works and Offices of married Couples and Parents, so long as with their doing they may keep Christ with a free confessing hand, in a Conscience unsoiled: Otherwise both they and their own Lives are to be forsaken, as Christ required them to be denied, and given in his cause.

And now to come to the Examination of this good man, after that the Bishops had kept him one whole year and a quarter in Prison, at length they called him, as they did the rest of his fellows, openly to be examined. Of the which his first Examination the effect and purport thus followeth.

The Examination of Laurence Sanders.

Praised be our Gracious God who preferreth his from evil, and doth give them Grace to avoid all such offences as might hinder his Honour, or hurt his Church, Amen.

Being convened before the Queens most Honourable Council, sundry Bishops being present, the L. Chancellor began to speak in such form as followeth:

L. Chan. It is not unknown that you have been a Prisoner, for such abominable Heresies and false Doctrine as hath been shown by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be showed to such as seek for it. Wherefore if now you will shew your self conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We must say that we have fallen in manner all: but now we are risen again, and returned to the Catholick Church; you must rise with us, and come home unto it. Give us forthwith a direct answer.

Sand. My Lord, and my Lords all, may it please your Honours to give me leave to answer with deliberation.

Chan. Leave of your painting and pride of speech: For such is the fashion of you all, to please your selves in your glorious words. Answer yea, or nay.

Sand. My Lord, it is no time for me now to paint. And as for Pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me; My learning I confess to be but small: and as for riches or worldly wealth I have none at all. Notwithstanding, it standeth me in hand to answer to your demand circumspectly, considering that one of these two extremities are like to fall upon me: the losing of a good Conscience, or the losing of this my Body and Life. And I tell you truth, I love both Life and Liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my Conscience.

Chan. Conscience? You have none at all, but pride and arrogance, (as) dividing your selves by singularity from the Church.

Sand. The Lord is the knower of all mens Consciences. And where your Lordship layeth to my charge this dividing my self from the Church (as you do mean, and is now among you concluded upon, and I do understand) I do assure you, that I live in the Faith wherein I have been brought up since I was fourteen years old: being taught that the Power of the Bishop of Rome is but usurped, with many other abuses springing thereof. Yea, this I have received even at your hands that are here present, as a thing agreed upon by the Catholick Church and Publick Authority.

Chan. Yea marry, but I pray you, have you received by

Time and
authority be
things of
themselves
always un-
certain :
Ergo, Confide-
nce ought
never to
stand upon
trust and
Authority.
Si non safe-
raturus : Fas
iponte, in-
fligat.

consent and authority all your Heresies of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

Sand. My Lord, it is less offence to cut off an arm, hand, or joyn of man, than to cut off the head. For the man may live though he do lack an arm, hand, or joyn, and so he cannot without his head. But you, all the whole sort of you, have agreed to cut off the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, whom now you will have to be the Head of the Church again.

B. of Lond. And if it like your Lordship, I have his hand against the Blessed Sacrament. How say you to that ?

Sanders. What I have written, that I have written, and farther I will not accuse my self. Nothing have you to burden me withal, for breaking of your Laws since they were in force.

Chan. Well ; you be obstinate, and refuse liberty.

Sand. My Lord, I may not buy liberty at such a price: but I beseech your Honours to be means to the Queens Majesty for such a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our Conferences unclogged, and we shall live as most obedient Subjects. Otherwise, I must say for my self, that by Gods Grace I will abide the most extremity that man may do against me, rather than to do against my Conscience.

Chan. Ah Sirra, you will live as you list. The Donatists did desire to live in singularity, but indeed they were not meet to live on Earth : No more be you, and that shall you understand within these seven days; and therefore away with him.

Sand. Welcome be it, whatsoever the will of God shall be, either Life or Death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to dye. But I exhort you to beware of shedding of innocent Blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God rest upon all your Honours, Amen. This is the sum and form of my first Examination, Pray, &c.

This Examination being ended, the Officers led him out of the place, and so stayed until the rest of his fellows were likewise handled, that they might have them altogether to prison. *Lawrence Sanders* standing among

the Officers; seeing there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth and spake freely, warning them all of that which by their falling from Christ to Antichrist they did deserve; and therefore exhorting them by Repentance to life again, and to embrace Christ with stronger Faith, to confess him to the end, in the defiance of Antichrist, Sin, Death, and the Devil: So should they retain the Lords favour and blessing.

The Copies of his other Examination and Excommunication came to the hands of such as do keep them hid in secret. But in them, as he defended Christs cause stoutly, so warned he the Pharisaical Bishops and Papists of their Hypocrite and Tyranny freely, and cleared himself of their unjust quarrellings truly. After he was excommunicate and delivered to the Secular Power, he was brought by the Sheriff of London to the Prison called the *Compter*, in his own Parish in *Breadstreet*: whereat he rejoiced greatly, both because he found there a Fellow-prisoner, *M. Cardmaker*, with whom he had Christlike and comfortable conference, and also because out of Prison, as before out of a Pulpit, he might preach to his Parishioners; as by his Letter hereafter shall be declared.

The fourth day of February, the Bishop of London did come to the Prison where he was, to degrade him: which when he had done, *Lawrence Sanders* said to him, I thank God I am none of your Church.

The day following in the morning, the Sheriff of London delivered him to certain of the Queens Guard, which were appointed to carry him to the City of Coventry, there to be burned. The first night they came to *S. Albans*, where *Mr. Grimald* (a man who had more store of good gifts, than of great constancy) did speak with him.

After *Mr. Sanders* had given him a lesson meet for his lightness, he took a Cup in his hand, and asked him if he would pledge him of that Cup, of which he would begin to him. *Grimald*, by his shuffling and shrinking shewing what he was, said, Of that Cup which is in your hand I will pledge you: But of that other which you

A lawfull request but it could not be heard.

To live as the Scripture teacheth us, is not to live as we list. The Papists desire the Pope, the protestants Christ, only to be their Head: Now which of these two be most like the Donatists?

Anno 1555.

M. Sanders freely preacheth Christ. The second examination here lefteth.

M. Sanders delivered to the Secular Power.

M. Sanders degraded by *B. Bower*.

M. Sanders carried to Coventry.

The burning of Master Lawrence Sanders at Coventry.



mean, I will not promise you. Well, said Master Sanders, my dear Lord Jesus Christ hath begun to me of a more bitter Cup than mine shall be, and shall I not pledge my most sweet Saviour? Yes, I hope.

After they were come to Coventry, the same night a poor Shoemaker, which was wont to serve him of shoes, came to him after this manner, and said; O my good Master, God strengthen and comfort you. Gramercies

good Shoemaker, quoth Master Sanders, and I pray thee to pray for me; for I am the unmeetest man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it: but my Gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough. That same night he was put into the Common Goal among other Prisoners, where he slept little, but spent the night in Prayer, and instructing of others.

A good Shoemaker of Coventry.

M. Sanders put to the Common Goal in Coventry.

Anno 1555. The next day, which was the eighth day of February, he was led to the place of Execution in the Park without the City, going in an old gown and a shirt, bare-footed, and oft times fell flat on the ground, and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the Officer, appointed to see the execution done, said to Mr. Sanders, that he was one of them which marred the Queens Realm with false Doctrine and Heresie, wherefore thou hast deserved death, quoth he, but yet if thou wilt revoke thine Heresies, the Queen hath pardoned thee: if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee. To whom Mr. Sanders answered, it is not I, nor my fellow Preachers of Gods Truth that have hurt the Queens Realm, but it is your self, and such as you are, which have always resisted Gods holy Word; it is you which have and do mar the Queens Realm. I do hold no Heresies, but the Doctrine of God, the blessed Gospel of Christ; that hold I, that believe I, that have I taught, and that will I never revoke. With that, this Tormentor cryed, Away with him. And away from him went M. Sanders with a merry courage towards the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed: he rose up again and took the stake to which he should be chained, in his Arms, and kissed it, saying: Welcome the Cross of Christ, welcome everlasting Life: and being fastned to the stake, and fire put to him, full sweetly he slept in the Lord.

And thus have ye the full History of Laurence Sanders, whom I may well compare to S. Laurence, or any other of the Old Martyrs of Christs Church; both for the fervent zeal of the truth and Gospel of Christ, and the most constant patience in his suffering, as also for the cruel torments that he in his patient Body did sustain in the flame of fire. For so his cruel enemies handled him, that they burned him with green wood; and other smothering rather than burning fewel, which put him to much more pain, but that the Grace and most plentiful Consolation of Christ, which never forsaketh his servants, and gave strength to S. Laurence, gave also patience to this Laurence, above all that his torments could work against: which well appeared by his quiet standing, and sweet sleeping in the fire, as is above declared.

And to the intent to give the Reader to understand the better, what the Grace of Christ worketh in his servants; and again, how feeble and weak man is of himself without this Grace given from above, though he seem otherwise never so stout in himself: here therefore have we added to the foresaid story of Laurence Sanders, the Communication which in the beginning of his trouble was between him and Doctor Pendleton, by the example whereof, such as stand, may learn to understand to take heed with due fear, and not to brag; to lean to the Grace of the Lord, and not to presume in themselves.

A certain Communication between Laurence Sanders and Dr. Pendleton, in the beginning of Queen Maries time.

At the change of Religion in this Realm, and the beginning of Queen Maries Reign, Doctor Pendleton and Master Sanders, men known to the World, not only to be learned, but also earnest Preachers of Gods Word in the time of blessed King Edward, met together in the Country, where by occasion they were at that time, and as the case required (by reason of the Persecution that was then at hand) fell to debate what was best for them to do in so dangerous a season. Whereunto Mr. Sanders, whether through very frailty of his weak flesh, that was loth to taste the bitter Cup, though his Spirit were ready thereunto; or whether it were upon the mistrust of his own strength, that he might receive the greater power from above; or whether it were not for any one of the said causes alone, but for both together, or such like; seemed so fearful and feeble spirited, that he shewed himself in appearance, like either to fall quite from God and his Word, which he had taught, or at least to betake him to his heels, and to fly the Land, rather than to stick to his Profession and abide by his Tackle: So as Doctor Pendleton (who on the contrary side appeared not so big of Body, but as bold in courage, nor so earnest before in Pulpit, but as ready now to seal the same with his Blood) took upon him to comfort M. Sanders all that he might, admonishing him, as he could do it

very well, not to forsake cowardly his flock when he had most need to defend them from the Wolf; neither having put his hand to Gods Plough, to start now aside and give it over, nor yet (that is worst of all) having once forsaken Antichrist, to fall either himself, or suffer others by his example to return to their vomit again.

After which and such like persuasions bidding him be of good comfort, and to take a good heart unto him; What man, quoth he, there is a great deal more cause in me to be afraid than in you, forasmuch as you see, I carry a greater mass of flesh upon my back than you do, and being so laden with a heavier lump of this vile carcase, ought therefore of Nature to be more frail than you: and yet, said he, I will see the uttermost drop of this grease of mine molten away, and the last goblet of this flesh consumed to ashes, before I will forsake God and his Truth. Whereunto the other answering but little, and wishing that Almighty God would give him more strength than he presently felt in himself, acknowledging his own weakness, consented notwithstanding, though it were somewhat faintly, to joyn with him in the profession of the Gospel, and so to go up to London, and set forth the same: whereupon they gave each other their hands.

Now when they were come to London, Lord, what a great change was there between these two persons! The poor feeble faint-hearted Sanders, by the goodness of Almighty God, taking heart of Grace to him, seeking the same in humility, boldly and stoutly confirmed his flock out of the Pulpit, where his charge lay, mightily beating down Antichrist, and lustily Preaching Christ his Master, for the which heavenward suffered most willingly, as is before declared. Whereas on the other side, Pendleton the proud (who as it appeared by the sequel, had been more stout in words than constant in deeds, and a greater bragger than a good Warrior) followed Peter so justly in cracks, howsoever he did in Repentance (which God only knoweth) that he came not so soon to London but he changed his tippet, and played the Apostata, preaching in stead of found Doctrine nothing almost but Errors and Lies, advancing Antichrist, and overthrowing poor Christ with all his main: so his former boldness came to nothing, unless it were a contrary key, becoming of a Faithful Pastor a false Runnagate, and of a true Preacher a sworn Enemy to Gods everlasting Testament, to the great offence of his Brethren, the hurt of his flock, and the utter undoing, without Gods greater Mercy, of his own Soul. Wherein are specially to be considered the deep and marvellous Judgment of God, who as he can and doth make strong whom it pleaseth him, when he seeth his time, and most commonly such as appear most feeble: even so contrariwise, throweth he down other some, seem they never so stout, stand they never so much in their own conceits. Wherefore let him that standeth take heed he fall not, and let us pray continually to Almighty God, though we have Faith, that he will help and increase our Faith, that in him it may be made strong, which of it self is so weak, that it is soon overthrown.

This blessed Man of God induring long time in Prison, did not pass all this time in unfruitful Idleness, but still from time to time did visit his friends (as is said) and especially his wife, with many Letters full of Godly Instruction and Consolation. All which Letters I shall not be greatly needful here to insert, partly because they are to be found in the Book of Letters, partly because we intend also (if God will) to prosecute the same more at large. In the mean time it shall not be out of place here presently to comprehend certain of them as in order followeth.

A Letter sent to M. Ferrar Bishop of S. Davids, Doctor Taylor, Mr. Bradford, and Mr. Philpot.

Grace, Mercy, and Peace in Jesus Christ our Lord, &c. A Letter of Good Fathers, and dear Brethren, be thankful unto M. Sanders our most Gracious God, which hath preserved us, and shall preserve us (I doubt not) from blaspheming his Blessed Name: yea, not only that, but also Ex ore Infantium & Lactantium perficit laudem, &c. i. Out of the Mouths of very Babes & Sucklings shall be set forth his praise. They offer us (for such)

The stout
brags of D.
Pendleton at
the first be-
ginning;

God's strength
wherein
feebleness is

Example
how feeble
man is of
himself,
without the
Lord's sup-
port him.

He that
standeth let
him take
heed he fall
not.
Rom. 16.

M. Sanders
diligent in
writing Let-
ters out of
Prison.
Read the
Book of
Letters of
the Martyrs.

A Letter of
M. Sanders
sent to Bish.
Ferrar, M.
Taylor, M.
Bradford,
and Mr. Phil-
pot.

(forsooth) our liberty and pardon, so that we will rise with them into that Faith which we wish them were fain from. Yea, or no, must be answered in haste. They will not admit any needful circumstances, but all (as heretofore) most detestable and abominable. Rise with them we must unto the unity. And pardon (say I) of me must not so dearly be purchased. A pardon I desire, to live with an unclogged Conscience. The Donatists (say they) sought for such singularity, but they were not meet to live in a Commonwealth, no more be you, as you shall shortly understand. Wherefore away with him; yea, the time was named within this seven-night. There be twelve hours in the day. Death shall be welcome (say I) as being looked for long since, and yet do Justice ye were best, for Abels blood cried, ye was what. The Spirit of God be upon you, and God save your Honours. Thus departed I from them. Pray, pray. Abah, Puer sum, nescio loqui; I am a Child, I cannot speak. My Brother P. shall shew you more herein. By him send me word what you have done. Fare ye well, and pray, pray, I would gladly meet with my good Brother Bradford on the backside about eleven of the Clock. Before that time I cannot start out, we have such Out-walkers, but then will they be at dinner.

Yours as you know, L. Sanders.

A Letter which Laurence Sanders did write to his Wife, and others of the Faithful, after his Condemnation to the Fire, written the last of January, An. 1555 out of the Compter in Breadstreet.

The Grace of Christ, with the Consolation of the Holy Ghost, to the keeping of the Faith and a good Conscience, confirm and keep you for ever Vessels to Gods Glory, Amen.

Oh! what worthy thanks can be given to our gracious God for his unmeasurable Mercies plentifully poured upon us? And I most unworthy Wretch cannot but pour forth at this present, even from the bottom of my heart, the bewailing of my great ingratitude and unkindness towards so gracious a good God and loving Father. I beseech you all, as for my other many sins, so specially for that sin of my unthankfulness, crave pardon for me in your earnest Prayers, commending me to Gods great Mercies in Christ.

To number these Mercies in particular, were to number the drops of water which are in the Sea, the Sands on the shore, the Stars in the Skie. O my dear Wife, and ye the rest of my Friends, rejoice with me, I lay rejoice with Thanksgiving for this my present Promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnifie my God, not only in my life, by my low mouth and uncircumcised lips, bearing witness unto his Truth, and also by my blood to seal the same, to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true Church: And as yet I testify unto you, that the comfort of my sweet Christ doth drive from my fainting the fear of death. But if my dear Husband Christ doth for my trial leave me alone a little to my self, alas, I know in what case I shall be then: but if for my proof he do so, yet I am sure he will not be long or far from me. Though he stand behind the Wall and hide himself (as Solomon saith in his Mystical Ballet) yet will he peep in by a cleft to see how I do. He is a very tender-hearted Joseph; though he speak roughly to his Brethren, and handle them hardly; yet threaten grievous Bondage to his best beloved Brother Benjamin: yet can he not contain himself from weeping with us and upon us, with filling on our necks, and sweetly kissing us. Such a Brother is our Christ unto all. Wherefore hasten to go unto him as Jacob did with his Sons and Family, leaving their Country and Acquaintance. Yea, this our Joseph hath obtained for us, that Pharaoh the Iudiel shall minister unto us Chariots, wherein at ease we may be carried to come unto him: as we have experience how our very Adversaries do help us unto our everlasting Bliss by their speedy dispatch; yea, and how all things have been helpings hereunto; blessed be our God. Be not afraid of Fiery bugs which lye in the way. Fear rather the Everlasting Fire: fear the Serpent which hath that deadly sting, of which by bodily death they shall be brought to taste which are not grafted in Christ, wanting Faith and a good Conscience, and so are not acquainted

with Christ the killer of death. But oh my dear Wife and Friends! weye whom God hath delivered from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the Kingdom of his dear Son, by putting off the Old Man, and by Faith putting on the New, even our Lord Jesus Christ, his Wisdom, Holiness, Righteousness and Redemption; we, I say, have to triumph against the terrible faterial Serpent the Devil, Sin, Hell, Death, and Damnation. For Christ our brazen Serpent hath pulled away the sting of this Serpent, so that now we may boldly, in beholding it spoiled of sting triumph, and with our Christ, and all his Elect, say, Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, who hath given (Us) the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Wherefore be merry, my dear Wife, and all my dear fellow Heirs of the everlasting Kingdom, always remember the Lord. Rejoice in Hope, be patient in Tribulation, continue in Prayer, and pray for us now appointed to the slaughter, that we may be unto our Heavenly Father a far Offering, and an acceptable Sacrifice. I may hardly write to you. Wherefore let these few words be a Witness of my Commendations to you and all them which love us in the Faith; and namely, unto my Flock, among whom I am resident by Gods Providence, but as a Prisoner.

And although I am not so among them, as I have been to preach to them out of a Pulpit, yet doth God now preach unto them by me, by this my Imprisonment and Captivity which now I suffer among them for Christs Gospel sake, bidding them to beware of the Romish Antichristian Religion and Kingdom, requiring and charging them to abide in the Truth of Christ, which is shortly to be sealed with the Blood of their Pastor: who though he be unworthy of such a Ministry, yet Christ their high Pastor is to be regarded, whose Truth hath been taught them by me, is witnessed by my Chains, and shall be by my Death, through the power of that high Pastor. Be not careless, good Wife, cast your care unto the Lord, and commend me unto him in repentant Prayer, as I do you and our Samuel; whom, even at the Stake, I will offer as my self unto God. Fare ye well all in Christ, in hope to be joyed with you in Joy everlasting. This hope is put up in my bosom, Amen, Amen, Pray, pray.

Another Letter to Mrs. Lucie Harrington, a godly Newwoman, and friendly to him in his Troubles.

Your most gentle Commendations, whereby this Messenger made remembrance unto me was for two Causes very comfortable: First, For that thereby I understood of the state of your health and bodily welfare, for the which I give thanks unto God, who grant the long continuance thereof to his honour and fatherly good will, whereunto I will daily say, Amen. And further, I was refreshed by the expressing of your mindful friendship towards me far unworthy thereof. Wherein I take occasion of much-rejoicing in our so gracious a God an' merciful Father, who as he hath in his immeasurable mercy by Faith hand-fastened us his chosen Children unto his dear Son our Christ; as the Spiritual Spouse of such an Heavenly Husband: so he linketh us by love one unto another, being by that Bond compact together with charitable readiness to do good one to another: so that first to the glory of our God and his Christ, then to our own joying in the testimony of a good Conscience, and last of all to the keeping of the mouth and confusion of our Adversaries, we bear the Badge as the right Spouse of our Christ, which himself noted in this saying: Herein shall all men know that ye be my Disciples, if ye love one another. Then farther, by this Bond of mutual Love is set forth the Fatherly Providence of God towards us his Children; that though it be he that careth for us, in whom we live, move, and be, who feedeth all Flesh with bodily sustenance, yet hath he appointed us in these present necessities to stand in his stead one unto another. Wherein is not only set forth our dignity, but also that unspeakable accord and unity among us the many Members of his Mystical Body. And though that either for lack of ability, or else through distance of place, power and opportunity of helping one another do fail: yet wonderful is the working of Gods Children

John 11.

A comfortable Letter of Mr. Sanders to his Wife and others of the Faithful.

The sweet comfort of Christ taketh away the fear of death from Sanders, Cant. 2.

Joseph handling of his Brethren applied to Christ.

Christ a force brought unto us.

Anno 1555.

The sting of death quicken our.

no this his Flock or Parish or Altarages in Breach, he wrote also a faithful Letter, exhorting and charging them to beware of one Romish Religion, and constantly to stick to the Truth which was clearly set out.

Another comfortable Letter of Mr. Sanders.

The hope of Christ.

1642b

Anno 1555.
through the spirit of Prayer, as whereby they fetch all heavenly influence from Christ their Celestial Head by his Spirit, to be measured severally, as may serve to the maintenance of the whole Body.

John 1.
Prayer distributeth Gods Blessings from one to another.
Thus doth our faithful Prayer, which we make one for another, distribute and scatter Gods bountiful Blessings, both gloriously and bodily, when ordinary ability lacketh, and when the arm may not reach forth such Gods riches. According herunto I will perceive and understand your readiness to do good unto all, and especially I have experience of your ready good will towards me in your hearty desire to stretch out your helping hand to relieve my lack: and of your help to be extended to me in the other spiritual sort, by your good prayer, I doubt not; as also therein assure you of my help, being all that I may do, and yet the same not so much as I would do.

My need concerning bodily necessities is as yet furnished by Gods provision, so that I am not driven to any extremity, wherefore to be burdensome to you, as your gentle benevolence provoketh me, the Lord reward you therefore. If God make me worthy to be his witness at this present, in giving this corruptible body to burn for the testimony of his Truth, it is enough for me to say to you that I have a poor Wife and Child, whom I love in the Lord, and whom I know for my sake you will tender when I am departed hence, &c.

Another Letter to Mrs. Lucie Harrington.

Another Letter of Mr. Sanders.
Grace and Mercy, &c. It happeneth oftentimes that abundance of matter bringeth with it much vehemency of friendly affection, maketh men dumb, and even then chiefly, when there is most eager purpose of speaking, silence doth suppress, and catcheth the party so affected imperfectly to express that he goeth about to utter. Such impediment by much matter mingled with fervency of affection, feel I sometimes in my self, letting the utterance, either by tongue or writing, of the abundance of the heart. The love of our most gracious God and heavenly Father, bestowed upon us in the Merits of Christ our Saviour, who may by conceit of mind comprehend, passing indeed all understanding? Much less may the fame by any means be expressly uttered. And as such heavenly blessings, which by faith we fetch from above, be inexpressible, so is it hard to utter, when the faithful are set on fire by love, their readiness to reach forth and to give by Charity, as by faith they have received. But (alas) we carry this Treasure in Earthen Vessels. Many times Faith is feeble, and then Love looseth her favour. Pray we therefore, Lord increase our Faith, and Love forthwith will be on fire. And immortal thanks be given unto our God, who in our Christ hath bestowed upon us the first fruits of his Spirit, who crieth in our hearts, Abba, Father. And (as S. Paul saith) seeing we have the same spirit of faith, according as it is written; I believed, and therefore I have spoken: we also believe, and therefore we speak. Yea, God knoweth, this spirit putteth in us a mind to speak, but in attempting thereof we are driven with Moses to say; O Lord, I am slow mouthed and of uncircumcised lips: and with Jeremy, O Lord, I cannot speak.

2 Cor. 4.
Faith many times in us is feeble.

Rom. 8.
2 Cor. 4.

Exod. 6.
Jer. 1.

Albeit, that this infancy restraineth the opening of such abundance of heart in my tender Christian Duty to be declared towards you, yet I beseech you, let this be sealed in your understanding; that as S. Paul expresseth unto his Corinthians, that they were in his heart either to live or to dye, with many other such Sayings uttered unto them and the Galatians, expressing his vehement affection towards them: so in some part I would be like affected towards all Gods Children, and especially towards you whom I know in Christ, and to whom I will not say how much I am indebted. I thank you for your great friendship and tender good will towards my Wife: yea, that good gracious God recompence you, which may worthily with the more counterveil the fame, and fulfill that which lacketh of thankful duty in us. And because of that which heretofore I have conceived of you, and of your more than natural Love towards me and mine; I make my self thus bold to lay this burden upon you, even the care and charge of my laid poor Wife; I mean, to be unto her a Mother and Mistress to rule and direct

Mr. Sanders commendeth the care of his Wife to Mrs. Harrington.

her by your discreet counsel. I know she conceiveth of you the same that I do, and is thankful unto God with me for such a Friend; and therefore I beseech you even for Christs sake, put never from you this friendly charge over-her, whether I live longer, or shortly depart. But to charge you otherwise, thanks be to God; neither I, neither she have any such extrem need: if we had, I would be as bold with you as mine own Mother, I beseech you give my hearty Salutations unto Mr. Fitz-Williams, and my good Lady, with thanks also for my poor Wife and Child, the Lord recompence them.

L. Sanders.

Furthermore, as touching his Fatherly care and affection to his Wife and his little Child, the same is lively set forth in another Letter which he did write to his Wife: wherein he admonished her that the would not resort much to the Prison where he was, for danger of trouble that might ensue, the tenor of whose Letter here followeth.

Another Letter to his Wife, with a certain Remembrance to Mr. Harrington, and Mr. Hurland.

Grace and Comfort, &c. Wife, you shall do best not to come often unto the Grate where the Porter may see you. Put not your self in danger where it needs not: you shall, I think, shortly come far enough into danger by keeping Faith and a good Conscience: which (dear Wife) I trust you do not slack to make reckoning and account upon, by exercising your inward man in meditation of Gods most Holy Word, being the Sustainance of the Soul, and also by giving your self to humble Prayer: for these two things be the very means how to be made Members of our Christ, meet to inherit his Kingdom.

Do this, dear Wife, in earnest, and not leaving off, and so we two shall with our Christ and all his chosen Children, enjoy the merry World in that everlasting immortality, whereas here will nothing else be found but extreme misery, even of them which most greedily seek this worldly wealth: and so, if we two continue Gods children grafted in our Christ, the same Gods blessing which we receive shall also settle upon our Samuel. Though we do shortly depart hence and leave the poor Infant (to our seeming) at all adventures, yet shall he have our gracious God to be his God: for so hath he said, and be cannot lie; I will be thy God, saith he and the God of thy Seed. Yea, if you leave him in the wilderness destitute of all help, being called of God to do his will, either to dye for the Confession of Christ, either any work of Obedience: that God which heard the cry of the little poor Infant of Agar, Sarahs Hand-maiden, and did succour it, will do the like to the Child of you or any other fearing him, and putting your trust in him.

And if we lack Faith, as we do indeed many times, let us call for it, and we shall have the increase both of it, and also of any other good Grace needful for us: and be merry in Gods whom also I am very merry and joyful. O Lord, what great cause of rejoicing have we, to think upon ought to be that Kingdom, which he voucheth safe for his Christs sake freely to give us, forsaking our selves and following him? Dear Wife, this is truly to follow him, even to take up our Cross and follow him; and then as we suffer with him, so shall we reign with him everlastingly, shortly, Amen.

Another Letter to his Wife, to Mr. Robert Harrington and Mr. Hurland, &c.

Grace and Comfort, &c. Dear Wife, rejoice in our gracious God, and his and our Christ; and give thanks most humbly and heartily to him for this days work, that in any part I most unworthy Wretch should be made worthy to bear witness unto his everlasting Verity, which Antichrist with his, by main force (I perceive) and by most impudent Pride and Boasting will go about to suppress. Remember God alway, my dear Wife, and so shall Gods Blessing light upon you and your Samuel. O remember always my words for Christs sake, be merry, and grudge not against God, and pray, pray. We be all merry here, thanks be unto our God, who in his Christ hath given us great cause to be merry, by whom he hath prepared for us such a Kingdom, and doth and will give

Another Letter of Mr. Sanders to his Wife, and other Friends.

Care of Children in time of necessity is left to God, who will not see them forsaken. What it is to follow Christ.

Another Letter of Mr. Sanders to his Wife and other Friends.

unto

unto us some little taste thereof, even in this life, and to all such as are delirious to take it. Blessed (saith our Christ) be they which hunger and thirst after righteousness, for such shall be satisfied. Let us go, yea, let us run to seek such Treasure, and that with whole purpose of heart to cleave unto the Lord, to find such Riches in his heavenly Word through his Spirit obtained by Prayer. My dear Friends and Brethren, Mr. Harrington and Mr. Harland, pray, pray. *Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma*; that is, *The Spirit is ready, but the Flesh is weak*. When I look upon my self, *Quid ego stupidus & attonitus habeo quod dicam, nisi illud Petri, Exi à me Domine, quia homo peccator sum*? i. Being attonished and confounded, what have I else to say but those words of Peter, *Lord go from me, for I am a sinful man*? But then feel I that sweet comfort, *Lucerna pedibus meis verbum Domini, lumen seminis mei*; & *hac mea est consolatio in humilitate mea*; i. *The Word of the Lord is a Lanthorn unto my feet, and a Light unto my paths; and this is my comfort in my trouble*. Then wax I bold with the same Peter to say, *Domine, ad quem ibimus? verba vite eterne habes*; i. *Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of Everlasting Life*. This comfort have I when the giver thereof doth give it. But I look for Battails, which the root of unfaithfulness, the which I feel in me, will most eagerly give unto my Conscience, when we come once to the Combate. We be (I wem) within the sound of the Trump of our Enemies. Play ye that be abroad the part of *Moses, Orantes in omni loco, suffolentes puras manus*; i. *Praying in all places, lifting up pure hands*; and Gods People shall prevail: yea, our blood shall be their perdition who do most triumphantly spill it, and we then being in the hands of our God, shall shine in his Kingdom, and shall stand in great steadfastness against them which have dealt extremely with us: And when these our Enemies shall thus see us, they shall be vexed with horrible fear, and shall wonder at the hastiness of the sudden health; and shall say with themselves, having inward sorrow and mourning for very anguish of mind: *These are they whom we sometime had in derision and jested upon: we Fools thought their lives to be very madnesse, and their end to be without honour, but lo how they are accounted among the Children of God, The Blessing of God be with you all, &c.*

Laurence Sanders.

To his Wife a little before his Burning.

A Letter of
Laurence
Sanders to
his Wife.
He writeth
for a date
wherein he
should be
burned.

GRace and Comfort in Christ, Amen. Dear Wife, be merry in the Mercies of our Christ, and also ye my dear Friends. Pray, pray for us every body. We be shortly to be dispatched hence unto our good Christ, Amen, Amen. Wife, I would you sent me my shirt, which you know whereunto it is consecrated. Let it be sewed down on both sides, and not open. O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of thy Christ, or else I shall not be able to abide thy Countenance; such is my filthiness. He will do so, and therefore I will not be afraid what sin, death, hell and damnation can do against me. O Wife, always remember the Lord. God bless you, yea, he will bless thee, good Wife, and thy poor Boy also: only cleave thou unto him, and he will give thee all things. Pray, pray, pray.

Another Letter to Mr. Robert and John Glover, written the same morning that he was burnt.

GRace and Consolation in our sweet Saviour Christ. Oh my dear Brethren whom I love in the Lord, being loved of you also in the Lord, be merry and rejoice for me, now ready to go up to that mine Inheritance, which I my self indeed am most unworthy of, but my dear Christ is worthy, who hath purchased the same for me with so dear a price. Make haste my dear Brethren to come unto me, that we may be merry. *Eo gaudio quod nemo tollet à nobis; i. with that joy which no man shall take from us*. O wretched sinner, that I am not thankful unto this my Father, who hath vouchsafed me worthy to be a Vessel unto his honor. But, O Lord, now accept my thanks, though they proceed out of a not enough circumscribed heart. Salute my good Sisters your Wives, and good Sisters fear

the Lord. Salute all other that love us in the Trueth. Anno
Gods Blessing be with you always, Amen. Even now towards
the Offering of a burnt Sacrifice. O my Christ help,
or else I perish.

Laurence Sanders.

After these godly Letters of Mr. Sanders diversly dispersed and sent abroad to divers of the faithful Congregation of Christ, as is afore to be seen; now in the latter end we will adjoyn two other Letters not written by Mr. Sanders the Martyr, but by Mr. Ed. Sanders the Justice, his Brother, sent to this our Sanders in Prison, although containing no great matter worthy to be known, yet to this intent that the Reader may see in these two Brethren so joyed in Nature, and so divided in Religion, that word of the Lord verified, truly saying; *Brother shall be against Brother*, &c. as by the Contents of these two Letters following may appear.

A Letter of Justice Sanders to his Brother Laurence.

A Letter of
Justice San-
ders to Lau-
rence Sanders
his Brother.

After my most hearty Commendations, those been to ascertain you, that I have spoken with Mr. Ballet, who hath shewed me, that four pound (all Deductions being allowed) is the whole that hath come to his hands of the Profit of the Prebendary at York, the which you shall have, although as he thinketh, it was not due unto you by reason of your Deprivation before it was due. As concerning your Conscience in Religion, I beseech God it may be lightened by the Holy Ghost, and that you may also have the Grace of the Holy Ghost to follow the counsel of St. Paul to Timothy 2. Recte tractare verbum veritatis, that is, To handle rightly the Word of Truth. Wherein you dissenting from many Holy and Catholic men, especially in the Sacrament, it maketh me in my Conscience to condemn yours. For although I have not inherio fancied to read Peter Martyr, and other such, &c. Yet have I had great desire to see Theophylact and divers others of this sort and opinion, both notable and holy Fathers (if any credit be to be given to the Writings of our Ancient Fathers before us) and surely the Sentences and Judgments of two or three of them have more confirmed my Conscience, than three hundred of the Laxingians, or as many of the Lutherans can or should do. Thus in haste willing to relieve you, to the end you might convert, if you shall need towards your finding, if you shall require it of me, you shall unfeignedly find my money ready, as knoweth our Lord, who send us all things good for us. Scrib'd this Thursday by your Brother and Petitioner to God.

Ed. Sanders.

Another Letter of Justice Sanders to his Brother, wherein he seeketh to win him to Popery.

A Letter of
Justice San-
ders to Lau-
rence Sanders
his Brother.

AS Nature and Brotherly Love with Godly Charity requreth, I send you by these Letters (quantum licet) most hearty Commendation, being sorry for your fault, and your disobedient handling of your self towards my L. Chancellor, who, I assure you, mindeth your good and preservation, if you can so consider and take it. I would be glad to know whether you have not had with you of late some learned men to talk with you by my Lord Chancellors appointment, and how you can frame your self to reform your Error in the Opinion of the most blessed and our most comfortable Sacrament of the Altar. Wherein I assure you, I was never in all my life better affected than I am at this present, using to my great comfort hearing of Mass, and somewhat before the severing time, the Meditation of S. Bernard, set forth in the third Leaf of this present Book. The accustomed using whereof I am fully professed unto, during my life, and to give more faith unto that Confession of holy Bernard, than to Luther, &c. or Latimer, &c. for that the Amiquity, the Universality of the open Church, and the consent of all Saints and Doctors do confirm the same, as I am certain you, that I have been earnestly moved in mine own Conscience these ten or twelve days past, and also between God and my self, to move you to the same, most earnestly desiring you, and as you tender to my natural, godly, and friendly love towards you, that

you

Anno 1555. you would read over this Book this holy time, at my request, although you have already seen it, and let me know where you cannot satisfy your own Conscience. Thus fare you well for this time.

By yours, from Serjants Inn,
Ed. Sanders.

The Life and Martyrdom of Mr. John Hooper Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, burnt for the Defence of the Gospel at Gloucester, An. 1555. Febr. 9.

The Story, Life, and Martyrdom of Mr. John Hooper Bishop of Worcester. John Hooper Student and Graduate in the University of Oxford, after the Study of the Sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited and proceeded, through Gods secret Vocation was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the Scriptures. In the reading and searching whereof, as there lacked in him no diligence joined with earnest Prayer; so neither wanted unto him the Grace of the Holy Ghost to satisfy his desire, and to open unto him the light of true Divinity.

Thus Mr. Hooper growing more and more, by Gods Grace, in ripeness of Spiritual Understanding, and shewing withal some sparkles of his fervent Spirit, being then about the beginning of the six Articles, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, fell effusions into displeasure and hatred of certain Rabbines in Oxford, who by and by began to stir Coals against him, whereby, and especially by the procurement of Dr. Smith, he was compelled to void the University; and so removing from thence, was retained in the House of Sir Thomas Arundel, and there was his Steward, till the time that Sir Thomas Arundel, having intelligence of his Opinions and Religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the Person and Conditions of the man, found the means to send him in a Message to the Bishop of Winchester, writing his Letter privily to the Bishop, by conference of Learning to do some good upon him, but in any case requiring him to send home his Servant to him again.

Winchester, after long Conference with Mr. Hooper, four or five days together, when he at length perceived, that neither he could do that good which he thought to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to Mr. Arundel's Request, he sent home his Servant again, right well commending his Learning and Wit, but yet bearing in his Breast a grudging stomack against Mr. Hooper still.

It followed not long after this, as Malice is always working mischief, that Intelligence was given to Mr. Hooper to provide for himself, for danger that was working against him. Whereupon Mr. Hooper leaving Mr. Arundel's House, and borrowing an Horse of a certain Friend (whose Life he had saved a little before from the Gallows) took his Journey to the Sea side to go to France, sending back the Horse again by one, which indeed did not deliver him to the Owner. Mr. Hooper being at Paris, tarried there not long, but in short time returned into England again, and was retained of Mr. Senlow, till the time that he was again molested and laid for: whereby he was compelled (under the pretence of being Captain of a Ship going to Ireland) to take the Seas, and so escaped he (although not without extream peril of drowning) through France to the higher parts of Germany. Where he, entering acquaintance with the Learned men, was of them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Basil, and especially at Zurich of Mr. Bullinger, being his singular Friend. Where also he married his Wife, which was a Burgonian, and applied very studiously the Hebrew Tongue.

At length, when God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the six Articles, and to give us King Edward to Reign over this Realm, with some peace and rest unto the Gospel, amongst many other English Exiles, which then repaired homeward, Mr. Hooper also, moved in Conscience, thought not to absent himself, but seeing such a time and occasion, offered to help forward the Lords Work, to the uttermost of his ability. And so coming to Mr. Bullinger, and other of his Acquaintance in Zurich, (as duty required) to give them thanks for their singular kindness and humanity toward him ma-

nifold ways declared, with like humanity again purposed to take his leave of them at his departing, and so did. Unto whom Mr. Bullinger again (who had always a special favour to Mr. Hooper) spake on this wise; Mr. Hooper, said he, although we are sorry to part with you, yet for our own Cause, yet much greater Cause, we have to rejoice, both for your sake, and especially for the Cause of Christs true Religion, that you shall now return out of long Banishment into your Native Country again, where not only you may enjoy your own private Liberty, but also the cause and state of Christs Church by you may fare the better, as we doubt not but it shall.

Another Cause moreover why we rejoice with you and for you, is this, that you shall remove not only out of Exile into Liberty: but you shall leave here a barren, a fowre, and an unpleasant Country, rude and savage, and shall go into a Land flowing with Milk and Honey, replenished with all Pleasure and Fertility. Notwithstanding with this our rejoicing one fear and care we have, lest you being absent, and so far distant from us, or else coming to such abundance of wealth and felicity, in your new welfare and plenty of all things, and in your flourishing honours, where ye shall come peradventure to be a Bishop, and where ye shall find so many new Friends, you will forget us your old Acquaintance and Well-wishers. Nevertheless, howsoever you shall forget and shake us off, yet this persuade your self, that we will not forget our old Friend and Fellow Mr. Hooper. And if you will please not to forget us again, then I pray you let us hear from you.

Whereunto Mr. Hooper answering again, first gave to Mr. Bullinger and the rest right hearty thanks, for that their singular good will, and undeserved affection, appearing not only now, but at all times towards him: declaring moreover, that as the principal Cause of his removing to his Country was the matter of Religion; so touching the unpleasantness and barrenness of that Country of theirs, there was no cause therein, why he could not find in his heart to continue his Life there, as soon as in any place in the World, and rather than in his own Native Country, if there were nothing else in his Conscience that moved him so to do. And as touching the forgetting of his old Friends, although, said he, the remembrance of a mans Country naturally doth delight him, neither could he deny, but God had blessed his Country of England with many great Commodities: yet neither the nature of Country, nor pleasure of Commodities, nor newness of Friends should ever induce him to the oblivion of such Friends and Benefactors, whom he was so intirely bound unto: and therefore you shall be sure, said he, from time to time to hear from me, and I will write unto you how it goeth with me. But the last News of all I shall not be able to write: for there, said he, (taking Mr. Bullinger by the hand) where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me to be burned to ashes; and that shall be the last News, which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear of me, &c.

To this also may be added another like Prophetical Demonstration, foretelling before the manner of his Martyrdom wherewith he should glorifie God, which was this: When Mr. Hooper being made Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, should have his Arms given him by the Herald, as the manner is here in England, every Bishop to have his Arms assigned unto him (whether by the appointment of Mr. Hooper, or by the Herald, I have not certainly to say) but the Arms which were to him allotted was this, A Lamb in a fiery Bush, and the Sun Beams from Heaven descended down upon the Lamb, rightly denoting, as it seemed, the order of his Sufferings, which afterward followed.

But now to the purpose of our Story again. Thus when Mr. Hooper had taken his farewell of Mr. Bullinger and his Friends in Zurich, he made his repair again into England in the Reign of King Edward the sixth, where he coming to London every continually to preach, most times twice, at least once every day, and never failed.

In his Sermons, according to his accustomed manner, he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the World, and corrupt abuses of the Church: the People in great Flocks and Companies daily came

Mr. Bullinger's words to Mr. Hooper at his departing from Zurich.

The answer of Mr. Hooper to Mr. Bullinger.

Mr. Hooper prophesies of himself.

A Note of Mr. Hooper's Arms pre-assigning his Martyrdom.

Mr. Hooper's returneth again into England.

The necessity of diligence of Mr. Hooper in preaching.

to hear his voice, as the moſt melodious ſound and tune of Orpheus's Harp; as the Proverb ſaith; Inſomuch, that oftentimes when he was preaching, the Church would be ſo full, that none could enter in, other than the doors thereof. In his Doctrine he was earneſt, in Tongue eloquent, in the Scriptures perfect, in Philoſophy ſagacious.

Theſe ſingular
Virtues of
Mr. Hooper
deſcribed,

Moreover, Beſide other his Gifts and Qualities, this is in him to be marvell'd, that even as he began, ſo he continued till unto his lifes end. For neither could his labour and pain-taking break him, neither promotion change him, neither duty fare corrupt him. His Life was ſo pure and good, that no kind of ſlander (although divers went about to reprove it) could faſten any fault upon him. He was of Body ſtrong, his Health whole and ſound, his Wit very pregnant, his invincible Patience able to ſuſtain whatſoever ſiniſter Fortune and Adverſity could do. He was conſtant of Judgment, a good Juſtice, ſpare of Diſcourſe of Words, and ſpare of Time. In Houſe-keeping very liberal, and ſometimes more free than his Living would extend unto. Briefly, of all thoſe Vertues and Qualities required of S. Paul in a good Biſhop, in his Epistle to Timothy, I know not one in this good Biſhop lacking. He bore in countenance and talk always a certain ſevere and grave Grace, which might peradventure be wiſhed ſometime to have been a little more Popular and Vaſcar-like in him; but he knew what he had to do beſt himſelf.

This by the way I thought to note, for that there was once an ſmall Citizen, and to me not unknown, which having in himſelf a certain conflict of Conſciences, came to his door for counſel, but being aſhamed at his auſtere behaviour, durſt not come in, but departed, ſeeking Remedy of his troubled Mind at other men hands, which he afterward, by the help of Almighty God, did find and obtain. Therefore, in my Judgment, ſuch as are appointed and made Governours over the Flock of Chriſt, to teach and inſtruct them, ought ſo to frame their Life, Manners, Countenance, and External Behaviour, as neither they themſelves too familiar and light, whereby to be brought into Contempt, nor on the other ſide again, that they appear more lofty and rigorous than appertaineth to the edifying of the ſimple Flock of Chriſt. Nevertheless, as every man hath his peculiar Gift wrought in him by Nature, ſo this diſpoſition of Fatherly Gravity in this man neither was exceſſive, neither did he bear it as Perſonage that was in him, without great conſideration. For it ſeemed to him peradventure, that this licentious and unbridled Life of the Common ſort ought to be chaffened, not only with words and diſcipline, but alſo with the grave and ſevere countenance of good men.

After he had thus practiſed himſelf in this popular and common kind of Preaching; at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the Kings Maſteſty, and ſoon after made Biſhop of Glouceſter by the Kings Commandment. In that Office he continued two years, and behaved himſelf ſo well, that his very Enemies (except it were for his good doings, and ſharp correcting of ſin) could find no fault with him; and after that he was made Biſhop of Hereſter.

But I cannot tell what ſiniſter and unluckie Contention concerning the Ordering and Conſecration of Biſhops, and of their Appaſel, with ſuch other like Trifles, began to diſturb the good and luckie beginning of the godly Biſhop. For notwithstanding that godly Reformation of Religion that begun in the Church of England, beſides other Ceremonies more ambitious than probable, or tending to edification, they uſed to wear ſuch Garments and Appaſel as the Popiſh Biſhops were wont to do: Firſt a Chymere, and under that a white Rochet, then a Mathematical Cap with four Angles, dividing the whole World into four parts. Theſe Trifles, tending more to Superſtition than otherwiſe, as he could never abide, ſo in no wiſe could he be perſwaded to wear them. For this cauſe he made Supplication to the Kings Maſteſty, moſt humbly deſiring his Highneſſe, either to diſcharge him of the Biſhoprick, or elſe to diſpenſe with him for ſuch Ceremonial Orders. Whole Petition the King granted immediately, writing his Letter to the Archbiſhop after this tenor.

A Popiſh
Anti-C.

Mr. Hooper
made Bp. of
Glouceſter
and Hereſter.

The Kings Letters or Grant for the Diſpenſation of John Hooper elected Biſhop of Glouceſter, written to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and other Biſhops.

Anno
1555.

Right Reverend Father, and right truſty and welbelov'd, we greet you well. Whereas we, by the advice of our Council, have called and choſen our right welbelov'd and well worthy, Mr. John Hooper, Profeſſor of Divinity, to be our Biſhop of Glouceſter, as well for his great Knowledge, deep Judgment, and long Study both in the Scriptures, and other Prophane Learning, as alſo for his good Diſcretion, ready Utterance, and honeſt Life for that kind of Vocation: To the intent all our loving Subjects, which are in his ſaid Charge, and elſewhere, might by his ſound and true Doctrine learn the better their duty towards God, their Obedience towards Us, and love towards their Neighbours: ſrom Conſecrating of whom we underſtand you do ſay, becauſe he would have you own and let paſſe certain Rites and Ceremonies offenſive to his Conſcience, whereby ye think ye ſhould fall in Premunure of Law; we have thought good, by the advice aforeſaid, to diſpenſe and diſcharge you of all manner of Dangers, Penalties and Forfeitures you ſhall run and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the ſame. And theſe our Letters ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge therefore.

Given under our Signet at our Caſtle of Windſor, the 5th of Auguſt, the 4th year of your Reign.

Ed. Somerſet.

Ed. Somerſet.
W. Wylſhure.
W. North.

W. Paget.
An. Wingfield.
N. Wootton.

Beſides this Letter of the King, alſo the Earl of Warwick (which was afterward Duke of Northumberland) adjoyned his Letter to the ſaſeſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury to this purpoſe and effect, that Mr. Hooper might not be burdened with the Oath uſed then commonly in the Conſecration of Biſhops, which was againſt his Conſcience, as by the purpoſe of the Letter here is to be ſeen, as followeth.

After my moſt hearty Commendations to your Grace, A Letter of theſe may be to deſire the ſame, that in ſuch reaſonable things, wherein this Bearer, my Lord elect of Glouceſter, craveth to be borne withal at your hands; you would vouchſafe to ſhew him your Graces favour, the rather at this my inſtance: which thing partly, I have taken in hand by the Kings Maſteſties own motion. The matter is weigh'd by his Highneſſe, none other but that your Grace may ſaſely condeſcend unto. The principal cauſe is, that you would not charge this ſaid Bearer with an Oath burdensome to his Conſcience. And ſo for lack of time I commit your Grace to the tuition of Almighty God. From Weſtmiſter the 23. of July, 1555.

Your Graces moſt aſſured loving Friend,

J. Warwick.

Both this Grant of the King, and alſo the Earls Letters aforeſaid notwithstanding, the Biſhops ſtill ſtood earneſtly in the Defence of the aforeſaid Ceremonies, ſaying it was but a ſmall matter, and that the fault was in the abuſe of the things, and not in the things themſelves adding moreover, That he ought not to be ſo ſtubborn in ſo light a matter, and that his willfulneſſe therein was not to be ſuffered.

To be ſhort, whiſt both Parties thus contend'd about this matter more than reaſon would, in the mean time occaſion was given, as to the true Chriſtians to lament, ſo to the Adverſaries to rejoice. In Concluſion, this Theological contention came to this end, that the Biſhops having the upper hand, Mr. Hooper was ſaſin to agree to this Condition, That ſometimes he ſhould in his Sermon ſhew himſelf appaſſel'd as the other Biſhops were. Wherefore, appointed to preach before the King, as a new Player in

Neither the Kings request nor the Earls could take effect. Difcord about Ritual Garments of Churchemen. Mr. Hooper ſaſin to agree to the Biſhops.

1554. Anno
M. Hooper
compelled to French
house the
King in Bi-
shops Ap-
parel.
in a strange Apparel, he cometh forth on the Stage. His upper Garment was a long Scarlet Chymere down to the foot, and under that a white Linnen Rochet that covered all his Shoulders. Upon his head he had a Geometrical, that is a four-squared Capalbeit that his Head was round. What cause of Shame the strangeness hereof was that day to that good Preacher, every man may easily judge. But this private contumely and reproach, in respect of the publick profit of the Church, which he only fought, he bare and suffered patiently. And I would to God in like manner, they, which took upon them the other part of that Tragedy, had yielded their private cause, whatsoever it was, to the publick concord and edifying of the Church: for no man in all the City was one hair the better for that hot contention.

The Croſs
marked
Peace.

The Fall
and Infirmi-
ties of holy
Saints and
Martyrs, left
for our Con-
solation.

Note, how
Discord and
conciliation
happenech
many times
amongst
good men.

A Letter of
Reconciliation
sent by
D. Ridley to
B. Hooper.

M. Hooper
Bishop of
Exeter Dioc.

I will name no body, partly for that his Oppugners being afterwards joynd in the most sure bond of friend-ship with him, in one and for one cause suffered Martyrdom; and partly for that I commonly use, according to my accustomed manner, to keep my Pen from presumptuous judging of any person, yet I thought to note the thing for this consideration, to admonish the Reader hereby, how wholesome and necessary the Croſs of Christ is sometime in the Church of Christ, as by the sequel hereof afterward did appear. For as in a civil Governance and Commonwealth, nothing is more occasion of war, than overmuch peace: so in the Church and among Churchmen, as nothing is more pernicious than too much quietness; so nothing more calamitous private Contentions oftentimes rising amongst them, than the publick Croſs of Perfection.

Furthermore, so I persuaded my self, the same not to be unexpedient, to have extant such Examples of holy and blessed men. For if it do nor a little appertain to our publick consolation and comfort, when we read in the Scriptures of the foul dissention between Paul and Bernaby; of the Fall of Peter, and of Davids Murder and Adultery: why may or should it not be as well profitable for our Posterity, to hear and know the Falls of these godly Martyrs, whereby we may the less despair in our infirmity, considering the fame or greater infirmities to reign in the holy Saints of God, both Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs?

And thus by the way thou hast heard, good Reader, hitherto the weakness of these good men, plainly and simply, as the Truth was, declared unto thee, to the end their Fall may minister occasion to us either of eschewing the like, or else to take heart and comfort in the like fall and frailties of ours. Now again on the other part it remaineth to record, after the foresaid discord, the godly Reconciliations of these good men in time of Perfection, who afterward, being in Prison for the Truths sake, reconciled themselves again with most godly agreement, as appeareth by this Letter sent by B. Ridley to the said Bishop of Gloucester. The Copy whereof, as it was written with his own hand in Latin, hereafter followeth translated into English.

To my dear Brother and Reverend fellow Elder in Christ John Hooper, Grace and Peace.

MY dearly beloved Brother and fellow Elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto since your Captivity and mine, I have not saluted you by my Letters: whereas I do indeed confess, I have received from you (such was your gentleness) two Letters at sundry times: but yet at such time as I could not be suffered to write to you again; or if I might, yet was I in doubt how my Letters might safely come into your hands. But now, my dear Brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our Religion, against the which the World so furiously rage in these our days, howsoever in time past by certain by-matters and circumstances of Religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I grant) hath a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment; now, I say, be you assured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ I love you in the Truth and for the Truths sake,

which abideth in me, and, as I am persuaded, flourisheth by the grace of God, and so in for evermore.

And because the World, as I perceive, Brother, ceaseth not to play his Pageants, and insidiously conspireth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible force and power, Exalting high things against the knowledge of God; let us join hands together in Christ, and if we cannot overthrow yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth, let us shake those high Altitudes, not with carnal, but with spiritual Weapons: and whilst, Brother, let us prepare our selves to the day of our dissolution, by the which, after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we shall triumph together with him in Eternal glory.

I pray you, Brother, salute in my name your Reverend fellow Prisoner, and venerable Father D. City whom, since the first day that I heard of his most godly and fatherly Constancy in confessing the truth of the Gospel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the Lord. For the integrity and uprightness of that man, his gravity and innocency, all England, I think, hath known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, which in such abundance of inquiry and decay of all godliness, hath given unto us in this Reverend Old age, such a witness for the Truth of his Gospel. Miserable and hard-hearted is he, whom the godliness and constant Confession of so worthy, so grave and innocent a Man, will not move to acknowledge and confess the Truth of God.

I do not now, Brother, require you to write any thing to me again: for I stand much in fear, lest your Letters should be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Nevertheless know you, that it shall be to me great joy to hear of your constancy and fortitude in the Lords quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, sent unto you my mind touching the matter which in your Letters you required to know. Neither can I yet, Brother, be otherwise persuaded: I see me thinks so many perils, whereby I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the publishing of your Works, especially under the title of your own Name. For I fear greatly, lest by this occasion both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the rest of the Prisoners, whereby otherwise, if it so please God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewell in the Lords, my most dear Brother; and if there be any mo in prison with you for Christs sake, I beseech you, as you may, salute them in my Name. To whole Prayers I do most humbly and heartily commend my self and my fellow Prisoners and Captives in the Lords, and yet once again, and for ever in Christ, my most dear Brother. Farewell.

N. Ridley.

M. Hooper, after all these tumults and vexations sustained, about his Investing and Princely Vestures, at length entering into his Diocese, did there employ his time which the Lord lent him under King Edwards Reign, with such diligence as may be a Spectacle to all Bishops which shall ever hereafter succeed him, not only in that place, but in whatsoever Diocese through the whole Realm of England: so careful was he in his Cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the Flock of Christ in the true Word of Salvation, continually labouring in the same. Other men commonly are wont, for lucre or promotions sake, to aspire to Bishopricks, some hunting for them, and some purchasing or buying them as men use to purchase Lordships; and when they have them are loth to leave them, and thereupon also loth to commit that thing by worldly Laws, whereby to lose them.

To us of Men M. Hooper was clean contrary, who abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to save and preserve the Souls of his Flock. Who, being Bishop of two Dioceses, so ruled and guided either of them, and both together, as though he had in Charge but one Family. No Father in his Household, no Gardiner in his Garden, nor Husbandman in his Vineyard, was more or better occupied, than he in his Diocese amongst his Flock, going about his Towns and Villages in Teaching and Preaching to the People there.

That time that he had to spare from Preaching, he bestowed either in hearing publick Causes, or else in private study, Prayer, and visiting of Schools: with his continual

1 Cor. 13
B. Ridley and
B. Hooper
joyn hands
together.

The diligent
care of B.
Hooper.

M. Hooper
Bishop of
Exeter Dioc.

Doctrine

Doctrine he alloyed due and discreet Correction, not so much severe to any, as to them which for abundance of riches, and wealthy state, thought they might do what they listed. And doubtless he spared no kind of People, but was indifferent to all men, as well Rich as Poor, to the great shame of no small number of men nowadays. Whereof many we see so addicted to the pleasing of great and rich Men, that in the mean time they have no regard to the meaner sort of Poor people, whom Christ hath bought as dearly as the other.

M. Hooper
Light to all
Churchmen.

But now again we will return our talk to M. Hooper, all whose Life, in fine, was such, that to the Church and all Churchmen, it might be a Light and Example, to the rest a perpetual Lesson and Sermon. Finally, how virtuous and good a Bishop he was, ye may conceive and know evidently by this, That even as he was hated of none but of them which were evil, so yet the world of them all could not reprove his Life in any one jot.

The order
and govern-
ment of
M. Hooper's
House.

I have now declared his usage and behaviour abroad in the publick Affairs of the Church: and certainly there appeared in him at home no less Example of a worthy Prelate's life. For though he bestowed and converted the most part of his care upon the publick Flock and Congregation of Christ, for the which also he spent his Blood: yet nevertheless there lacked no provision in him, to bring up his own Children in Learning and good Manners; in so much that ye could not discern whether he deserved more praise for his Fatherly usage at home, or for his Bishop-like doings abroad. For every where he kept one Religion in one uniform Doctrine and Integrity. So that if ye entered into the Bishops-Palace, you would suppose your self to have entered into some Church or Temple. In every corner thereof there was some smell of Virtue, good Example, honest Conversation, and reading of Holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his House any courtly Rioting or Idleness: no Pomp at all, no dishonest Words, no Swearing could there be heard.

The care of
M. Hooper in
instructing
his Family.

As for the Revenues of both his Bishopricks, although they did not greatly exceed, as the matter was handled, yet if any thing furnished thereof, he purged nothings but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was, as I remember, in his House in *Winchester*, where, in his common Hall, I saw a Table spread with good store of Meats, and brist full of Beggars and poor Folk: and I asking his Servants what this meant, they told me, That every day their Lord and Masters manner was, to have customably to Dinner a certain number of poor Folk of the said City by course, who were served by four at a Mesa, with whole and wholome Meats: and when they were served (being before examined by him or his Deputies, of the Lords Prayer, the Articles of their Faith, and Ten Commandments) then he himself fate down to Dinner, and not before.

The Hospitality
of M. Hooper.

After this sort and manner M. Hooper executed the Office of a most careful and vigilant Pastor, by the space of two years and more, so long as the state of Religion in K. Edwards time did safely flourish and take place: And would God that all other Bishops would use the like diligence, care, and observance in their Function. After this, King Edward being dead, and Mary being Crowned Queen of England, Religion being subverted and changed, this good Bishop was one of the first that was sent for by a Purfivant to be at London: and that for two causes.

M. Hooper
called up to
London at
Q. Mary's
coming in.

First, To answer to D. Heath, then appointed Bishop of that Diocese, who was before in King Edwards days deprived thereof for Papistry.

Two causes
why Master
Hooper was
called up.

Secondarily, To render account to D. Bener Bishop of London, for that he in King Edwards time was one of his Accusers, in that he shewed himself not conformable to such Ordinances as were prescribed to him by the King and his Council, openly at *Pauls-Cross*. And although the said M. Hooper was not ignorant of the Evils that should happen towards them, (for he was admonished by certain of his Friends to get him away, and shift for himself) yet he would not prevent him, but carried still, saying: Once I did see, and take me to my feet; but now, because I am called to this Place and Vocation, I am strongly persuaded to tarry, and to live and dye with my Sheep.

M. Hooper
refused to
fly away.

And when at the day of his appearance, which was the first of September, he was come to London, before he

M. Hooper
came up
to London.

could come to the aforesaid D. Heath and Bener, he was intercepted, and commanded violently against his will to appear before the Queen and her Council, to answer to certain Bonds and Obligations, wherein they said he was bound unto her. And when he came before them, *Winchester*, by and by, received him very opprobriously, and railing and rating of him, accused him of Religion. He again freely and boldly told his Tale, and purged himself. But in fine it came to this conclusion, that by them he was commanded to Ward (it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cause of his imprisonment was only for certain sums of Money, for which he was indebted to the Queen, and not for Religion.) This, how false and untrue it was, shall in his place more plainly appear.

The next year, being 1554. the 19 of March, he was called again to appear before *Winchester*, and other the Queens Commissioners: where, what for the Bishop, and what for the unruly Multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his Cause, he was deprived of his Bishopricks. Which how, and in what order it was done, here now followeth to be seen by the Testimony and Report of one, which, being present at the doing, committed the same to Writing.

Anno
1554.

M. Hooper
charged to
answer be-
fore the
Queen.

M. Hooper
commanded
to Ward.

M. Hooper de-
prived of
his Bisho-
pricks.

A Letter or Report of a certain godly man, declaring the order of M. Hoopers deprivation from his Bishopricks. Anno 1554. March 19.

Forasmuch as a Rumor is spread abroad of the Talk had at my Lord Chancellor, between him with other Commissioners: where appointed, and M. Hooper, clean contrary to the verity and truth thereof indeed, and therefore to be judged rather to be risen of Malice, for the discrediting of the Truth by false Suggestions and evil Reports, than otherwise: I thought it my duty, being present therat my self, in Writing to set forth the whole effect of the same: partly that the Verity thereof may be known to the doubtful People; and partly also to advertise them, how uncharitably M. Hooper was handled at their hands, which with all humility used himself towards them, desiring, that with patience he might have been permitted to speak; assuring all men, that where I stood in a manner and doubt, which of these two Religions to have credited, either that set forth by the Kings Majesty that is dead, or else that now maintained by the Queens Majesty; their unreverend behaviour towards M. Hooper did move me rather to credit his Doctrine, than that which they with railing and cruel words defended, considering that Christ was so handled before. And that this which I have written here, was the effect of their Talk, as I acknowledge it to be true my self: so I appeal to all the Hearers Consciences, that there were present (so they put affection away) for the Witness of the same.

A Letter
reporting
the order of
M. Hoopers
deprivation.

The Bishops of Winchester, of London, of Duresin, of Landaff, of Chichester, late as Commissioners.

Lord Chancellor.

AT Master Hoopers coming in, the Lord Chancellor asked whether he was married. Hooper. Yea my Lord, and will not be unmarried, till Death unmarry me.

M. Hooper
examined
before the
Commission-
ers.

Duresin. That is matter enough to deprive you. Hooper. That it is not, my Lord, except ye do against the Law.

The matter concerning Marriage was no more talked of then for a great space: but as well the Commissioners, as such as stood by, began to make such outcries, and laughed, and used such gesture as was unbecomly for the place, and for such a matter. The Bishop of *Gloucester* Doctor Day, called M. Hooper Hypocrite, with vehement words, and scornful countenance. B. Tunstall called him Beast; so did Smith, one of the Clerks of the Council, and divers other that stood by. At length the B. of *Winchester* said, that all men might live chaste that would, and brought in this Text, *Castra verunt se propter regnum celorum*. That is, There be that have gilded themselves for the Kingdom of Heaven, *Matth. 19*.

M. Hooper said, that Text proved not that all Men could live chaste, but such only to whom it was given; and

He blessed be
you when
they shall
speak all
reviling
words a-
gainst you
for my
Names sakes.

read

Anno 1553.
This Marriage was for the old Canon.
read that which goeth before in the Text. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and scornful, with calling him Deaf: that the Text could not be examined. Then M. Hooper said, that it did appear by the old Canons, that Marriage was not forbidden unto Priests, and named the Decrees. But the Bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely the Clementines, or the Extravagants. But Bishop Hooper said, that book was not it which he named.

Then cried out the Bishop of Winchester, and said; You shall not have any other, until ye be judged by this. And then began such a Noise, Tumult, and speaking together of a great many that favoured not the cause, that nothing was done, nor spoken orderly, or Charitably. Afterwards Judge Morgan began to rail at Master Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words of his doing at Gloucester, in publishing of men, and said, there was never such a Tyrant as he was. After that, D. Day Bishop of Chichester said, that the Council of Ancyra, which was before the Council of Nice, was against the Marriage of Priests.

Then cried out my Lord Chancellor, and many with him, that M. Hooper had never read the Councils.

Yea my Lord, quoth Master Hooper, and my Lord of Chichester Doctor Day knoweth that the great Council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, decreed that no Minister should be separated from his Wife. But such Clamours and cries were used, that the Council of Nice was not seen.

After this long brutish talk, Tonsfall Bishop of Duresm asked M. Hooper, whether he believed the Corporal presence in the Sacrament. And M. Hooper said plainly, that there was none such, neither did he believe any such thing.

Then would the Bishop of Duresm have read out of a book, for his purpose belike (what book it was I cannot tell: but there was such a Noise and confused talk on every side, that he did not read it. Then asked Winchester of M. Hooper, what Authority moved him not to believe the Corporal presence? He said, the Authority of Gods Word, and alleged this Text, *Quem oportet calum suscipere, usque ad tempus resurrectionis omnium: i. Whom Heaven must hold until the Later day.*

Then the Bishop of Winchester would have made that Text have served nothing for his purpose, and he said, he might be in Heaven, and in the Sacrament also.

Master Hooper would have said more to have opened the Text, but all men that stood next about the Bishop, allowed so his saying with Clamors and cries, that M. Hooper was not permitted to say any more against the Bishop. Whereupon they had the Notaries write that he was Married, and said, that he would not goe from his Wife, and that he believed not the Corporal presence in the Sacrament, wherefore he was worthy to be deprived of his Bishoprick.

This is the Truth of the matter (as far as I can truly remember) of the confused and troublesome talk that was between them, and except it were hasty and uncharitable words, this is the whole matter of their talk at that time. *Aique hac ille habitus.*

The true report of M. Hooper's entertainment in the Fleet, written with his own hand the seventh of January 1554.

The first of September, 1553. I was committed unto the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the Prison: and within six dayes after I paid for my liberty five pounds Sterling to the Warden for Fees: who, immediately upon the payment thereof, complained unto Steven Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and so was I committed to close prison one Quarter of a Year in the Tower Chamber of the Fleet, and used very extremely. Then by the means of a good Gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to Dinner and Supper, not suffered to speak with any of my friends: but as soon as Dinner and Supper was done, to repair to my Chamber again. Notwithstanding whilst I came down thus to Dinner and Supper, the Warden and his Wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the Bishop of Winchester.

After one quarter of a year and some what more, Babington the Warden and his Wife fell out with me for the wicked Mass: and thereupon the Warden referred to the Bishop of Winchester, and obtained to put me in to the Wards where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the Chamber being vile and stinking, until by Gods means good People sent me bedding to lie in. Of the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of the House, and on the other side the Town ditch, so that the stench of the House hath infected me with sundry diseases.

During which time I have been sick; and the Doors, Bars, Halps, and Chains being all closed, and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called and cried for help. But the Warden when he hath known me many times ready to dye, and when the poor men of the Wards have called to help me, hath commanded the Doors to be kept fast and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying; Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him. And, amongst many other times he did thus the 18. of October, 1553. as many can witness.

I paid alwaies like a Baron to the said Warden, as well in fees, as for my Board, which was 20. shillings a week, besides my mans Table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my Bishoprick, and since that time, have payed him as the best Gentleman doth in his House; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely than the vilest slave that ever came to the Hall Commons.

The said Warden hath also imprisoned my man William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none but only a little remembrance of good People's names, that gave me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the Warden delivered the same bill unto the said Steven Gardiner, Gods enemy and mine.

I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen Months, my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from me; the Queen owing me by just account 80. pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to find me, neither is there suffered any one to come at me whereby I might have reliefed am with a wicked man and Woman, so that I see no remedy (saving Gods help) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to Judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whole will be don, whether it be by life or death.

Thus much wrote he himself of this matter.

Another Examination of M. Hooper.

The 22. of January following, 1555. Babington the Warden of the Fleet was commanded to bring M. Hooper before the Bishop of Winchester, with other Bishops and Commissioners at the said Winchesters House at Saint Mary Overies, whereas in effect thus much was done.

The Bishop of Winchester in the name of himself and the rest, moved Master Hooper earnestly to forsake the evil and corrupt Doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of King Edward the sixth, and to return to the unity of the Catholik Church, and to acknowledge the Popes Holiness to be head of the same Church, according to the determination of the whole Parliament, promising, that as he himself, with other his Brethren, had received the Popes Blessing, and the Queens mercy; even so mercy was ready to be shewed to him and others, if he would arise with them, and condescend to the Popes Holiness.

M. Hooper answered, that forasmuch as the Pope taught the Doctrine altogether contrary to the Doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christs Church, much less to be head thereof, wherefore he would in no wise condescend to any such usurped Jurisdiction, neither esteemed he the Church, whereof they call him head, to be the Catholik Church of Christ: for the Church only heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and flieth the strangers. Howbeit (saith he) if in any point, to me unknown, I have offended the Queens Majesty, I shall most humbly submit my self to her mercy, if mercy may be had with safety of conscience, and without the displeasure of God.

Q. Mary
will show us
mercy but
to the Popes
the vile.

Answer was made, that the Queen would shew no mercy to the Popes enemies. Whereupon *Babington* was commanded to bring him to the Fleet again: who did so, and shifted him from his former Chamber into another, near unto the Wardens own Chamber, where he remained vi days: and in the mean time, his former Chamber was searched by D. Martin and others, for Writings and Books, which *Malster Hooper* was thought to have made, but none was found,

Here followeth another examination of *Malster Hooper*

Another
examination
of *Malster Hooper*
before the
B. of Win-
chester and
his fellows

The 28. of January, *Winchester* and other the Commissioners sate in Judgment at S. Mary Overies, whereas M. Hooper appeared before them at Afternoon again, and there, after much reasoning and Disputation to and fro, he was commanded aside, till M. Rogers (which was then come) had been likewise examined. Examinations being ended, the two Sheriffs of London were commanded, about four of the Clock, to carry them to the Counter in *Southwark*, there to remain till the morrow at Nine a Clock, to see whether they would relent and come home again to the Catholick Church. So M. Hooper went before with one of the Sheriffs, and *Malster Rogers* came after with the other, and being out of Church Door, *Malster Hooper* looked back, and stayed a little till *Malster Rogers* drew near, unto whom he said; Come Brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to frie these faggots? Yea Sir, said *Malster Rogers*, by Gods grace. Doubt not, said M. Hooper, but God will give strength. So going forwards, there was such a preals of People in the streets, which rejoiced at their constancy, that they had much a doe to pass.

M. Hooper
words to
Malster
Rogers.

By the way, the Sheriff said to M. Hooper; I wonder that ye were so hasty and quick with my Lord Chancellor, and did use no more patience: He answered, M. Sheriff; I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earnest in my Masters cause, and it standeth me so in hand, for it goeth upon life and death, not the life and death of this World only, but also of the World to come. Then were they committed to the keeper of the Counter, and appointed to severall Chambers, with commandment that they should not be suffered to speak one with another, neither yet any other permitted to come at them that night.

M. Hooper
entreat in
his Masters
cause.

Upon the next day following, the 29. of January, at the hour appointed they were brought again by the Sheriffs before the said Bishop and Commissioners in the Church, where they were the day before. And after long and earnest talks, when they perceived that M. Hooper would by no means condescend unto them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, *Malster Rogers* was brought before them, and in like manner intreated, and so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two Sheriffs of London, who were willed to carry them to the Clink, a prison not far from the Bishop of *Winchesters* House, and there to remain till night.

The third
and last
examination
of M.
Hooper.

When it was dark, *Malster Hooper* was led by one of the Sheriffs, with many bills and weapons, first thorow the Bishop of *Winchesters* House, and so over *London Bridge*, thorow the City to *Newgate*. And by the way some of the Sergeants were willed to goe before, and put out the Costermongers Candles, who use to sit with lights in the streets: either fearing, of likelihood, that the People would have made some attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had seen him go to that prison; or else, being burdened with an evil conscience they thought darkness to be a most fit season for such a business.

Darkness
left for the
Papists

But notwithstanding this device, the People having some foreknowledge of his coming, many of them came forth of their doors with lights, and saluted him, praising God for his constancy in the true Doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end: *Malster Hooper* passed by, and required the People to make their earnest prayers to God for him, and so went thorow *Cheshide* to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner to the keeper of *Newgate*, where he remained fix dayes, no Body being

The People
rejoicing
at the con-
stancy of
M. Hooper
and Malster
Rogers.

M. Hooper
sent to New-
gate.

permitted to come to him, or talk with him, saving his keepers, and such as should be appointed thereto.

During this time, *Boner Bishop of London*, and other at his appointment, as *Feknam*, *Chedsey*, and *Harpsfield*, &c. reforted divers times unto him to assay if by any means they could perfwade him to relent, and become a member of their Antichristian Church. All the ways they could devise, they attempted. For, besides the disputations and allegations of Testimonies of the Scriptures, and of ancient Writers wrested to a wrong sense, according to their accustomed manner, they used also all outward gentleness and significations of friendship, with many great proffers and promises of Worldly commodities, not omitting also most grievous threatnings, if with gentleness they could not prevail; but they found him always the same man, steadfast and immovable. When they perceived that they could by no means reclaim him to their purpose, with such perfwasions and offers as they used for his conversion, then went they about by false rumors and reports of recantations (for it is well known, that they and their servants did spread it first abroad) to bring him and the Doctrin of Christ which he professed, out of credit with the People. So the bruit being a little spread abroad, and believed of some of the weaker sort, by reason of the often report of the Bishop of London and others, it increased more, and at the last came to *Malster Hoopers* ears. Where-with he was not a little grieved, that the People should give so light credit unto false rumors, having so simple a ground; as it may appear by a letter which he wrote upon that occasion, the Copie whereof followeth.

Anno
1555.

B. Boner and
his Chapla-
ins reason
with M.
Hooper in
prison.

False rum-
ors of M.
Hoopers re-
cantation.

A letter of *Malster Hooper* for the stopping of certain false rumors spread abroad of his recantation.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all them that unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Christ, Amen.

Dear Brethren and Sisters in the Lord, and my fellow-prisoners for the cause of Gods Gospel, I do much rejoyce and give thanks unto God for your constancy and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I with continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoyce in your faith and constancy in afflictions that be in prison; even so do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear Brethren that yet have not felt such dangers for Gods truth, as we have, and doe feel, and be daily like to suffer more, yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire: yet such is the report abroad (as I am credibly informed) that I *John Hooper*, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should now after sentence of death (being in *Newgate* prisoner, and looking daily for execution) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this talk ariseth of this, that the Bishop of London and his Chaplains resort unto me. Doubtless, if our Brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would think, that in case I did refuse to talk with them, they might have just occasion to say that I were unlearned, and durst not speak with learned men, or else proud and disdaind to speak with them. Therefore to avoid just suspicion of both, I have, and do daily speak with them when they come, not doubting but that they report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do in this point. For I fear not their Arguments, neither is death terrible unto me, praying you to make true report of the same, as occasion shall serve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore, by their coming.

A purgation
of M. Hooper
against false
rumors
spread of
his recanta-
tion

The occa-
sion of this
rumor
how it riseth!

Therefore, ye that may tend to the weak Brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the World, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and I thank God I am as ready to suffer death, as a mortal man may be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such rumors that be untrue. We have enemies enow of such as know not God truly. But yet the false report of weak Brethren is a double Cross. I wish you eternal salvation in Jesus Christ, and also require your continual prayers, that he which hath begun in us, may continue it to the end.

False reports
of M. Hoopers
recantation.

Anno 1555. I have taught the Truth with my tongue, and with my Pen heretofore, and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same by Gods Grace with my Blood. Forth of Newgate the second of February, Anno 1554.

Your Brother in Christ,
John Hooper.

Upon Monday morning the Bishop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded M. Hooper, the Sentence of which his degradation here followeth.

Degradatio Hooperi.

IN nomine Patris, Filii, & Spiritus Sancti; Amen. Quoniam per sententiam definitivam à Reverendo in Christo Patre & Domino Stephano permissione divina, Winton. Episcopo in & contra te Johan. Hooper Presbyterum, sue jurisdictionis ratione heresis & delicti infrascripti Diocesani Winton. notorie commissi existentem, super viis & legitimis prolatam, constat sufficienter & legitime nobis Edmundo Lond. Episcopo, te præsatum Joh. Hooper hereticum manifestum & obstinatum, ac pertinacem fuisse & esse, ac constare similiter tanquam hereticum fuisse modo per dictam sententiam pronunciatum & declaratum fuisse, majorisque Excommunicationis sententia ob id immodatam & involutum similiter esse, ac ab ordine tuo deponendum & degradandum, Curiaque seculari ob demerita tua hujusmodi tradendum fore, prout ex tenore dictæ sententia, ad quam nos in hac parte nos referimus, plenius, planius, & expressius liquet & apparet: Idcirco nos Edmundus Episcopus Lond. antedictus, quia nostra & universitatis etiam interest nostras hic partes interponere, & Vicariam operam mutuamque vicissitudinem impendere, in cuius etiam Diocesi tu Joh. Hooper per idem heresis crimen tunc & sepius, & ante & post commissisti, istis inquam & aliis predictis attentis, & exequendo omni meliori & efficaciori modo, quo possumus, sententiam predictam, sic ut præmittitur, latam in te qui infra fines & limites Diocesis nostræ Lond. notorie confisens, & in hac parte culpabilis & transgressor, etiam notorie existens, ad actualem degradationem tui præfati Joh. Hooper (culpa tua exigens ac iustitia id poscente) duximus procedendum fore, ac sic etiam realiter procedimus, ut deinde iuxta juris exigentiam & temporis retroacti morem laudabilem & normam consuetam, te in Arca Ecclesiæ manere nolentem Curia seculari recte & legitime ac effectualiter tradere possumus. Quod ipsum hoc fieri debere, nos per hanc nostram sententiam sive decretum decernimus, pronunciamus, & declaramus in his scriptis.

After the Sentence of Degradation thus declared, now let us see the form and manner of their degrading, which here also followeth. But first here is to be noted, that they, degrading this blessed Bishop, did not proceed against him as a Bishop, but as only against a Priest, as they termed him; for such as he was, these Baalamites accounted for no Bishop.

Here followeth the form and manner used in the degrading of B. Hooper.

THe fourth day of February, the year above-mentioned, in the Chappel in Newgate, the Bishop of London there sitting with his Notary and certain other Witnesses, came Alexander Andrews the Goaler, bringing with him M. Hooper and M. Rogers, being condemned before by the Chancellor: where the said Bishop of London, at the request of the foresaid Winchester, proceeded to the degradation of the parties above-mentioned, M. Hooper and M. Rogers, after this form and manner: First, he put upon him all the Vesture and Ornaments belonging to a Priest, with all other things to the same Order appertaining, as though (being reviled) they should solemnly execute their Office. Thus they being apparelled and revested, the Bishop begimeth to pluck off, first the uttermost Vesture, and by degree and order coming down to the lowest Vesture, which they had only in taking Bene and Colles; and so being stript and depofed, he deprived them of all order, benefit and priviledge belonging to the Clergy; and consequently that being done, pronounced, decreed, and declared the said Parties to de-

graded, to be given personally to the Secular Power, as the Sheriffs being for that year, M. Davy Woodroffe, and M. William Chester: who, receiving first the said M. Rogers at the hands of the Bishop, had him away with them, bringing him to the place of Execution where he suffered. The Witnesses there present were M. Harpfield Archdeacon of London, Robert Cofin, and Robert Willerton, Canons of Pauls, Thomas Mountague, and George How Clerks, Tristram Swadock, and Richard Clunney Sumner, &c.

The same Monday at Night, being the 4. of February, his Keeper gave him an inkling that he should be sent to Gloucester to suffer death, whereat he received very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto Heaven; and praising God that he saw it good to send him amongst the People, over whom he was Pastor, there to confirm with his Death the Truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory: and immediately he went to his Servants house for his Boots, Spurs, and Cloak, that he might be in a readines to ride when he should be called.

The next day following, about four of the Clock in the Morning before day, the Keeper with others came to him and searched him, and the Bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written any thing, and then he was led by the Sheriffs of London and other their Officers forth of Newgate to a place appointed, not far from S. Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet, where six of the Queens Guards were appointed to receive him, and to carry him to Gloucester, there to be delivered unto the Sheriff, who with the Lord Shandous, M. Wicks, and other Commissioners, were appointed to see Execution done. The which Guard brought him to the Angel, where he brake his Fast with them, eating his Meat at that time more liberally than he had used to do a good while before. About the Break of the Day he went to Horse, and leapt cheerfully on Horseback without help, having a Hood upon his Head under his Hat that he should not be known, and so he took his Journey joyfully towards Gloucester, and always by the way the Guard learned of him where he was accustomed to Bait or Lodge, and ever carried him to another Inn.

Upon the Thursday following, he came to a Town in his Diocess called Cicester, 15 miles from Gloucester; about eleven of the Clock, and there Dined at a Womens house which had always hated the Truth, and spoken all evil the could of M. Hooper. This Woman, perceiving the cause of his coming, shewed him all the Friendship she could, and lamented his case with Tears, confessing that the before had often reported, That if he were put to the Trial, he would not stand to his Doctrine.

After Dinner he rode forwards, and came to Gloucester about five of the Clock, and a mile without the Town was much People assembled, which cried and lamented his estate, inasmuch that one of the Guard rode Post into the Town, to require Aid of the Mayor and Sheriffs, fearing lest he should have been taken from them. The Officers and their Retinue repaired to the Gate with Weapons, and commanded the People to keep their Houses, &c. but there was no man that once gave any signification of any such Rescue or Violence. So was he lodged at one Ingram's House in Gloucester, and that Night (as he had done all the way) he did eat his Meat quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly, as it was reported by them of the Guard and others. After his first sleep he continued all that Night in Prayer until the Morning, and then he desired that he might go into the next Chamber (for the Guard were also in the Chamber where he lay) that there being solitary he might pray and talk with God: so that all the day, saying a little at Meat, and when he talked at any time with such as the Guard licensed to speak with him, he bestowed in Prayer.

Amongst other that spake with him, Sir Anthony Kingston, Knight, was one. Who, seeming in time past his very Friend, was then appointed by the Queens Letters to be one of the Commissioners, to see Execution done upon him. M. Kingston being brought into the Chamber found him at his Prayers: and as soon as he saw M. Hooper, he burst forth in Tears. M. Hooper at the first blush knew him not. Then said M. Kingston, Why, my Lord, do you not know me an old Friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?

Davy Woodroffe and William Chester Sheriffs.

M. Hooper said that he would fight for his own flock.

M. Hooper carried to Gloucester to be executed.

A Woman of Cicester confirmed by the constancy of M. Hooper which killed at him before.

M. Hooper cometh to Gloucester.

The quiet mind of M. Hooper in his Troubles.

Sir Anthony Kingston cometh to M. Hooper.

Anno
1555.

Yes, *M. Kingston*, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do praye God for the same. But I am sorry to see you in this case; for as I understand you be come hither to die. But (alas) consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore seeing life may be had, desire to live; for life hereafter may do good.

In ded it is true, *M. Kingston*, I am come hither to end this Life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gain-ly the former Truth that I have heretofore taught amongst you in this Diocese, and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly Counsel, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, *M. Kingston*, that death is bitter, and life is sweet: but (alas) consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet. Therefore for the desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other; I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life, but have set myself through the strength of Gods Holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the Torments and Extremities of the Fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the Truth of his Word, desiring you and others, in the mean time, to commend me to Gods Mercy in your Prayers.

Well, my Lord, then I perceive there is no Remedie, and therefore I will take my leave of you: and I thank God that ever I knew you, for God did appoint you to call me, being a lost Child: and by your good Instructions, where before I was both an Adulterer and a Fornicator, God hath brought me to the forsaking and detesting of the same.

If you have had the grace so to do, I do highly praise God for it: and if you have not, I pray God ye may have, and that you may continually live in his Fear. After these and many other words the one took leave of the other, *M. Kingston* with bitter tears, *M. Hooper* with tears also trickling down his Cheeks. At which departure *M. Hooper* told him, that all the Troubles he had sustained in Prison, had not caused him to utter so much Sorrow.

The same day in the Afternoon, a blind Boy, after long intercession made to the Guard, obtained Licence to be brought unto *M. Hooper* Speech. The same Boy not long afore had suffered Imprisonment at *Glocester* for confessing of the Truth. *M. Hooper*, after he had examined him of his Faith, and the Cause of his Imprisonment, beheld him stedfastly, and (the water appearing in his Eyes) said unto him, Ah poor Boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what reason he best knoweth: but he hath given thee another sight much more precious, for he hath endued thy Soul with the eye of Knowledge and Faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not that sight, for then shouldest thou be blind both in Body and Soul.

After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a very Papist and a wicked Man, which appeared to be sorry for *M. Hoopers* trouble, saying; Sir, I am sorry to see you thus. To seeme? Why, said he, art thou sorry? To see you, said the other, in this case. For I hear say, you are come hither to die, for the which I am sorry. Be sorry for thy self man, said *M. Hooper*, and lament thine own wickedness; for I am well, I thank God, and death to me for Christs sake is welcome.

The same Night he was committed by the Guard, their Commission being then expired, unto the custody of the Sheriffs of *Glocester*. The Name of the one was *Jenkins*, the other *Bond*, who with the Mayor and Aldermen repaired to *M. Hoopers* Lodging, and at the first meeting greeted him, and took him by the Hand. Unto whom *Hooper* spake in this manner. My Mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your Brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me a Prisoner and a condemned man by the hand; whereby to my rejoicing it is found that you are not so far from Love and Friendship towards me, as many others extirpated: and I trust a lot that all the things I have taught you in these past are not utterly forgotten, which I was once, by the good King that did first appoint me to be your Bishop and Pastor. For the which most thank you, for your Defence, because I will not now count it dishonour and I have as many other men do, I thank them (as I am sure you know) by the Queens Commandment to take and outcome where I taught, to continue it with my Brethren. And now Mr. Sheriffs, I under-

stand by these good Men, and my very Friends (meaning the Guard) at whose hands I have found so much favour and gentleness by the way hitherward, as a Prisoner could reasonably require (for the which also I most heartily thank them) that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must see me brought to morrow to the place of Execution. My Request therefore to you shall be only, that there may be a quick Fire, shortly to make an end; and in the mean time I will be as obedient unto you, as your selves would wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your Finger, and I have done. For I am not come hither as one enforced or compelled to die: For it is well known, I might have had my Life with worldly gain; but as one willing to offer and give away Life for the Truth, rather than to consent to the wicked Papistical Religion of the Bishop of *Rome*, received and set forth by the Magistrates in *England*, to Gods holy Discipline and Dishonour; and I trust by Gods Grace to morrow to die a faithful Servant of God, and a true obedient Subject to the Queen.

These and such-like words in effect used *Mr. Hooper* to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding the two Sheriffs went aside to confit, and were determined to have lodged him in the common Goal of the Town, called *Nortgate*, if the Guard had not made earnest intercession for him: who declared at large, how quietly, mildly and patiently he had behaved himself in the ways, adding thereto, that any Child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that we should be sent to the common Prison. So it was determined at the length he should still remain in *Robert Ingrams* House; and the Sheriffs and the Sergeants and other Officers did appoint to watch with him that Night themselves. His desire was, that he might go to bed that Night betimes, saying, that he had many things to remember: and so he did at five of the Clock, and slept one sleep soundly, and bestowed the rest of the Night in Prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no Man should be suffered to come into the Chamber, that he might be solitary till the hour of Execution.

About eight of the Clock came Sir *John Bridges* Lord *Shandoy*, with a great band of men, Sir *Anrony Kingston*, Sir *Edmond Bridges*, and other Commissioners appointed to see Execution done. At nine of the Clock *Mr. Hooper* was willed to prepare himself to be in a readines, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his Chamber by the Sheriffs, who were accompanied with Bills, Glives and Weapons. When he saw the multitude of Weapons, he spake to the Sheriffs on this wise; Mr. Sheriffs (said he) I am no Traitor, neither needed you to have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer: For if ye had willed me, I would have gone alone to the Stake, and have troubled none of you all. Afterward looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, being by estimation to the Number of 7000 (for it was Market-day, and many also came to see his Behaviour towards death) he spake unto those that were about him, saying; Alas, why be these people assembled and come together? Peradventure they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past, but alas Speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their Pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere Doctrine, and that out of the word of God: Because I will not now account the same to be Heretic and Untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me.

So he went forward led between the two Sheriffs (as it were a Lamb) to the place of Slaughter in a Gown of his luffs, his Hat upon his Head, and a Staff in his Hand to stay himself withal. For the grief of the *Setaria*, which he had taken in Prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way, being straitly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his Mouth, but beholding the People all the way, which mourned bitterly for him; he would sometimes lift up his Eyes towards Heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew: and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a Countenance as he did at that present. When he came to

M. Hooper
petition to
the Sheriffs

The Guard
spakech for
M. Hooper

M. Hooper
spakech the
night in pri-
son.

Sir John
Bridges, Lord
Shandoy, Sir
Edmond
Bridges, Sir
Anrony
Kingston, Com-
missioners.

M. Hooper
for preaching
true doc-
trine put to
death.

M. Hooper
forbitten to
speak to the
people.

His cheerful
countenance
at death.

Sir Anthony
Kingston
petitioned.

M. Hooper
replied.

The com-
missioners
led him to
death.

Sir Anthony
Kingston
converted
by *M. Hooper*.

M. Hooper.

A blind boy
conferred
with *M. Hooper*.

Gods grace
won a blind
boy at *Gloce-*
ster.

M. Hooper
committed
to the Sher-
iffs of *Gloce-*
ster.

The words
of *M. Hooper*
to the Mayor
and the
Council of
Glocester.

Anno
1555.M Hooper
brought to
the place of
execution.

the place appointed where he should dye, sittingly he beheld the Stake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great Elm-Tree over against the Colledge of P. R. I. where he was wont to Teach. The place round about the House, and the Boughs of the Tree were replenished with People; and in the Chamber over the Colledge-Gate stood the Priests of the Colledge. Then kneeled he down (inasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak unto the People) to Prayer, and beckned six or seven times unto one whom he knew well, to hear the said Prayer, to make report thereof in time to come (pouring Tears upon his Shoulders and in his Bosom) who gave attentive Ears unto the same: the which Prayer he made upon the whole Creed, wherein he continued the space of half an hour. Now after he was somewhat entered into his Prayer, a Box was brought and laid before him upon a Stool, with his Pardon (or at least-wile it was found to be his Pardon) from the Queen, if he would turn. At the sight whereof he cried, *If you love my Soul, away with it; if you love my Soul, away with it.* The Box being taken away, the Lord Shandous said, Seeing there is no remedy, dispatch him quickly. Master Hooper said, *Good my Lord, I trust your Lordship will give me leave to make an end of my Prayers.*

Then said the Lord Shandous to Sir Edmund Bridges Son, which gave ear before to M. Hoopers Prayer at his request: *Edmund, take heed that he do nothing else but Pray: If he do, tell me, and I shall quickly dispatch him.* Whiles this Talk was, there stepped one or two uncalled, which heard him speak these words following:

M Hooper
Prayer.

Lord, (aid he, I am Hell, but thou art Heaven; I am full and a sink of Sin, but thou art a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me most miserable and wretched Offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine ineffable goodness. Thou art ascended into Heaven, receive me Hell to be partakers of thy Joy, where thou fittest equal glory with thy Father. For well knowest thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute this thy poor Servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow thy wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy Blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy Truth, wherewith it did please thee by thy Holy Spirit to instruct me: the which with as much diligence as a poor Wretch might (being thereto called) I have set forth to thy glory. And well I felt thou, my Lord and God, what terrible Pains and cruel Torments he prepared for thy Creature: such, Lord, as without thy strength none is able to bear, or patiently to pass. But all things, that are impossible with man, are possible with thee. Therefore strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the Fire I break not the rules of Patience; or else assuage the terror of the Pains, as shall seem meet to thy glory.

M Hooper
submitted
himself to
the Fire.

As soon as the Mayor had espied these men which made report of the former words, they were commanded away, and could not be suffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himself to the Stake, and put off his Hofs Gown, and delivered it to the Sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored unto the Owner, and put off the rest of his Gear, unto his Doublet and Hose, wherein he would have burned. But the Sheriffs would not permit that, (such was their greediness) unto whose pleasures (good Man) he very obediently submitted himself; and his Doublet, Hose and Waistcoat were taken off. Then being in his Shirt, he took a Pardon from his Hofs himself, and trusted his Shirt between his Legs, where he had a pound of Gun-powder in a Bladder, and under each Arm the like quantity delivered him by the Guard. So desiring the People to say the Lords Prayer with him, and to pray for him (who performed it with Tears, during the time of his Pains) he went up to the Stake. Now when he was at the Stake, three Irons, made to bind him to the Stake, were brought; one for his Neck, another for his Middle, and the third for his Legs. But he refusing them said, *Ye have no need thus to trouble your selves. For I doubt not, but God will give strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the Fire, without Bands: not*

withstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, but having assured confidence in Gods strength, I am content ye do as ye shall think good.

So the Hoop of Iron prepared for his Middle was brought, which being made some what too short (for his Belly was swollen with Imprisonment) he shrank and put in his Belly with his hand, until it was fastened: and when they offered to have bound his Neck and Legs with the other two Hoops of Iron, he utterly refused them, and would have none, saying, *I am well assured I shall not trouble you.*

Thus being ready, he looked upon the People, of whom he might be well seen (for he was both tall, and stood also on an high Stool) and beheld round about him: and in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful People. Then lifting up his eyes and hands unto Heaven, he prayed to himself: By and by, he that was appointed to make the Fire, came to him, and did ask him forgiveness. Of whom he asked why he should forgive him, saying, that he knew never any offence he had committed against him. O Sir, (said the Man) I am appointed to make the Fire. Therein (said Mr. Hooper) thou dost nothing offend me; God for give thee thy sins, and do thine office I pray thee. Then the Reeds were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, and placed them, kissed them, and put under either Arm one of them, and shewed with his hand how the reit should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any should stick.

Anon commandment was given that the fire should be set to, and so it was. But because there were put on fewer green Fagots than two loads could carry upon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a pretty while also before it took the Reeds upon the Fagots. At length it burned about him, but the Wind having full strength in that place (it was a lowing and cold Morning) it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner no more but touched by the Fire.

Within a space after, a few dry Fagots were brought, and a new Fire kindled with Fagots (for there were no more Reeds) and that burned at the Nether parts, but had small power above, because of the Wind, saving that it did burn his Hair, and scorch his Skin a little. In the time of which Fire, even as at the first flame, he prayed, saying mildly and not very loud (but as one without pains) O Jesus the Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my Soul. After the second was spent, he did wipe both his Eyes with his hands, and beholding the People, he said with an indifferent loud voice: For Gods love (good People) let me have more Fire: And all this while his Nether parts did burn: for the Fagots were so few, that the flame did not burn strongly at his Upper Parts.

The third Fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other two: and then the Bladders of Gun-powder brake, which did him small good, they were so placed, and the Wind had such power. In the which Fire he prayed with somewhat a loud voice, *Lord Jesus have mercy upon me, Lord Jesus have mercy upon me: Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.* And these were the last Words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the Mouth, and his Tongue swollen, that he could not speak, yet his Lips went till they were shrunk to the Gums: and he knocked his Breast with his hands, until one of his Arms fell off, and then knocked still with the other, what time the Fat, Water and Blood dropped out at his Fingers ends, until by renewing of the Fire his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast in knocking to the Iron upon his Breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his Spirit.

In clarissimi Doctrina & Pietate Viri Johannis Hoopers Martyrium, Comædi Gesneri carmen.

Aureus Hooperis flammis inuictus & igni, Atque summo Christum confessor ad ultima vitæ Momenta, integritate sua præclarus, & æterni Exterioris flammis, æterni Martij æstus Extremo fides fervore accendit, ad æstus Spiritus ascendit, Cælesti luce beatit.

M Hooper
the Stake.the weeping
people at M
Hoopers
burning.He forgave
his executioner.Fire put to
M Hooper.A new Fire
made to
M Hooper.M Hooper
called for
more Fire.The last
Words of
M Hooper.The blessed
soul of
M Hooper
in the Fire.

In terris cineresque manent, & fama corusca,
Flammæ instar lucens, lucebit dum stabit orbis,
Utunque immanet Boreæ, magnæque procellæ
Flasibus adversis tam clarum abruptum lumen
Nisuntur frustra. Nam, quæ Deus ipse secundat,
Quis prohibere queat? mortalia facta sed ultro
Et commenta ruunt, vastaque voragine sidant.

Hopci exemplo, quotquot spiratis Jesu
Doctrinam Christi, discrimina temere vitæ;
Durare, & vosmet rebus servare secundis
Discite. Namque dabit Deus his meliora; nec auri
Audis ulla, oculis vel vidit, sed neque captus
Humane mentis potuit complectier unquam,
Qualia, quanta Deus servet sua bona beatis.

Anno
1555.

The burning of M^r. Iohn Hooper, at Gloucester. Anno 1555. February 9.



The patient
end of this
holy Martyr.

Thus was he three quarters of an hour or more in the Fire. Even as a Lamb, patiently he abode the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, or to any side: but having his Nether parts burned, and his Bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a Child in his Bed: and he now reigneth as a blessed Martyr, in the joys of Heaven prepared for the Faithful in Christ, before the foundations of the World: for whose Constancy all Christians are bound to praise God.

A Letter which M. Hooper did write out of Prison to certain of his Friends.

A Letter
exhortatory
of M. Hooper
to certain of
his Friends.

The Grace of God be with you. Amen. I did write unto you of late, and told you what extremity the Parliament had concluded upon concerning Religion, suppressing the Truth, and setting forth the Untruth, intending to cause all men by extremity to forswear themselves, and to take again, for the Head of the Church, him that is neither Head nor Member of it, but a very Enemy, as the Word of God and all ancient Writers do record: and for lack of Law and Authority, they will use force and extremity, which have been the Arguments to defend the Pope and Popery, since their Authority first began in the World. But now is the time of Trial, to see whether we fear more God or Man. It was an easie thing to hold with Christ whilst the Prince and World held with him: but now the World hateth him, it is the true Trial who be his.

The Popes
Religion
stands only
by force and
extremity.

Wherefore in the name, and in the vertue, strength and power of his Holy Spirit, prepare yourselves in any case to Adversity and Constancy. Let us not run away when it is most time to fight; Remember none shall be crowned, but such as fight manfully; and he that endureth to the end shall be saved. Ye must now turn all your Cogitations from the peril you see, and mark the felicity that followeth the peril; either victory in this World of your Enemies, or else a surrender of this life to inherit the everlasting Kingdom. Beware of beholding too much the felicity or misery of this World, for the consideration and too earnest love or fear of either of them draweth from God.

Neither the
felicity nor
the misery
of this
World to be
looked upon.

Wherefore think with your selves as touching the felicity of the World, it is good: but yet none otherwise than it standeth with the favour of God. It is to be kept; but yet so far forth as by keeping of it we lose not God. It is good abiding and tarrying still among our friends here: but yet so, that we tarry not therewithal in Gods displeasure, and hereafter dwell with the Devils in fire everlasting. There is nothing under God but may be kept, so that God, being above all things we have, be not lost.

Of Adversity judge the same. Imprisonment is painful, but yet liberty upon evil conditions is more painful. The Prisons stink; but yet not so much as sweet Houses, whereas the fear and true honour of God lacketh. I must be alone and solitary: it is better so to be and have God with me, than to be in company with the wicked. Loss of Goods is great: but loss of Gods grace and favour is greater. I am a poor simple Creature, and cannot tell how to answer before such a great sort of Noble, Learned and Wise men: it is better to make answer before the Pomp and Pride of wicked Men, than to stand naked in the sight of all Heaven and Earth before the just God at the latter day. I shall dye then by the hands of the Cruel man: he is blessed that loseth his life full of miseries, and findeth the life of eternal Joys. It is pain and grief to depart from Goods and Friends: but yet not so much, as to depart from Grace and Heaven it self. Wherefore there is neither felicity nor adversity of this World, that can appear to be great, if it be weighed with the joys or pains in the World to come.

Adversity
compared
with Ad-
versity.

Antithese
between
Joys and
Pains in this
World and
in the World
to come.

I can do no more, but pray for you; do the same for me, for Gods sake. For my part (I thank the heavenly Father) I have made mine accounts, and appointed myself unto the will of the heavenly Father: as he will, so I will by his Grace. For Gods sake, as soon as ye can, send my poor Wife and Children some Letter from you, and my Letter also which I sent of late to D. As it was told me the never had Letter from me since the coming of M^s. unto her, the more to blame the Messengers, for I have written divers times. The Lord comfort them, and provide for them; for I am able to do

Anno 1554. *Mr. Hooper's* c. f. and commendation of his Wife.

do nothing in worldly things'. She is a godly and wife Woman. If my meaning had been accomplished, the should have had necessary things: but what I meant, God can perform, to whom I commend both her and you all. I am a precious Jewel, now and daintily kept, never so daintily: for neither mine own man, nor any of the servants of the house may come to me, but my Keeper alone, a simple rude man, God knoweth; but I am nothing careful thereof. Fare you well. The 21 of January 1555.

Your bounden,

John Hooper

AMongst many other memorable Acts and Notes worthy to be remembered in the History of Mr. Hooper, this also is not to be forgotten which hapned between him, and a braggling Friar, a little after the beginning of his Imprisonment: The Story whereof here followeth.

A Friar came from France to England with great vaunt, asking who was the greatest Heretic in England? thinking belike to do some great act upon him. To whom answer was made, that Mr. Hooper had then the greatest name to be the chiefest Ringleader, who was then in the Fleet. The Friar coming to him, asked why he was committed to Prison. He said for Debt. Nay, said he, it was for Heresie, which when the other had denied. What fault thou, quoth he, to *Hoc est Corpus meum?* Mr. Hooper, being partly moved at the sudden question, desired that he might ask of him another question, which was this; What remained after the Consecration in the Sacrament, any Bread or no? No Bread at all, said he. And when ye break it, what do you break; whether Bread or the Body, said Mr. Hooper? No Bread, said the Friar, but the Body only. If ye do so, said Mr. Hooper, ye do great injury, not only to the Body of Christ, but also ye break the Scriptures, which say, *Ye shall not break of him one bone, &c.* With that the Friar, having nothing belike to answer, recoyled back, and with his Circles and his Crofses began to use Exorcism against Mr. Hooper, as though, &c.

This and more wrote Mr. Hooper to Mrs. Wilkinson in a Letter, which Letter was read unto her by John Kelke.

Comparison between Mr. Hooper and Polycarpus.

When I see and behold the great patience of these blessed Martyrs in our days, in their sufferings so quietly and constantly abiding the Torments that are ministered unto them of Princes for Gods cause: methinks I may well and worthily compare them unto the old Martyrs of the Primitive Church. In the number of whom, if comparison be to be made between Saint and Saint, Martyr and Martyr: with whom might I better match this blessed Martyr John Hooper, through the whole Catalogue of the old Martyrs, than with Polycarpus the ancient Bishop Smyrna, of whom Eusebius maketh mention in the Ecclesiastical Story? For as both agreed together in one kind of punishment, being both put to the fire, so which of them shewed more patience and constancy in the time of their suffering, it is hard to be said.

And though Polycarpus being set in the flame (as the story saith) was kept by miracle from the torment of the fire, till he was stricken down with weapon, and so dispatched: yet Hooper by no less miracle, armed with patience and fervent spirit of Gods comfort, so quietly despised the violence thereof, as though he had felt little more than did Polycarpus in the fire flaming round about him.

Moreover, as it is written of Polycarpus when he should have been tied to the Stake, he required to stand untied, saying these words; *Sinite me, qui namq; ignem ferre posse dedisti, dabit etiam ut sine vestra calvorum cautione immortem in rogo permaneam.* That is, Let me alone I pray you, for be that gave me strength to come to this fire, will also give me patience to abide in the same without your tying. So likewise Hooper, with the like spirit, when he should have been tied to three Chains to the Stake, requiring them to have no such mistrust of him, was tied but with one; who, if he had not been tied at all, yet (no doubt)

would have no less answered to that great Patience of Polycarpus.

And as the end of them was both much agreeing in the life of them both was such, as might seem not far different. In teaching, like diligent both, in zeal fervent, in life unpotted, in manners and conversation inculpable; Bishops and also Martyrs both. Briefly, in teaching so pithy and fruitful, that as they both were joined together in one Spirit, so might they be joined in one Name together, *Hooperus*, to wit, much fruitful, to which name also *Polycarpus* is not much unlike. In this the Martyrdom of Mr. Hooper may seem in suffering to go before, though in time it followed the Martyrdom of Polycarpus, for that he was both longer in Prison, and there also so cruelly handled by the malice of his Keepers, as I think none of the old Martyrs ever suffered the like. To this also add, how he was deprived by Boner, with such contumelies and reproaches, as I think in Polycarpus time was not used to any.

And as we have hitherto compared these two good Martyrs together, so now if we should compare the Enemies and Authors of their Death one with the other; we should find no inequality betwixt them both; but that the Adversaries of Mr. Hooper seemed to be more cruel and unmerciful. For they that put Polycarpus to death, yet ministered to him a quick dispatch, moved belike by some compassion not to have him stand in the torment: where the tormentors of Mr. Hooper suffered him without all compassion to stand three quarters of an hour in the fire. And as touching the chief doers and authors of his Martyrdom, what Consul or Proconsul was there to be conferred with the Chancellor here, which brought this Martyr to burning? Let this suffice.

This good Bishop and Servant of God, being in Prison wrote divers Books and Treatises, to the number of xxiv. whereof some he wrote to the Parliament in Latin, and one to the Bishop of Chichester Dr. Day: besides he wrote of the Sacraments, of the Lords Prayer, and of the Ten Commandments, with divers others.

Here follow certain of Mr. Hooper's Letters.

AS you have heard the whole Story of the Life and Martyrdom of this good man declared; so now let us consequently adjoin some part of his Letters; written in the time of his Imprisonment, most fruitful and worthy to be read, especially in these dangerous days, of all true Christians, which by true Mortification seek to serve and follow the Lord through all Tempests and Storms of this malignant World, as by the reading and perusing of the said Letters, you shall better feel and understand.

A Letter of Mr. Hooper to certain godly Professors and Lovers of the Truth, instructing them how to behave themselves in that woful Alteration and Change of Religion.

THe Grace, Mercy, and Peace of God the Father through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you my dear Brethren, and with all those that unfeignedly love and embrace his holy Gospel, Amen.

It is told me, That the wicked Idol, the Mass, is established again by Law, and passed in the Parliament House. Earn the truth of it, I pray you, and what Penalty is appointed in the Act to such as speak against it: Also whether there be any compulsion to constrain men to be at it. The Statute thoroughly known, such as be abroad and at liberty may provide for themselves, and avoid the danger the better. Doubtless there hath not been seen before our time such a Parliament as this is, that as many as were suspected to be favourers of Gods Word, should be banished out of both Houses. But we must give God thanks for that truth he hath opened in the time of his blessed Servant K. Edward the sixth, and pray unto him that we deny it not, nor dishonour it with Idolatry; but that we may have strength and patience rather to die ten times than to deny him once. Blessed shall we be, if ever God

Mr. Hooper compared with Polycarpus in life.

Mr. Hooper's

the cross handling of Mr. Hooper.

The enemies of Mr. Hooper and of Polycarpus compared together.

Books and Treatises written by Mr. Hooper.

More of his Letters ye shall read in the Book of Letters of the Mass.

A Letter of Mr. Hooper.

The favourers of Gods Word banished out of the Parliament both in the high court and lower, against all right and reason.

inake

make us worthy of that honour to shed our Blood for his Names sake; and blessed then shall we think the Parents which brought us into the World, that we should from this Mortality be carried into Immortality. If we follow the commandment of S. Paul, that faith, *If ye then be* *ren again with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God.* We shall neither depart from the vain transitory goods of this World, nor from this wretched and mortal life, with so great pains as others do.

Colo.

Heere
can the Bre-
thren to re-
ceive and
confer a-
mong them-
selves toge-
ther.

Conference
among Bre-
thren com-
mended.

Let us pray to our heavenly Father, that we may know and love his blessed will, and the glorious Joy prepared for us in time to come, and that we may know and hate all things contrary to his blessed Will, and also the Pain prepared for the wicked in the World to come. There is no better way to be used in this troublesome time for your consolation, than many times to have Assemblies together of such Men and Women as be of your Religion in Christ, and there to take and renew amongst your selves the truth of your Religion, to see what ye be by the Word of God, and to remember what ye were before ye came to the knowledge thereof, to weigh and confer the Dreams and false Lies of the Preachers, that now preach, with the Word of God that retaineth all Truth: and by such talk and familiar resorting together, ye shall the better find out all their Lies that now go about to deceive you, and also both know and love the Truth that God hath opened to us. It is much requisite, that the Members of Christ comfort one another, make Prayers together, confer one with another; so shall ye be the stronger, and Gods Spirit shall not be absent from you, but in the midst of you, to teach you, to comfort you, to make you wise in all godly things, patient in Adversity, and strong in Persecution.

Ye see how the Congregation of the wicked by helping one another, make their wicked Religion and themselves strong against Gods Truth and his People. If ye may have some Learned man, that can out of the Scriptures speak unto you of Faith, and true honouring of God, also that can shew you the descent of Christs Church from the beginning of it until this day, that ye may perceive by the life of our Fore-fathers these two things: the one, that Christs words, which said that all his must suffer persecution and trouble in the world, be true: the other, that none of all his, before our time, escaped trouble; then shall ye perceive that it is but a folly for one that professeth Christ truly, to look for the love of the World.

John 10.

There
is a sign to
be taken
here to.

Thus shall ye learn to bear Trouble, and to exercise your Religion, and feel indeed that Christs words be true, *In the world ye shall suffer persecution.* And when ye shall feel your Religion indeed, say, Ye be no better than your Fore-fathers; but be glad, that ye may be counted Souldiers for this War: and pray to God when ye come together, that he will use and order you and your doings in these three ends, which ye must take heed to: the first, that ye glorifie God; the next, that ye edifie the Church and Congregation; the third, that ye profit your own Souls.

Luke 11.

Faith more
force now
than in the
old time
under Ty-
rants.
The pale
Horse in the
Apocalypse,
chap. 6.
what it
meant.
No Soules
slain by
Monks and
Friars, &c.
than by Ty-
rants.

In all your doings beware ye be not deceived. For although this time be not yet so Bloody and Tyrannous as the time of our Fore-fathers, that could not bear the Name of Christ, without danger of life and goods; yet is our time more perilous both for Body and Soul. Therefore of us Christ said, *Think ye when the Son of man cometh, he shall find Faith upon the Earth?* He said not, *Think ye he shall find any Man or Woman Christened, and in Name a Christian?* but he spake of the Faith that saveth the Christian man in Christ: and doubtless the scarcity of Faith is now more (and will, I fear, increase) than it was in the time of the greatest Tyrants that ever were; and no marvel why. Read the sixth Chapter of St. Johns Revelation, and ye shall perceive amongst other things, that at the opening of the fourth Seal came out a pale Horse, and he that sat upon him was called Death, and Hell followed him. This Horse is the time wherein Hypocrites and Dissemblers entered into the Church under the pretence of true Religion, as Monks, Friars, Nuns, Maling-Priests, with such others, that hath killed more Souls with Heresie and Superstition, than all the Tyrants, that ever were killed Bodies by Fire, Sword, or

Banishment, as it appeareth by his name that sitteth upon the Horse, who is called Death: for all Souls that love Christ, and truft to these Hypocrites, live to the Devil in everlasting pain, as is declared by him that followeth the pale Horse which is Hell.

Anno

1555.

The 3. Cha-
pter of the
Apocalypse
opened.

These pretended and pale Hypocrites have stirred the Earth-quake, that is to wit, the Princes of the World, against Christs Church, and have also darkened the Sun, and made the Moon bloody, and have caused the Stars to fall from Heaven, that is to say, have darkened with Mills, and daily do darken (as ye hear by their Sermons) the clear Sun of Gods most pure Word: the Moon, which be Gods true Preachers, which fetch only light at the Sun of Gods Word, are turned into Blood, Prisons, and Chains, that their Light cannot shine unto the World as they would: whereupon it cometh to pass, that the Stars, that is to say, Christian People fall from Heaven, that is to wit, from Gods most true Word to Hypocrites, most devilish Superstition and Idolatry. Let some Learned man shew you all the Articles of your Belief and monument of Christian Faith, from the time of Christ hitherto, and ye shall perceive that there was never mention of such Articles as these Hypocrites teach. God bless you, and pray for me as I do for you.

Out of the Fleet by your Brother in Christ,
John Hooper.

To Master Ferrar Bishop of St. Davids, D. Taylor, M. Bradford, and M. Philpot, Prisoners in the Kings Bench in Southwark.

The Grace of God be with you, Amen. I am advertised by divers, as well such as love the Truth, as also by such as ye be not come unto it, that ye and I shall be carried shortly to Cambridge, there to dispute for the Faith, and for the Religion of Christ (which is most true) that we have and do profess. I am (as I doubt not ye be) in Christ ready, not only to go to Cambridge, but also to suffer, by Gods help, Death it self in the maintenance thereof. Welton and his Complices have obtained for the Commission already, and speedily (most like) be will put it in execution. Wherefore, dear Brethren, I do advertise you of the thing before for divers causes. The one to comfort you in the Lord, that the time draweth near and is at hand, that we shall testify before Gods Enemies Gods Truth. The next, that ye should prepare your selves the better for it. The third, to shew you what ways I think our selves were best to use in this matter, and also to bear of you your better advice, if mine be not good. Ye know such as shall be Censors and Judges over us, breath and thirst for our Blood, and whether we, by Gods help, overcome after the Word of God, or by force and subtilty of our Adversaries be overcome, this will be the conclusion; our Adversaries will say, they overcome, and ye perceive how they report of those great Learned men and godly Personages at Oxford.

Another
Letter of
John Hooper.

Commission
given out
for M. Hoop-
er and other
to dispute
at Cambridge.

Wherefore I mind never to answer them, except I the counsel have Books present, because they use not only false Allegation of the Doctors, but also a piece of the Doctors against the whole course of the Doctors mind. The next, that we may have sworn Notaries, to take things spoken indifferently: which will be very hard to have, for the Adversaries will have the oversight of all things, and then make their better than it was, and ours worse than it was. Then if we see that two or three, or more will speak together, or with Scoffs and Taunts illude and mock us: I suppose it were best to appeal, to be heard before the Queen and the whole Council, and that would much set forth the glory of God. For many of them know already the Truth, many of them err rather of Zeal than Malice, and the others that be indurate should be answered fully to their shame (I doubt not) although to our smart and blood-shedding. For of this I am assured, that the Commissioners appointed to hear us and judge us, mean nothing less than to hear the cause indifferently; for they be Enemies unto us and our cause, and be at a point already to give Sentence against us: so that if it were possible with St. Stephen to speak so that they could not resist us, or to use such silence and patience as Christ did, they will proceed to revenging.

Where-

Anno

1555.

Wherefore, my dear Brethren, in the mercy of Jesus Christ, I would be glad to know your advice this day or to morrow; for shortly we shall be gone, and I verily suppose that we shall not company together, but be kept one abroad from another. They will deny our Appeal, yet let us challenge the Appeal, and take witness thereof, of such as be present, and require for indifference of hearing and judgment, to be heard either before the Queen and the Council, or else before all the Parliament, as they were used in King Edwards days. Further, for my part I will require both Books and time to answer. We have been Prisoners now three quarters of a year, and have lacked our Books; and our Memories by close keeping and ingratitude of their Parts, be not so present and quick as theirs be. I trust God will be with us, yea, I doubt not but he will, and teach us to do all things in his cause godly and constantly. If our Adversaries, that shall be our Judges, may have their purpose, we shall dispute one day, be condemned the next day, and suffer the third day. And yet is there no Law to condemn us (as far as I know) and so one of the Convocation-House said this Week to Doctor Welton. To whom Welton made this Answer, It forceth not (quoth he) for a Law, we have Communion to proceed with them; when they be dispatched let their Friends sue the Law.

Note, how the Papists proceed against all Order and Law.

Now howson a man may have such a Commission as my Lord Chancellor hand, you know. It is as hard to be obtained as an Indictment for Christ at Caiphas hand. Besides that the Bishops having the Queen so upon their sides, may do all things both without the advice, and also the knowledge of the rest of the Lords of the Temporality; who at this present have found out the mark that the Bishops shot at, and doubtless be not pleased with their doing. I pray you help, that our Brother Sanders and the rest in the Marshalsey may understand these things, and send me your Answer betime. Judas non dormit; nec scimus diem neque horam. Judas sleepeth not; neither know we the day nor the hour. Dominus Jesus Christus suo sancto numine nos omnes consoletur & adiuvat. Amen. The Lord Jesus Christ with his Holy Spirit comfort and strengthen us all. Amen. May 6. An. 1554.

Yours, and with you unto death in Christ,
John Hooper.

An Exhortation to Patience, sent to his godly Wife Anne Hooper: whereby all the true Members of Christ may take comfort and courage to suffer Trouble and Affliction for the Profession of his holy Gospel.

Math. 2.8.
An effectual Letter of M. Hooper sent to his Wife.

Our Saviour Jesus Christ (dearly Beloved, and my godly Wife) in S. Matthews Gospel said to his Disciples, That it was necessary, Scandals should come: and that they could not be avoided, he perceived as well by the condition of those that should perish and be lost for ever in the World to come, as also by their Affliction that should be saved. For he saw the greatest part of the people should contemn and neglect whatsoever true Doctrine or Godly ways should be shewed unto them, or else receive and use it as they thought good to serve their pleasures, without any profit to their Souls at all, not caring whether they lived as they were commanded by Gods Word or not; but would think it sufficient to be counted to have the name of a Christian man, with such works and fruits of his Profession and Christianity, as his Fathers and Elders, after their custom and manner, esteem and take to be good Fruits and faithful Works, and will not try them by the Word of God at all. These men, by the just Judgment of God, be delivered unto the craft and subtilty of the Devil, that they may be kept by one scandalous Stumbling-block or other, that they never come unto Christ, who came to save those that were lost; as ye may see how God delivereth wicked men up unto their own Lusts, to do one mischief after another, careless, until they come into a reprobate mind, that forgetteth it himself cannot know what is expedient to be done, or to be left undone, because they close their eyes, and will not see the light of Gods Word offered unto them: and being thus blinded, they prefer their own Vanities before the truth of Gods Word. Where such corrupt Minds be, there is also corrupt election and choice of Gods honour:

Math. 2.4.

Rom. 1.24.
1 Thes. 4.

so that the mind of Man taketh Falshood for Truth, Superstition for true Religion, Death for Life, Damnation for Salvation, Hell for Heaven, and persecution of Christs Members for Gods Service and Honour. And as these men wilfully and voluntarily reject the Word of God; even so God most justly delivereth them into the blindness of Mind and hardness of Heart, that they cannot understand, nor yet consent to any thing that God would have preached, and set forth to his glory, after his own Will and Word: wherefore they hate it mortally, and of all things most detest Gods holy Word. And as the Devil hath entred into their hearts, that they themselves cannot nor will not come to Christ, to be instructed by his holy Word: even so can they not abide any other man to be a Christian man, and to lead his life after the Word of God, but hate him, persecute him, rob him, imprison him, yea, and kill him, whether he be Man or Woman, if God suffer it. And so much are these wicked men blinded, that they pass off no Laws, whether it be Gods or Mans, but persecute such as never offended, yea, do evil to those that have prayed daily for them, and wish them Gods Grace.

Error taken for Truth, and Persecution for Gods Service.

John 8.9.

In their Pharaenical and blind fury they have no respect to Nature. For the Brother persecuteth the Brother, the Father the Son; and most dear Friends, in devilish slander and offence, are become most mortal Enemies. And no marvel; for when they have chosen sundry Masters, the one the Devil, the other God, the one shall agree with the other, as God and the Devil agree between themselves. For this cause (that the more part of the World doth use to serve the Devil under cloaked Hypocritise of Gods title) Christ said, It is expedient and necessary, that Scandals should come, and many means be devised to keep the little Babes of Christ from the heavenly Father. But Christ saith, We be unto him by whom the Offence cometh: Yet is there no remedy, Man being of such corruption and hatred towards God, but that the evil shall be deceived, and persecute the good; and the good shall understand the Truth, and suffer Persecution for it unto the Worlds end. For as he that was born after the flesh, persecuted in times past him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Therefore forso much as we live in this life amongst so many great perils and dangers, we must be well assured by Gods Word how to bear them, and how patiently to take them as they be sent to us from God.

No respect of Nature with the persecuting Adversaries.

Math. 2.8.

Gen. 2.2.
Gal. 4.

We must also assure our selves, that there is no other remedy for Christians in the time of trouble, than Christ himself hath appointed us. In S. Luke he giveth us this commandment, Ye shall possess your lives in patience, faith be. In the which words he giveth us both commandment what to do, and also great comfort and consolation in all Troubles. He sheweth what is to be done, and what is to be hoped for in troubles: and when troubles happen, he biddeth us be patient; and in no case violently nor seditiously to resist our Persecutors, because God hath such care and charge of us, that he will keep in the midst of all troubles the very hairs of our head, so that one of them shall not fall away without the will and pleasure of our heavenly Father. Whether the Hair therefore any on the head, or fall from the head, it is the will of the Father. And seeing he hath such care for the hairs of our head, how much more doth he care for our life if self? Wherefore let Gods Adversaries do what they list, whether they take life or take it not, they can do us no hurt: for their cruelty hath no further power than God permiteth them; and that which cometh unto us by the will of our heavenly Father can be no harm, no loss, neither destruction unto us, but rather gain, wealth, and felicity. For all troubles and adversity that chance to such as be of God, by the will of the heavenly Father, can be none other but gain and advantage.

Luke 2.1.
Patience in Troubles, only the Christian mans remedy.

Rom. 2.

That the Spirit of man may feel these Consolations, the giver of them the heavenly Father must be prayed unto for the merits of Christs Passion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contented, until it be regenerated and possessed with Gods Spirit, to bear patiently the troubles of the mind or of the body. When the mind and heart of a man seeth on every side sorrow and heaviness, and the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but such things as be troublous and wholly bent to rob the Poor of that he hath, and also to take from him his life: except the

Prayer necessary. James 1. 5. Col. 3. 12.

Math.

man weigh these brittle and uncertain treasures that be taken from him, with the riches of the life to come, and this Life of the Body, with the Life in Christs Blood, and so for the love and certainty of the Heavenly Joys contemn all things present, doubtless he shall never be able to bear the loss of good's, Life, or any other thing of this World.

Therefore S. Paul giveth a godly and necessary Lesson to all men in this short and transitory Life, and therein sheweth how a man may best bear the iniquities and troubles of this World; *If ye be risen again with Christ (saith he) seek the things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right Hand of God the Father.* Wherefore, the Christian mans Faith must be always upon the Resurrection of Christ, when he is in trouble; and in that Glorious Resurrection he shall not only see continual and perpetual Joy and consolation, but also the Victory and Triumph over all Perfection, Trouble, Sin, Death, Hell and the Devil, and all other Tyrants and Persecutors of Christ and of Christs People, the teares and weeping of the faithfull dried up, their wounds healed, their Bodies made immortal in Joy, their Souls for ever praying the Lord, in conjunction and society everlasting with the blessed company of Gods elect in perpetual Joy. But the Words of Saint Paul in that place, if they be not marked, shall doo little profit to the reader or hearer, and give him no patience at all in this impatient and cruel World.

In this first part S. Paul commandeth us, *to think or set our affections on things that are above.* When he biddeth us seek the things that are above, he requireth that our minds never cease from prayer and study in Gods Word, until we see, know, and understand the vanities of this World, the shortness and misery of this Life, and the Treasures of the World to come, the immortality thereof, the Joys of that Life, and so never cease seeking, untill such time as we know certainly and be persuaded, what a blessed man he is, that seeketh the one and findeth it, and careth not for the other though he lose it; and in seeking, to have right Judgment between the Life present and the Life to come, we shall find how little the pains, imprisonment, slanders, lies, and death it self is in this World, in respect of pains everlasting, the prison infernal, and Dungeon of Hell, the sentence of Gods just Judgment, and everlasting Death.

When a man hath, by seeking the Word of God found out what the things above be: then must he (as S. Paul saith) set his affections upon them. And this commandment is more hard than the other. For mans knowledge many times seeth the best, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better than this Life present, (as you may see how daily men and women can praise and commend, yea, and wish for Heaven, and to be at rest there) yet they set not their affection upon it: they doe more affect and love indeed a trifle of nothing in this World that pleaseth their affection, than the Treasure of all Treasures in Heaven, which their own Judgment saith is better than all Worldly things. *Wherefore we must set our affections upon the things that be above;* that is to say, when any thing, worse than Heaven, upon the earth, offereth it self to be ours, if we will give our good wils to it, and love it in our hearts, then ought we to see by the Judgment of Gods Word, whether we may have the World without offence of God, and such things as be for this Worldly Life without his displeasure. If we cannot, S. Pauls commandment must take place, *set your affections on things that are above.* If the riches of this World may not be gotten nor kept by Gods Law, neither our lives be continued without the denial of his Honor, we must set our affection upon the Riches and Life that is above, and not upon things that be on the earth. Therefore this second commandment of Saint Paul requireth, that our minds Judge heavenly things to be better than things upon the earth, and the Life to come better than the Life present; so we should chuse them before other, and prefer them, and have such affection to the best, that in no case we set the worst before it, as the most part of the World doth and hath done, for they chuse the best and approve it, and yet follow the worst.

But these things (my godly Wife) require rather meditation, and prayer; than words or talk. They be easie to be spoken of, but not so easie to be used

and practised. Wherefore seeing they be Gods gifts, and none of ours, to have as our own when we would, we must seek them at our Heavenly Fathers Hand, who seeth, and is privy how poor and wretched we be, and how naked, how spoiled, and destitute of all his blessed gifts we be by reason of sin. He did command therefore his Disciples, when he shewed them that they should take patiently the state of this present Life full of troubles and persecution, to pray that they might well escape those troubles that were to come, and be able to stand before the Son of man. When you find your self too much oppressed (as every man shall be sometimes with the fear of Gods Judgment) use the 77. Psalm that beginneth, *I will cry unto God with my voice, and he shall hearken unto me.* In which Psalm is both godly doctrine and great consolation unto the man or woman that is in anguish of mind.

Use also in such trouble the 88. Psalm, wherein is contained the prayer of a man, that was brought into extreme anguish and misery, and being vexed with adversaries and persecutions, saw nothing but Death and Hell. And although he felt in himself that he had not only man, but also God angry towards him: yet he by prayer humbly referred unto God, as the only port of consolation, and in the midst of his desperate state of trouble, put the hope of his salvation in him, whom he felt his enemy. Howbeit, no man of himself can do this but the spirit of God, that striketh the mans heart with fear, prayeth for the man stricken and feared, with unspeakable groanings. And when you feel your self or know any other oppressed after such sort, be glad; For after that God hath made you so know what you be of your self, he will doubtless shew you comfort, and declare unto you what you be in Christ his only Son; And use prayer often, for that is the means whereby God will be fought unto for his gifts.

These Psalms be for the purpose, when the mind can take no understanding, nor the heart any Joy of Gods promises: and therefore were the Psalms also made, 6.22.30.31.38. 69. from the which you shall learn both patience and consolation. Remember, that *although your life* (as all Christian mens be) *be bid, and appeareth not what it is, yet it is safe* (as S. Paul saith) *with God in Christ: and when Christ shall appear, then shall our lives be made open with him in glory.* But in the mean time with seeking and stirring our affections upon the things that he above, we must patiently suffer whatsoever God shall send unto us in this Mortal Life. Notwithstanding, it might fortune some would say, who is so perfect, that can let all things pass as they come, and have no care of them; suffer all things, and feel nothing, be tempted of the Devil, the World, and the Flesh, and be not troubled? Verily no man living. But this I say, that in the strength of Jesus Christ things that come may pass with care, for we be worldly, and yet are we not carried with them from Christ, for we be in him godly. We may suffer things, and feel them as Mortal men, yet bear them and overcome them as Christian men. We may be tempted of the Devil, the flesh, and the world: but yet although those things pinch, they doe not pierce, and although they work sin in us, yet in Christ no damnation to those that be grafted in him. Hereof may the Christian man learn both consolation and patience.

Consolation, in that he is compelled both in his Body and goods to feel pain and loss, and in the soul heaviness and anguish of mind: howbeit none of them shall separate him from the love that God beareth him in Christ. He may learn patience, so far as he as his enemies both of Body and Soul, and the pains also they vex us withal for the time, if they tarry with us as long as we live, yet when death cometh, they shall avoid, and give place to such joys as be prepared for us in Christ: for no pains of the world be perpetual, and whether they shall afflict us for all the time of our mortal life, we know not; for they be servants of God to go and come, as he commandeth them. But we must take heed we meddle not forcibly nor sedulously to put away the persecution appointed unto us by God, remember Carills saying, *Possess your lives by your patience.* And in this commandment God requireth of every man and Woman this patient obedience. He saith not, it is sufficient that other Holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists and

Exh' 1.
Ailston how
to bear
trouble,

Two things
commanded
by S. Paul.
writing to
the Coloss.
The first is,
to see and
know what
things are
above, and
what things
are beneath,
and to discern
rightly
between
them,

The second
is to set our
affection
upon them
that are
above, and
not upon
the other.
And this
lesson is harder
than the
other.

How things
of this
World may
be possessed,
and how
not.

Scriptures
would be
misled upon
rather than
talked upon.

Anno
1555.

Mat. 24.
Luke 21.

Psalm 77.
Read also
M. Hoopers
exposition
upon this
Psalm, most
comfortable
for all broken
and afflicted
hearts.

Rom 8.

What Psalms
are to be
used in dis-
tress and
tribulation.
Read also
the fourth
chap. of
Calvins.

Note this
well to thy
comfort
that art
afflicted,

Rom 8.
Consolation
patience.

Afflictions
be the
messengers
and servants
of God.

Luk. 21.

Martyrs

anno
1555.

Patience the
gift of God
only.

Matt. 7.

To suffer
for Christ is
honourable.
1. Cor. 11.
Heb. 11.

Wild. 5.

Example
taken out
of our meat
and drink,
how things
never come
to our per-
fection be-
fore they be
truly
waited.

Unmortified
men be no
People for
God.
1. Cor. 11.
Matt. 10.

Rom. 8.

Example of
Abraham.

Myself continued their lives in patience, and patient suffering the trouble of this World: but Christ lieth to every one of his People, *By your own patience ye shall continue your life*: not that man hath Patience in himself, but that he must have it for himself of God, the only giver of it, if he purpose to be a godly man. Now therefore as our Protection and Religion requireth patience outwardly, without resistance and force; so requireth it patience of the Mind, and not to be angry with God, although he use us, that be his own Creatures, as him lieth.

We may not also murmur against God, but say always, his judgments be right and just, and rejoyce that it pleaseth him by troubles to use us, as he used heretofore such as he most loved in this World, and have a singular care to this Commandment, *Gaudete & exultate, Be glad and rejoyce*; for he sheweth great cause why, *Your reward (saith he) is great in Heaven*. These Promises of him that is the Truth itself shall (by Gods Grace) work both Consolation and Patience in the afflicted Christian person. And when our Saviour Christ hath willed men in trouble to be content and patient, because God in the end of trouble in Christ hath ordained eternal Consolation; he useth also to take from us all shame and rebuke, as though it were not an honour to suffer for Christ, because the wicked World doth curse and abhor such poor troubled Christians. Wherefore Christ placeth all his honourably, and faith, *Even so persecuted they the Prophets that were before you*. We may also see with whom the Afflicted for Christs sake be esteemed by S. Paul to the Hebrews, where as the number of the blessed and glorious company of Saints appear now to our Faith in Heaven, in Joy: yet in the Letter, for the time of this life, in such pains and contentment as was never more. Let us therefore consider both them and all other things of the World since the Fall of Man, and we shall perceive nothing to come to perfection, but with such confusion and disorder to the eye of the World, as though things were rather lost for ever, than like to come to any perfection at all. For of godly men, who ever came to Heaven (no not Christ himself) until such time as the World had thought verily, that both he and all his had been clean destroyed and cast away: as the Wife man faith of the wicked People, *We thought them to be fools, but they be in peace*.

We may learn by things that nourish and maintain us, both Meat and Drink, what loathsomeness and (in manner) abhorring they come unto, before they work their perfection in us. From life they are brought to the fire, and clean altered from that they were when they were alive; from the Fire to the Trencher and Knife, and all to hacked; from the Trencher to the mouth, and as small ground as the Teeth can grind them; and from the Mouth into the Stomach, and there so boiled and digested before they nourish, that whosoever saw the same, would loath and abhor his own nourishment, before it come to his perfection.

Is it then any marvel if such Christians as God delighteth in, be so mangled and defaced in this World, which is the Kitchen and Mill to boil and grind the flesh of Gods People in, till they achieve their perfection in the World to come? And as a man looketh for the nutriment of his Meat when it is full digested, and not before: So must he look for his Salvation when he hath passed this troublesome World and not before. Raw flesh is not Meat wholsome for man: and unmortified Men and Women be not Creatures meet for God. Therefore Christ lieth, that his People must be broken, and all to be torn in the Mill of this world, and so shall they be most fine Meal unto the heavenly Father. And it shall be a Christian mans part and the duty of a mind replenished with the Spirit of God, to mark the order of God in all his things, how he dealeth with them, and how they suffer, and be content to let God do his will upon them, as S. Paul saith, *They wait until the number of the Elect be fulfilled, and never be at rest, but look for the time when Gods People shall appear in Glory*.

We must therefore patiently suffer, and willingly attend upon Gods doings, although they seem clean contrary, after our judgment, to our wealth and salvation: As Abraham did, when he was bid to offer his Son Isaac, in whom God promised the blessing and multiplying of his

Seed. Joseph at the last came to that which God promised him, although in the mean time, after the judgment of the world, he was never like to be (as God said he should be) Lord over his Brethren. When Christ would make the Blind man to see, he put Clay upon his Eyes, which after the judgment of Man, was a means rather to make him double blind, than to give him his sight; but he obeyed, and knew that God could work his desire, what means soever he used contrary to mans Reason: and as touching this World, he useth all his after the same sort. If any smart, his People be the first, if any suffer shame they begin; if any be subject to slander, it is those that he loveth; so that he sheweth no face or favour, nor love almost in this world outwardly to them, but layeth Clay upon their fore Eyes that be sorrowful: yet the Patient man seeth (as S. Paul saith) Life hid under these miseries and adversities, and Sight under foul Clay; and in the mean time he hath the testimony of a good Conscience; and believeth Gods Promises to be his Consolation in the world to come, which is more worthy unto him, than all the world is worth besides: and blessed is that man in whom Gods Spirit beareth record that he is the Son of God, whatsoever troubles he suffer in this troublesome world.

And to judge things indifferently (my good Wife) the Troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good Fathers time, soon after the Death and Resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereof he spake in S. Matthew. Of the which place you and I have taken many times great consolation, and especially of the latter part of the Chapter, wherein is contained the last Day and end of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for such as love the coming of our Saviour Christ to Judgment. Remember therefore that place, and mark it again, and ye shall in this time see this great Consolation, and also learn much patience. Was there ever such Troubles, as Christ threatened upon Jerusalem? was there since the beginning of the world such affliction? who was then best at ease? The Apostles that suffered in body Persecution, and gathered of it ease and quietness in the Promises of God. And no marvel, for Christ saith, *Lift up your heads, for your Redemption is at hand*, that is to say, Your eternal Rest approacheth and draweth near. The World is stark blind, and more foolish than Foolishness is itself, and so be the People of the World. For when God saith, trouble shall come, they will have ease. And when God saith, Be merry and rejoyce in trouble, we lament and mourn, as which never though we were Cast-away. But this our flesh which is never merry with Virtue, nor sorry with Vice; never laugheth with Grace, nor ever weepeth with Sin) holdeth fast with the World, and letteth God slip. But (my dearly beloved Wife) you know how to perceive and to beware of the vanity and crafts of the Devil well enough in Christ. And that ye may the better have patience in the Spirit of God, read again the 24. Chapter of S. Matthew, and mark what difference is between the destruction of Jerusalem, and the destruction of the whole World, and you shall see, that then here were left alive many Offenders to repent: but at the later Day there shall be absolute judgment, and Sentence (never to be revoked) of Eternal life and Eternal death upon all men; and yet towards the end of the World we have nothing so much extremity as they had then, but even as we be able to bear. So doth the merciful Father lay upon us now Imprisonment, (and I suppose for my part shortly Death) now spoil of Goods, loss of Friends, and the greatest loss of all, the knowledge of Gods Word. Gods will be done. I with in Christ Jesus our only Mediator and Saviour, your Constancy and Consolation, that you may live for ever and ever, whereof in Christ I doubt not; to whom, for his most blessed and painful Passion, I commit you. Amen.

Obob. 13. Am. 1553.

To a certain godly Woman, instructing her how she should behave her self in the time of her Widowhood.

The grace of God, and the comfort of his Holy Spirit be with you, and all them that unfeigningly love his holy Gospel. Amen.

M

I

Example of
Joseph.

John 9.

1. Pet. 4.
Judgment
first begin-
neth with
the House of
God.
Coloss. 3.

Rom. 8.

Matthew 24.

Luke 21.

merry with
Virtue, nor
sorry with
Vice.

Matthew 24.
Destruction
of Jerusalem
and the
whole
World com-
pared.

Another
Letter of
M. Hooper.

I thank you, dear Sister, for your most loving remembrance: and although I cannot recompense the same, yet do I with all my heart, that God would do it, requiring you not to forget your duty towards God in these peillous days, in the which the Lord will try us. I trust you do increase by reading of the Scriptures, the knowledge you have of God, and that you diligently apply your self to follow the same: for the Knowledge helpeth not, except the Life be according therunto. Further, I do heartily pray you, to consider the state of your Widowhood, and if God shall put in your mind to change it, remember the saying of S. Paul, 1 Cor. 7. *It is lawfull for the Widow or Maiden to marry to whom they list, so it be in the Lord;* that is to say, to such an one as is of Christs Religion. Dearly beloved in Christ, remember these words, for you shall find thereby great joy and comfort, if you change your state. Whereof I will, when I have better leisure (as now I have none at all) further advertise you. In the mean time I commend you to God, and the guiding of his good Spirit, who stablish and confirm you in all well-doing, and keep you blameless to the day of the Lord. Watch and pray, for this day is at hand.

Yours assured in Christ,
John Hooper.

To all my dear Brethren, my Relievers and Helpers in the City of London.

Another Letter of M. Hooper to his Friends in London.

THe Grace of God be with you, Amen. I have received from you (dearly Beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ) by the hands of my Servant William Downson, your liberality, for the which I most heartily thank you, and I praise God highly in you for you, who hath moved your hearts to shew this kindness towards me, praying him to preserve you from all famine, scarcity, and lack of the Truth of his Word, which is the lively food of your Souls, as you preserve my Body from hunger, and other necessities which should happen unto me; were it not cared for by the benevolence and charity of godly People. Such as have taken all worldly Goods and Lands from me, and spoiled me of all that I had, have imprisoned my Body, and appointed not one half-penny to feed or relieve me: withal: but I do forgive them and pray for them daily in my poor Prayer unto God, and from my heart I wish their Salvation, and quietly and patiently bear their Injuries, wishing no farther extremity to be used towards us. Yet if the contrary seem best unto our Heavenly Father, I have made my reckoning, and fully resolved my self to suffer the uttermost that they are able to do against me, yea, Death it self, by the aid of Christ Jesus, who died the most vile death of the Cross for us Wretches and miserable Sinners. But of this I am assured, that the wicked World, with all his force and power, shall not touch one of the hairs of our Heads without leave and licence of our heavenly Father, whose will be done in all things. If he will life, Life be it: if he will death, Death be it. Only we pray, that our wills may be subject unto his will, and then although both we and all the World see none other thing but death, yet if he think life best, we shall not die, no, although the Sword be drawn out over our heads: as Abraham thought to kill his Son Isaac, yet when God perceived that Abraham had surrendered his will to Gods will, and was content to kill his Son, God then saved his Son.

Dearly beloved, if we be contented to obey Gods will, and for his commandments sake to surrender our Goods and our Lives to be at his pleasure, it maketh no matter whether we keep Goods and Life, or lose them. Nothing can hurt us that is taken from us for Gods cause, nor can any thing at length do us good, that is preserved contrary unto Gods Commandment. Let us wholly suffer God to use us and ours after his holy will, and beware we neither use nor govern our selves contrary to his will by our own wisdom: for if we do, our wisdom will at length prove foolishness. It is kept to no good purpose, that we keep contrary unto his Commandments. It can by no means be taken from us, that he would should tarry with us. He is no good Christian that ruleth himself and his, as worldly means serveth: for he that so doth shall have as many changes as chaneth in the World. To day

with the World he shall like and praise the Truth of God, to morrow as the World will, so will he like and praise the falsehood of man; to day with Christ, and to morrow with Antichrist. Wherefore, dear Brethren, as touching your behaviour towards God, use both your inward Spirits and your outward Bodies, your inward and your outward Man (I say) not after the manners of Men, but after the infallible Word of God.

Refrain from Evil in both; and glorifie your heavenly Father in both. For if ye think ye can inwardly in the heart serve him, and yet outwardly serve with the world in external Service the thing that is not God, ye deceive your selves; for both the Body and the Soul must together concur in the honour of God, as S. Paul plainly teacheth, 1 Cor. 6. For if an honest wife be bound to give both Heart and Body to faith and service in Marriage, and if an honest Wifes Faith in the heart cannot stand with an whorish or defiled Body outwardly; much less can the true Faith of a Christian, in the service of Christianity, stand with the bodily service of external Idolatry: for the mystery of Marriage is not so honourable between Man and Wife, as it is between Christ and every Christian man, as S. Paul saith.

Therefore (dear Brethren) pray to the heavenly Father, that as he spared not the Soul nor the Body of his dearly Beloved Son, but applied both of them with extreme pain, to work our Salvation both of Body and Soul; so he will give us all grace to apply our Bodies and Souls to be Servants unto him: for doubtless he requirith as well the one as the other, and cannot be discontented with the one and well pleased with the other. Either he hateth both, or loveth both; he divideth not his love to one, and his hatred to the other. Let not us therefore, good Brethren, divide our selves, and say our Souls serve him, whatsoever our Bodies do to the contrary for civil Order and Policy.

But (alas) I know, by my self, what troubleth you, that is, the great danger of the World, that will revenge (ye think) your Service to God with Sword and Fire, with loss of Goods and Lands. But (dear Brethren) weigh of the other side, that your Enemies and Gods Enemies shall not do so much as they would, but as much as God shall suffer them, who can trap them in their own counsels, and destroy them in the midst of their furies. Remember ye be the Workmen of the Lord, and called into his Vineyard, there to labour till evening-tide, that you may receive your penny, which is more worth than all the Kingdoms of the Earth. But he that calleth us into his Vineyard, hath not told us how fore and how fervently the Sun shall trouble us in our labour: but hath bid us labour, and commit the bitterness thereof unto him; who can and will so moderate all Afflictions, that no man shall have more laid upon him, than in Christ he shall be able to bear. Unto whose merciful tuition and defence I commend both your Souls and Bodies. *Septemb. 2. Anno 1554.*

Yours with my poor Prayer,
John Hooper.

To a Merchant of London, by whose means he had received much Comfort in his great Necessity in the Fleet.

GRACE, Mercy, and Peace in Christ Jesus our Lord. I thank God and you for the great help and consolation I have received in the time of adversity by your charitable means; but most rejoyce that you be not altered from Truth, although Falshood cruelly seeketh to disdain her. Judge not, my Brother, Truth by outward appearance; for Truth now worse appeareth, and more vilely is rejected than Falshood. Leave the outward shew, and see by the Word of God what Truth is, and accept Truth, and dislike her not, though man call her Falshood. As it is now, so it hath been heretofore, the Truth rejected and Falshood received. Such as have professed Truth, for Truth have smarted, and the friends of Falshood laughed them to scorn. The trial of both hath been by contrary success: the one having the commendation of Truth by man, but the condemnation of Falshood by God, flourishing for a time, with endless destruction; the other afflicted a little season, but ending with immortal Joys. Wherefore, dear Brother, ask and demand

Anno

1554.

Difference between the true Christian, and the Worldling.

Both inward man and outward man must concur in the honour of God.

Gods Enemies can do no more than he giveth them leave. March. 20.

Another Letter of M. Hooper to a Nephew of his.

Truth is not to be esteemed by the outward appearance.

1 Cor. 7. To marry in the Lord, what it is.

The Charity of Mr. Hooper to his Enemies.

M. Hooper fully resolved to suffer.

Gods will to be obeyed in all things.

Anno 1555.
demand of your Book, the Testament of Iesus Christ, in those woful and wretched days what you should think, and what you should stay upon for a certain Truth, and whatsoever you hear taught, try it by your Book, whether it be true or false. The days be dangerous and full of peril, not only for the World and worldly things, but for Heaven and heavenly things. It is a trouble to lose the Treasure of this life, but yet a very pain, if it be kept with the offence of God. Cry, call, pray, and in Christ daily require help, succour, mercy, wisdom, grace and defence, that the wickedness of this World prevail not against us. We began well, God preserve us until the end. I would write more often unto you, but I do perceive you be at so much Charges with me, that I fear you would think when I write, I Crave. Send me nothing till I send to you for it; and so tell the good Men, your Partners: and when I need, I will be bold with you. Decemb. 3. An. 1554.

Yours with my Prayer, John Hooper.

To Mrs. Wilkinson, a Woman hearty in Gods Cause, and comfortable to his afflicted Members.

This Mr. Widdowes at-
tended in Exile
at Brunsford.
The grace of God, and the comfort of his Holy Spirit be with you, Amen.
I am very glad to hear of your health, and do thank you for your loving Token. But I am a great deal more glad to hear how Christianly you avoid Idolatry, and prepare your self to suffer the extremity of the World, rather than to endanger your self to God. You do as you ought to do in this behalf, and in suffering of transitory Pains, you shall avoid permanent Torments in the World to come. Use your life, and keep it with as much quietness as you can, so that you offend not God. The ease that cometh of his displeasure, turneth at length to unspeakable Pains; and the gains of the World, with the loss of his Favour, is beggary and wretchedness. Reason is to be amended in this Cause of Religion: For it will chuse and follow an Error with the Multitude, if it may be allowed, rather than turn to Faith and follow the Truth with the People of God. Moses found the same fault in himself, and did amend it, chusing rather to be afflicted with the People of God, than to use the liberty of the Kings Daughter, that accounted him as her Son. Pray for Contentation and Peace, of the Spirit, and rejoice in such Troubles as shall happen to you for the Truths sake: for in that part Christ saith, you be happy. Pray also for me, I pray you, that I may do in all things the will of our heavenly Father: so whose tuition and defence I commend you.

To my dear Friends in God, Mr. John Hall and his Wife.

Another
Letter ex-
tending to
the Truth.
The Grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving and gentle friendship at all times, praying to God to shew unto you such favours, that whatsoever trouble and adversity happen, ye go not back from him. These days be dangerous and full of peril; but yet let us comfort our selves in calling to remembrance the days of our Forefathers, upon whom the Lord sent such troubles, that many hundreds, yea, many thousands died for the Testimony of Iesus Christ, both Men and Women, suffering with patience and constancy as much Cruelty as Tyrants could devise, and so departed out of this miserable World to the Bliss everlasting, whereas now they remain for ever, looking always for the end of this sinful World, when they shall receive their Bodies again in Immortality, and see the number of the Blest associated with them in full and consummate Joy: and as various Men suffering Martyrdom, and tarrying a little while in this World with pain, by and by, rested in Joy everlasting; and as their pains ended their sorrows, and began ease, so did their constancy and steadfastness animate and confirm all good People in the Truth, and gave them encouragement and lust to suffer the like, rather than to fall with the World to consent unto wickedness and Idolatry. Wherefore, my dear Friends, seeing God of his part hath illuminated you with the same gift and knowledge of true Faith, as even the Apostles and Evan-

gels, and all Martyrs suffer a most cruel death; thank him for his grace in knowledge, and pray unto him for strength and perseverance, that through your own faith ye be not ashamed or afraid to confess it. Let ye be in the Truth and the gates of Hell shall never prevail against it, nor Antichrist with all his Imps can prove it to be false. They may kill and persecute, but never overcome. Be of good comfort, and fear God more than man. This life is short and miserable; happy be they that can point it to the glory of God. Pray for me, as I do for you, and commend me to all good Men and Women. Decemb. 22. Anno 1554.

Your Brother in Christ, John Hooper.

To my dearly Beloved Sister in the Lord, Mrs. Anne Warcop.

The Grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving Token. I pray you bethink not your self too much. It were meet for me rather to bear a pain, than to be a hindrance to many. I did rejoice at the coming of this Bearer, to understand of your constancy, and how that you be fully resolved, by Gods Grace, rather to suffer extremity than to go from the Truth of God which you have professed. He that gave you Grace to be in so inflexible a Truth, will follow you in the same unto the end. But, my loving Sister, as you be travelling this perilous Journey, take this Letter with you, practised by wise men; whereas you may find in the second of S. Matthews Gospel. Such a Traveller to find Christ, followed only the Star, and as long as they saw it, they were assured they were in the right way, and had great mirth in their Journey. But when they entered into Jerusalem, whereas the Star led them not thither, but unto Bethel, and there asked the Citizens the Way, that the Star shewed before: as long as they tarried in Jerusalem, and would be instructed where Christ was born; they were not only ignorant of Bethel, but also lost the sight of the Star that led them before. Whereof we learn in any case, whilst we be going in this life to seek Christ that is above, to beware that we lose not the Star of Gods Word, that only is the mark that sheweth us where Christ is, and which way we may come unto him. But as Jerusalem stood in the way, and was an impediment to these Wise men: so doth the Synagogue of Antichrist, that beareth the name of Jerusalem, which by interpretation is called the Vision of Peace, and amongst the People now is called the Catholic Church, stand in the way that Pilgrims must go by through this world to Bethel, the House of purity and plentifulness, and is an impediment to all Christian Travellers; yea, and except the more grace of God be, will keep the Pilgrims still in her, that they shall not come where Christ is at all. And to stay them indeed, they take away the Star of Light, which is Gods Word, that it cannot be seen: as you may see how the Celestial Star was hid from the Wise men, when they asked of the Pharisees at Jerusalem, where Christ was born. Ye may see what great dangers happened unto these Wise men, whilst they were learning of Liars, where Christ was. First, they were out of their way, and next they lost their Guide and Conductor, the heavenly Star. Christ is mounted on his Throne in Heaven, and there we seek him (as we say), and let us go thitherward by the Star of his Word, beware we happen not to come into Jerusalem, the Church of Men, and ask the way for him. If we do, we go out of the way, and lose all our Conductor and Guide that only leadeth us thither.

The Poets write in Fables, that Jason, when he sought for the Golden Fleece, was preserved by the Dragon in the Isle of Colchus, was preserved by the Medicines of Medea, and so won the Golden Fleece. And they write also that Platon, whom they say to be the Son and Heir of the Light, Jupiter, would needs upon a day have the conclusion of the Sun round about the World; but, as they kindled, he missed or the accustomed course: whereupon when he went to light, he burned Heaven; and when he went to light, he burned the Earth and the Water. These prophesies hit us doth us, that be Christian men. For against the pillar of the Dragon used only the Medicine of Medea. What a shame is it for a Christian man against the pillar of the Devil,

Another
Letter to
Mrs. Anne
Warcop.

This Mr.
Widdowes
attended in
Exile at
Brunsford.

Another
Letter ex-
tending to
the Truth.

Another
Letter ex-
tending to
the Truth.

Another
Letter ex-
tending to
the Truth.

Another
Letter ex-
tending to
the Truth.

Herein and Sin, to use any other remedy than Christ and his Word? *Pharaoh*, for lack of Knowledge, was afraid of every Sign of the Zodiac, that the Sun passed by: wherefore he went now too low, and now too high, and at length fell down and drowned himself in the Sea. Christian men for lack of knowledge, and for fear of such dangers as Christian men must needs pass by, go clean out of order, and at length fall into the Pit of Hell.

See in the way to the Kingdom of Heaven.

Sister, take heed; you shall in your Journey towards Heaven meet with many a monstrous Beast: have salve of Gods Word therefore ready. You shall meet Husband, Children, Lovers and Friends, that shall if God be not with them (as God be praised he is, I would it were with all other alike) be very lets and impediments to your purpose. You shall meet with slander and contempt of the World, and be accounted ungracious and ungodly; you shall hear and meet with cruel Tyranny to do you all extremities; you shall now and then see the troubles of your own Conscience, and feel your own weakness; you shall hear that you be cursed by the Sentence of the Catholick Church, with such like Terrors: but pray to God, and follow the Star of his Word, and you shall arrive at the Port of eternal Salvation, by the Merits only of Jesus Christ: to whom I commend you and all yours most heartily.

Yours in Christ, John Hooper.

¶ Unto these Letters of M. Hooper heretofore recited, we thought not inconvenient to annex also another certain Epistle, not of M. Hooper, but written to him by a famous Learned man *Henry Bullinger*, chief Superintendent in the City of *Zurich*. Of whose singular love and tender affection toward M. Hooper ye heard before in the beginning of M. Hooper's Life discoursed. Now how loving he writeth unto him, ye shall hear by this present Letter, as followeth.

To the most Reverend Father, Mr. John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and now Prisoner for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, my fellow-Elder, and most dear Brother in England.

A Letter of M. Bullinger to M. Hooper, translated out of Latin into English.

The Heavenly Father grant unto you, and to all those which are in Bonds and Captivity for his Names sake, Grace and Peace through Jesus Christ our Lord, with wisdom, patience, and fortitude of the Holy Ghost.

I have received from you two Letters, my most dear Brother, the former in the Month of September of the year past, the later in the Month of May of this present year, both written out of Prison. But I doubting lest I should make Answer to you in vain, whilst I feared that my Letters should never come into your hands, or else increase and double your Sorrow, did refrain from the duty of writing. In the which thing I doubt not but you will have me excused, especially seeing you did not vouchsafe, no not once in a whole year, to answer to my whole Libels rather than Letters, whereas I continued still notwithstanding in writing unto you: as also at this present, after I heard you were cast in Prison, I did not refrain from continual Prayer, beseeching our heavenly Father, through our only Mediator Jesus Christ, to grant unto you and to your fellow-Prisoners Faith and Constancy unto the end. Now is that thing happened unto you (my Brother) the which we did oftentimes prophecy unto our selves, at your being with us, should come to pass, especially when we did talk of the power of Antichrist, and of his felicity and victories. For you know the saying of *Daniel*, His power shall be mighty, but not in his strength, and he shall wonderfully destroy and make havock of all things, and shall prosper and practice, and he shall destroy the mighty and the holy People after his own will. You know what the Lord warned us of before-hand by *Matthew*, in the 10. Chapter, by *John* in the 15. Chapter, and the 16. and also what that chosen Vessel *S. Paul* hath written in the second of *Timothy* and the third Chapter. Wherefore I do nothing doubt (by Gods Grace) of your Faith and Patience, whilst I know that those things which you suffer are not I asked for, or come by chance; but that

The power of Antichrist described in Daniel, ch. 8.

Muth. 10. John. 15. 16. 2 Tim. 3.

you suffer them in the best trust, and most holy quarrel: Anno 1555. for what can be more true and holy than our Doctrine, which the Papists, those worshippers of Antichrist, do persecute? All things touching Salvation we attribute unto Christ alone, and to his holy Institutions, as we have been taught of him and of his Disciples: but they would have even the same things to be communicated as well to their Antichrist, and to his Institutions. Such we ought no less to withstand than we read that *Eliaz* withstanded the *Baalites*. For if Jesus be Christ, then let them know, that he is the fulness of his Church, and that perfectly: but if Antichrist be King and Priest, then let them exhibit unto him that honour. How long do they halt on both sides? Can they give unto us any one that is better than Christ? or who shall be equal with Christ, that may be compared with him, except it be he whom the Apostle calleth the Adversary? But if Christ be sufficient for his Church, what needeth this patching and piecing? But I know well enough, I need not to use these Disputations with you which are sincerely taught, and have taken root in Christ, being persuaded that you have all things in him, and that we in him are made perfect.

Go forwards therefore constantly to confess Christ, and to despise Antichrist, being mindful of this most holy and most true saying of our Lord Jesus Christ: *He that overcometh shall possess all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my Son: but the fearful, and the unbelieving, and the murmurers, and whomongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the Lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.* The first Death is soon overcome, although a Man must burn for the Lords sake: for they say well that do affirm this our Fire to be scarcely a shadow of that which is prepared for Unbelievers, and them that fall from the Truth. Moreover, the Lord granteth unto us, that we may easily overcome by his power the first Death, the which he himself did taste and overcome; promising withal such joys as never shall have end, unspeakable, and passing all understanding, the which we shall possess so soon as ever we do depart hence. For to again, faith the Angel of the Lord; *If any man worship the*

Beast and his Image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or on his hand, the same shall drink of the wrath of God; yea, of the wine which is poured into the Cup of his wrath, and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone before the holy Angels, and before the Lamb: and the smoke of their Torment shall ascend evermore, and they shall have no rest day nor night which worship the Beast and his Image, and who have received the print of his Name. Here is the patience of Saints; here are they that keep the Commandments of God, and the Faith of Jesus. To this he addeth by and by; *I heard a voice saying to me, write, Blessed be the Dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth, or speedily, they be blessed, John 5. even so saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labours, but their works follow them: for our labour shall not be fruitless or in vain.*

Therefore seeing you have such a large Promise, be strong in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faithful to the Lord unto the end: consider that Christ the Son of God is your Captain, and fighteth for you, and that all the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, are your fellow Soldiers. They that persecute and trouble us, are Men, sinful and mortal, whose favour a wise Man would not buy with the value of a Farthing: and besides, that our Life is frail, short, brittle and transitory. Happy are we, if we depart in the Lord, who grant unto you, and to all your fellow Prisoners, Faith and Constancy. Commend me to the most Reverend Fathers and holy Confessors of Christ, Dr. *Cranmer* Bishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Ridley* Bishop of *London*, and the good Old Father Dr. *Latimer*. Them and all the rest of the Prisoners with you for the Lords Cause, salute in my name, and in the name of all my fellow Ministers, the which do speak unto you the Grace of God, and constancy in the Truth.

Concerning the state of our Church, it remaineth even as it was when you departed from us into your Country. God grant we may be thankful to him, and that we do not only profess the Faith with words, but also express the same effectually with good works, to the praise of

1555. The Doctrine of this Protestants what it is, wherefore they are persecuted. Ephes. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Revel. 12.

Revel. 14. Gods wrath upon the Beast, and them that make his Mark.

To this time of Anti-christ is the False-ace and Faith of Gods Church Christ, who they shall overcome all his Tyranny. Read Mark. 14.

1555. Anno of our Lord. The Word of God increaseth daily in that part of Italy that is near unto us, and in France.

In the mean, while the Godly sustain grievous Persecutions, and with great constancy and glory, through Torments they go unto the Lord. I and all my household, with my Son in law and Kinsmen, are in good health in the Lord. They do salute you, and pray for your constancy, being sorrowful for you and the rest of the prisoners. There came to us *Englishmen* Students, both godly and Learned. They be received of our Magistrate. Ten of them dwell together, the rest remain here and there with good men. Amongst other, *M. Thomas Lever* is dear unto me, and familiar. If there be any thing wherein I may do any pleasure to your Wife and Children, they shall have me wholly at commandment: whereof I will write also to your Wife, for I understand the abideth at *Frankford*. Be strong and merry in Christ, waiting for his deliverance, when, and in what sort it shall seem good unto you. The Lord Jesus shew pity upon the Realm of *England*, and illuminate the same with his Holy Spirit, to the glory of his Name, and the salvation of Souls. The Lord Jesus preserve and deliver you from all evil, with them that call upon his Name. Farewel, and fare wel Externally. The 10. of October. Anno 1554. From *Zurich*,

M. Thomas
Lever.

You know the hand, H.B.

The History of Doctor Rowland Taylor, which suffered for the truth of Gods Word, under the Tyranny of the Roman Bishop, Anno 1555. The 9. day of February

Hadley Town
commenced

The Bishop.

The Town of *Hadley* was one of the first that received the Word of God in all *England*, at the preaching of Master *Thomas Bilney*: by whose industry the Gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root there, that a great number in that Parish became exceeding well learned in the Holy Scriptures, as well Women as men, so that a man might have found among them many, that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have said a great sort of *S. Pauls* Epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a goodly learned sentence in any matter of controversy. Their Children and Servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of Gods Word, that the whole Town seemed rather an University of the learned, than a Town of Cloth-making or labouring People. And that most isto be commended, they were for the more part faithful followers of Gods Word in their living.

D. Taylor a
Doctor in
both laws,
and a Divine

In this Town was Doctor *Rowland Taylor*, Doctor in both the Civil and Canon Laws, and a right perfect Divine, Parson. Who at his first entering into his Benefice, did not, as the common sort of Beneficed men do, let out his Benefice to a Farmer, that shall gather up the Profits, and sit in an ignorant unlearned priest to serve the Cure, and so they have the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flock: But contrariwise, he forsook Archbishop of *Canterbury* *Thomas Cramer*, with whom he before was in Household, and made his personal abode and dwelling in *Hadley* among the People committed to his charge. Where he as a good *Shepherd*, abiding and dwelling among his Sheep, gave himself wholly to the study of Holy Scriptures, most faithfully endeavouring himself to fulfill that Charge, which the Lord gave unto *Peter* saying; *Peter lovest thou me? Feed my Lambs, Feed my Sheep, Feed my sheep*. This love of Christ wrought in him, that no *Sunday* nor Holy-day passed, nor other time when he might get the People together, but he preached to them the Word of God, the Doctrine of his salvation.

The Cramer
Archbishop
of Canterbury

A good
Shepherd
and his con-
ditions. John
s.o. Feed
with word.

Feed with
example.

Nor only was his Word a preaching unto them but all his life and conversation was an example of unfeigned Christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride, humble and meek, as any Child: so that none were so poor but they might boldly, as unto their Father, resort unto him, neither was his Lowliness childish or fearful; but as occasion time and place required, he would be stout in rebuking the fustill and evil Doers, so that none was so

rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good Catechist and Pastor. He was a man very mild, void of all rancour, grudge or evil will, ready to do good to all men, readily forgiving his enemies, and never fought to do evil to any.

To the poor that were blind, lame, sick, bedrid, or Feeble which had many Children, he was a very Father, a careful Patron, and diligent provider; inasmuch that he caused the Parishioners to make a general provision for them: and he himself (beside the continual relief that they always found at his House) gave an honest portion yearly to the common almshouse. His Wife also an honest discreet, and sober Matron, and his Children well nurtured, brought up in the fear of God and good learning.

To conclude, he was a right and lively image or pattern of all those virtuous qualities defcribed by *S. Paul* in a true Bishop, a good salt of the earth, favourably biting the corrupt manners of evil men, a light in Gods House set upon a Candlestick for all good men to imitate and follow.

Thus continued this good *Shepherd* among his flock, governing and leading them thorow the wilderness of this wicked World, all the days of the most innocent and Holy King of blessed memory, *Edward* the sixth. But after it pleased God to take *King Edward* from this vale of misery unto his most blessed rest, the Papists, who ever fumbled and dissembled, both with *King Henry* the eighth, and *King Edward* his Son, now seeing the time convenient for their purpose uttered their false hypocricy, openly refusing all good reformation made by the said two most godly Kings: and contrary to that they had all these two Kings days preached, taught, written and sworn, they violently overthrew the true Doctrine of the Gospel, and persecuted with sword and fire all those that would not agree to receive again the *Roman* Bishop as Supreme Head of the *Universal Church*, and allow all the Errors, Superstitions, and Idolatries, that before by Gods Word were disproved and justly condemned, as though now they were good Doctrine, virtuous, and true Religion.

In the beginning of this rage of Antichrist, a certain petty Gentleman after the sort of a Lawyer, called *Foster*, yet and John Clerk of *Hadley*, who were two notorious Papists, being a Steward and Keeper of Courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecutor in those days, with one *John* Clerk of *Hadley*, which *Foster* had ever been a secret favourer of all *Romish* Idolatry, conspired with the said Clerk to bring in the Pope and his maumetrie again into *Hadley Church*. For as yet *D. Taylor*, as a good *Shepherd*, had retained and kept in his Church the godly Church Service and Reformation made by *K. Edward*, and most faithfully and earnestly preached against the *Papish* corruptions, which had infected the whole Country round about.

Therefore the foresaid *Foster* and Clerk hired one *John Avert*, Parson of *Aldam*, a very money Mammonist, a blind leader of the blind, a *Papish* Idolater, and an open Advouterer and Whoremonger, a very fit Minister for their purpose to come to *Hadley*, and there to give the onset to begin again the *Papish* Mass.

To this purpose they buided up with all hast possible the Altar, intending to bring in their Mass again, about the Palm Monday. But this their device took none effect: for in the night the Altar was beaten down. Wherefore they built it up again the second time, and laid diligent watch, lest any should again break it down.

On the day following came *Foster* and *John Clerk*, bringing with them their *Papish* Sacrificers, who brought with him all his implements and garments to play his *Papish* pageant, whom they and their men guarded with swords and bucklers, lest any man should disturb him in his *Missal* Sacrifice.

When Doctor *Taylor*, who (according to his custom) sat at his book studying the Word of God, heard the bells ring, he arose and went into the Church, supposing something had been there to be done, according to his Pastoral office: and coming to the Church, he found the Church Doors shut and fast barred, leaving the Chancel door, which was only latched. Where he entering in, and coming in the Chancel, saw a *Papish* Sacrificer in his

Consideration of D.
Taylor, Wife
and his
Children.

The Papists
and their
unlawful
usages.

Foster a Law-
petty Gentleman
yet and John
Clerk of
Hadley,
who were two
notorious
Papists

Mark how
unwilling
the People
were to re-
ceive the
Mass &
goss.

D. Taylor
whom to
sally

Mass brought
into the
with words
and de-
votion.

Taylor
Kerline
he Papist
calis, the
the Queen
proceeds
the
mal' reason
for their
Amidst
et, a by
inches arm
d, and by
house power
Read
ami, or
the King of
Frier, the
Chamber.
To a play
there play-
eth a right
doubt. 1555.

ro us, with a broad new shaven Crown, ready to begin his Popish sacrifice, beset round about with drawn swords and bucklers, least any man should approach to disturb him.

Then said Doctor Taylor, Thou Divil, who made thee so bold to enter into this Church of Christ to prophane and defile it with this abominable Idolatry? With that start up Fister, and with an irefull and furious countenance said to Doctor Taylor, Thou Traitor, what dost thou here, to let and disturb the Queens proceedings? Doctor Taylor answered, I am no Traitor, but I am the Shepherd that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this his flock: wherefore I have good Authority to be here; and I command thee thou Popish Wolf, in the Name of God to avoid hence, and not to presume here with such Popish Idolatry to poison Christs flock

Then said Foster, Wilt thou traitorously, Heretick, make a commotion, and resist violently the Queens proceedings?

D. Taylor answered, I make no commotion, but it is you Papists that make commotions and Tumults. I resist only with Gods Word against your Popish Idolatries, which are against Gods Word, the Queens honour, and tend to the utter subversion of this Realm of England. And further, thou dost against the law, which commandeth, that no Mass be said but at a consecrate Altar.

When the Parson of Aldam heard that, he began to shrink back, and would have left his saying of Mass: then start up John Clerk, and said, Master Averb, be not afraid, you have a superlatore, Goe forth with your business man.

Then Foster, with his armed men, took D. Taylor, and led him with strong hand out of the Church, and the Popish Prelate proceeded in his Romish Idolatry. D. Taylors Wife, who followed her Husband into the Church, when she saw her Husband thus violently thrust out of his Church, she kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said; I beseech God the righteous Judge to avenge this injury, that this Popish Idolater to this day doth to the Blood of Christ. Then they thrust her out of the Church also, and shut the Doors; for they feared that the People would have rent their Sacrifice in pieces. Notwithstanding one or two threw in great stones at the Windows, and mislaid very little the Popish Masser.

Thus you see; how without consent of the People the Popish Mass was again set up with battell array, with swords and bucklers, with violence and Tyranny: which practice the Papists have ever yet used. As for reason, law, or Scripture, they have none on their part. Therefore they are the fame that say; The law of unrighteousness is our strength: Come, let us oppress the righteous without any fear, &c.

Within a day or two after, with all hast possible, this Foster and Clerk made a complaint of D. Taylor, by a letter written to Ste. Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and L. Chancellor.

When the Bishop heard this, he sent a letter missive to D. Taylor, commanding him within certain days to come and to appear before him upon his allegiance, to answer such complaints as were made against him.

When Doctor Taylors friends heard of this they were exceeding forry and agrieved in mind: which when foreseeing to what end the same matter would come, seeing also all Truth and Justice were trodden under foot, and faithhood with cruel Tyranny were set aloft and ruled all the whole rout: his friends, I say, came to him and earnestly counselled him to depart and fly, alledging and declaring unto him, that he could neither be indifferently heard to speak his confidence and mind, nor yet look for Justice or favor at the said Chancellors hands, who, as it was well known, was most fierce and cruel; but must needs (if he went up to him) wait for imprisonment and cruel death at his hands.

Then said D. Taylor to his friends, Dear friends, I must heartily thank you, for that you have so tenderly care over me. And although I know that there is neither Justice nor Truth to be looked for at my Adversaries hands, I will not be afraid of imprisonment and cruel death: yet know I my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so

strong upon my side, that I will by Gods grace go and appear before them, and to their beards resist their false doing.

Then said his friends, Master Doctor, we think it not best so to do. You have sufficiently done your duty, and refuted the truth both by your godly Sermons, and also in resisting the Parson of Aldam, with other that came hither to bring again the Popish Mass. And so much as our Saviour Christ willett and biddeth us, that when thy persecute us in one City, we should fly into another: we think, in flying at this time ye should do best, keeping your self against another time, when the Church shall have great need of such diligent Teachers, and godly Pastors.

Oh (quoth D. Taylor) what will ye have me to do? I am old, and have already lived too long to see these terrible and most wicked days. Fly you, and do as your conscience leadeth you; I am fully determined, with Gods grace, I to go to the Bishop, and to his beard to tell him refuteth to that he doth naught. God shall well hereafter raise up Teachers of his People, which shall with much more diligence and fruit teach them, than I have done. For God will not forsake his Church though now for a time he trieth and correcteth us, and not without a just cause.

As for me, I believe before God, I shall never be able to do God so good service, as I may do now; nor I shall ever have so glorious a calling as I now have, nor so great mercy of God profered me, as is now at this present. For what Christian man would not gladly dye against the Pope and his Adherents? I know that the Papacy is the Kingdom of Antichrist, altogether full of Lies, altogether full of falsehood, that all their Doctrin, even from Christs Cross be my speech, and Saint Nicholas unto the end of their Apocalypse, is nothing but Idolatry, Superstition, Errors, Hypochrisie and Lies.

Wherefore I beseech you, and all other my friends, to pray for me, and I doubt not but God will give me strength and his Holy Spirit, that all mine Adversaries shall have shame of their doings.

When his friends saw him so constant, and fully determined to go, they with weeping eyes commended him unto God, and he within a day or two prepared himself to his Journey, leaving his Cure with a godly old Priest, named Sir Richard Tooman, who afterwards for Gods Truth was burnt at Norwich.

There was also in Hadley one Alcocke, a very godly man, well learned in the Holy Scriptures, who after Sir Rich Tooman was driven away) used daily to read a Chapter, and to say the English Litany in Hadley Church. But him they fetcht up to London, and cast him in prison in Newgate; where after a years imprisonment he died.

But let us return to Doctor Taylor again, who being accompanied with a servant of his own, named John Hull, took his Journey towards London. By the way, this John Hull laboured to Counsel and persuade him very earnestly to fly, and not come to the Bishop, and profered himself to go with him to serve him, and in all perils to venture his life for him, and with him.

But in no wise would Doctor Taylor consent or agree therunto, but said, Oh John, shall I give place to thy counsel and Worldly perswasion, and I leave my flock in this danger? Remember the good Shepherd Christ, which not alone fed his flock, but also died for his flock. Him must I follow, and with Gods grace will do.

Therefore good John pray for me and if thou seekest me weak at any time, comfort me, and discourage me not in this my godly enterprise and purpose. Thus they came up to London, and shortly after D. Taylor presented himself to the Bishop of Winchester Steven Gardiner, then Lord Chancellor of England.

For this hath been one great abuse in England these many years that such offices as have been of most importance and weight, have commonly been committed to Bishops and other spiritual men, whereby 3 devilish mischiefes and inconveniences have hapned in this Realm, to the great dishonour of God, and utter neglecting of the flock of Christ; the which there be these.

First, they have had small leisure to attend to their Pastoral Cures, which thereby have been utterly neglected and undone.

Secondly,

*Superlatore
is a stone
consecrated
by the
shape, com-
monly of a
lock of hair,
which the
Papists carry
in their ora-
tor, when
they Mass,
to move in
Gentlemen
house.

The Papists
Arguments
were evaded
they Mass
in their
Doctrin.

D. Taylor
came to the
Bishop
letter missive

D. Taylors
Friend
would
have
him to flee

The valiant
courage of
D. Taylor
is clearly
evident.

Mat. 10.

The Papists
of Christ.

See Richard
Tooman, O.
Taylor
Curate

of Christ.
John Alcock
troubled for
Gods truth,
and died in
prison.

D. Taylor
achieve-
ment, but
he refused
to do

The first
meeting
between
Winchester
and D. Tay-
lor

A great abuse
in England
is that Bishops
and three
mischiefes
coming
thereof
The first
mischief,

Ann.
1555.The third
mitcher.Dr Taylor
patience and
moderacy.Steven Gar-
diner looks.The notable
answer of
Dr. Taylor
to the Bishop
of Winchester.Herod's oath.
Here the
Bishop con-
fesses un-
lawful oath
ought not to
be kept.The true
Church of
Christ,
whereunto
all men
ought to
belong.Christ will
require law-
ful oaths and prom-
ises.Gardiner a-
gain railing.
Railing
words be-
come not a
Majestie.
Mat. 5.Marrage ob-
jected to D.
Taylor. Mar-
riage de-
fend-
ed.

Secondly, it hath also putt up many Bishops and other spiritual persons into such haughtines and pride, that they have thought no Noble man in the Realm worthy to be their equal and fellow.

Thirdly, where they by this means knew the very secrets of Princes, they being in such high offices, have caused the same to be known in Rome, afore the Kings could accomplish and bring their intents to pass in England. By this means hath the Papacy been so maintained, and things ordered after their wills and pleasures, that much mischief hath happened in this Realm and others, sometime to the Destruction of Princes, and sometime to the utter undoing of many Commonwealthes.

Now when Gardiner saw Dr. Taylor, he according to his common custom, all to reviled him, calling him Knave, Traitor, Heretick, with many other villainous reproaches; which all Dr. Taylor heard patiently, and at the last said unto him:

My Lord; quoth he, I am neither Traitor nor Heretick, but a true Subject, and a faithful Christian man, and am come, according to your commandment, to know what is the cause that your Lordship hath sent for me.

Then said the Bishop, Art thou come, thou Villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?

Yes, quoth Dr. Taylor, I know who you are. Ye are Doctor Steven Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor, and yet but a Mortal man I trow. But if I should be afraid of your Lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare ye for shame look any Christian man in the face, seeing ye have forsaken the Truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own Oath and writings? With what countenance will ye appear before the Judgment seat of Christ, and answer to your Oath made first unto that blessed K. Henry the eighth of famous Memory, and afterward unto blessed King Edward the sixth his Son?

The Bishop answered, Tush, tush, that was Herod's Oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God, I am come home again to our Mother the Catholick Church of Rome, and so I would thou shouldst do.

Dr. Taylor answered, Should I forsake the Church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, to approve those Lies, Errours, Superstition and Idolatries, that the Popes and their company at this day so blasphemously do approve? Nay, God forbid.

Let the Pope and his return to our Saviour Christ and his word, and thrust out of the Church such abominable Idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will Christian men turn unto him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him.

I tell thee, quoth the Bishop of Winchester, it was Herod's Oath, unlawful; and therefore ought to be broken, and not kept: and our holy Father the Pope hath discharged me of it.

Then said D. Taylor, But you shall not so be discharged before Christ, who doubtless will require it at your hands, as a lawful Oath made to our Leige and Sovereign Lord the King, from whose obedience no man can absolve you, neither the Pope nor any of his.

I fee, quoth the Bishop, thou art an Arrogant Knave, and a very fool.

My Lord, quoth Doctor Taylor, leave your unseemly railing at mee, which is not seemly for such an one in Authority as you are. For I am a Christian man, and you know, that he that saith to his Brother, Racha, is in danger of a Council, and he that saith, Thou Fool, is in danger of Hell Fire.

The Bishop answered, Ye are false, and lyars all the sort of you. Nay quoth Doctor Taylor, we are true men, and know that it is written, *Os quod mentitur, occidit animam*: And again, *Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium*, i. The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul: And again, Lord God thou shalt destroy all that speak Lies. And therefore we abide by the truth of Gods Word which ye contrary to your own consciences deny and forsake.

Thou art married (quoth the Bishop.) Yea, (quoth

Doctor Taylor) that I thank God I am, and have had nine Children, and all in lawful Matrimony, and blessed be God that ordained Matrimony and commanded that every man, that hath not the gift of continency, should marry a Wife of his own, and not live in Adultery or Whoredom.

Then said the Bishop, Thou hast resisted the Queens proceedings, and wouldst not suffer the Parson of Adam, a very vertuous and devout Priest, to say Mass in Hadley. Dr. Taylor answered, My Lord, I am Parson of Hadley, and it is against all Right, Conscience and Laws, that any man should come into my charge, and presume to infect the Flock committed unto me, with venom of the Popish Idolatrous Mass.

With that the Bishop waxed very angry, and said, Thou art a blasphemous Heretick indeed, that blasphemest the blessed Sacrament (and putt off his cap) and speakst against the holy Mass, which is made a Sacrifice for the quick and the dead. Dr. Taylor answered, Nay, I blaspheme not the blessed Sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as a true Christian man ought to do, and confess, that Christ ordained the holy Communion in the remembrance of his death and passion, which when we keep according to his ordinance, we (through faith) eat the Body of Christ, and drink his Blood, giving thanks for our redemption, and this is our Sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give thanks for his merciful goodness shewed to us, in that he gave his Son Christ unto the death for us.

Thou sayst well (quoth the Bishop.) It is all that thou hast said, and more too; for it is a propitiatory Sacrifice for the quick and the dead. Then answered Dr. Taylor, Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the Cross, whose Body there offered was the propitiatory Sacrifice full, perfect and sufficient unto Salvation for all them that believe in him. And this Sacrifice did our Saviour Christ offer in his own person himself once for all, neither can any Priest any more offer him, nor we need any more propitiatory Sacrifice; and therefore I say with Chrysostom, and all the Doctors: Our Sacrifice is only Memorative, in the remembrance of Christs death and passion, a Sacrifice of thanksgiving; and therefore the Fathers called it *Eucharistia*: And other Sacrifice hath the Church of God none.

It is true, quoth the Bishop, the Sacrament is called *Eucharistia*, a thanksgiving, because we there give thanks for our redemption, and it is also a Sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, which thou shalt confess ere thou and I have done. Then called the Bishop his men, and said, Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the Kings Bench, and charge the Keeper he be freightly kept. D. Taylor then kneeled Dr. Taylor down, and held up both his hands, and said, Good Lord I thank thee; and from the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errours, Idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us: And God be praised for good King Edward. So they carried him to prison to the Kings Bench where might he lay prisoner almost two years.

This is the sum of that first talk, as I saw it mentioned in a Letter that Dr. Taylor wrote to a friend of his, thanking God for his grace, that he had confessed his Truth, and was found worthy for Truth to suffer prison and bands, beseeching his friends to pray for him, that he persevere constant unto the end.

Being in prison, Doctor Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching, and exhorting the prisoners, and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Within a few days after, were divers other learned and godly men in sundry countries of England committed to prison for Religion, so that almost all the prisons in England where become right Christian Schools and Churches; so that there was no greater comfort for Christian hearts, than to come to the prisons to behold their vertuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and consolations.

Now were placed in Churches blind and ignorant Mass mongers, with their Latin babblings and Apish ceremonies; who like cruel Wolves spared not

Obedient
holder
with a
conscience

The Mass

The Comman-
don.The true sac-
rifice for
the quick
and dead
what it is.Propitiatory
Sacrifice
offered
more than
once.
Our Sacrifice
is only Mem-
orative.Winchester
strong argu-
ment, Carry
him to pris-
on.D. Taylor
prayer, a-
gainst the
Pope and
his detest-
able erro-
rism.The godly
behaviour
and conver-
sation of D.
Taylor in
prison.Prisons turn-
ed into
Churches
and Churches
into dens of
thee.

The lame-
able child
in Goshen
Washers
in those
days

John Brad-
ford and D.
Taylor pri-
son-fellow-
in the Kings
Bench.

to murder all such, as any thing at all but once whi-
perd against their Popery. As for the godly Preachers
which were in King Edwards time, they were
either fled the Realm, or else as the Prophets did in King
Sibbys days, they were privily kept in corners. As
many as the Papists could lay hold on, they were sent
into prison, there as Lambs waiting when the Butchers
would call them to the slaughter.

When Doctor Taylor was come into the prison called
the Kings Bench he found therein the veruons and vigilant
man for his innocent and godly living, his devout and ver-
tuous preaching, was worthily counted a miracle of our
time, as even his Adversaries must needs confess. Find-
ing this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith,
strength and patience, and to persevere constant unto
the end. M. Bradford hearing this, thanked God that
he had provided him such a comfortable prison-fellow:
and so they both together lauded God, and continued in
prayer, reading, and exhorting one the other: Insumch
that Doctor Taylor told his friends that came to visit him,
that God had most graciously provided for him, to send
him to that prison where he found such an Angel of God,
to be in his company to comfort him.

Doctor Taylor brought forth to be deprived.

After that Doctor Taylor had lain in prison a while,
he was cited to appear in the Archbis at Bow-Church,
to answer unto such matter as there should be objected
against him. At the day appointed he was led thither,
his Keeper waiting upon him. Where when he came,
he stoutly and strongly defended his Marriage, affirming
by the Scriptures of God, by the Doctors of the Pri-
mitive Church, by both Lawes Civill and Canon, that
it is lawfull for Priests to Marry, and that such as have
not the gift of continency are bound in pain of Damna-
tion to marry. This did he plainly prove, that the
Judge could give no sentence of Divorce against him, but
gave sentence he should be deprived of his Benefice, be-
cause he was Married.

You do me wrong then (quoth Doctor Taylor) and
alleged many Laws and Constitutions for himself, but all
prevailed not. For he was again carried into prison, and
his Livings taken away, and given to other. As for Hadley
Benefice, it was given or sold, I wot not whether, to
one Master Newville, whose great vertues were alto-
gether unlike to Doctor Taylor his predecessor, as the poor
Parishioners full well have found.

Doctor Taylor brought again before Winchester, and o-
ther Bishops.

The Papists
rule and
reign.

After a Year and three Quarters, or there about, in
the which time, the Papists got certain old Tyrannous
Laws, which were put down by King Henry the
Eighth; and by King Edward, to be again revived by
Parliament: so that now they might, Ex officio, cite
whom they would, upon their own suspicion, and charge
him with what Articles they listed, and except they in all
things agreed to their purpose, burn them: When these
Laws were once established, they sent for Doctor Taylor
with certain other prisoners, which were again convented
before the Chancellor and other Commissioners about the
22. of January. The purport and effect of which
talk between them, because it is sufficiently described
by himself in his own Letter written to a friend of his,
I have annexed the said Letter here under, as followeth.

A Letter of Dr. Taylor, containing and reporting the talk
had between him and the Lord Chancellor and other
Commissioners about the 22. of January.

The pardon
is proferred.

Whereas you would have me to write the talke be-
tween the King and Queens most Honourable
Council and me on Tuesday, 22. of January, so far as
I remember: First, my L. Chancellor said, You among
other are at this present time (me far, to enjoy the Kings
and Queens Majesties favour and mercy, if you will now
rise again with us from the fall which we generally have
received in this Realm, from the which (God be prai-

sed) we are now clearly delivered, miraculously. If you
will not rise with us now, and receive mercy now offered,
you shall have Judgement according to your desert. To
this I answered, that so to rise, should be the greatest fall
that ever I could receive: for I should so fall from my
dear Saviour Christ to Antichrist. For I do believe,
that the Religion set forth in King Edwards days, was
according to the vein of the Holy Scripture, which
containeth fully all the rules of our Christian Religion,
from the which I do not intend to decline so long as I live,
by Gods grace.

Then Master Secretary Bourne said, Which of the Reli-
gions mean ye of in King Edwards days? For ye know
there were diverse Books of Religion set forth in his
days. There was a Religion set forth in a Catechism
by my Lord of Canterbury. Do you mean that you will
stick to that?

I answered, My Lord of Canterbury made a Cate-
chism to be translated into English, which Book was
not of his own making; yet he set it forth in his own name;
and truly that Book for the time did much good. But
there was after that set forth by the most innocent King
Edward (for whom God be praised everlastingly) the
whole Church-service, with great deliberation, and the
advice of the best learned men in the Realm, and au-
thorized by the whole Parliament, and received and pub-
lished gladly by the whole Realm: which Book was ne-
ver reformed but once, and yet by that one reformation it
was so fully perfected, according to the rules of our
Christian Religion in every behalf, that no Christian
conscience could be offended with any thing therein con-
tained; I mean of that Book reformed.

Then my Lord Chancellor said, Didst thou never
read the Book that I set forth of the Sacraments?

I answered, that I had read it.

Then he said, How likest thou that Book? Was that
one of the Council (whose name I know not) said, My
Lord, that is a good question: for I am sure, that Book
stopperh all their mouths. Then said I, My Lord, I
think many things be far wide from the truth of Gods
Word in that Book.

Then my Lord said, They are a very variety. To that
I answered, That is as it is Racha or Fume. Then my
Lord said, Thou art an ignorant Beetle-braw.

To that I answered, I have read over and
over again the holy Scriptures, and S. Augustines
works through, S. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory
Nazianzen, with divers other Books through; once
therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Be-
sides these, my Lord, I professed the Civil Law, as
your Lordship did, and I have read over the Canon Law
also.

Then my Lord said, With a corrupt Judgement thou
readest all things: Touching my profession, it is Divinity,
in which I have written divers Books. Then said I,
My Lord, ye did write one Book, De vera obedientia;
I would you had been constant in that: for indeed you
never did declare a good conscience that I heard of, but
in that one Book.

Then my Lord said, Tut, tut, tut, I wrote against
Bucer in Priests Marriages: but such Books please not
such wretches as thou art, which have been Married
many years.

To that I answered, I am Married indeed, and I have
had nine Children in Holy Matrimony, I thank God:
and this I am sure of, that your proceedings now at this
present in this Realm against Priests Marriages, is the
maintenance of the Doctrine of Divorcel, against Natural
law, Civil law, Canon law, general Councils, Canons
of the Apostles, ancient Doctors, and Gods Law.

Then spake my Lord of Duresm saying, You have
professed the Civil law, as you say. Then you know that
Justinian writeth, that Priests should at their taking of Or-
ders swear, that they were never Married; and he
bringeth in to prove that, Canones Apostolorum.

To that I answered, That I did not remember any such
Law of Justinian. But I am sure, that Justinian writeth
in Titulo de indicata viduante, in God. That if one would
bequeath to his Wife in his Testament a legacie, under a
condition that she should never Marry again, and take an
oath of her for accomplishing the same, it should be void.

Anno
1555.

Note this
answer.

The Reli-
gion set forth
in K. Edwards
days.

Secretary
Bourne cavil-
led against
the Religion
set forth in K.
Edwards
days.

A testimony
of the book
of Service
set out in K.
Edwards
days.

His right
name might
be Sir John
Clawback.

Math 23

Dr. Taylor
learned in
Divinity,
and also in
the Civil
law.

Gardiners
book de
vera obedi-
entia.

Priests Mar-
riage con-
firmed by
D. Taylor.

Justinian
law appro-
veth Mar-
riage, and
certainly
certainly

Anno 1555. again if he die, notwithstanding the aforesaid Conditions, and Oath taken and made against Marriage: and an Oath is another manner of Obligation made to God; than is a Papistical Vow made to man.

Tesful
thoroughly
answered by
the Civil
law.

Moreover, in the Pandects it is contained, that if a man doth manumit his Handmaid, under a condition that she shall never marry; yet she may marry, and her Patron shall lose his Patronatus, for his adding of the unnatural and unlawful Condition against Matrimony.

Then my Lord Chancellor said, Thou sayest that Priests may be married by Gods Law. How provest thou that?

Scripture
approveth
Priests
Marriage,
but the
Pope must
be heard
before the
Scripture.
Chrysfostom
saith it is
Hereticke to
say that a
Priest may
not be
married.

I answered, By the plain words and sentences of S. Paul. both to Timothy, and to Titus, where he speaks most evidently of the Marriage of Priests, Deacons and Bishops. And Chrysfostom writing upon the Epistle to Timothy, saith, It is an Hereticke to say that a Bishop may not be Married.

Then said my Lord Chancellor, Thou liest of Chrysfostom. But thou dost, as all they Companions do be- lieve without shame both the Scriptures and the Doctors. Didst thou not also say, that by the Canon Law Priests may be married? which is most untrue, and the con- trary is most True.

Canon Law
approveth
Priests Mar-
riages.

I answered, We read in the Decrees, that the four general Councils, Nicene, Constantinopolitane Ephesine Chalcedone have the same Authority that the four Evan- gelists have. And we read in the same Decrees (which is one of the chief books of the Canon Law) that the Council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, did allow Priests and Bishops Marriages: Therefore by the best part of the Canon Law, Priests may be Married.

Windsor
believeth the
Council

Then my Lord Chancellor said Thou falsifiest the generall Council. For there is expresse mention in the said decree, that Priests should be divorced from their wives, which be married.

Tesful
helpeth
Windsor
as need.

Then said I, if those words be there, as you say, then am I content to lose this great head of mine, Let the book be fetched.

Then spake my Lord of Duresme; Though they be not there, yet they may be in Ecclesiastica Historica, which Euse- bius wrote, out of which book the Decree was taken.

To that said I, It is not like that the Pope would leave out any such sentence, having such Authority, and making so much for his purpose.

Then my Lord Chancellor said, Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as maketh for thy purpose.

Gratians de-
scribeth his
own
Councils,
and calleth
it a patched
law

I answered, my Lord, I cannot but marvel that you do call one of the chief Popists that ever was, but a patcher.

Then my Lord Chancellor said, Nay I call thee a snatcher and patcher. To make an end, Wilt thou not return again with us to the Catholick Church; and with that be revell.

Dr. Taylor
sent again
to prison

And I said, by Gods grace I will never depart from Christs Church. Then I required that I might have some of my friends to come to me in prison: and my Lord Cham- cellor said, Thou shalt have Judgment within this week: and so was I delivered again unto my Keeper. My Lord of Duresme would that I should believe as my Fa- ther and my Mother did. I alledged S. Augustin, that we ought to prefer Gods Word before all men.

And thus much was contained in the foresaid letter of Dr. Taylor for that matter.

Besides this Letter, moreover he directed another writ- ing in like manner to another friend of his concerning the causes wherefore he was condemned, which we thought likewise here to expresse as followeth.

The Copie of another Letter to his friend touching his Assertions of the Marriage of Priests, and other causes for the which he was condemned.

The Bishop
of Windsor
and his fel-
lows agreed
to be open
Heretics.
by Scripture
and the true
defalsh-
tion of Her-
eticke

It is Hereticke to defend any Doctrine against the holy Scripture. Therefore the Lord Chancellor and Bishops con- senting to his sentence against me, be Heretics. For they have given sentence against the Marriage of Priests, knowing that St. Paul to Timothy and Titus writeth plainly, that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, may be

married; knowing also that, by S. Pauls Doctrine it is the Doctrine of Devils to inhibit Matrimony. And S. Paul willerth every faithful Minister to teach the People so, lest they be deceived by the marked Merchants, 1 Tim. 4.

B Tim. 4.

These Bishops are not ignorant; that it is not only Saint Pauls Counsel, and lawful, but Gods command- ment also to marry; for such as cannot otherwise live chaste, neither avoid fornication.

Bishops 1. v.
Agst. ad inno-
cent. C. 1.
C. 1. de cau-
sa 7.
Gen. 2.

They know that such as do marry do not sin. They know that God, before sin was, ordained Ma- trimony, and that in Paradise, between two or his prin- cipal Creatures, Man and Woman.

They know what spirit they have, which fly it is Ge. 2. evill to marry (seeing God said, It is not good for Man to be alone without a Wife) having no special gift, con- trary to the general commandment and ordinance, di- vers times repeated in the book of Genesis, which is, To Increase and Multiply.

They know that Abraham carried into the Land of Canaan his old and yet Barren Wife, the Vertuous Wo- man Sara with him, leaving Father and Mother and Coun- trey the while, at Gods commandment. For though Father and Mother and other Friends are dear and near, yet none are so dearly and nearly joynted together, as Man and Wife in Matrimony, which must needs be hu- manly, for that is a figure and similitude of Christ and his Church.

Gen. 12. 7.
Marriage is
no impe-
diment for
good man
to walk in
the obedi-
ence of
Gods com-
mandment

They know that S. Paul giveth a great praise to Matrimony, calling it honourable, and that not only to and among many, but to and among all men without exception; whose ever have need of that Gods remedy, for Mans and Womens infirmity.

Ephes. 5.
Heb. 13.

They know that if there were any Sin in Matrimony, it were chiefly to be thought to be in the Bed-company. But S. Paul saith, that the Bed-company is unde- filed.

They know that the having of a Wife was not an impediment for Abraham, Moses, Isaac, Jacob, David, &c. to talk with God, neither to the Levites, Bishops, and Priests office in the time of the old Testament or the new.

Gen. 12.
Exod. 14.
Gen. 22.
Gen. 28.
1 Roy. 7.
Matt. 12.

They know that Christ would not be conceived, or born of his blessed Mother, the Virgin Mary, before she was espoused in Marriage, his own ordinance.

They know, by S. Cyprian and S. Augustin, that a Vow is not an impediment sufficient to let Matrimony or to divorce the same.

Chrysfostom,
it is Hereticke
to deny
Priests
Marriage.
Ambrose 1.
Rusticus
12.

They know that S. Chrysfostom saith, it is Hereticke to affirm that a Bishop may not have a Wife.

They know that Ambrose will have no commandment but Counsel only to be given, touching the observing of Virginity.

They know that Christ with his blessed Mother and the Apostles were at a Marriage, and beautified and honoured the same with his presence, and first miracle.

To be short, they know that all that I have here written touching the Marriage of Priests, is true: and they know that the Papists themselves do not observe, touching that matter, their own Laws and Canons, and yet they continue marked in conscience with an hor- ror, as detestable Heretics in this behalf. The Lord give them grace to repent, if it be his good will, Amen.

My second cause why I was condemned an Hereticke, is, that I denied Transubstantiation and Concomitation, two juggling words of the Papists by the which they do believe and will compel all other to believe, that Christs Natural Body is made of Bread, and the Godhead by and by to bejoynted thereunto, so that immediately after the words (called the words of Consecration) there is no more Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, but the substance onely of the Body and Blood of Christ to- gether with his Godhead: so that the same being now Christ, both God and man, ought to be Worshipped with godly Honour, and to be offered to God, both for the quick and the dead, as a Sacrifice propitiatory and satisfactory for the same. This matter was not long de- bated in words: but because I denied the forsaide Popisti- call Doctrine (yea rather, plain, most wicked Idolatry, Blasphemy and Heresie, I was judged an Hereticke.

The second
cause of Dr.
Taylors con-
demnation
Transubstan-
tiation and
Concomi-
tation, two
juggling
words of the
Papists.

I did

They Ac-
tually ag-
t D. Taylor.
The 4. A ti-
cle against
D. Taylor.

The 5. Arti-
cle against
D. Taylor.

All men
may obey
King.

D. Taylor's
V. 1. 1. 1. 1.
D. 1. 1. 1.

Cyprian 1.
Epist. 11.
A Deacon
is to be
any other
than
one, and
I will be
Virgin,
I. 1. 1. 1.
I. 1. 1. 1.
I. 1. 1. 1.
I. 1. 1. 1.

A. 2. 1. 1.
to 1. 1. 1.
ad 1. 1. 1.

The Pope
and his
Bishops
are to
be obeyed
in all
things,
yea, and
to be
obeyed
for mar-
riage.

I did also in the Pope to be Antichrist, and Popery Antichristianity.

And I contended the Doctrine of the Bible to be sufficient Doctrine, touching all and singular matters of Christian Religion, and of Salvation.

I also alleged, that the Oath against the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, was a lawful Oath, and so was the Oath made by us all, touching the Kings or Queens pre-eminence. For *Chrysostom* saith, that Apostles, Evangelists, and all men in every Realm were ever, and ought to be ever, touching both Body, and Goods, in subjection to the Kingly Authority, with the Sword in his hand, as Gods principal Officer and Governour in every Realm. I desired the Bishops to repent for bringing the Realm from Christ to Antichrist, from light to darkness, from verity to vanity.

Thus you know the sum of my last Examination and Conformation. Pray for me, and I will pray for you.

God be praised, since my Condemnation I was never afraid to die; Gods will be done. If I shrink from Gods Truth, I am sure of another manner of death than had *Judas Hades*. But God be praised, even from the bottom of heart, I am immovably settled upon the Rock, nothing doubting, but that my dear God will perform and finish the work that he hath begun in me and others. To him be all honour both now and ever, through Christ our only and whole Saviour. Amen.

And thus much wrote *D. Taylor*, concerning this matter, to his Friend.

You heard in the former Answers a little before, certain Allegations touched of *D. Taylor* out of *S. Cyprian*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostom* and *Ambrose*, touching the lawfulness of Priests marriage. Now ye shall hear the places of the said Doctors cited and produced out of their own Books, as here ensueth.

The places of the Doctors alledged before in Doctor Taylor's Letter.

This question was asked of S. Cyprian, What should be done with those Religious persons, that could not keep their Chastity as they had vowed. He answered thus, I should ask what we do judge of Virgins, which, after they had decreed to live chaste, are afterward found in Bed with a Man. Of which thou saith, that one of them was a Deacon. We do with great sorrow see the great ruine of many Persons, which cometh by the reason of such unlawful and perillous companying together. If therefore, if they have dedicated themselves unto Christ, I saith, let us purely and chaste, then let them so remain in their vow, chaste and strongly and steadfastly abide the reward of virginity. But if they will not abide, or else cannot abide; then it is better to marry, than to fall into the fire of Conscience: And let them give to them, to the Brother and Sister, none occasion of scandal, &c. Cyprian in his 11. Epistle, Lib. 1.

Certain men do affirm, Those men to be Adulterers, that do marry after that they have vowed Chastity. But I do affirm, that those Men do grievously sin, who which do separate them, &c. Augustine, in his Book, De bono conjugali, ad Julianum.

Chastity of the Body ought to be desired of us, which, if we have, I do give for a Counsel, and do not command it expressly. For virginity is a thing which alone ought to be counselled, out not to be commanded: it is rather a thing of voluntarie will, and not a Precept. Ambrose 32. Quæst. 1. Capitulum 1. 1. 1.

A brief Recapitulation out of D. Taylors Causes as retouched, for the Reader more evidently to see how the Papists do against their own knowledge in forbidding Priests Marriage.

THe Popes Clergy, forbidding Ecclesiastical Persons to marry, do against their Conscience and Knowledge, as may well be proved by these Causes here-under following.

1. They know that Matrimony in the Old Testament, *De jur. institut. civis*, is indifferently permitted to all Men without any exception.

2. Secondly, they know that in the Old Testament; *De facto*, both Priests, Levites, Prophets, Patriarchs, and all others had their Wives.

3. Thirdly, they know that Matrimony was permitted and instituted of God for two principal ends; to wit, for Procreation, and avoiding of Sin.

4. Fourthly, they know that in the Old Testament God not only instituted and permitted Matrimony to be free, but also induceth and appointeth Men to marry and take Wives, in these words, *It is not good for a man to be alone, &c.*

5. Fifthly, they know that in the New Testament *St. Paul* permitteb the state of Matrimony free to all men, having not the gift of Continency, and forbiddeth none.

6. Sixthly, they know that in the New Testament the said *St. Paul* not only permitteb, but also expressly wilteb and chargeb Men, having not the gift to marry, saying, *For avoiding Fornication, let every man have his Wife, &c.*

7. Seventhly, they know that in the New Testament the said *St. Paul* not only permitteb and commandeth, but also commendeth and praiseth the state of Matrimony, *Heb. 13. Calling it honourable, and the Bed-company to be undefiled, &c.*

8. Eighthly, they know that in the New Testament Christ himself not only was not conceived nor born of the Virgin before she was espoused in Matrimony, but also that both he and his blessed Mother did beatifie and honour the state of Matrimony with their presence: yea, in the same began his first Miracle.

9. Ninthly, they know both by the Old Testament and New, that Marriage is no impediment to walk in the obedience of Gods Commandment; for both *Abraham* carried into the Land of *Canaan* his old, yea and barren Wife, the virtuous woman *Sarah*, with him: and also to *Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David*, and others, their Marriage was no impediment to them to talk with God; neither to other Levites, Bishops and Priests, in the time of both the Old Testament, and of the New. Again, neither was it a let to *Peter, Philip*, and others, both to have their Wives with them, and also to supply the Office of Apostleship.

10. Tenthly, they know both by the Old Testament and New, that sinful Fornication and Adultery depriveth Man of Gods Favour and Graces of the Holy Ghost, which Graces especially be requisite in the Men of the Church.

11. Eleventhly, they know in their own secret Conscience, and by experience, that neither they which enjoin this Vow of Chastity, nor they which take it, do observe the Vow of Chastity. Whereupon rise inconveniences more than can be expressed: but the Lord above knoweth all, besides the secret murders, peradventure, of many a poor Infant, &c.

12. Twelfthly, they know by *S. Cyprian*, *Epist. 11.* and *S. Augustine*, *Lib. de bono conjugali, ad Julianum*, that a Vow is no impediment sufficient to let Matrimony, or to divorce the same.

13. Thirteenthly, they know that *Chrysostom* affirmeth it to be an Heresie to say, that a Bishop may not have a Wife.

14. Fourteenthly, they know that *S. Ambrose*, 32. q. 1. *Integratæ*, will have no commandment, but counsel only to be given touching the observing of Virginity.

15. Fifteenthly, they know that before the time of Pope *Hildebrand*, that is, during the time of 1000 years after Christ, marriage was never restrained, by any forcible necessity of Vow, from Men of the Church.

16. Sixteenthly, they know that *S. Paul* calleth it the *Doctrine of Devils*, to forbid Meats and Marriage, which God hath left free, with Thanksgiving, for necessity of Man and Woman.

After that *D. Taylor* thus with great spirit and courage had answered for himself, and stoutly rebuked his Adversaries for breaking their Oath made before to King *Henry* and to King *Edward* his Son, and for betraying

Anno
1555.

Anno
1555.

the Realm into the power of the Roman Bishop; they perceiving that in no case he could be stirred to their wills and purpose, that is, to turn with them from Christ to Antichrist, committed him thereupon to Prison again, where he endured till the last of January.

D. Taylor the fourth time, with M. Bradford, and M. Sanders, brought before Winchester and other Bishops.

Cardinal.
Bishop.
Canon.
English.

Upon which day and year aforesaid, Doctor Taylor and M. Bradford, and M. Sanders were again called to appear before the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishops of Norwich, of London, of Salisbury, and of Durham, and there were charged again with Heresie and Schism, and therefore a determinate Answer was required; Whether they would submit themselves, to the Roman Bishop, and abjure their Errors, or else they would according to their Laws proceed to their condemnation.

The Con-
fession of
these men.

When D. Taylor and his Fellows, M. Bradford and M. Sanders heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the Truth which they had preached in King Edwards days, neither would they submit themselves to the Romish Antichrist; but they thanked God for so great Mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his Word and Truth.

Sentence of
Death given
upon Inno-
cent.

When the Bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and unmoveably fixed in the Truth, they read the Sentence of Death upon them, which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutly said unto the Bishops; *We doubt not, but God the Righteous Judge will require our Blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving again of Antichrist; and your Tyranny that ye now shew against the flock of Christ.*

D. Taylor
Condemned.

So was D. Taylor now condemned, committed to the Clink, and the Keepers charged straitly to keep him: for ye have now another manner of Charge (quoth the Lord Chancellor) than they had before: therefore look ye, take heed to it.

D. Taylor re-
minded from
the Clink
to the Counter by
Night.

When the Keeper brought him toward the Prison, the People flocked about to gaze upon him: unto whom he said, *God be praised (good People) I am come away from hence undefiled, and will confirm the Truth with my Blood.* So was he befowed in the Clink till it was toward Night, and then he was removed to the Counter by the Poultrey.

D. Taylor com-
eth to the
Counter to
degrade
D. Taylor.

When D. Taylor had lain in the said Counter in the Poultrey a Seven-night or thereabouts Prisoner, the fourth day of February, Anno 1555. Edmund Boner Bishop of London, with others, came to the said Counter to degrade him, bringing with them such Ornaments as do appertain to their Massing-Mummery. Now being come, he called for the said D. Taylor to be brought unto him; the Bishop being then in the Chamber where the Keeper of the Counter and his Wife lay. So D. Taylor was brought down from the Chamber above that, to the said Boner. And at his coming, the Bishop said, Master Doctor, I would you would remember your self, and turn to your Mother holy Church; so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your Pardon. Whereunto M. Taylor answered, *I would you and your Fellows would turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to Antichrist.* Well, quoth the Bishop, I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on these Vestures. No, quoth D. Taylor, I will not. Wilt thou not, said the Bishop? I shall make thee ere I go. Quoth D. Taylor, *Thou shalt not, by the Grace of God.* Then he charged him upon his Obedience to do it, but he would not do it for him.

D. Taylor de-
richeth the
Popes Ma-
sing Toys.

So he would another to put them upon his back, and when he was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands to his side, walking up and down, and said; *How say you, my Lords, am not I a goodly Fool? How say you, my Masters? If I were in Cheap, should I not have Boys enow to laugh at these apish Toys, and toying Trumpery?* So the Bishop scraped his Fingers, Thumbs, and the Crown of his Head, and did the rest of such like devilish Observances.

At the last, when he should have given D. Taylor a stroke on the Breast with his Crozier-Staff, the Bishop,

Chaplain said. My Lord, strike him not, for he will sure strike again. *Yea, by S. Peter will I,* quoth D. Taylor. *The Cause is Christ, and I were no good Christian, if I would not fight in my Masters quarrel.* So the Bi-

shop laid his Curse upon him, but struck him not. Then D. Taylor said, *Though you do curse me, yet God doth bless prayer against me. I have the witness of my Conscience, that ye have done me wrong and violence: And yet I pray God, if it be his will, forgive you. But from the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and his detestable Emormities, good Lord deliver us.* And in going up to his Chamber, he still said, *God deliver me from you, God deliver me from you.* And when he came up, he told M. Bradford (for they both lay in one Chamber) that he had made the Bishop of London afraid: for, faith he laughingly, his Chaplain gave him counsel not to strike me with his Crozier-Staff, for that I would strike again; and, by ray Troth, said he, rubbing his hands, I made him believe I would do so indeed.

D. Taylor
said of D. Taylor.

The Night after that he was degraded, his Wife and his Son Thomas resorted unto him, and were by the gentleness of the Keepers permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found between the Keepers of the Bishops Prisons, and the Keepers of the Kings Prisons: That the Bishops Keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannous like their Masters: but the Keepers of the Kings Prisons shewed, for the most part, as much Favour as they possibly might.

Keepers of
Prisons.

So came D. Taylor's Wife, his Son, and John Hall his Servant, to sup with him: and at their coming in afore-Supper, they kneeled down and prayed, saying the Litany.

After Supper walking up and down, he gave God Thanks for his Grace, that had so called him, and given him strength to abide by his holy Word: and turning to his Son Thomas, My dear Son (said he) *Almighty God bless thee, and give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true Servant of Christ, to learn his Words, and constantly to stand by his Truth all thy life long.* And, my Son, see that thou fear God always. *Esce from all Sin, and wicked living: be vertuous, serve God with daily Prayer, and apply thy Book.* In any wise see that thou be obedient to thy Mother, love her and serve her: be ruled by her now in thy Youth, and follow her good Counsel in all things. Beware of lewd Company, of Young men that fear not God, but follow their lewd Lusts and vain Appetites. Fly from Whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering, that I thy Father do die in the defence of holy Marriage. Another day, when God shall bless thee, love and cherish the Poor people, and count that thy chief Riches is, to be rich in Alms: and when thy Mother is waxed old, forsake her not; but provide for her to thy power, and see that she lack nothing: For so will God bless thee, and give thee long life upon Earth and prosperity: whiche I pray God to grant thee.

D. Taylor
blesseth his
Son.
D. Taylor's
godly Ex-
hortation
to his Son,
worthy of
all Youth to
be marked.

Then turning to his Wife, My dear Wife, quoth he, *continue steadfast in the fear and love of God; keep your self undefiled from their Popish Idolatrie and Superstitions. I have been unto you a faithful Tote-fellow, and so have you been unto me; for the whiche I pray God to reward you, and doubt not, dear Wife, but God will reward it.*

D. Taylor
counsel
his Wife.

Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the Wedlock-Bond towards me: therefore I will give you my Counsel what I think most expedient for you. You are yet a Child-bearing Woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry. For doubtless you shall never be at a convenient stay for your self and our poor Children, nor out of Trouble till you be married. Therefore as soon as God will provide it, marry with some honest faithful Man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honest Husband for you, and he will be a merciful Father to you and to my Children: whom I pray you bring up in the Fear of God, and in Learning, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them from this Romish Idolatrie. When he had thus said, they with weeping Tears prayed together, and kissed one the other: and he gave to his Wife a Book of the Church-Service, let out by King Edward, which he in the time of his Imprisonment daily used. And unto his Son Thomas he gave a Latin Book containing the notable Sayings of the

His last
counsel to his
Wife and
his Son.

the old Martyrs, gathered out of *Ecclesiastical History*; and in the end of that Book he wrote his Testament and last *Will*, as hereafter followeth.

The last Will and Testament of Doctor Rowland Taylor, Parson of Hadley.

D. Taylor's Will and Testament, wrote in the Book which he gave to his Son. Job 1.1. APOC. 14. Luke 12.

I Say to my Wife, and to my Children; The Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me: blessed be the Name of the Lord. I believe that they are blessed which die in the Lord. God careth for Sparrows, and for the Hairs of our heads. I have ever found him more faithful and favourable, than is any Father or Husband. Trust ye therefore in him by the means of our dear Saviour Christs Merits: believe, love, fear and obey him: pray to him, for he hath promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never dye. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my Children, *Susan, George, Ellen, Robert and Zachary*: I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.

A pure Conscience fully quieted.

I say to my dear Friends of *Hadley*, and to all others which have heard me preach; that I depart hence with a quiet Conscience, as touching my Doctrine, for the which I pray you thank God with me. For I have after my little Talent, declared to others those Lessons that I gathered out of Gods Book, the blessed Bible. Therefore if I or an Angel from Heaven should preach to you any other Gospel than that ye have received, Gods great Curse upon that Preacher.

A grave warning against Popery.

Beware for Gods sake that ye deny not God, neither decline from the word of Faith, lest God decline from you, and so do ye everlastingly perish. For Gods sake beware of Popery, for though it appear to have in it Unity, yet the same is Vanity and Antichristianity, and not in Christs Faith and Verity.

The Sin against the Holy Ghost.

Beware of the Sin against the Holy Ghost, now after such a Light opened so plainly and simply, truly, throughly and generally to all *England*.

A godly Prayer.

The Lord grant all men his good and Holy Spirit, increase of his Wisdom, condemning the wicked World, hearty desire to be with God and the Heavenly Company, through Jesus Christ, our only Mediator, Advocate, Righteousness, Life, Sanctification and Hope, Amen, Amen. Pray, pray.

Rowland Taylor departing hence in sure hope, without all doubting of Eternal salvation, I thank God my Heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ my certain Saviour, Amen.

The 5. of February, Anno 1555.

The Lord is my Light and my Salvation: whom then shall I fear? Psal. 27.

God is he that justifieth: who is he that condemneth? Rom. 8.

In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded. Psal. 30.

On the next Morrow, after that D. Taylor had Supped with his Wife in the *Counter*, as is before expressed, which was the fifth day of February, the Sheriff of London with his Officers came to the *Counter* by Two of the Clock in the Morning, and so brought forth D. Taylor, and without any Light led him to the *Woolfack*, an Inn without *Algate*. Dr. Taylors Wife, suspecting that her Husband should that Night be carried away, watching all Night in S. *Basilphs* Church-Porch beside *Algate*, having with her two Children, the one named *Elizabeth*, of 13 years of Age (whom being left without Father or Mother, D. Taylor had brought up of Alms from three years old,) the other named *Mary*, Doctor Taylors own Daughter.

D. Taylor led from the Counter by Night towards Hadley.

Now, when the Sheriff and his Company came against S. *Basilphs* Church, *Elizabeth* cried, saying, O my dear Father; Mother, Mother, here is my Father led away. Then cried his Wife, *Rowland, Rowland*, where art thou? for it was a very dark Morning, that the one could not see the other. D. Taylor answered, Dear Wife, I am here, and stayed. The Sheriffs Men would have led him forth; but the Sheriff said, Stay a little Masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his Wife, and so they stayed.

Then came she to him, and he took his Daughter *Mary* in his Arms: and he, his Wife and *Elizabeth* kneeled down and said the Lords Prayer. At which fight the Sheriff wept apace, and so did divers others of the Company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his Wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, Farewell my dear Wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my Conscience. God shall stir up a Father for my Children. And then he kissed his Daughter *Mary*, and said, God bless thee and make thee his Servant: and kissing *Elizabeth*, he said, God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast unto Christ and his Word, and keep you from Idolatry. Then said his Wife, God be with thee, dear *Rowland*, I will with Gods grace meet thee at *Hadley*.

And so was he led forth to the *Woolfack*, and his Wife followed him. As soon as they came to the *Woolfack*, he was put into a Chamber, wherein he was kept with four Yeomen of the Guard and the Sheriffs Men. D. Taylor, as soon as he was come into the Chamber, fell down on his Knees and gave himself wholly to Prayer. The Sheriff then, seeing D. Taylors Wife there, would in no case grant her to speak any more with her Husband, but gently desired her to go to his House and take it as her own, and promised her he should lack nothing, and sent two Officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding she desired to go to her Mothers, whither the Officers led her, and charged her Mother to keep her there till they came again.

Thus remained D. Taylor in the *Woolfack*, kept by the Sheriff and his Company, till 11. of the Clock. At which time the Sheriff of *Essex* was ready to receive: and so they set him on Horseback within the Inn, the Gates being shut.

At the coming out of the Gates, *John Hull*, before spoken of, stood at the Rails with *Thomas*, D. Taylors Son. When D. Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, Come hither my Son *Thomas*. And *John Hull* lifted the Child up, and set him on the Horse before his Father: and D. Taylor put off his Hat, and said to the People that stood there looking on him, Good People this is mine own Son, begotten of my body in lawful Matrimony: And God be blessed for lawful Matrimony. Then lifted he up his eyes towards Heaven and prayed for his Son, laid his Hat upon the Childs Head and blessed him, and so delivered the Child to *John Hull*, whom he took by the hand and said, Farewell *John Hull*, the faithfullest Servant that ever man had. And so they rode forth, the Sheriff of *Essex*, with four Yeomen of the Guard, and the Sheriffs Men leading him.

When they were come almost at *Burnwood*, one *Arthur Fayite*, a Man of *Hadley*, who before time had been D. Taylors Servant, met with them, and he, supposing him to have been at liberty, said, Master Doctor, I am glad to see you again at liberty, and came to him and took him by the hand. Soft Sir, quoth the Sheriff, he is a Prisoner; what hast thou to do with him? I cry you mercy, said *Arthur*, I knew not so much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a true Man. The Sheriff was very angry with this, and threatened to carry *Arthur* with him to Prison; notwithstanding, he bade him get quickly away, and so they rode forth to *Burnwood*: where they caused to be made for D. Taylor a close Hood, with two holes for his Eyes to look out at, and a slit for his Mouth to breath at. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man. Which practice they used also with others. Their own Consciences told them, that they led innocent Lambs to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared, lest if the People should have heard them speak, or have seen them, they might have been much more

Anno 1555.

The last meeting and leave-taking with his Wife and Children. This Sheriff was M. Cheney.

D. Taylor brought to the Sign of the Wolf.

The Sheriffs gentleness showed to the Woman.

D. Taylor took his leave of his Son Thomas, and John Hull.

A good Testimony for all Servants to mark.

Arthur Fayite.

A close Hood made for D. Taylor, that no man should know him.

Christs Advocates work all by darkness.

Anno more strengthened by their godly Exhortations, to stand
1555 stedfast in Gods Word, and to fite the Superstitions and
Idolatries of the Papacy.

D. Taylor is joyful in his way.
All the way D. Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that
accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or
bridal. He spake many notable things to the Sheriff and Yeomen
of the Guard that conducted him, and often moved
them to weep through his much earnest calling upon
them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked
living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and
rejoyce, to see him so constant and stedfast, void of
all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to dye. Of these Yeomen
of the Guard, three used D. Taylor friendly, but
the fourth (whose name was *Homes*) used him very homely,
unkindly, and churlishly.

Homes a notorious adversary to D. Taylor.
At *Colmsford* met them the Sheriff of *Suffolk*, there
to receive him, and to carry him forth into *Suffolk*. And
being at supper, the Sheriff of *Elsex* very earnestly
laboured him to return to the Popish Religion, thinking
with fair words to perfwade him, and said, Good Master
Doctor, we are right sorry for you, considering
what the loss is of such a one as ye might be, if ye
would: God hath given you great Learning and Wisdom,
wherefore ye have been in great favour and reputation
in times past with the Council and Higheft of this
Realm. Besides this, ye are a man of goodly personage, in
your best strength, and by nature like to live many years,
and without doubt, ye should in time to come be in as
good reputation as ever ye were, or rather better. For ye
are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for
your learning; and me think it were great pity you should
cast away your self willingly, and to come to such a painful
and shameful death. Ye should do much better to revoke
your Opinions, and return to the Catholick Universal Church
of *Rome*, acknowledge the Popes Holiness to be the Supreme
Head of the Church, and reconcile your self to
him. You may do well yet, if you will: doubt ye not
but ye shall find favour at the Queens hands, I and all
these your friends will be futers for your Pardon: which
no doubt, ye shall obtain. This Counsel I give you, good
M. Doctor, of a good Heart and Good-will toward you:
and thereupon I drink to you. In like manner said all the
Yeomen of the Guard: upon that condition, M. Doctor,
we will all drink to you.

D. Taylor makes a jest of death with a need answer for such Deceits and Counselors.
When they had all drank to him, and the Cup was
come to him, he stayed a little, as one studying what
answer he might give. At the last thus he answered and
said, M. Sheriff, and my Masters all, I heartily thank you
for your good will, I have hearkened to your words, and
marked well your Counsels. And to be plain with you,
I do perceive that I have been deceived my self, and am
like to deceive a great many of *Hadley* of their expectation.
With that word they all rejoiced. Yea, good Master
Doctor, quoth the Sheriff, Gods Blessing on your heart:
hold you there still. It is the comfortabest word that we
heard you speak yet. What? should ye cast away your
self in vain? Play a wife mans part, and I dare
warrant it, ye shall find favour. Thus they rejoiced very
much at the word, and were very merry.

At the last, good Mr. Doctor, quoth the Sheriff, what
meant ye by this, that ye say ye think ye have been
deceived your self, and think ye shall deceive many one in
Hadley? Would ye know my meaning plainly, quoth he?
Yea, quoth the Sheriff, good Mr. Doctor tell it us plainly.

Then said Doctor Taylor, I will tell you how I have
been deceived, and as I think, I shall deceive a great many.
I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great Carcase,
which I thought should have been buried in *Hadley*
Church-yard, if I had died in my Bed, as I well hoped
I should have done; but herein I see I was deceived: and
there are a great number of worms in *Hadley* Church-
yard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this
Carion, which they have looked for many a day. But
now I know we have been deceived, both I and they; for
this Carcase must be burnt to ashes, and so shall they lose
their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it.

Apeptheims of D. Taylor.
When the Sheriff and his Company heard him say so,
they were amazed and looked one on another, marvel-
ling at the mans constant mind, that thus without all
fear made but a jest at the cruel Torment, and death now
at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation clean

disappointed. And in this appeared what was his resolu-
tion in his chiefest Wealth and Possession, namely, that
he should shortly dye, and red wounds in his gavel
which meditation if all our Bishops and spiritual men
had used, they had not for a little worldly Glory for-
faken the Word of God and Faith, which they in King
Edwards days had preached and testified, not yet, to
maintain the Bishop of *Rome* Authority, have committed
so many to the fire as they did.

But let us return to Doctor Taylor, who at *Colmsford*
was delivered to the Sheriff of *Suffolk*, and by him
conducted to *Hadley*, where he suffered. When they
were come to *Lanham*, the Sheriff stayed there two
days; and thither came to him a great number of Gen-
tlemen and Justices upon great horses, which all
were appointed to aid the Sheriff. These Gentlemen
laboured Doctor Taylor very sore to reduce him to the
Romish Religion, promising him his Pardon, which,
said they, we have here for you. They promised him
great promotions, yea a Bishoprick if he would take it
but all their labour and flattering words were in vain. For
he had not built his house upon the sand in peril of falling
at every puff of wind, but upon the sure and un-
movable Rock, Christ. Wherefore he abode constant
and unmoved unto the end.

After two days, the Sheriff and his Company led D.
Taylor towards *Hadley*, and coming within two miles
of *Hadley*, he desired to light off his horse to make wa-
ter: which done, he leapt, and let a frisk or twain, as men
commonly do in dauncing. Why Master Doctor, quoth
the Sheriff, how do you now? He answered: Well, God be
praised, good Master Sheriff. Never better: for now I
know I am almost at home. I lack not past two fitts to
go over, and I am even at my Fathers House. But Master
Sheriff, said he, shall we not go thorow *Hadley*? Yes,
said the Sheriff, you shall go thorow *Hadley*. Then said
he, O good Lord, I thank thee, I shall yet once ere I
dye see my Flock, whom thou Lord knowest I have
most heartily loved, and truly taught. Good Lord bless
them, and keep them stedfast in thy Word and Truth.

When they were now come to *Hadley*, and came rid-
ing over the Bridge, at the Bridge foot waited a poor
man with five small Children: who when he saw Doctor
Taylor, he and his Children fell down upon their knees,
and held up their hands, and cried with a loud Voice, and
said, O dear Father and good Shephard, Doctor Taylor,
God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time
succoured me and my poor Children. Such witness had
the Servant of God of his virtuous and Charitable Alms
given in his Life-time. For God would now the poor
should testify of his good deeds to his singular comfort,
to the example of others, and Confusion of his Persecutors
and Tyrannous Adversaries. For the Sheriff and other
that led him to death, were wonderfully astonished at this:
and the Sheriff fore rebuked the poor man for so crying.
The streets of *Hadley* were beset on both sides the
way with Men and Women of the Town and Coun-
trety, who waited to see him: whom when they beheld
so led to Death, with weeping Eyes and lamentable
Voices they cried, saying one to another, Ah good Lord!
there goeth our good Shephard from us, that so Faith-
fully hath taught us, so Fatherly hath cared for us, and so
godly hath governed us. O Merciful God! what shall we
poor scattered Lambs do? What shall come of this most
Wicked World, Good Lord strengthen him, and comfort
him: with such other most lamentable and piteous Voices.

Wherefore the People were sore rebuked by the Sheriff
and Catchpoles his men, that led him: And D. Taylor
evermore said to the people; I have Preached to you
Gods Word and Truth, and am come this day to Seal it
with my Blood.

Coming against the Almshouses, which he well knew,
he cast to the poor People Money, which remained of that
good People had given him in time of his Imprisonment.
As for his Living, they took it from him at his first go-
ing to Prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his
Imprisonment by the Charitable Alms of good People
that visited him.

Therefore the Money that now remained he put in a
glove ready for the same purpose, and (as is said) gave it to
the poor Almshouses standing at their doors to see him.

A poor man
waited.

Lanham is 4
miles from
Suffolk.

D. Taylor re-
joiced that
he was so
nigh home.
Another A-
peptheims of
D. Taylor.

D. Taylor
desired to
see his
Wife.

A poor maid
with five
Children
waited.

The People
lamented
Doctor Taylor.

D. Taylor
confessed
the Truth,
and comforted
the same
with his
Blood.

Anno
1555.

The Martyrdom of Doctor Taylor, burned at Hadley for the
Testimony of the Gospel, February 9 Anno 1555.



And coming to the last of the Almshouses, and not seeing the poor that there dwelt, ready at their doors, as the other were, he asked: Is the blind man and blind woman, that dwelt here, alive? It was answered, Yea, they are there within. Then threw he glove and all in at the window, and so rode forth.

Note this
custom.

Thus this good Father and Provider for the poor now took his leave of those, for whom all his Life he had a singular care and study. For this was his custom, once in a fortnight at the least, to call upon Sir *Anthony Dayl*, and others the rich Cloth-makers, to go with him to the Almshouses, and there to see how the poor lived; what they lacked in meat, drink, clothing, bedding, or any other necessities. The like did he also to other poor men that had many Children, or were sick. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and where he found cause, rebuke the unruly, and what they lacked, that gave he after his power: and what he was not able, he caused the rich and wealthy men to minister unto them. Thus shewed he himself in all things an example to his Flock, worthy to be followed; and taught by his deed, what a great treasure Alms is to all such as cheerfully for Christs sake do it.

Aldham
Common.

At the last, coming to *Aldham Common*, the place assigned where he should suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked, What place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither? It was answered, It is *Aldham Common*, the place where you must suffer: and the people are come to look upon you. Then said he, Thanked be God, I am even at home, and so light from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

D Taylor is
come home.

Now was his head noddled evil favouredly, and clipped much like as a man would clip a fools head; which cost the good Bishop *Boner* had bestowed upon him, when he degraded him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white Beard, they burst out with weeping tears, and cried, saying, God save thee, good *D. Taylor*. Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee. The Holy Ghost comfort thee; with such other like godly wilhes. Then would he have spoken to the people, but the Yeomen of the Guard were so busie about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a Tipstaff into his mouth, and would in no wise permit him to speak.

D Taylor
could not be
suffered to
speak to
the people.

Then desired he Licence of the Sheriff to speak; but the Sheriff denied it to him, and bad him remember his promise to the Council.

Well, quoth Doctor *Taylor*; promise must be kept. What this promise was, it is unknown: but the Common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the Council sent for them, and threatened them they would cut their Tongues out of their Heads, except they would promise, that at their deaths they would keep silence, and not speak to the people. Wherefore they desirous to have the use of their Tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promised silence. For the Papists feared much, lest this mutation of Religion, from Truth to Lies, from Christs Ordinances to the Popish Traditions, should not so quietly have been received as it was, especially this burning of the Preachers: but they, measuring others minds by their own, feared lest any Tumult or Uprore might have been stirred, the people having so just a cause not to be contented with their doings, or else (that they most feared) the people should more have been confirmed by their godly Exhortations to stand stedfast against their vain Popish Doctrine and Idolatry. But thanks be to God, which gave to his Witnesses Faith and Patience, with stout and manly hearts to dispise all Torments: neither was there so much as any one man that once shewed any sign of disobedience towards the Magistrates. They shed their Bloods gladly in the defence of the Truth, so leaving example unto all men of true and perfect Obedience: which is to obey God more than men, and if need require it, to shed their own Blood rather than to depart from Gods truth.

The Gospel-
lers are not
feditious as
the Papists
commonly
be.

Doctor *Taylor* perceiving that he could not be suffered to spake, sat down, and seeing one named *Soyce*, he called him, and said, *Soyce*, I pray thee come and pull off my Boots and take them for thy labour. Thou hast long looked for them, now take them. Then rose he up and put off his Clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away. Which done, he said with a loud voice, Good people, I have taught you nothing but Gods Holy Word, and those Lessons that I have taken out of Gods Blessed Book, the Holy Bible and I am come hither this day, to seal it with my Blood. With that Word, *Homes*, Yeoman of the Guard aforesaid, who had used Doctor *Taylor* very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a mallet, and said, Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou Heretic? Then he seeing they would not permit him to speak, knelt down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people stepped in and prayed with him; but her they thrust away, and threatened to tread her

Soyce pulled
off his Boots.

D Taylor
confesseth
the truth.

Homes a
yeoman of
the Guard
D Taylor
Prayeth.
A good
woman
came
in to
pray
with
him
but
they
could
not
be
suffered.

Anno
1555.

her down with Horfes: notwithstanding she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the Stake, and killed it, and fet himself into a Pitch-barrel, which they had fet for him to stand in, and so stood with his back upright against the Stake, with his Hands folded together, and his Eyes toward Heaven, and so he continually prayed.

Richard
Donningham.

Then they bound him with Chains, and the Sheriff called one *Richard Donningham* a Butcher, and commanded him to fet up Fagots: But he refused to do it, and said, I am lame Sir, and not able to lift a Fagot. The Sheriff threatened to fend him to Prison; notwithstanding he would not do it.

The Torturers,
Warwick a
cruel Torturer.
This King was also one
of them which went
with his halberd to
bring them to death
which were burnt at
Wey.

Then appointed he one *Mulleine of Carsey*, a man for his Vertues fit to be a Hangman, and *Sejce* a very Drunkard, and *Warwick*, who, in the Commotion time in King *Edwards* days, lost one of his Ears for his Seditious talk, amongst whom also was one *Robert King* a deceiver of Enterludes, who albeit was there present, and had doing there with the Gun-powder; what he meant and did therein (he himself faith he did it for the best, and for quick dispatch) the Lord knoweth, which shall judge all: More of this I have not to say.

Dr. Taylor
is patient.
Sir John
Stuarts.

These four were appointed to fet up the Fagots, and to make the Fire, which they most diligently did: and this *Warwick* cruelly cast a Fagot at him, which lighted upon his head, and brake his face, that the blood ran down his Visage. Then said Dr. Taylor, O Friend, I have harm enough, what needed that?

Dr. Taylor
kelt words.

Furthermore, Sir *John Shelton* then standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking, and laying the Psalm *Miserere* in English, struck him on the Lips; Ye Knaves, said he, speak Latin, I will make thee. At the last they fet to fire; and Dr. Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, Merciful Father of Heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviours sake, receive my Soul into thy hands. So hood he still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till *Sejce* with a Halberd struck him on the head that the brains fell out, and the dead Corps fell down into the Fire.

Sejce striketh
down with
an halberd.

Thus rendered the Man of God his blessed Soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his most dear and certain Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most intirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.

Dr. Taylor
is dead.

They that were present and familiarly conversant with this Doctor Taylor, reported of him, that they never did see in him any fear of death, but especially and above all the rest, which beides him suffered at the same time, always shewed himself merry and cheerful in time of his Imprisonment, as well before his Condemnation, as after; he kept one Countenance and like Behaviour. Whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the Company and Presence of Mr. *John Bradford*, who then was in Prison and Chamber with him.

An example
of singular
Courage in
Dr. Taylor.

The same Morning, when he was called up by the Sheriff to go to his burning (about three of the Clock in the Morning) being suddenly awaked out of his sound sleep, he fate up in his Bed, and putting on his Shirt, had these words, speaking somewhat thick after his accustomed manner, *Ab horsen Thieves, ab horsen Thieves, rob God of his honour, rob God of his honour?* Afterward being risen and tying his Points, he cast his Arms about a Balk which was in the Chamber between Mr. *Bradford's* Bed and his; and there hanging by the hands, said to Mr. *Bradford*; O Mr. *Bradford*, quoth he, what a notable way should I give if I were hanged? meaning for that he was a corpulent and big man. These things I thought good here to note, to set forth and declare to those that shall read this History, what a notable and singular gift of spirit and courage God had given to this godly and blessed Martyr.

At what time Dr. Taylor was deprived of his Benefice of *Hadley*, there was one called Sir *Robert Bracher*, a false pretended Protestant in King *Edwards* days, and afterward a deadly Enemy to the same Religion; who was also one of them that so unmercifully thrust Dr. Taylor's Wife and Children out of the doors, as she her self yet can testify: and notwithstanding the same now since became a Protestant again.

This Sir *Robert Bracher* aforesaid, coming to *Hadley*

to the Burial of a certain Friend of his, and Gods great Enemy, one *Walter Clarke*, albeit he came somewhat too late to the Market (as he said) yet desirous to utter such Popish pelf and pack-ware as he brought with him, he opened there his Baggage of Peltitent Doctrine, preaching in the same Town of *Hadley* against Justification by Faith, of the Corporal Prefence, of Praying for the Dead, and Auricular Confession. Whereof Dr. Taylor having understanding by Letters, writeth again to them of *Hadley*, directing his Letter to his Wife in confirmation of the said Popish poysoned Sermon; the Copy of which Letter we thought not unworthy here in the end of this Story to be annexed, as under followeth.

A Letter of Dr. Taylor of *Hadley*, written to his Wife.

Dear Wife, I pray God be ever with us through Christ our only Mediator, Amen.

I thank you for my Cap; I am somewhat proud of it, for it is one step from the Clergy in these days. I thank God, my heart is clean divided from their Proceedings: for I know that no man can serve two Masters, specially if they agree no better than Christ and Antichrist do. I am glad that *Hadley* can skill of such packing ware as was brought thither the first day of May last past: Christs Sheep can discern Christs voice from the voice of Strangers, Thieves, or Hirelings. The Pack-bringer was sorry that he came too late to the Funeral Market of his faithful Friend. But here I will leave them both to Gods Judgment, and something touch the matter whereof the Pack-maker made mention on his opening day. At the first he called the Scripture (as I hear) full of dark Sentences, but indeed it is called of *David*, A Candle to our feet, and a Light to our paths. Our Saviour Christ calleth his Word, the Light which evil doers do flee from and hate, lest their deeds should be reproved thereby. *S. Paul* would have us to walk as Children of Light, and in any wise not to continue in Ignorance or Darknes. But all we in the World pertain to two Princes, either to the Father of Light and Truth, or else to the Prince of Darknes and Lies.

In these days Preachers declare evidently of whom they are feare, and with what spirit they speak, and to what Prince they belong. For they cry out against Gods Lights, Sun, Moon, Stars, Torches, Lamps, Lanthorns, Cressets, and Candles in Gods Book the Bible, provided of Gods great goodness and mercy to avoid all foul darknes, clouds and myles, or dangerous doubtful ways in this our Journey to our Heavenly Father, Long-home, Mansion-houses, and dearly purchased Heritage. *Ejays*, Gods faithful Messenger, faith, *Wo be unto them that call sweet soures, good evil, and lights darknes. Therefore cometh my People into Captivity, because they have no understanding.* Our Saviour Christ pronounceth Error and Heresies to remain among the People, so long as ignorance of the Scriptures remaineth. And hereby it appeareth to all good Consciences, what they mean, which defame or accuse Gods blessed Word being full of light, as though it were full of darknes. These Owls would have all day-lights scraped out of Books, Hearts, and Churches. O Lord turn their hearts and tongues; bow them from the way of darknes, lest they go to the Prince of Darknes, and be cast into the Pit of utter darknes, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Now touching the Packs of Wooll, and the Packs of Cloth, I fear they were as all other Wares be, transubstantiated into stocks, even his very finest packing stuff against only Faith justifying, and for the Corporal Prefence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, for praying for Souls departed, and for Auricular Confession. *Abrahams* Justification by Faith, by Grace, by Promise, and not by Works, is plainly set forth both in the Epistle to the *Romans*, c. 4. and to the *Galathians*, c. 3. and *Abrahams* works of Obedience, in offering up his Son so long after his Justification, must needs be taken as a Fruit of a good Tree justifying before men, and not of justification before God; for then had man to glory in, then did Christ dye in vain.

And whereas Chap. 6. of *Jobn* was alleged, to prove that Christ did give his Body Corporally in his Supper, even as he had promised in the said Chapter, it is most untrue. For only he gave his Body Sacramentally, Spiritually,

Sir Robert
Brachers
coming to
Hadley,
A Popish
Sermon of
Sir Robert
Bracher.

This Cap
was shrouded
Cap. sent by
Miles. Con-
sented to Dr. J.
Taylor by
his Wife.
This Pack-
maker was S. R.
D. 1555.
preaching
Popish Do-
ctrine at
Hadley.

The Scrip-
ture fully
accused of
the Catho-
lics to be
obscure
darknes.

The Popes
Pack-ware,
Justification
by Works,
Corporate
Prefence,
Prayers for
Souls, Auricular
Confession.

Against the
Corporate
Prefence
Christs Body
given in the
Supper Spiritually, up-
on the Crois
Corporally.

and effectually in his supper to the Faithful Apostles, and corporally he gave it in a Bloody Sacrifice for the Life of the World upon the Cross once for all. There in his own Person, in his own Natural Body he bare all our sins. By whose stripes we are healed, as *S. Peter* proceedeth, *1 Pet. 2. and Ezech. 53*. Indeed receiving Christs Sacrament accordingly as it was instituted, we receive Christs Body and Christs Blood, even as I said before the Apostles did.

Against the
Mist.
The Mists
the Pope's
youngest
Daughter.
Description
of the Pope's
Kingdom.

But the Popish Mass is another matter. The Mass as it is now, is but one of Antichrists youngest daughters, in the which the Devil is rather present and received, than our Saviour, the Second Person in Trinity, God and Man. O Lord God Heavenly Father, for Christs sake, we beseech thee to turn again *England* to the right way it was in *K. Edwards* time, from this Babylonical, Jewish, spiritual whoredom, conspiracy, tyranny, detestable enormities, False Doctrine, Heresies, hardness of Heart, and contempt of thy Word and Commandments, from this evident and open idolatry, sacrifice, Symonie, Blasphemy, Superstition, Hypocrisy, Transubstantiate Angel of Light, and day-Devil, Kingdom of Lies, foul vain Schisms, Sects, Seditions, Apostasies, gay sweet Poyson, howled and fingered viperous venom, wily wolfishness, Satanical subtilty, and abomination in the sight of God and all such as put on the true Spectacles of Holy Scripture. I am the more plain now in this matter, because I fear greatly, that many will be too much ready to go from Christ to Antichrist, from the Bible, Gods true Service and Religion, to Latine lying Legends, Portraits, Mass Books, and Superstition. They say their Church cannot err in any point, when indeed they be not of Gods Church, and therefore they can do nothing but err, even as they do almost in all Cases of true Faith.

Christ's
Popish ap-
plied.

But to come again to the Packer rather than Preacher, he bringeth *S. Chrysostom*, writing *Ad populum Antiochenum* where he maketh a comparison between Christs Flesh and *Elias* Cloak cast down to *Elizeus*, when *Elias* was taken up in the fiery Chariot; at length he saith, that Christ, ascending up to Heaven, took his Flesh with him, and also left his Flesh behind him in Earth.

The mean-
ing of Chry-
stom
rightly ex-
pounded
concerning
Elias Cloak.
Of this me-
morial
Cloak read
before in D.
Ridley dis-
putations.

The meaning of it is, he did ascend with his Flesh, and left a memorial Cloak of the same Body and Flesh, which he calleth his Flesh, as he in the Sacramental Phrase calleth Bread his Body, because it representeth his Body: & as in like manner of Sacramental speech, a Lamb was called the Passover, the Circumcision, Gods Covenant. He took up his Flesh corporally, and left his Flesh in Mystery and Sacrament Spiritually. Or it may be said, that he left his Flesh upon Earth, that is, his Mystical Body, his Faithful People; whom *S. Paul* calleth the Members of his Body, of his Flesh, of his Bones, *Bpbes. 5.*

The place of
Genesis 49.

In the 49. Chapter of *Genesis*, there is no word of Christs Sacrament, but there is a prophecy of Christs Passion wherein his sole was bound, that is, his Body. And where he speaketh there of Grapes and Wine, it is as that is spoken of Christ in another place, where he saith, *Ergo solus torcular calceavi*, I alone did tread the Wine-press, meaning thereby, that Christ alone suffered painful Passion for the Remission of Sins, and for the consolation of his Faithful Soldiers.

Christs Na-
tural Body
cannot be
divided.

It is not true that the Packer saith, that Christs infinite power may make his Body to be in a thousand places at once, as a Loaf to be in a thousand Bellies: for then may Christ divide the parts of his Body, as a Loaf is divided, and so consumed, and then might Scripture be false, appointing Christs Body to be but in one place. *Acts 3. Phil. 3. Heb. 3.* The Articles of our Faith tell us sufficiently where Christs Body is.

Christs Body
was never
in two pla-
ces at once.

It was never in two places at once, neither ever shall be, neither ever can be corporally and naturally, neither ever was, is, can, or shall be eaten so with any corporal Mouths, as the Capernaïtes and the Papists most erroneously and heretically do judge. If our Saviour Jesus Christ hath no other Body natural than is made of the Substance of Bread, and is in a thousand places at once, as I have often said in *Hadley*, we are not yet redeemed, neither shall our Bodies rise again, and be made like unto his Glorious Body. We are sure that our Saviour Christs Body is made of none other substance than of his Mother the Blessed Virgin *Maries* substance. We are sure that he taketh not the nature of Angels, much less of Bread. Only he taketh on him the seed of *Abraham*, *Heb. 2.* In all things like unto us, sin only except.

Heb. 2.

And this is a comfortable Doctrine to us Christians, believing stedfastly, as the true Catholic Faith is, that Christ hath but two Natures, perfect God, and perfect Man. Upon this Rock Christs Church is builded, and the Gates of Hell shall never prevail against it, *Matth. 16.*

Anno
1555.

I speak nothing now of Auricular Confession, and praying for Souls departed, because I do not hear what *Auricular* confession. Praying for the dead. Sure I am that he can bring no Authentic and Canonical Warrant for such his practice. He may say what he will of *Heretics* and *Greeks*, and Flesh under forms, and not above forms, or above the board. He may conjure and convey, piss and repass, even what he will in such Clouds and Myths. He reproved the Scriptures as full of darkness, and yet is full of darkness himself. He did wilyly, to bring proofs out of *Jewry*, *Turkey*, and other strange places, for his round white Cake, for that such his pedlary self-pack is contrary to the plain simplicity of Christs Supper. He glanced at Priests marriage. He might against that have brought as ancient a Doctor as any be alledged out of Hebrew, for his Mass and Wafer Cake, that is *Dr. Dives*, *1 Tim. 4.*

He meaneth
by the place
1 Tim. 4.
where S.
Paul speak-
eth of the
doctrine of
Dives, &c.

I marvel that he did not confute and confound *S. Paul* for the sentences written above the Altar, of the which he made mention in the Pulpit. For he and his Fellows of *Oxford* be so profound, so excellent, so glorious, and Triumphant Clerks, that they can easily prove a man an Ass, and writers in the Bible ignorant, simple, full of Errors, full of Heresies, and beggarly Fools. Yet they will be called Catholics, Faithful and true Christian People, Defenders of the Holy Mother the Church: but truly they take part with the Prince of darkness, with Antichrist, with *Jezebel*, *Apoc. 2.* They will not be called Papists, Pharisees, Jews, Turks, Heretics, and so forth: but whatsoever they will be called, Gods Religion had never more evident Adversaries, and that in all the chief points of it; no not then, when our Saviour Christ whips such Merchants out of the Temple, calling them a company of Thieves, *Mat. 21.* God give them Grace to repent. God be thanked that the Nobility feeling of late hath spied and stopped their Tyranny. O unhappy *England*! O more ungrateful People! sooner be- witched than the foolish *Galaithians*. We have now no excuse.

English Peo-
ple likened
to the Gala-
thians

We have undoubtedly seen the true trace of the Prophetical, Apostolical, primitive Catholic Church. We are warned to beware, lest we be led out of that way, society, and Rule of Religion. Now we shall hear what Country Men we be, whether spiritual and Heavenly, or carnal and Worldly. We had as true knowledge as ever was in any Country, or at any time, since the beginning of the World, God be praised therefore. If *Hadley*, being so many years perverted in such Truth, will now willingly and wittingly forsake the same, and desire it self with the Cake-God, Idolatry, and other Antichristianity thereunto belonging, let it surely look for many and wonderful plagues of God shortly. Though another have the Benefice, yet as God knoweth, I cannot but be careful for my dear *Hadley*. And therefore as I could not but speak, after the first abominable Mass begun there, I being present no more, I cannot but write now being absent, hearing of the wicked prophannation of my late Pulpit by such a wily wolf. Gods love, mercy, goodness and favour hath been unspeakable, in teaching us the right way of Salvation and Justification, let us all have some zeal, some care how to serve him according to his good will written. The God of Love and peace be ever in *Hadley*, through Christ our only Advocate. Amen.

The Cake
God.

The careful
zeal of
Doctor
Taylor for
Hadley.

Rowland Taylor.

After that *Steven Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, had got the Laws, and the secular Arm on his side, as ye have heard, with full Power and Authority to reign and rule as he listed, and had brought these godly Bishops and reverend Preachers afore said under foot, namely, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Dr. Ridley* Bishop of *London*, *Master Latimer*, *Mr. Hooper* Bishop of *Worcester* and *Glocester*, *Mr. Rogers*, *Mr. Sanders*, *Doctor Taylor*, and *Master Bradford*, all which he had now presently con- demned, and some also burned; he supposed now

The pro-
ceedings of
the Pope-
Catholics
in persecut-
ing their
Religious

all

Anno 1555. The manner of proceeding like in the Catholicks and the Turks.

all had been cock-sure, and that Christ had been conquered for ever, so that the People, being terrified with example of these great Learned men condemned, never would, nor durst once trust against their violent Religion: not much unlike in this behalf, to the manner of the Turks, who when they cannot maintain their Sect by good Learning and Truth of Gods Word, think by violence of Sword to force whom they can to their Belief; and that done, afterward make Laws, no man under pain of Heresie to dispute, or once to call in question any of their Proceedings.

Even so, Steven Gardiner and his Fellows, when they see they cannot prevail by trial of Gods Word, and Discourse of Learning, neither are disposed simply to seek for Truth where it is to be found, they take Exceptions against Gods Word, affirming it to be intricate, obscure, and insufficient to be his own Judge, and therefore that of necessity it must be judged by the Popes Church; and so having Kings and Queens on their side, they seek not to persuade by the Word of God, nor to win by Charity, but instead of the Law of God, they use (as the Proverb faith) *πρὸς τὸν θάνατον*, compelling men by Death, Fire, and Sword (as the Turks do) to believe that in very deed they think not. And indeed after Flesh and Blood this seemeth to be a sure way. Neither peradventure are they ignorant how gaily this way thriveth with the Turks: and therefore think they to practise the same, at least wile to they do, upon what example soever they do it. And thus condemned they these godly Learned Preachers and Bishops aforesaid, supposing, as I said, that all the rest would soon be quailed by their example. But they were deceived: for within eight or nine days after that Steven Gardiner had given Sentence against Master Hooper, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Sanders, Dr. Taylor, and Mr. Bradford, being the eighth of February, six other good men were brought likewise before the Bishops for the same cause of Religion, to be examined, whose Names were William Pigot Butcher, Steven Knight Barber, Thomas Tomkins Weaver, Steven Hawke Gentleman, John Laurence Priest, William Hunter Apprentice.

Steven Gardiner seeing thus his Device disappointed, and that Cruelty in this case would not serve to his Expectation, gave over the matter as utterly discouraged, and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to Boner Bishop of London: who supplied that part right doubtfully, as in the further Process of this History hereafter evidently and too much may appear. Thus Bishop Boner, taking the matter in hand, called before him in his Confraternity at Pauls, the Lord Mayor, and certain Aldermen sitting with him, the six Persons afore-named, upon the eighth day of February in the year aforesaid, and on the next day, being the ninth of February, read the Sentence of Condemnation upon them, as appeareth in Boners own Registers: such quick these men could make in dispatching their Business at once. Notwithstanding, because the Death of these Condemned Martyrs did not follow incontinently before the next Month of March, I will defer the prosecuting of their matter, till I come by the Grace of the Lord, to the time and day of their Suffering.

In the mean time, what was the cause that their execution was so long deferred after their Condemnation, I have not precisely to say, unless peradventure the Sermon of Alphonfus the Spanish Friar, and the Kings Confessor, did some good. For so I find, that when those six Persons aforesaid were cast upon Saturday the ninth of February, upon Sunday following, which was the tenth of February, the said Alphonfus a Gray Frier preached before the King: in which Sermon he did earnestly inveigh against the Bishops for burning of men, saying plainly that they learned it not in Scripture, to burn any for his Conscience: But the contrary, that they should live and be converted, with many other things more to the same purpose. But touching the lingering of these mens death, as I have not certainly to affirm, so let it pass.

Upon the 14. of February Mr. Robert Ferrar, Bp. of S. Davids, was sent towards S. Davids, there to be condemned and executed. Touching whose Martyrdom, so much as it fell not before the Month of March, we will defer the History thereof till we come to the day and time of his Suffering.

Furthermore, this foresaid 14. day of February, the Lord Chancellor, and other his Fellow Bishops, caused the Image of Thomas Becket, that old Romish Traytor, to be set up over the Mercers Chappel door in Cheapside in London, in the Form and Shape of a Bishop, with Miter and Crozier. Howbeit within two days after his Erection, his two Blessing Fingers were first broken away, and on the next day (being the seventeenth of February) his Head also was stricken off: whereupon arose great trouble, and many were suspected: among whom one Mr. John Barnes Mercer, dwelling over against the same Chappel, was vehemently by the Lord Chancellor charged withal, as the doer thereof, and the rather, for that he was a Professor of the Truth. Wherefore he and three of his Servants were committed to Prison: and at his delivery (although it could not be proved upon him) he was bound in a great sum of Money as well to build it up again as often as it should be broken down, as also to watch and keep the same. And therefore at this his compelled charges the Image was again set up the second day of March then next ensuing: but (for lack be like of careful watching) the fourteenth day of the same Month in the night, the Head of that dangerous Beast, over whom there was such Charge given, was again the second time broken off: which thing was so heinously taken, that the next day, being the 15. day, there was a Pooclamation made in London, that whosoever would tell who did strike off his Head (though he were of counsel, and not the principal doer) he should have not only his pardon, but also one hundred Crowns of Gold, with hearty thanks. But it was not known who did it.

The 18. of February, Queen Mary at length, after long delay, made full Answer to the King of Denmarks Letters, who had written before two Letters to the said Queen, in the behalf of Mr. Coverdale, for his deliverance, who at that time went under Sureties, and was in great danger, had he not been rescued by the great suit and Letters of the said King of Denmark.

The Matter and Copy of which his Suit and Letters, as they came to our hands, we have here set forth and express, whereby the singular love of this good King, towards the Truth of Gods Word, and the Professors thereof, might the better appear to the World.

First, This virtuous and godly King Christianus, M. Coverdale hearing of the Captivity of Miles Coverdale, of whom he had had some knowledge before (being there in Denmark in King Henry the Eighths time) and lamenting his dangerous case, and partly through the Intercession of Mr. Machabaus, Superintendent in Denmark, who was partly of Kin to Mr. Coverdale's Wife, made Intercession by Letters to Q. Mary, desiring and requesting the said Miles Coverdale to be sent unto him. The date of which his Letters was about the Kalends of May, Anno Dom. 1554. The Copy whereof here followeth.

Christianus Dei gratia, Danie, Norwegie, &c. Rex, &c. eadem gratia Serenissima ac Potentissima Principi D. Mariae, Angliae, Galliae, & Hiberniae Reginae, consanguinea nostra charissim. salutem.

Serenissima Princeps, consanguinea charissima, pro necestrudine mutua ac conjunctione, non solum Regij nemini inter nos sed etiam sanguinis, maxime vero utriusque inter hac regna nostra a vicissitudinis usque temporibus propagata ac servata, non modo commerciorum, sed omnium officiorum vicissitudine & fide, facere non possumus quin pietatis & doctrinae excellentis commendatione, verè reverendi viri Johannis Machabei, Sacrae Theologiae Doctoris, & Professoris praestantissimi, subditi ac ministri nostri imprimis dilecti, supplicibus gravissimisque precibus commoti, ad Serenitatem vestram has Literas daverimus. Exposuit nobis, in hac recenti perturbatione ac motu regni Angliae (quem ex animo evenisse dolemus, & nunc indies in melius verti speramus) quendam nomine Milonem Coverdale, nuper diocesani eximius, pie laudatissimae, memoriam proximi Regis Serenitatis vestrae fratri, consanguinei tandem nostri charissimi, auctoritate constitutum Episcopum, nunc in tristissimas calamitates, carcerem, ac periculum vitae, nulla atrocioris delicti culpa, sed illa fatali temporum ruina incidisse. Quae quidem hic Machabaeus noster quod ei affinitate (& quod gravius est) pietatis, eruditionis ac me-

The Becket image set up over the Mercers Chappel.

Febr. 17. Mr. Barnes Mercer troubled the Kings image.

Becket image again broken down.

Febr. 18. Q. Mary answered the King of Denmarks Letters touching Mr. Coverdale.

Machabaus and M. Coverdale, making suit to Q. Mary.

The Epistle of the K. of Denmark to Q. Mary, for deliverance of M. Coverdale.

rum similitudine, tanquam frater devinctus sit, non minus ad se pertinere existimat. Itaque vestram opem implorat, ut quam ipse gratiam & favorem apud nos mereatur, hominis innoctens calamitati ac periculo (quod ipse non minus suum putat) accommodemus. Movemur profecto non temere illius viri (cui suo merito imprimis benevolamus) commiseratione, ejusque maxime testimonio de captivi Antistitis innocentia atque integritate: de qua quidem est, ut eo melius speremus, quod multis jam morte multatus fontibus, de ipso integram adhuc Deni esse voluit. Proinde non dubitavimus Serenitatem vestram quantam possumus diligentia atque animi propensione rogare, ut nostra causa captivi illius D. Milonis rationem clementer habere dignetur, cumque ut à sceleris, ita à pene etiam atrocitate alienum esse voluit, & temporum offensam, qua ipsum quoque affligi verisimile est, nobis nostraeque amicitiae regie & precibus, praeteritum hoc primo auditu, benigne condonare, saltem carnis, ut si forte hoc rerum statu gravi ejus praesentia sit, incolumis ad nos cum suis dimittatur. Id nobis summi beneficii loco, & Serenitati vestrae in florantissimi regni auspiciis (quae angusta, fausta, ac fortunata serenitati vestrae ex animo optamus) ad clementia laudem honorisq. erit: & nos dabimus operam, ut cum amicitiae nostrae habitam rationem intellexerimus, eo majore studio in mutam vicem gratitudinis omniumque officiorum erga Serenitatem vestram ejusque universum regnum & subditos incumbamus. Deum optimam maximam precamur, ut Serenitati vestrae ad gloriam sui nominis, & publicam salutem felices omnium rerum successus, & incolumitatem diuturnam largiatur. Data ex arce nostra Coldingeum, septimo Calendae Maij, Anno 1555.

Vester consanguineus, frater, & amicus, Christianus, Rex.

To these Letters of the King, Queen Mary answering again, declared that the said Miles Coverdale was in no such Captivity for any Religion, but for certain Debt: so neither plainly granting, or expressly denying his Request, but using a colourable excuse for shitting off the matter, as appeareth by his second Letter sent to the Queen, dated the four and twentieth day of September, as followeth.

Christianus Dei gratia Daniae, Norwegiae, Gottorum, & Vandalorum Rex: Sleswici, Holsatiae, Stormariae, ac Dithemae Dux; Comes in Oldenburgh & Delmenhorst, Serenit. Principi Dominae Mariae, Angliae, Franciae, & Hiberniae Reginae, fidei defensor. &c. Sorori & consanguineae nostrae charissimae salutem, & omnium rerum optatos & faustos successus.

Redita sunt nobis literae Serenitatis vestrae, quibus benigne admodum ad deprecationem nostram, qua pro D. Milonis Coverdali Ecclesiae Exoniensis nuper nominati Episcopi incolumitate usi sumus, respondetur: ita ut intelligamus, licet alterius causae quam quae nobis innoverat, periculum sustineat, tamen Serenitatem vestram nostrae intercessionis eam rationem habituram esse, ut illam sibi profuisse ipse Coverdalis sentiat. Cui quidem promissioni regiae cum tantum meritum tribuamus, ut ea freti non dubitaverimus ejus captivi propinquos (nobis imprimis charos) à merore ac solitudine ad spem atque expectationem certa salutis vocare, facere non potuimus, quin & gratias Serenitati vestrae pro tam prompta ac benigne voluntate, non modo hujus beneficii, sed etiam perpetuae inter nos ac regna nostra conservandae ac colendae amicitiae ageremus, & quantum in nobis esset, quod ad amplectandam persequendaque haec auspiciata initia perimeret, nihil praetermitteremus. Neque vero nobis de clementia ac moderatione Serenitatis vestrae unquam dubium fuit, quam Deus optimus maximus ad gloriam sui nominis & fructum publicae utilitati: ut magis ac magis efflorescere vellet, ex animo optamus. Proinde cum ob rationes varias, neque aliud gravius delictum D. Coverdali, teneri Serenitas vestra tribuit, est (aut ut ipsius causa letemur, eoque minus ambigamus, liberationem incolumitatemque ejus nostris precibus liberaliter donari. Nam & accepimus ipsum Episcopatum, cujus nomine arario obstrictus fuerat, cessisse, ut inde satisfactio peteretur: maxime cum neque diu eo potius fuisse, neque tantum emolumentum inde percepisse dicatur.

Quinetiam si qua rationum perplexitas, aut alia forte causa reperiri posset: tamen sollicitudinem ac habitationem nobis Serenitatis vestrae tam amice atque officio deferentes literae omnem excuserunt: ut existimemus Serenitatem vestram, quoad ejus fieri posset, magis honorem nostrum, quam quid ab eo exigi posset, consideraturam: Itaque Serenitatem vestram repetitis precibus urgere non constituimus: sed potius testatum facere, quam accepta nobis Serenitatem vestrae gratificatio sit, cujus talem eventum omnino speramus, ut ipse Coverdalis coram nobis sua incolumitatem à Serenitatem vestrae beneficium propediem representare possit. Illud vero imprimis Serenitatem vestrae vicissim persuasum esse cupimus, nos non solum referende gratias, sed etiam stabilendae providebendaeque inter nos ac regna utrinque nostra amicitiae ac necessitudinis mutuae occasionem aut facultatem nullam esse praetermissuros. Deus opt. max. Serenitatem vestrae diu feliciter ac beate incolumem esse velit. Data ex oppido nostro Ottonenfi, 24. Sept. Anno 1554.

Vester frater & consanguineus, Christianus.

The same in English.

¶ Christierne by the Grace of God King of Denmark, Norway, Gotland and of the Vandals; Duke of Sleswick, Holsten, Stormar, and Demmarh; Earl of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, &c. To the most noble Princeps and Lady Mary, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Our most dearly beloved Sister and Cousin, wisheth prosperity with good and lucky success of all things.

WE have received your Majesties Letter, whereby answer is rendered, and that very graciously unto our Petition, which we made for the safeguard of Mr. Coverdale, late called Bishop of Exon. So that we perceive, though he be in danger for another cause than was signified unto us afore, yet your Majesty will so regard our Intercession, that Coverdale himself shall understand it to have done him good. To the which Regal Promise, seeing we (as reason would we should do) attribute so much, that trusting unto the same, we doubt not, whereas he being in Captivity, his Friends, whom we specially tender, are therefore in heaviness and care, your good Promise doth call them from such sorrow, and solitudine, to the hope and expectation of his assured welfare: we could not do otherwise, but render thanks unto your Majesty for such your ready and gracious good will, not only in respect of this benefit, but also of the conservation and keeping of perpetual Amity between us and our Realms, and so, as much as in us lieth, to omit nothing that to the nourishing and continuance of these fortunate beginnings might appertain. Neither had we ever any doubt concerning the clemency and moderation of your goodness, whom we heartily beseech Almighty God ever more and more to prosper, unto the glory of his Name, and profit of the Commonwealth. Wherefore seeing your Majesty writeth, that Mr. Coverdale is in danger for certain Accompts of Money, and not for any other more grievous Offence, we have cause on his behalf to rejoice: and therefore we doubt so much the less, that at our request he shall graciously have his deliverance given him, and be out of danger. For as touching the Bishoprick, by reason whereof he came in Debt, we understand he yielded it up, that no Payment might thereof be required, specially seeing he is reputed neither to have enjoyed it long, neither to have had at any time so great Commodity of it. Moreover, though it be possible to find some perplexity in the Account, or haply some other cause, yet your Majesties Letters, offering such favour and benignity, have taken from us all carefulness and doubt: Inasmuch, that we think your Majesty, as much as may be, will have more respect unto our honour, than to that which might of him be required. And therefore we purpose not to trouble your Majesty by repeating of our Petition, but to declare how greatly we esteem it, that your Majesty would gratifie us herein: whereof we plainly hope for an end, that Coverdale himself shall shortly in your Presence make declaration concerning the benefit of his welfare obtain'd of your Majesty. And of this we desire your Majesty to be specially assured again, that

Q. Mary
Gender an-
swer to the
Kings first
Letter.

Anno
1555.

Anno 1555. that we will not only omit no occasion or opportunity to requite this benefit but also to establish and amplify our mutual love and amity between us and our Realms on either side. Almighty God preserve your Majesty in prosperous health and felicity. Given at our City of Orton, the 24. of September, An. Dom. 1554.

¶ To these Letters it was a great while before the Queen would answer. At length through great suite made, the next year, the 18. of February, she answered again in this wise.

¶ *Sereniss. Principi D. Christiano Dei gratia Danie, &c. Regi, Slesvici, &c. Duci: Comiti in Oldenburgh, &c. Fratri & amico nostro charissimo.*

February 18. *M*aria Dei gratia Regina Anglie, Francie, Neapolitane, Hierusalem, &c. Hibernie, &c. Serenissimo Principi Christiano, a dem gratia, Danie, Norvegie, Gothorum & Vandalorum Regi: Slesvici, Holstie, Stormarie, & Dithemse Duc: Comiti in Oldenburg & Delmenhorst, &c. Fratri & amico nostro charissimo salutem, prosperumque rerum incrementum. Cum intelleximus ex Serenitatis vestre literis, quas hic nuncius nobis attulit, desiderium vestrum obtinendi a nobis pro M. Coverdalo subito nostro excusandi e regno nostro, & ad vos professendi facultatem

M. Coverdalo facile quidem, in V. Serenitatis gratiam, hanc illi facultatem concessimus. Et quoniam ille natus subditus noster nondum explicatus fuerat a debitione certa, cuiusdam pecunie quam nostro arario solvere jure tenebatur, tamen majorem vestri desiderii quam nostri debiti rationem habendam esse duximus. Quin insuper animum & voluntatem gratificandi vestre Serenitati pro nostra mutua amicitia, in qua alia etiam re possumus, cum opportunitas feret, libenter offendemus. Deus vestram Serenitatem divitissime servet inculcem. Ex Regia nostra Westmonasterii, 11. Febru. Anno 1555.

February 18. The office of Bishop Bener's intimation sent into his Diocesis, to receive the Cardinals Absolution, and to be reconciled to the Pope in Lent next following.

The same Month, the 19. day, was a certain intimation set forth and Printed in the name of Bener, wherein was contained a general moution, and streight charge given to every Man and Woman within his Diocesis, to prepare themselves against Lent then near approaching, to receive the glad tidings of Peace and Reconciliation sent from the Pope Julius the third, by Pool his Cardinal and Legate de Latere, and so receive also the joyful benefit of Absolution, being sent first from the Cardinal to Bener, and from him to every of his Archdeacons to be Ministered to every Private Person within his Diocesis, that would come the said holy time of Lent to his Pastor or Curate to be confessed, and to receive of him wholefom Counsel, Penance, and Absolution. Signifying moreover, that as he was authorized by the foresaid Cardinal, so he for the same purpose had induced with the like Authority all and singular Pastors and Curates within his Diocesis, to reconcile and assail from their former Heresie and Schism, and from the Censures of the Church, such as would resort unto them. And lest any scruple or doubt, rising peradventure in their Consciences, should be any stay or let in this behalf, he hath assigned and deputed therefore through his Diocesis certain learned men, to whom they might resort, or else might open their griefs to any of his Archdeacons, or else come to his own person, and so should be resolved.

And therefore all manner of doubts and obstacles set aside, he straitly willed and commanded every Man and Woman to come to Confession, and to enjoy this benefit of Reconciliation, and Absolution, against the first Sunday next after Easter ensuing, and not to fail. For the which purpose he had specially commanded the Pastors and Curates of every Parish to certify up in writing the names of every Man and Woman so reconciled, and so forth: The Copy of which intimation here under followeth.

The Declaration of the Bishop of London to be published to the Lay-people of his Diocesis, concerning their Reconciliation.

Edmund by the permission of God, Bishop of London, doth lend greeting in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Whereas this noble Realm of England, dividing it

self from the Unity of the Catholick Church, and from the agreement in Religion with all other Christian Realms, hath been, besides many other miseries and plagues, which Gods indignation hath poured upon it grievously also vexed, and sore infected with many and sundry sorts of Sects of Hereticks, as *Arrians, Anabaptists, Libertines, Zuinglians, Lutherans*, and many other, all which Sects be most repugnant; and contrary one against another, and all against Gods Truth, and Christs Catholick Faith; whereupon hath grown such slander to the Realm, such malice and disagreement among our selves, the Inhabitants thereof, such Treasons, Tumults, and Insurrections against our Prince, such Blasphemy and dishonour unto God, as no mans Tongue or Pen is able to express: It hath pleased the goodness of God to cast his eye of mercy and clemency upon us, and to move the Popes Holiness to send his most Godly Messenger, the most reverend Father in God, the Lord Cardinal Poole Legate de Latere, to bring us the glad tidings of Peace and Reconciliation, and to reduce and bring home unto the fold the lost sheep that were gone astray: whose message, as it hath been honourably received of the King and Queens Majesties, even so the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons at the last Parliament have received it, revoking all Laws the which in the time of Schism were promulged against the Authority of the Popes Holiness, and restoring the same and the Church of Rome to all that Power which they had in this Realm before the said Schism, the which Reconciliation was also most gladly and joyfully embraced, as well of all the Clergy and Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, as also of many other Persons; and being so great and necessary to be extended to every Person of the Realm, it hath pleased the said Lord Legates Grace to give and impart unto me the said Bishop of London, for my said Diocesis, and to all such as I shall appoint in that behalf, Power and Authority to absolve and reconcile all and every Person thereof, as well of the Clergy as of the Laity, and as well Men as Women, the which will renounce their Errors and (being penitent) will humbly require to be restored to the Unity of the Catholick Church, as by the Letters of the said Lord Legates Grace sent unto me, and from me sent unto every of the Archdeacons within my Diocesis, more at large may and doth appear. And so much as in mine own person, as well for the multitude of People, as distance of places, I cannot Minister this benefit unto every private Person my self, and for that also the holy time of Lent is now at hand, in which every true Christian Man ought to come unto his own Pastor and Curate, to be of him confessed, and to receive at his hand wholefom Counsel, Penance, and Absolution: these are therefore as well to give knowledge unto every one of you, as also to signify and declare, that for that purpose, I have by the said Authority chosen, named, and deputed, and so by these presents do chuse and depute all and singular Pastors and Curates having Cure of Souls within my Diocesis, and being themselves reconciled herein, that they and every of them by Authority hereof, shall have full Power and Authority to absolve all such as be Lay-persons of their Parishes from Heresie and Schism, and from the Censures of the Church, into which they be fallen by occasion thereof also, & to reconcile to the Church all such which shall declare themselves penitent, and desirous to enjoy the benefit of the said reconciliation. And whereas divers Pastors and Curates in Sundry Parishes peradventure be not able to satisfy theminds, and to appeale the Consciences of some of their Parishioners in Cases that shall trouble them, I have therefore given also Authority to every Arch-Deacon of my Diocesis within his Archdeaconry, to name and appoint certain of the best learned in every Deanery of their Archdeaconry, to supply that lack, so that every Man so troubled may repair to any one of them within the said Deanery, whom he shall like best, to be instructed and appeased in that behalf. And also I have appointed, that if this being done, there shall yet remain any scruple in the parties Conscience, and himself not satisfied, then the said party shall repair unto one of mine Archdeacons or Chaplains, unto whom his mind shall be most inclined, or else to repair unto mine own self, to be resolved in his said scruple or doubt, and

to receive and take such order therein, as to one of the said Archdeacons, or unto me shall therein appear to be most expedient.

Further certifying and declaring unto you, that I have given commandment herein to all my Archdeacons, that they monish and command every Pastor and Curate within their Archdeacons, that they, having knowledge hereof, do on the first Holiday next then following, at the Mass time, when the Multitude of People is present, declare all these things unto their Parishioners, and exhort them that they esteem this Grace accordingly, and reconcile themselves to the Church before the first Sunday after Easter next ensuing: which thing I also do command by the tenor hereof, with intimation that the said time being once past, and they not so reconciled, every one of them shall have Process made against him, according to the Canons, as the cause shall require: for which purpose the Pastors and Curates of every Parish shall be commanded by their Archdeacon, to certify me in writing of every man and womans name that is not so reconciled.

Further, herewith I do signify and declare unto you, that our holy Father the Pope Julius the Third of that Name, like a most tender and natural Father, hearing of the return and recovery of his Prodigal Child this Realm of England, hath himself made much joy and gladness hereat, and also all other true Christian Realms have done the like. Exhorting you therefore in our Lord not to be unthankful your selves, or negligent in this behalf, but diligently to seek for it, joyfully to embrace it, and fruitfully to use it, remembering withal the monition and charge which came from me the last year, concerning your coming to Confession in Lent, and receiving the Sacrament at Easter: which monition to all effects and purposes I have now here repeated and renewed, charging you, and also all your Curates therewith. And because all our duties is earnestly and devoutly to pray for the prosperous estate of our Sovereigns, the King and the Queen of this Realm, I do finally require and pray you, as heartily as I can, to pray for their Majesties accordingly; and specially that it may please Almighty God, to send unto her Grace a good time, and to make her a glad Mother, which cannot be but unto us all great joy, much comfort and ineffable profit. Given at London the 19. day of the Month of February, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of England, 1554. and of my Translation the 16th.

The Form of Absolution to be kept by the Pastors and Curates in private Confessions, concerning this Reconciliation.

The Absolution of B. Tenor to be used in his Diocese.

Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you, and by the Apostolic Authority to me granted and committed, I absolve you from the Sentences of Excommunication, and from all other Censures and Pains, into the which you be fallen by reason of Heresy, or Schism, or any other ways: and I restore you unto the unity of our holy Mother the Church, and the Communion of all Sacraments, dispensing with you for all manner of irregularity; and by the same Authority I absolve you from all your sins, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

The lamentable History of Mr. James Hales Judge.

The History of Judge Hales.

IN the History of Mr. Hooper mention was touched a little before of Judge Hales, wherefore something would be said more in this place touching that matter. But because the Story of that man, and of his end, is sufficiently comprehended in our first Book of Acts & Monuments, we shall not greatly need to stand upon rehearsal of every particular matter touching the whole, but only taking the chiefest, and leaving the rest, we will report somewhat of the Communication between the Bishop of Winchester and him; declaring withal how false and untrue the excuse is of our Adversaries, which so precisely by the Law defend themselves, and say, that in all their doings they did nothing but by the Law, to bear them out. Which if it be so, how did they then to Anne Askew? What Law had they, when they had condemned her first for a dead woman, then afterward to rack her? By what Law did

they call up Mr. Hooper, and prison him for the Queens Debt, when the Queen in very deed did owe him fourscore pounds, and kept him a year and a half in Prison, and gave him never a penny? By what Law did B. Boner condemn and burn Richard Mekins, a Lad of 15 years, when the first Jury had quit him, and he at the Stake revoked all Heresies, and praised the said Boner to be a good man; and also having him in Prison, would not suffer his Father and Mother to come to him, to comfort their own Child? What Law had they to put Mr. Rogers in Prison, when he did neither preach nor read Lecture after the time of the Queens Inhibition, and when they had kept him in his own House half a year, being not deprived of any Living, yet would not let him have an half penny of his own Livings to relieve him, his Wife and eleven Children? By what Law was Thomas Tomkins hand burnt, and afterward his Body consumed to Ashes? What good Law or Honesty was there to burn the three poor Women at Garsy, with the Infant Child falling out of the Mothers Womb, when as they all before their death recanted their words and opinions, and were never abjured before? So here likewise in this case, what order or right of Law did Steven Gardiner follow in troubling and imprisoning Judge Hales, when he had done nothing neither against Gods Law, nor Mans Law, in proceeding by Order of Law against certain presumptuous persons, which both before the Law, and against the Law then in force, took upon them to say their Mass? as ye shall hear in these his Answers and Communication had with Steven Gardiner here under ensuing.

The Communication between the Lord Chancellor and Judge Hales, being there among other Judges, to take his Oath in Westminster-Hall, An. 1553. Octob. 6.

M After Hales, ye shall understand, that like as the Queens Highness hath heretofore conceived good opinion of you, especially for that ye stood both faithfully and lawfully in her Cause of just Succession, refusing to set your Hand to the Book among others that were against her Grace in that behalf: so now, through your own late defects against certain her Highnesses doings, ye stand not well in her Graces favor; and therefore before ye take any Oath, it shall be necessary for you to make your purgation.

Hales. I pray you my Lord what is the cause?

Chan. Information is given, that ye have indicted certain Priests in Kent for saying Mass.

Hales. My Lord, it is not so, I indicted none; but indeed certain Indictments of like matter were brought before me at the last Assizes there holden, and I gave order therein as the Law required. For I have professed the Law, against which in cases of Justice I will never, God willing, proceed, nor in any wise dissemble, but with the same shew forth my Conscience, and if it were to do again, I would do no less than I did.

Cha. Yea, Mr. Hales, your Conscience is known well enough, I know you lack no Conscience.

Hales. My Lord, you may do well to search your own Conscience; for mine is better known to my self than to you: and to be plain, I did as well use Justice in your said Mass-case by my Conscience, as by Law, wherein I am fully bent to stand in trial to the uttermost that can be objected. And if I have therein done any injury or wrong, let me be judged by the Law; for I will seek no better defence, considering chiefly that it is my Profession.

Chan. Why Mr. Hales, although you had the rigour of the Law on your side, yet ye might have had regard to the Queens Highness present doings in that case. And further, although ye seem to be more than precise in the Law, yet I think ye would be very loth to yield to the extremity of such advantage as might be gathered against your proceedings in the Law, as ye have sometime taken upon you in place of Justice, and if it were well tried, I believe ye should not be well able to stand honestly thereto.

Hales. My Lord, I am not so perfect, but I may err for lack of knowledge. But both in Conscience, and such Knowledge of the Law as God hath given me, I will do nothing but I will maintain it, and abide in it: and if my goods and all that I have be not able to counterpoise the case,

Anno

1555.

The Cuthberts proved to do against the Law in Q. Marys time.

Communication between Judge Hales and the Bishop of Winchester.

Justice Hales for Justice like troubled.

Anno
1555.Winchester
squarrell'd
with M.
Hales Religi-
ous.

cate, my Body shall be ready to serve the turn; for they be all at the Queens Highnesss pleasure.

Cha. Ah Sir, ye be very quick and stout in your answers. But as it should seem, that which you did was more of a will favouring the Opinion of your Religion against the Service now used, than for any occasion or zeal of Justice, seeing the Queens Highness doth sit both as yet, willing all her Faithfull Subjects to embrace it accordingly: and where you offer both Body and Goods in your Trial, there is no such matter required at your Hands, and yet ye shall not have your own will neither.

Hales. My Lord, I feele not wilfull will, butto shew my self as I am bound in love to God and Obedience to the Queens Majesty, in whose Cause willingly for Justice sake, all other respects set apart, I did of late, as your Lordship knoweth, adventure as much as I had. And as for my Religion, I trust it be such as pleaseth God, wherein I am ready to adventure as well my Life as my Substance, if I be called thereunto. And so in lack of mine own Power and will, the Lords will be fulfilled.

Cha. Seeing you be at this point *M. Hales*, I will presently make an end with you. The Queens Highness shall be informed of your Opinion and Declaration. And as her Grace shall thereupon determine, ye shall have knowledge. Until such time as ye may depart as ye came, without your Oath, for as it appeareth, ye are scarce worthy the place appointed.

Hales. I thank your Lordship: and as for my Vocation, being both a Burden and a Charge more than ever I desired to take upon me; whensoever it shall please the Queens Highness to call me thither, I shall most humbly with due contentation obey the same, and so be departed from the Bar.

Not many days after this Communication or Colloquy in *Westminster-Hall*, which was October 5. Anno 1553. *M. Hales* at the commandment of the Bishop was committed to the *Kings Bench*, where he remained constant until Lent: then was he removed to the *Counter in Breadstreet*, and afterward from thence was carried to the *Fleet*.

Being in the *Fleet*, what it was that he had granted unto the Bishops, by their fraudulent assaults and persuasions; namely, of *D. Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, and of Judge *Mortimer* (as it is thought) overcome at last, I have not to say.

This is certain, that shortly after, calling himself better to remembrance, he was brought to great repentance and Terror of Conscience. Inasmuch, that for very anguish of Heart he was ready with his Penknife to kill himself there in the Prison, and had (no doubt) so done, had not the Merciful Providence of the Lord rescued him miraculously, as ye shall hear.

It hapned when supper time came, that he should be called down, *M. Hales* having little mind either to eat or to drink, gate him straightway to Bed, where he lay all the Night sobbing and groaning, and took (God knoweth) little rest or sleep. At length when morning came, about 6. of the Clock he sent his Servant for a Cup of beer, under pretence as though he were thirsty and desirous to drink; whether this Cause were true or feigned it is unknown: but this followed, that his man was scarce out of the Chamber, when he with his Penknife had wounded himself in divers places of his Body, and was purposed (no doubt) to have destroyed himself; had not the goodness of the Lord given present help in time of opportunity. Whereby it is evident for all men to understand, how Gods favour was not absent from the man, although he thought himself utterly forsaken for his denial, as by the sequel may well appear.

For as soon as he had sent his man out of his Chamber (see what God would have done) even afore the Chamber door creaks the Butler met him: who being desired to fill the drink, and taking the Cup, the other returned again unto his Master, at the same very time when he was working his own Destruction: whereby *M. Hales* at that time was stopp'd of his purpose, and preserved, not without Gods manifest good will and providence. When *Winchester* had knowledge of it, straightway he taketh occasion thereby to Blaspheme the Doctrine of the Gospel, which he openly in the *Star-chamber* called Doctrine of Desperation. Master *Hales* being within a while

after recovered of those wounds, and delivered out of Prison, gotten himself home unto his House where he, either for the greatness of his sorrow, or for lack of good Counsel, or for that he would avoid the necessity of hearing Mass, having all things set in order, a good while before that pertaining to his Testament, casting himself into a shallow River, was drowned therein; which was about the beginning of the Month of February, or in the Month of January before Anno 1555.

The unhappy chance of this so worthy a Judge was surely the Cause of great sorrow and grief unto all good men, and it gave occasion besides unto certain Divines to stand something in doubt with themselves, whether he were reprobate or saved, about which matter it is not for me to determine either this way or that: for he that is our Judge, the time shall be his Judge; and he it is that will lay all things open when the time cometh. This in the mean time is certain and sure, that the Deed of the man in my mind ought in no wise to be allowed, which if he did wittingly, then do I discommend the mans reason. But if he did it in phrensie, and as being out of his wits, then do I greatly pity his Case.

Yet notwithstanding, seeing Gods Judgments be secret and we likewise in doubt upon what intent he did thus punish himself, neither again is any man certain, whether he did repent or no before the last Breath went out of his Body; me thinketh, their Opinion is more indifferent herein, which do rather disallow the example of the Deed, than despair of his Salvation.

Otherwise, if we will adjudge all those to Hell that have departed the World after this sort, how many examples have we in the first Persecutions of the Church, of those Men and Women, who being registred in the works of worthy Writers, have notwithstanding their praise and Commendation?

For what shall I think of those young men, who being sought for to do Sacrifice to Heathen Idols, did cast down themselves head-long, and break their own Necks, to avoid such horrible pollution of themselves? What shall I say of those Virgins of *Antioch*, who to the end they might not defile themselves with uncleanness, and with Idolatry, through the perswasion of their Mother, casting themselves head-long into a River together with their Mother, did foredo themselves, although not in the same water, yet after the same manner of drowning as this Master *Hales* did? What shall I say of the other two Sisters, which for the self-same quarter did violently throw themselves head-long into the Sea, as *Eusebius* doth record? In whom, though perchance there was no less confidence to bear out the pains which should be ministered of the wicked unto them, yet that their good desire to keep their Faith and Religion unspotted was commended and praised.

Another like example of Death is mentioned by *Nicophorus*, and that in another Virgin likewise, whose name is expressed in *Hierom* to be *Brasyl Dyrrachina*, who to keep her Virginity feigned her self to be a Witch, and so conventing with the young man which went about to deflower her, pretended that she would give him an herb which should preserve him from all kind of Weapons; and so to prove it in her self, laid the herb upon her own throat, bidding him smite, whereby she was slain, and so with the loss of her Life her Virginity was saved.

Hereunto may be joyned the like Death of *Sophronia*, a Matron of *Rome*, who when she was required of *Mazentius* the Tyrant to be defiled, and saw her Husband more slack than he ought to have been in saving her honestly, bidding them that were sent for her to tarry a while till she made her ready, went into her Chamber, and with a Weapon thrust her self through the Breast, and dyed. Now who is he that would reprehend the worthy Act of *Achete*, which biting off his own Tongue spit it out into the Harlots Face?

These Examples I do not here infer, as going about either to excuse, or to maintain the hainous fact of *M. Hales*, which I would with rather by silence might be drowned in oblivion; but yet notwithstanding, as touching the Person of the man, whatsoever his fact was, because we are not sure whether he at the last Breath repented again, because we do not know, nor are able to comprehend the bottomless depth of the Graces and Mercies

M. Hales
committed
to the Kings
Bench.M. Hales
brought to kill
himself in
Prison.Gods Merciful
Providence
in refusing M.
Hales.Winchester
might rather
have said
how their
cruel dealing
worketh
desperation
Judge Hales
drowned
himself.The cause of
Judge Hales
drowning
conscience.Examples in
the time of
the first per-
secution.Eusebius.
Ecc. lib. 1.Nicophorus.
A. C. 13. Brasyl
Dyrrachina.

cies which are in Christ Jesus our Saviour, we will leave therefore the final Judgment of him, to the determination of him who is only appointed Judge both of the quick and the dead.

De Jacobo Halisto Carmen.

*Sit tua quanta fuit, gravitas, prudentia, norma,
Junctaque sincera cum pietate fides:
Tum caro forma tibi fortisque Haliste fuisset,
Sanctorum primo classe ferendus eras.
Instituit sed enim sua quis sic tempera vitæ
Sanctorum, ut nullis sint maculata malis?
Quum nihil ergo vides propria quin labe laboret,
Tu tua fac cures, cetera mitte Deo.*

The History of Thomas Tomkins, who having first his hand burned, after was burned himself by Bishop Boner, for the constant testimony of Christ's true Profession.

March 18.
The History
of Thomas
Tomkins
Martyr.

Mention was made before of six Prisoners, brought and examined before Bishop Boner the 8. of February, whose names were Tomkins, Pigot, Knight, Hawkes, Lawrence, and Hunter. All which, though they received their Condemnation together the next day after, yet because the time of their Execution was then driven off from February till the next Month of March, I did therefore refer the Story of them to this present Month of March aforesaid, wherein now remaineth severally to intreat of the Martyrdom of these six Persons, as the order and time of their Sufferings severally do require. Of the which six aforesaid Martyrs, the first was Thomas Tomkins burned in Smithfield, the 16. day of March, Anno 1555.

The godly
life and dis-
position of
Tom Tomkins.

This Thomas Tomkins, a Weaver by his Occupation, dwelling in Shore ditch, and of the Diocess of London, was of such Conversation and Disposition so godly, that if any woman had come to him with her Webbs, as sometime they did, three or four in a day, he would always

begin with Prayer. Or if any other had come to talk of Anno any matter, he would likewise first begin with Prayer. 1555. And if any had sought unto him to borrow Money, he would shew him such Money as he had in his Purse, and bid him take it.

And when they came to repay it again, so far off was he from seeking any Usury at their hand, or from freight exaction of his due, that he would bid them keep it longer, while they were better able. And these were the Conditions of Thomas Tomkins, testified yet to this present day by the most part of all his Neighbours, and almost of all his Parish which knew him, as Mr. Skinner, Mr. Leeke, and other more. Of whom more than half a dozen at once came to me, discreet and substantial men, reporting the same unto me, recording moreover as followeth: That Dr. Boner Bishop of London, kept the said Tomkins with him in Prison half a year: during which time the said Bishop was so rigorous unto him, that he beat him bitterly about the face, whereby his face was swelled. Whereupon the Bishop caused his Beard to be shaven, and gave the Barber Twelve pence.

Touching which shaving of Thomas Tomkins Beard, this is more to be added; Bishop Boner having Tomkins with him Prisoner at Fulham, in the Month of July, did set him with his other Work-folks to make Hay. And seeing him to labour so well, the Bishop sitting him down, said, Well, I like thee well, for thou labourst well: I trust thou wilt be a good Catholicke. My Lord, said he, S. Paul saith, He that doth not labour, is not worthy to eat. Boner said, Ah, S. Paul is a great man, and so with thee. And so after such other talk, the Bishop inferring moreover, withed his Beard off, saying, that so he would look like a Catholicke. My Lord, said Tomkins, before my Beard grew, I was, I trust, a good Christian, and so I trust to be, my Beard being on. But Boner in fine sent for the Barber, and caused his Beard to be shaven off. The very cause was for that Boner had plucked off a piece of his Beard before.

The burning of Thomas Tomkins hand by Bishop Boner.



The notable
Confiscancy
in a true
Christian
Soulier.

The rage of this Bishop was not so great against him, but the Confiscancy of the Party was much greater with Patience to bear it: who, although he had not the Learning as other have, yet he was so indued with Gods mighty Spirit, and so constantly planted in the perfect knowledge of Gods Truth, that by no means he could be removed from the Confession of Truth, to Impiety and Error. Whereupon, Boner the Bishop being

The burning of the blessed Martyr Thomas Tomkins.



greatly vexed against the poor man, when he saw that by no Perswasions he could prevail with him, devised another practice not so strange as cruel, further to try his Confiscancy, to the intent, that seeing he could not otherwise convince him by Doctrine of Scriptures, yet he might overthrow him by some foreseeing and terror of death. So having with him Mr. Harpsfield, Mr. Templeton, Doctor Chedsey, Master Willerton, and other

Anno 1555. Bishop Bonner playeth King Edmundo in burning the hand of Scavola.

standing by, he called for *Thomas Tomkins*, who coming before the Bishop, and standing as he was wont to do, of his Faith, the Bishop fell from beating to burning. Who, having there a taper or wax candle in place or four wicks standing upon the Table, thought meet to represent unto us as it were, the old Image of King *Perennis*. For as he burned the hand of *Scavola*, so this Catholick Bishop took *Tomkins* by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame, supposing that by the smart and pain of the fire being terrified, he would leave off the defence of his Doctrine, which he had received.

Tomkins thinking no otherwise, but there presently to dye, began to commend himself unto the Lord, saying, O Lord, into thy hands I commend my Spirit, &c. In the time that his hand was in burning, the same *Tomkins* afterward reported to one *James Hulse*, that his Spirit was so wrapt, that he felt no pain. In the which burning he never shrunk, till the veins shrunk, and the sinews burst, and the water did spirt in *Master Harpsfield's* face. Inasmuch that the said *M. Harpsfield*, moved with pity, desired the Bishop to stay, saying, that he had tried him enough. This burning was in the Hall at *Fulham*.

And where the Bishop thought by that means to drive him from his Opinions, it proved much otherwise: for this Christian *Scavola* so valiantly did despise, abide, and endure that burning, that we have left Cause hereafter to marvel at the manliness of that Roman *Scavola*: I would to God the other had aswell followed the example of that *Hercules* Tyrant. For he, after the left hand of *Scavola* was halfburned, either satisfied with his punishment, or overcome by his manhood, or driven away by fear, sent him home safe unto his people: whereas *Bonner*, hitherto not contented with the burning of his Hand, relted not until he had consumed his whole Body into ashes, at *London* in *Smithfield*.

But before we come to his Suffering, we will first intreat of some part of his Examination and Articles, with his answers and confession thereunto annexed, as it is credibly in Register recorded.

The first Examination of Thomas Tomkins.

The first examination of Thomas Tomkins before Bonner Bishop of London.

His Faithful and valiant Souldier of God *Thomas Tomkins*, after he had remained the space (as is said) of half a year in prison, about the 8. day of February was brought with certain other before *Bonner* sitting in his Consistory, to be examined. To whom first was brought forth a certain Bill or Schedule subscribed (as appeareth) with his own hand, the fifth day of the same Month last before, containing these words following.

The confession of Thomas Tomkins subscribed with his own hand.

Thomas Tomkins of *Shoreditch*, and of the Diocess of *London*, hath believed and doth believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour *Iesus Christ* in Substante, but only a token and remembrance thereof, the very Body and Blood of *Christ* being only in Heaven, and no where else.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

Tomkins confessed to his Faith.

Whereupon he was asked, whether he did acknowledge the same subscription to be of his own hand. To the which he granted, confessing it so to be. This being done the Bishop went about to persuade him (with words, rather than with reasons) to relinquish his opinions, and to return again to the unity of the Catholick Church, promising if he would so do, to remit all that was past. But he constantly denied so to do. When the Bishop saw he could not so convince him, he brought forth and read to him another writing, containing Articles and Interrogatories, whereunto he should come the next day and answer: in the mean time he should deliberate with himself what to do, and so the next day, being the 9. day of March, at eight of the Clock in the morning to be present in the same place again, to give his determinate answer what he would do in the premises, and then either to revoke and reclaim himself, or else in the afternoon the same day to come again and have

Justice (as he called it) ministred unto him. This Copy of which Articles here followeth.

Articles objected and ministred the 8. day of February against Thomas Tomkins; with his own hand subscribing to the same.

Thou dost believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is not, by the Omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy Word, really, truly and in very deed, the very true and natural Body of our Saviour *Iesus Christ*, as touching the Substante thereof, which was conceived in the Womb of the Virgin Mary, and hanged upon the Cross, suffering passion and death there for the life of the World.

I do so believe.

Thou dost believe, that after the Consecration of Bread & Wine prepared for the use of the Sacrament of the Altar, there doth remain the Substante of material Bread, and material Wine, not changed nor altered in Substante by the Power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

I do so believe.

Thou dost believe, that it is an untrue Doctrine, and a false Belief, to think or say, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is, after Consecration of the Bread and Wine, the Substante of *Christ's* Natural Body and Blood, by the Omnipotent Power of Almighty God, and his Holy Word.

I do so believe.

Thou dost believe, that thy Parents, Kinsfolke, Friends, and Acquaintance, and also thy Godfathers and Godmothers, and all People did err, and were deceived, if they did believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there was, after the Consecration, the Body and Blood of *Christ*, and that there did not remain the Substante of material Bread and Wine.

I do so believe.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

The second Examination of Thomas Tomkins.

The next day being the 9. of February, at 8. of the Clock before noon, the said *T. Tomkins* (according to the former Commandment) was brought again unto the place aforesaid, before the Bishop and other his Assistants, where the foresaid Articles were propounded unto him: whereunto he answered as followeth:

To the first he said, that he did so believe, as in the same is contained.

To the second he said, that it was only Bread and a participation of *Christ's* death and passion, and so do the Scriptures teach.

To the third he said and did believe, it was a false Doctrine, to believe and think as is contained in this Article.

To the fourth, he did also believe the same.

After this answer, he did also subscribe his name to the said Articles. Whereupon, the Bishop drawing out of his bosom another confession subscribed with *Tomkins's* own hand, and also that Article that was the first day objected against him, caused the same to be openly read, and then willed him to revoke and deny his said opinions; the which he utterly refused to do; and therefore was commanded to appear before the Bishop again in the same place at two of the Clock in the Afternoon.

The Bishop repeareth again the confession of Thomas Tomkins, written before by the said Bishop of London, and subscribed by the said Tomkins, the 26. of September, Anno, 1554. which is this.

I Thomas Tomkins of the Parish of *Shoreditch*, in the Diocess of *London*, having confessed and declared openly heretofore to *Edmund Bishop* of *London* mine Ordinary, that my belief hath been many years past, and is as this present; that the Body of our Saviour *Iesus Christ*

Articles ministred against T. Tomkins.

Substante of Bread & Wine in the Sacrament.

The Natural Presence of Christ in the Sacrament.

The error of the Foredecessors touching the Sacrament.

The second Examination.

Answer of Tomkins to the Articles.

The first confession of Tomkins offered to 22. Nov. and now here again repeat: ed.

Christ is not truly and in every deed in the Sacrament of the Altar, but only in Heaven; and so in Heaven; that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the Sacrament of the Altar.

The Mass
fall of Sa-
pition &
Idolatry.

And moreover, having likewise confessed and declared to my said Ordinary openly many times, that although the Church, called the Catholick Church, hath allowed, and doth allow the Mass and Sacrifice made and done therein, as a wholesome, profitable, and a godly thing; yet my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the said Mass is full of Superstition, plain Idolatry, and unprofitable for my Soul, and so have I called it many times, and take it at this present.

Baptism
ought to be
ministered in
the vulgar
Tongue.

Having also likewise confessed and declared to my said Ordinary, that the Sacrament of Baptism ought to be only in the vulgar Tongue, and not otherwise ministered, and also without any such Ceremonies, as accustomed are used in the Latin Church, and otherwise not to be allowed.

Tompkins
constantly
furnished to
the Truth of
the Go-
spel.

Finally, being many times and oft called openly before my said Ordinary, and talked withal touching all my said Confessions and Declarations, both by the said mine Ordinary and divers other Learned men, as well as Chaplains as other, and counselled by all them to embrace the Truth, and to recant mine Error in the Premises, which they told me was plain Heresie and manifest Error; do testifie and declare hereby, that I do and will continually stand to my said Confession, Declaration, and Belief, in all the Premises, and every part thereof, and in no wise recant or go from any part of the same. In witness whereof I have subscribed, and passed this writing the 26. day of September, the year aforesaid.

By me Tho. Tompkins aforesaid.

The Name of them that sate upon Thomas Tompkins at this Session, were these; Edmund Boner, John Fecknam Dean of Pauls, John Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, John Morwen Master of Arts, Thomas Marton Parson of Fulham, Tristram Swadell, Thomas More, Thomas Bekinslow, James Cline, Clerks.

The Last Appearance of Thomas Tompkins before Boner and the Commissioners.

The last ap-
pearance and
condemnation
of T.
Tompkins.
Martyr.

The same day and place, at two of the Clock in the Afternoon, he was (the last time) brought before the Bishops of London, Bathes, and St. Davids, with others; where he was earnestly exhorted by the said Bishop of Bathes to revoke and leave off his Opinions. Unto whom he answered, My Lord, I was born and brought up in Ignorance until now of late years; and now I know the Truth, wherein I will continue unto the death.

Sentence
read against
Thomas Tompkins,
March 26.

Then Boner caused all his Articles and Confession to be again openly read, and so in his accustomed manner perswaded with him to recant. To whom he finally said, My Lord, I cannot see but that you would have me forsake the Truth, and to fall into Error and Heresie. The Bishop seeing he would not recant, did proceed in his Law, and so gave Sentence of Condemnation upon him.

The Mar-
tyrdom of
Th Tompkins
in Smithfield
A.D. 1555.
March 26.

Then he delivered him to the Sheriff of London, who carried him thither unto Newgate, where he remained most joyous and content until the 16. day of March next after: on which day, he was by the said Sheriff conveyed into Smithfield, and there sealed up his Faith in the flaming Fire, to the Glory of Gods holy Name, and Confirmation of the Weak.

A notable History of William Hunter, a young man of 19 years, pursued to death by Justice Brown for the Gossels sake, worthy of all young Men and Parents to be read.

Will. Hunter
an Appren-
tice and
Martyr.

The 26. day of the said Month of March, the year aforesaid, followed the Martyrdom of William Hunter a right godly young man, of the Age of 19. years, and born of like godly Parents: by whom he was not only instructed in true Religion and Godliness, but also confirmed by them unto death, after a rare and strange example worthy to be noted and had in admiration of all Pa-

rents. Wherein may appear a singular Spectacle, not only of a marvellous Fortitude in the party so young, but also in his Parents, to behold Nature in them striving with Religion, and overcome of the same. Whereby Christian Parents may learn what is to be done not only in their Children, but also in themselves, if need at any time do require, or godliness should demand the duty of a Christian man against natural Affection. Example whereof in the sequel of this History we have here present before our eyes. Which History, as it was faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter his own Brother (who being present with his Brother William, and never left him till his death, sent the true Report unto us) we have here with like faithfulness placed and recorded the same, as followeth.

William Hunter, being an Apprentice in London in the first year of Queen Mary, was commanded at the Easter next following to receive the Communion at a Mass, by the Priest of the Parish where he dwelt, called Colemanfreer; which because he refused to do, he was very much threatened that he should be therefore brought before the Bishop of London. Wherefore William Hunters Master, one Thomas Taylor, a Silkweaver, required William Hunter to go and depart from him, lest that he should come in danger because of him, if he continued in his House. For the which causes, William Hunter took leave of his said Master, and thence came to Burnwood where his Father dwelt, with whom he afterward remained about the space of half a quarter of a year.

After this it hapned within five or six weeks, that William going into the Chappel of Burnwood, and finding there a Bible lying on a Desk, did read therein. In the mean time there came in one Father Arwell a Sumner, which hearing William read in the Bible, said to him, What meddlest thou with the Bible? Knowest thou what thou readest? and canst thou expound the Scriptures?

To whom William answered and said, Father Arwell, I take not upon me to expound the Scriptures, except I were dispensed withal; but I finding the Bible here when I came, read in it to my comfort. To whom Father Arwell said, it was never merry world since the Bible came abroad in English.

To the which words William answered, saying, Father Arwell, say not so for Gods sake: for it is Gods Book, out of the which every one that hath Grace may learn to know both what things please God, and also what displeaseth him. Then said Father Arwell, Could we not tell before this time as well as now, how God was served? William answered, No, Father Arwell, nothing so well, as we may now, if that we might have his blessed Word amongst us still as we have had. It is true, said Father Arwell, if it be as you say.

Well, said William Hunter, it liketh me very well, and I pray God that we may have the blessed Bible amongst us continually. To the which words Father Arwell said, I perceive your mind well enough; you are one of them that misliketh the Queens Laws: and therefore you came from London, I hear say. You learned these ways at London: but for all that, said Father Arwell, you must turn another Leaf, or else you, and a great sort more Hereticks will broil for this gear, I warrant you. To the which words William said, God give me Grace, that I may believe his Word, and confess his Name, whatsoever come thereof. Confess his Name, quoth old Arwell? No, no, ye will go to the Devil all of you, and confess his Name.

What, said William? You say not well Father Arwell. At the which words he went out of the Chappel in a great fury, saying, I am not able to reason with thee: but I will fetch one straight way which shall talk with thee, I warrant thee, thou Heretick. And he leaving William Hunter reading in the Bible, straight-ways brought one Thomas Wood, who was then Vicar of Seabwell, which was at an Alehouse even over against the said Chappel; who, hearing old Arwell say, that William Hunter was reading of the Bible in the Chappel, came by and by to him, and finding him reading in the Bible, took the matter very heinously, saying; Sirra, who gave thee leave to read in the Bible, and to expound it?

Then

Anno

1555.

Will. Hunter

Apprentice

in Coleman-

freer with

Ths. Taylor.

Will. Hunter

for not re-

sisting at a

Mass.

Will. Hunter

willed of

his Master

to depart.

Will. Hunter

cometh to

his Father to

Burnwood.

Will. Hunter

in Coleman-

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Burnwood.

Will. Hunter

in Coleman-

freer with

Ths. Taylor.

Will. Hunter

for not re-

sisting at a

Mass.

Anno 1558. Then William answered, I expound not the Scriptures, Sir, but read them for my comfort. What meddlest thou with them at all, said the Vicar? It becometh not thee, nor none such to meddle with the Scriptures.

But William answered, I will read the Scriptures (God willing) while I live; and you ought, Master Vicar, not to discourage any man for that matter, but rather exhort men diligently to read the Scriptures for your discharge and their own.

Unto the which the Vicar answered, It becometh thee well to tell me what I have to do. I see thou art an Heretic by thy words. William said, I am no Heretic for speaking the Truth. But the Vicar said, It is a merry World when such as thou art shall teach us what is the Truth. Thou art meddling, Father Aswell tells me, with the sixth of John, wherein thou maist perceive how Christ saith, Except that ye eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. William said, I read the sixth of John indeed; howbeit, I made no exposition on it.

Then said Father Aswell, When you read it, I find, that you there might understand how that in the Sacrament of the Altar is Christs very natural Body and Blood: unto the which you answered, how that you would take the Scriptures as they are, and that you would meddle with no great Exposition, except that ye were dispensed withal.

Ah, said the Vicar, What say you to the blessed Sacrament of the Altar? Believest thou not in it, and that the Bread and Wine is transubstantiated into the very Body and Blood of Christ? William answered, I learn no such thing in the sixth of John as you speak of. Why, said the Vicar, dost thou not believe in the Sacrament of the Altar? I believe, said William Hunter all that Gods Word teacheth. Why, said the Vicar, thou maist learn this which I say, plainly in the sixth of John.

Then said William, You understand Christs words much like the carnal Capernaimites, which thought, that Christ would have given them his flesh to feed upon: which opinion our Saviour Christ corrected, when he said, The words which I speak to you, are spirit and life.

Now, quoth the Vicar, I have found you out: now I see that thou art an Heretic indeed, and that thou dost not believe in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then said William Hunter, whereas you doubt my belief, I would it were tried whether that you or I would stand faster in our Faith. Yea, thou Heretic (said the Vicar) wouldst thou have it so tried? William Hunter answered, That which you call Herefie, I serve my Lord God withal.

Then said the Vicar, Canst thou serve God with Herefie? But William answered, I would that you and I were even now fast tied to a Stake, to prove whether that I or you would stand strongest to our Faith. But the Vicar answered, It shall not be so tried. No, quoth William, I think so: for if I might, I think I know who would fittest recant; for I durst set my foot against yours, even to the death. That we shall see, quoth the Vicar, and so they departed; the Vicar threatening William much, how that he would complain of him; with other much Communication which they had together.

Immediately after, this Vicar of Welde told Mr. Brown of the Communication which William Hunter and he had together. Which when Mr. Brown understood, immediately he went for Williams Father and the Constable, one Robert Salmon. For immediately after William Hunter and the Vicar had reasoned together, he took his leave of his Father and fled, because Wood the Vicar threatened him. Now when the Constable and Williams Father were come, and were before Mr. Brown, he asked where William Hunter was. His Father answered, saying, If it please you, Sir, I know not where he is become: No, quoth Master Brown? I will make thee tell where he is, and fetch him forth also ere I have done with thee. Sir, said Williams Father, I know not where he is become, nor where to seek for him.

Then said Mr. Brown, Why didst thou not bring him when thou hadst him? I promise thee if thou wilt not fetch him, I will send thee to Prison, till I shall get him. Wherefore see that thou promise me to fetch him,

or else it is not best to look me in the face any more, nor An carelesse yet to rest in Burniswood. Well, quoth M. Brown to Williams Father, see that thou seek him faithfully and bring him to me.

Williams Father answered, Sir, would you have me seek my Son to be burned? If thou bring him to me, quoth M. Brown, I will deal well enough for that matter, thou shalt not need to care for the matter. Fetch him, and thou shalt see what I will do for him.

Moreover, if thou lackest money, quoth he, thou shalt have some, and bade the Constable M. Salmon to give him a Crown, but Williams Father took none of him. Howbeit M. Brown would never rest, till Williams Father had promised him to seek out his Son. And thus Mr. Brown sent the Constable home again, and Williams Father, commanding him to seek out William Hunter, and then to come again and bring him to him.

After that Old Father Hunter had ridden two or three days journey to satisfy M. Browns expectation, it happened that William met with his Father in the High way as he travelled, and fast he seeing his Father came to him, and spake to him, and told him how that he thought that he sought for him: and then his Father confounding it, went fore, and said, that Mr. Brown charged him to seek him, and bring him to him; howbeit, said he, I will return home again, and say I cannot find you. But Williams said; Father I will go home with you, and save you the harmless, whatsoever cometh of it.

And thus they came home together; but Williams, as soon as he was come home, was taken by the said Constable, and laid in the Stocks till the day. Master Brown, hearing that William Hunter was come home, sent for him to the Constable, who brought him immediately to Master Brown.

Now when William was come, Mr. Brown said to him, Ah, Sir, are ye come? and then by and by he commanded the Bible to be brought and opened it, and then began to reason with William on this manner, saying; I hear say you are a Scripture-man, you, and can reason much of the sixth of John and expound as pleaseth you, and turned the Bible to the sixth of S. John, and then he laid in his charge what an exposition he made, when the Vicar and he talked together. And William said, He urged me to say so much as I did.

Well quoth Mr. Brown, because you can expound that place so well; how say you to another place, turning to the 22. of S. Luke and Mr. Brown said, Look here (quoth he) for Christ saith, that the Bread is his Body.

To the which William answered, the Text saith, how Christ took Bread, but not that he changed it into another substance, but gave that which he took, and brake, that which he gave, which was Bread as is evident by the Text. For else he should have had two Bodies, which to affirm I see no reason, said William.

At the which answer Mr. Brown was very angry, and took up the Bible and turned the leaves, and then flung it down again in such a fury, that William could not well find the place again whereof they reasoned.

Then M. Brown said, Thou naughty boy, wilt thou not take things as they are, but expound them as thou wilt? Dost thou not call the Bread his Body plainly, and thou wilt not believe, that the Bread is his Body after the Consecration? Thou goest about to make Christ a liar.

But William Hunter answered; I mean not so, Sir, but rather more earnestly to search what the mind of Christ is in that Holy Institution, wherein he commeth unto us the remembrance of his death, passion, resurrection, and coming again, saying, This do in the remembrance of me. And also though Christ call the Bread his Body as he doth also say, that he is a Vine, a Door, &c. yet is not his Body turned into Bread, no more than he is turned into a Door or Vine. Wherefore Christ called the Bread his Body by a figure.

At that Word Mr. Brown said, Thou art a villain indeed. Wilt thou make Christ a liar yet still? and was in such a fury with William, and so raged, that William could not speak a word, but he crossed him, and scoffed at every word. Wherefore William seeing him in such fury, desired him that he would either hear him quietly, and suffer him to answer for himself, or else

The Catholic
licks in no
wise will be
concocted.

W. Hunter
examined of
the Sacrament.

The Catholic
licks like to
the Capernaimites.

Herefie mis-
taken with
the Papists.

The Vicar
complained
to Justice
Brown of
W. Hunters
Justice
Brown frend-
shipp for Han-
gers Father.

The fruit of
the Popes
bohring to
set the Pa-
pists against
the Sou.

The Father
tends to
seek the Son.

The Son
modern
with him in
the way.

The work-
ing of Na-
ture be-
tween the
Father and
the Son.

W. Hunter
brought be-
fore Justice
Brown.

Talk be-
tween W.
Hunter and
Justice
Brown about
the Sacrament.
Bread broken,
but not
changed.

M. Brown
in a peevish
chafe.

How Christ
called Bread
his Body.

M. Brown in
a rage.

M. Brown
feareth up
W. Hunter
to Bishop
Boner.

send him away. To the which Mr. Brown answered; Indeed I will send thee to morrow to my Lord of London, and he shall have thee under Examination: and thus left off the talk, and made a Letter immediately, and sent William Hunter with the Constable to Boner Bishop of London, who received William.

B. says words
to W. Hunter.

After that he had read the Letter, and the Constable returned home again, the Bishop caused William to be brought into a Chamber, where he began to reason with him in this manner: I understand, William Hunter, quoth he, by Mr. Brown's Letter, how that you have had certain Communication with the Vicar of the Ward, about the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and how that ye could not agree; whereupon Mr. Brown sent for thee to bring thee to the Catholick Faith, from the which, he saith that thou art gone. Howbeit if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou shalt have no harm for any thing that thou hast said or done in this matter.

Talk be-
tween W.
Hunter and
the Bishop
about the
Sacrament.

William answered, saying; I am not fallen from the Catholick Faith of Christ (I am sure) but do believe it, and confesse it with all my heart.

Why, quoth the Bishop, how sayest thou to the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar? Wilt thou not recant thy saying, which thou confessedst before Mr. Brown, how that Christs Body is not in the Sacrament of the Altar, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary?

Boner fair
promises
to W. Hunter.

To the which William answered, saying; My Lord, I understand that Mr. Brown hath certified you of the talk which he and I had together, and thereby ye know what I said to him, and the which I will not recant by Gods help. Then said the Bishop, I think thou art ashamed to bear a fagot, and recant openly; but if thou wilt recant thy sayings, I will promise thee that thou shalt not be put to open shame: but speake the word here now between me and thee, and I will promise thee it shall go no further, and thou shalt go home again without any hurt.

William answered and said, my Lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my Conscience I will go to my Father and dwell with him, or else with my Master again, and so if no Body will disquiet nor trouble my Conscience, I will keep my Conscience to my self.

W. Hunter
not suffered
to have his
Conscience
free.

Then said the Bishop, I am content, so that thou wilt go to the Church, and receive, and be shaven, and so continue a good Catholick Christian. No, quoth William, I will not do so for all the good in the World.

W. Hunter
denieth to
recant.

Then, quoth the Bishop, if you will not do so, I will make you sure enough, I warrant you. Well, quoth William, you can do no more than God will permit you. Well, quoth the Bishop, wilt thou not recant indeed by no means? No, quoth William, never while I live, God willing.

Then the Bishop (this talk ended) commanded his men to put William in the Stocks in his gatehouse, where he fate two daies and nights, only with a crust of brown Bread and a Cup of Water.

Boner com-
mandeth
William
Hunter to
the Stocks.
W. Hunter
two daies
in the
Stocks.
With a crust
of Bread
and a Cup
of Water.
Hunter a-
gain refu-
seth to re-
cant his
Faith in
Christ.

At the two daies end the Bishop came to him, and finding the Cup of Water and the crust of Bread still by him upon the Stocks, said to him; Take him out of the Stocks, and let him break his fast with you. Then they let him forth of the Stocks, but would not suffer him to eat with them, but called him Heretic. And he said, he was as loth to be in their Company, as they were to be in his.

After the breakfast the Bishop sent for William, and demanded whether he would recant or no. But William made him answer, how that he would never recant that which he had confessed before men, as concerning his Faith in Christ.

Then the Bishop said that he was no Christian, but he denied the Faith in which he was Baptized. But William answered; I was Baptized in the Faith of the Holy Trinity, the which I will not go from, God assisting me with his Grace.

W. Hunter
laid in the
covenant Pri-
son with as
many from
as he could
bear.

Then the Bishop sent him to the convict Prison and commanded the Keeper to lay Irons upon him as many as he could bear: and moreover asked him, how old he was; and William said that he was nineteen years old.

Well, said the Bishop, you will be burned ere you be 20 years old, if you will not yield your self better than you

have done yet. William answered, God strengthen me in his Truth: and then he parted, and the Bishop allowing him a half-penny a day to live on in Bread or drink.

Anno
1555.
Hunter al-
lowed a
half-penny
a day to live
on.

Thus he continued in Prison three quarters of a year. In the which time he had been before the Bishop five times, besides the time when he was Condemned in the Consistory in Pauls the 9. day of February: at the which time his Brother Robert Hunter was present, when and where I heard the Bishop condemn him, and five other more.

And then the Bishop calling William, asked him if he would recant, and so read to him his Examination and confession, as is above rehearsed, and then rehearsed how that William confessed that he did believe, that he received Christs Body spiritually, when he did receive the Communion. Dost thou mean, quoth the Bishop, that the Bread is Christs Body spiritually?

These 5.
were Ten-
kies, Tiges,
Kings,
Hawks, and
Lances.

William answered; I mean not so, but rather when I receive the Holy Communion rightly and worthily, I do feed upon Christ spiritually through Faith in my Soul, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Christ hath brought unto all faithful Believers through his precious death, passion and resurrection, and not that the Bread is his Body, either spiritually or corporally.

The Bread
is Christs
Body nei-
ther Spiritu-
ally, nor
bodily, but
in receiving
the Commu-
nion we feed
on Christ
spiritually
in our Souls.

Then said the Bishop to William; Dost thou not think (holding up his Cap) that for example here of my Cap, thou mayst see the squareness and colour of it, and yet that not to be the Substance, which thou judgest by the Accidents?

William answered; if you can separate the Accidents from the Substance, and shew me the Substance without the Accidents, I could believe. Then said the Bishop, Thou wilt not believe that God can do any thing above mans capacity. Yes, said William, I must needs believe that: for daily experience teacheth all men that thing plainly: but our question is not what God can do, but what he will have us to learn in his holy Supper.

The ques-
tion is not
what God
can do, but
what he
would have
us to believe
in his holy
Supper.

Then the Bishop said, I always have found thee at this point, and I see no hope in thee to reclaim thee unto the Catholick Faith, but thou wilt continue a corrupt number, and then pronounced Sentence upon him, how that he should go from that place to Newgate for a time, and so from thence to Burntwood, where, said he, thou shalt be burned.

A Sentence
pronounced
against Wil-
liam Hunter.

Then the Bishop called for another, and so when he had condemned them all, he called for William Hunter, and perfwade with him, saying if thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a free man in the City, and give thee 40. pound in good money to set up thine occupation withal: or I will make thee Steward of my House, and set thee in Office; for I like thee well, thou hast wit enough, and I will prefer thee if thou recant.

The large
Office of B.
Boner to W.
Hunter.

But William answered, I thank you for your great offers: Notwithstanding, my Lord, said he, if you cannot perfwade my Conscience with Scriptures, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the World; for I count all things Worldly but loss and dung, in respect of the Love of Christ.

W. Hunter
refused to
come from
Christ for
the love of
the World.

Then said the Bishop, if thou diest in this mind thou art Condemned for ever. William answered, God judgeth righteously, and justifieth them whom man condemneth unjustly.

Thus William and the Bishop departed, William and the rest to Newgate, where they remained about a Month, which afterward were sent down, William to Burntwood, and the others into divers places of the Countrey. Now when William was come down to Burntwood, which was the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary that followed on the Monday after, William remained till the Tuesday after, because they would not put him to death then, for the holiness of the day.

His Father
and Mother
came to
comfort
him.

In the mean time Williams Father and Mother came to him, and desired heartily of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun, and his Mother said to him, that she was glad that ever he was so happy to bear such a Child, which could find in his heart to lose his Life for Christs Names sake.

His Father
and Mother
exhort him
to be con-
stant.

Then William said to his Mother; For my little pain which I shall suffer, which is but a thorn braid, Christ hath promised me, Mother (said he) a Crown of Joy; may you not

not

Anno
1555.

not be glad of that, Mother? With that his Mother kneeled down on her knees, saying, I pray God strengthen thee my Son, to the end. Yea, I think thee as well befitted as any Child that ever I bare.

At the which words Mr. Higbed took her in his Arms, saying, I rejoyce (and so said the others) to see you in this mind, and you have a good cause to rejoyce. And his Father and Mother both said, that they were never of other mind, but prayed for him, that as he had begun to confesse Christ before men, he likewise might so continue to the end. Williams Father said, I was afraid of nothing, but that my Son should have been killed in the Prison by hunger and cold, the Bishop was so hard to him. But William confessed, after a Month that his Father was charged with his Boord, that he lacked nothing, but had meat and cloathing enough, yea, even out of the Court, both money, meat, cloaths, wood and coals, and all things necessary.

Thus they continued in their Inn, being the Swan in Burntwood in a Parlor, whither resorted many People of the Country to see those good men which were there: and many of Williams Acquaintance came to him, and reasoned with him, and he with them, exhorting them to come away from the abomination of Popish Superstition and Idolatry.

Thus passing away Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, on Monday at night it hapned that William had a dream about two of the Clock in the Morning, which was this: How that he was at the place where the Stake was pitcht, where he should be burned, which (as he thought in his Dream) was at the Towns end where the Butts stood, which was so indeed: and also he dreamed that he met with his Father as he went to the Stake, and also that there was a Priest at the Stake, which went about to have him recant.

To whom he said (as he thought in his Dream) how that he bade him, away false Prophet, and how that he exhorted the People to beware of him, and such as he was: which things came to pass indeed. It hapned that

William made a noise to himself in his Dream, which caused Mr. Higbed and the others to awake him out of his sleep, to know what he lacked. When he awaked he told them his Dream in order, as is said.

Now when it was day, the Sheriff Mr. Brocket called on to set forward to the burning of William Hunter. Then came the Sheriffs Son to William Hunter, and embraced him in his right Arm, saying, William, be not afraid of these men which are here present with Bows, Bills and Weapons, ready prepared to bring you to the place where you shall be burned. To whom William answered, I thank God I am not afraid; for I have cast my count what it will cost me already. Then the Sheriffs Son could speak no more to him for weeping.

Then William Hunter plucked up his Gown and stepped over the Parlor groundell, and went forward cheerfully, the Sheriffs Servant taking him by one Arm, and his Brother by another, and thus going in the way, he met with his Father according to his Dream, and he spake to his Son, weeping and saying, God be with thee Son William: and William said, God be with you good Father, and be of good comfort; for I hope we shall meet again when we shall be merry. His Father said, I hope so William, and so departed. So William went to the place where the Stake stood, even according to his Dream, whereas all things were very unready. Then William took a wet Broom Fagot, and kneeled down thereon, and read the 51 Psalm, till he came to these words, The Sacrifice of God is a contrite spirit, a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

Then said Mr. Tyrill of the Braches, called William Tyrill, Thou liest (said he) thou readest false; for the words are an humble spirit. But William said, The Translation saith a contrite heart. Yea, quoth Mr. Tyrill, the Translation is false, ye translate Books as ye list your selves, like Hereticks. Well, quoth William, there is no great difference in those words. Then said the Sheriff, Here is a Letter from the Queen. If thou wilt recant thou shalt live; if not, thou shalt be burned. No, quoth William, I will

W. Hunter
lead to the
place of
Marydore.
The Sheriff
Saw great
contrivable
words to
W. Hunter.

W. Hunter
Dream ver-
re L.

His words in
his Father.

Mr. William
Tyrill of the
Braches car-
peth where
he hath no
cause.

W. Hunter
refuseth the
Queens
Pardon.]

Mark here
Vaughan's Dis-
cuss d. i. for
thing out by
the Law.

A notable
thing con-
cerning W.
Hunters
Dream.

The burning of William Hunter, Martyr.



not recant, God willing. Then William rose and went to the Stake, and stood upright to it. Then came one Richard Ponde a Bayliff, and made fast the Chain about William.

Then said Mr. Brown, Here is not wood enough to burn a Leg of him. Then said William, Good People pray for me; and make speed and dispatch me quickly; and pray for me while you see me alive, good People, and I will pray for you likewise.

Now, quoth Mr. Brown, pray for thee? I will pray no more for thee, than I will pray for a Dog. To whom William answered; Mr. Brown, now you have that which you sought for, and I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the last day: howbeit I forgive you. Then said Mr. Brown, I ask no forgiveness of thee. Well, said William, if God forgive you, I shall not require my Blood at your hands.

A dogget
lying of
Mr. Brown]

An extract
of the
Ch. of
your
W. Hunter.
The end
martyrdom
of W. Hunter
Anno 1555.
March 26.
William
Brown ver-
ified.

Hunter
words to
Popish
Priest.

Hunter con-
fessed by
his Brother
Robert.

Robert Hunter
in the
Stocks.

Robert Hunter
had be-
fore Mr.
Brown.

Robert Hunter
by Gods
Providence
delivered.

March 26.
The story of
Mr. Higbed
and Mr.
Caulton,
Martyrs.

Mr. Higbed
and Mr.
Caulton de-
clared to
Queen.

Then said William, Son of God shine upon me; and immediately the Sun in the Element shone out of a dark Cloud so full in his Face, that he was constrained to look another way: wherat the People mused, because it was so dark a little time afore. Then William took up a Pagot of Broom, and embraced it in his Arms.

Then the Priest, which William dreamed of, came to his Brother Robert with a Popish Book to carry to William, that he might recant, which Book his Brother would not meddle withall.

Then William seeing the Priest, and perceiving how he would have shewed him the Book, said, Away thou false Prophet. Beware of them, good People, and come away from their Abominations, lest that you be partakers of their Plagues. Then, quoth the Priest, look how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in Hell. William answered, Thou liest thou false Prophet; Away thou false Prophet, away.

Then was there a Gentleman which said, I pray God have mercy upon his Soul. The People said, Amen, Amen. Immediately fire was made.

Then William cast his Psalter right into his Brothers hand, who said, William, think on the holy Passion of Christ, and be not afraid of Death.

And William answered, I am not afraid. Then lift he up his hands to Heaven, and said, Lord, Lord, receive my Spirit; and casting down his Head again into the smothering Smoak, he yielded up his Life for the Truth, sealing it with his Blood to the Praise of God.

Now by and by after, Mr. Brown commanded one old Hunt to take his Brother Robert Hunter, and lay him in the Stocks till he returned from the burning of Higbed at Hornden on the Hill, the same day. Which thing old Hunt did. Then Mr. Brown (when Robert Hunter came before him) asked if he would do as his Brother had done. But Robert Hunter answered, If I do as my Brother hath done, I shall have as he hath had. Marry, quoth Mr. Brown; thou maist be fire of it.

Then Mr. Brown said, I marvel that thy Brother stood so to his Tackling; and moreover, he asked Robert, if William, Master of London were not at his burning. But Robert said, that he was not there; but Mr. Brown bare him in hand that his Master was there, and how that he did see him there, but Robert denied it. Then Mr. Brown commanded the Constable and Robert Hunter to go their ways home, and so had no further talk with them.

Here followeth the History of Mr. Higbed and Mr. Caulton, two worthy Gentlemen of Essex, which for their sincere Confession of their Faith under Boner Bishop of London, were martyred and burned in Essex, Anno 1555.

Although the Condemnation of Mr. Higbed and Mr. Caulton followed after the Condemnation of those other Martyrs which were condemned with Tomkins and Hunter above mentioned, yet because the time of their Execution was before the burning of the foresaid four Martyrs, so much that they suffered the same day that William Hunter did, which was the 26. of March, I thought therefore next after the Story of the said William Hunter, following the order of time, here to place the same.

This Master Higbed and Master Caulton, two worshipful Gentlemen in the County of Essex, the one at Hornden of the Hill, the other of the Parill of Thundurst, being zealous and religious in the true Service of God; as they could not dissemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the World, so in time of blind Superstition and wretched Idolatry, they could not long lye hid and obscure in such a number of malignant Adversaries, Accusers, and Servants of this World, but at length they were perceived and detected to the foresaid Edmund Boner Bishop of London, peradventure not without the same organ which sent up William Hunter, as is above declared. By reason whereof, by commandment they were committed to the Officers of Colchester to be safely kept, and with them also a Servant of Thomas Caulton, who in this praise of Christian Godliness was nothing inferior to his Master.

Boner the foresaid Bishop, perceiving these two Gentlemen to be of worshipful Estate, and of great estimation in that Country, lest any tumult should thereby arise, came thither himself, accompanied with Mr. Peckham, and certain others, thinking to reclaim them to his faction and fustion: so that great labour and diligence was taken therein, as well by terrors and threatnings, as by large promises and flattering, and all fair means, to reduce them again to the Unity (as they termed it) of the Mother Church.

In fine, when nothing could prevail to make them assent to their doings, at length they came to this point, that they required certain respite to consult with themselves what was best to do. Which time of deliberation being expired, and they remained still constant and unmoveable in their professed Doctrine, and setting out also their confession in writing, the Bishop seeing no good to be done in tarrying any longer there, departed thence, and carried them both with him to London, and with them certain other Prisoners also, which about the same time in those quarters were apprehended.

It was not long after this, but these Prisoners being at London committed to freight Prison, and there attempted sundry ways by the Bishop and his Chaplains to revoke their Opinions: at length, when no persuasions would serve, they were brought forth to open examination at the Confraternity in Pauls, the 17. day of February, Anno 1555. Where they were demanded as well by the said Bishop, as also by the Bishop of Barbe, and others, whether they would recant their Errors and perverse Doctrine (as they termed it) and so come to the Unity of the Popish Church. Which when they refused to do, the Bishop assigned them likewise the next day to appear again, being the 18. of February.

On the which day, among many other things there said and passed, he read unto them severally certain Articles, and gave them respite until the next day to answer unto the same, and so committed them again to Prison. The Copy of which Articles hereunder followeth.

Articles objected and ministered by Boner Bishop of London, severally against Thomas Caulton, and Thomas Higbed of Essex.

Ist, That thou Thomas Caulton (or Thomas Higbed) hast been and art of the Diocess of London, and also of the Jurisdiction now of me Edmund Bishop of London.

Item, That thou wast in time past, according to the order of the Church of England, baptized and chrismated.

Item, That thou wast Godfathers and Godmothers, according to the said order.

Item, That the said Godfathers and Godmother did then promise for thee, and in thy Name, the Faith and Religion that then was used in the Realm of England.

Item, That that Faith and Religion, which they did profess and make for thee, was accounted and taken to be the Faith and Religion of the Church, and of the Christian People: And so was it in very deed.

Item, Thou coming to the age of discretion, that is to say, to the age of fourteen years, didst not mislike nor disallow that Faith, that Religion, or Promise then used and approved, and promised by the said Godfathers and Godmother, but for a time didst continue in it, as others (taking themselves for Christian people) did likewise.

Item, That at that time, and also before, it was taken for a Doctrine of the Church, Catholic and True, and every where in Christendom then allowed for Catholic and True, and to be the Profession of Christian men, to believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the Forms of Bread and Wine, after the Consecration, there was, and is by the Omnipotent Power and Will of Almighty God, and his Word, without any Substance of Bread and Wine there remaining, the true and natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in Substance, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the Cross, really, truly, and in very deed.

Item, That at that time thy Father and Mother, all thine Ancestors, all thy Kindred, Acquaintance, and Friends, and thy said Godfathers and Godmother did then so believe

1555.

Mr. Peckham, Boner cometh him self to Colchester.

Mr. Higbed and Mr. Caulton carried to London.

The first days Session.

The second days Session.

Articles laid by Boner to Mr. Higbed and Caulton.

The Real presence

Anno 1555. believe, and think in all the same as the said Church did therein believe.

Item, That thy self hast had no just cause or lawful ground to depart or swerve from the said Religion or Faith, nor any occasion at all, except thou wilt follow and believe the erroneous Opinion or Belief, that hath been against the common order of the Church, brought in by certain disordered persons of late, at the uttermost within the thirty or forty years last past.

Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that Dr. Robert Barnes, John Frith, Thomas Gerrard, Hierome Lassels, Anne Askew, John Hooper late Bishop of Gloucester, Sir Laurence Sanders Priest, John Bradford, Sir John Rogers Priest, Sir Rowland Taylor Priest, Sir John Laurence Priest, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes, have been heretofore reputed, taken, and accounted as Hereticks, and also condemned as Hereticks, and so pronounced openly and manifestly; specially in holding and believing certain damnable Opinions, against the Verity of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, and all the same persons, saving John Bradford, Sir John Laurence, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes, have suffered Pains of Death by Fire, for the maintenance and defence of their said Opinions and Mabeliers.

Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, and Nicholas Ridley, naming himself Bishop of London, Robert Furrar late Bishop of S. Davids, and Hugh Latimer sometime Bishop of Worcester, have been, and are at this present reputed, accounted, and taken as Hereticks and Mabeliers, in maintaining and holding certain damnable Opinions against the Verity of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Item, That thou hast commended and praised all the said persons, so erring and believing (or at the leastwise some of them) secretly, and also openly, taking and believing them to be Faithful and Catholick People, and their said Opinions to be good and true, and the same to be the best and uttermost of thy power thou hast allowed, maintained, and defended at sundry times.

Item, That thou having heard, known, and understood all the Premises, thus to be as is aforesaid, hast not regarded all or any part thereof, but contrary to the same and every part thereof, hast attempted and done, condemning, transgressing, and breaking the Promise, Faith, Religion, Order, and Customs aforesaid, and hast become, and art an Heretick and Mabelier in the Premises, denying the Verity of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, and obliquately affirming, That the Substance of the Material Bread and Wine are there remaining, and that the Substance of Christ's Body and Blood, taken of the Virgin Mary, are not there in the said Sacrament really and truly being.

Item, That all the Premises be true, notorious, famous, and manifest, and that upon all the same, there have and be amongst the said and good People of the City of London, and Diocese of the same, in great Multitude, commonly and publicly, a common and publick fame and opinion, and also in all places where thou hast been, within the said Diocese of London.

¶ These Articles being given to them, in writing by the Bishop, the next day following was assigned to them to give up and exhibit their Answers unto the same.

The third day Session upon the Examination of Mr. Causton and Mr. Higbed.

¶ Upon the which day, being the first day of March, the said Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed Gentlemen, being brought before the Bishop in the Consistory, there exhibited their Answers to the Articles aforesaid; the tenor of which Answer her: followeth.

The Answers of Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, severally made to the foresaid Articles objected as before.

To the first, they answer and confess the same to be true.

To the second, they answer and believe the same to be true.

To the third, they answer and believe the same to be true.

To the fourth, they answer and think the same to be true.

To the fifth, until this clause (and so was it in very deed): they answer and believe the same to be true. And unto that clause (and so was it in very deed) they answer negatively, and believe that it was not in very deed.

To the sixth, seventh, and eighth, they answer and believe the same to be true.

To the ninth, they answer and say, that they think they have a just and lawful cause and ground to swerve and go from the said Faith and Religion, because they have now read more Scripture, than either themselves, or their Parents and Kinsfolk, Godfathers or Godmothers have read or seen heretofore in that behalf.

To the tenth, they answer, say, and believe, that the said persons articulate have been named, taken, and counted for Hereticks, and so condemned for Hereticks. yet about three years past, they were taken for good Christian Persons. And forasmuch as these Respondents did never hear them preach concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, they say that they preached well, in that they said and preached that Christ is not present really and truly in the Sacrament, but that there is remaining the Substance of Bread and Wine.

To the eleventh, they answer and say, that howsoever other Folks do repute and take the said persons articulate, yet these Respondents themselves did never, nor yet do so account and take them. And further they say, that in case the said persons articulate named in this Article have preached, that in the Sacrament of the Altar is very material Wine, and not the Substance of Christ's Body and Blood under the Forms of Bread and Wine, then they preached well and truly, and these Respondents themselves do so believe.

To the twelfth, they answer and say, that where other folk have dispraised the said persons articulate, and disallowed their Opinions, these Respondents (for ought that they at any time have heard) did like and allow the said persons, and their sayings.

To the thirteenth, they answer and say, that they have not broken or condemned any promise made by their Godfathers and Godmothers for them at their Baptism, and that they are no Hereticks nor Mabeliers, in that they believe that there remaineth only Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, and that Christ's Natural Body is not there, but in Heaven; for they say, that the Scriptures so teach them.

To the fourteenth, they answer and believe, that the Premises before by them confessed by true, notorious, and manifest.

After these Answers exhibited and perused, then the Bishop speaking unto them after this sort, beginneth first (as he did ever before) with Thomas Causton. Because ye shall not be suddenly trapped, and that men shall not say that I go about to seek Liars to put you away: I have hitherto inspired you that you should weigh and consider with your self your state and condition, and that you should, while ye have time and space, acknowledge the Truth, and return to the Unity of the Catholick Church. Then the Bishop, reading their former Articles and Answers to the same, asked them if they would recant: which when they denied, they were again dismissed and commanded to appear the Wednesday next after, at two of the Clock at Afternoon, there to receive their definitive Sentence against them: which thing (as it seemeth) was yet deferred.

Another Examination of Mr. Causton and Mr. Higbed.

Another Examination.

This Strophe is now Warden of the College in Winchester.

Mr. Causton denieth to recant.

Mr. Higbed called forth, denieth to abjure.

Mr. Causton still believeth with the manner of the Sacrament.

Mr. Causton and Mr. Higbed appear again before the Bishop.

Mr. Causton and Mr. Higbed do exhibit a Confession of their Faith.

The Confession of Mr. Causton. Abrenunciation of the world. The Articles of the Creed. The Commandments.

The Lords Prayer.

The Catholick Church.

The Church of itself is given himself, to make it to himself a glorious Congregation without fault in his sight.

The next Friday, being the 8. day of March, the said Thomas Causton was first called to examination before the Bishop, Fecknam and Dr. Stempe being in his Palace, and there had read unto him his foresaid Articles with his Answers thereunto, and after certain Exhortations to recant his former Profession, and to be conformable to the Unity of their Church, they promised him (so doing) willingly to receive him again thereunto. To whom he answered, You go about to catch us in Snares and Gins. But mark, by what measure ye measure us, look you to be measured with the same again at Gods hands. The Bishop still perswaded with him to recant. To whom he answered, No, I will not abjure. Ye said that the Bishops that were lately burned be Hereticks: but I pray God make me such an Heretick as they were.

The Bishop then leaving Mr. Causton, calleth for Mr. Higbed: using with him the like perswasions that he did with the other: But he answered, I will not abjure. For I have been of this mind and opinion that I am now, these sixteen years, and do what ye can, ye shall do no more than God will permit you to do, and with what measure you measure us, look for the same again at Gods hands.

Then Fecknam asked him his opinion in the Sacrament of the Altar. To whom he answered, I do not believe that Christ is in the Sacrament as ye will have him, which is of mans making: Both their answers thus severally made, they were again commanded to depart for that time, and to appear the next day in the Consistory at Pauls, between the hours of one and three of the Clock at Afternoon.

The last appearance of Mr. Causton and Mr. Higbed before Boner.

At which day and hour, being the ninth day of March, they were both brought thither: Where the Bishop caused Mr. Thomas Caustons Articles and Answers first to be read openly, and after perswaded with him to recant and abjure his Heretical Opinions, and to come home now at the last to their Mother the Catholick Church, and save himself.

But Mr. Thomas Causton answered again, and said, No, I will not abjure: For I came not hither for that purpose; and therewithal did exhibit in writing unto the Bishop (as well in his own name, as also in Thomas Higbeds name) a Confession of their Faith, to the which they would stand: and required leave to read the same, which (after great suite) was obtained, and so he read it openly in the hearing of the People, as followeth.

The Confession and Faith of Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, which they delivered to the Bishop of London, before the Maier and Sberiffs, and in the Presence of all the People there assembled, Anno 1555. the 9. of March, and were condemned for the same in the said Consistory in Pauls Church, the year and day above said.

1. First, we believe and profess in Baptism, to forsake the Devil and all his Works and Poms, and the Vanities of the wicked World, with all the sinful Lusts of the Flesh.

2. We believe all the Articles of our Christian Faith.

3. We believe, that we are bound to keep Godsholy Will and Commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of our Life.

4. We believe, that there is contained in the Lords Prayer all things necessary both for Body and Soul, and that we are taught thereby to pray to our Heavenly Father, and no other Saint or Angel.

5. We believe, that there is a Catholick Church, even the Communion of Saints, Built upon the Foundation of the Prophets and Apostles (as S. Paul saith) Christ being the Head Corner-stone. For the which Church Christ gave himself, to make it to himself a glorious Congregation without fault in his sight.

6. We believe, that this Church of her self, and by

her own merits is sinful, and must needs say, Father forgive us our sins: but through Christ and his Merits, she is freely forgiven: For he in his own person (saith S. Paul) hath purged her sins, and made her faultless in his sight. Besides whom, there is no Saviour, saith the Prophet: Neither is there Salvation, saith S. Peter, in any other Name.

7. We believe, as he is our only Saviour, so he is our Christ our only Mediator. For the Apostle S. Paul saith, There is one God, one Mediator between God and Man, even the Man Jesus Christ. Wherefore seeing none hath this Name, God and Man, but Jesus Christ, therefore there is no Mediator but Jesus Christ.

8. We believe, that this Church of Christ is and hath been persecuted, by the words of Christ, saying, As they have persecuted me, so shall they persecute you: For the Disciple is not above his Master. For it is not only given unto you to believe in Christ, saith S. Paul, but also to suffer for his sake. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer Persecution.

9. We believe, that the Church of Christ teacheth the Word of God truly and sincerely, putting nothing to, nor taking any thing from: and also doth minister the Sacraments according to the Primitive Church.

10. We believe, that this Church of Christ suffereth all men to read the Scriptures, according to Christs Commandment, saying, Search the Scriptures: for they testify of me. We read also out of the Acts, that when St. Paul preached, the Audience daily searched the Scriptures, whether he preached truly or no. Also the Prophet David teacheth all men to pray with understanding: For how shall the unlearned, saith S. Paul, say Amen, at the giving of Thanks, when they understand not what is said? And what is more allowed than true Faith, which, S. Paul saith, cometh by hearing of the Word of God?

11. We believe, that the Church of Christ teacheth, that God ought to be worshipped according to his Word, and not after the Doctrine of Men. For in vain, saith Christ, ye worship me, teaching nothing but the Doctrine of Men.

Also we are commanded of God by his Prophet, saying, Walk not in the Traditions and Precepts of your Elders: but walk, saith he, in my Precepts: do that I command you: put nothing thereunto, neither take any thing from it. Likewise saith Christ, Thou shalt forsake Father and Mother, and follow me. Whereby we learn, that if our Elders teach otherwise than God commanded, in that Point we must forsake them.

12. We believe, that the Supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and changed, forasmuch as Christ himself, being the Willom of the Father, did institute it. For it is written, Cursed is he that changeth my Ordinances, and departeth from my Commandments, or takeeth any thing from them.

Now we find by the Scriptures, that this holy Supper is so abused.

First, In that it is given in one kind, where Christ gave it in both.

Secondly, In that it is made a Private Mass, where The Lords Supper how many ways it is abused.

Thirdly, In that it is made a Sacrifice for the quick and the dead, whereas Christ ordained it for a remembrance of the everlasting Sacrifice, which was his own Body offered upon the Altar of the Cross once for all, as the holy Apostle saith, Even the full and perfect price of our Redemption: and where there is remission of sin (saith he) there is no more sacrifice for sin.

Fourthly, In that it is worshipped contrary to the Commandment, saying, Thou shalt worship nothing that is made with hands.

Fifthly, In that it is given in an unknown Tongue, whereby the People are ignorant of the right use thereof, how Christ died for our sins, and rose again, for our justification, by whom we be set at peace with God, and received to his favour and mercy by his promise, whereof this Sacrament is a sure Seal and Witnes.

Besides this, it is hanged up, and shut in a box 4 yea, many times so long, that Worms breed in it, and

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The condition of the Church, to be persecuted.

The Church only is directed by Gods word, neither adding to, nor taking from. The true Church forbiddeth none to read the Scriptures.

Gods Precepts to be followed, and not the Constitutions of men.

The Lords Supper is not to be changed from the institution of Christ.

The 3 abuse

The 4 abuse

The 5 abuse

The 6 abuse

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1555.

so it putteth: whereby the rude People have an occasion to speak unreverently thereof, which otherwise would speak reverently.

Therefore they that thus abuse it, bring up the slander, and not we, which pray daily to God to restore it to the right use, according to Christs Institution.

Christs words, Hoc est corpus meum, ac demum, hoc expounded.

This phrase of Scriptures expounded by other phrases.

Now concerning Christs words, *This is my Body*, we deny them not; but we say, that the mind of Christ in them must be searched out by other open Scriptures, whereby we may come to the spiritual understanding of them, which shall be most to the Glory of God: For as the H. Apostle saith: *There is no scripture that hath any private Interpretation.* Besides this, the Scriptures are full of the like figurative speeches: as for example, Christ saith, *This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood.* The Rock is Christ (saith S. Paul.) *Whosoever receiveth a Child in my name (saith our Saviour Jesus Christ) receiveth me.*

Which Sentences must not be understood after the Letter, lest we do err, as the Capernaïtes did, which thought that Christs Body should have been eaten with their teeth, when he spake of the eating thereof. Unto whom Christ saith, *Such a fleshly eating of my Body profiteth nothing: it is the Spirit (saith our Saviour Jesus Christ) that quickeneth; the Flesh profiteth nothing: for my words are Spirit and Life.*

The words of our Saviour ought to be taken spiritually, and not literally. Christ is to be eaten spiritually.

Thus we see that Christs Words must be understood spiritually, and not literally. Therefore he that cometh to this worthy Supper of the Lord, must not prepare his Jaw, but his Heart, neither Tooth nor Belly; but, *Believe (saith S. Augustine) and thou hast eaten it:* so that we must bring with us a spiritual hunger, and as the Apostle saith; *Try and examine our (selves), whether our Conscience do testify unto us, that we do truly believe in Christ, according to the Scriptures;* whereof if we be truly certified, being new born from our old Conversation in Heart, Mind, Will, and Deed, then may we boldly with this Marriage Garment of our Faith come to the Feast.

The Substance of Bread not changed.

In Consideration whereof we have invincible Scriptures, as of Christ himself; *This do in remembrance of me.* And S. Paul; *As often (saith he) as ye eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, ye shall remember the Lords death which will be come.* Here is no change, but Bread still. And Saint Luke affirmeth the same. Also Christ hath made a just promise, saying; *He who shall not have always with you, I leave the World, and go to my Father: For if I should not depart, the comforter which I will send, cannot come unto you.* So according to his promise he is ascended as the Evangelists testify. Also Saint Peter saith; *That Heaven shall keep him until the last day also.*

Christs Body but in one place at once.

Now as touching his Omnipotent Power, we confess and say with S. Augustine, that Christ is both God and Man. In that he is God, he is every where; but in that he is Man, he is in Heaven, and can occupy but one place: whereunto the Scriptures do agree. For his Body was not in all places at once when he was here; for it was not in the Grave when the Woman sought it, as the Angel saith: neither was it at Bethania where Lazzarus died, by Christs own words, saying, *I am glad I was not there.* And thus we conclude with the Scriptures, that Christ is in his Holy Supper Sacramentally and Spiritually in all them that worthily receive it, and Corporally in Heaven, both God and Man.

Their protestation.

And further, we make here our Protestation before God (whom we call to record in this matter) that this which we have said, is neither of stubbornness, nor wilful mind, as some judge of us; but even of very Conscience, truly (we trust) grounded on Gods Holy Word. For before we took this matter in hand, we besought God from the bottom of our Hearts, that we might do nothing contrary to his Holy and Blessed Word. And in that he hath thus shewed his Power in our weakness, we cannot worthily praise him, unto whom we give hearty thanks, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

M. Cawton and M. Higbed content to death in their Confession.

When he had thus delivered and read their Confession, the Bishop still perishing sometime in fair promises, sometime threatening to pronounce Judgment, asked them whether they would stand to this their Confession and other Answers? To whom Cawton said, Yea, we will stand to our Answers written with our hands,

and to our Belief therein contained. After which answer the Bishop began to pronounce Sentence against him.

Then he said; that it was much rashness, and without all Love and Mercy to give Judgment without answering to their Confession by the Truth of Gods Word, *xi. Cawton* whereunto they submitted themselves most willingly. And therefore I, quoth Cawton (because I cannot have Justice at your hand, but that ye will thus rashly condemn me) do appeal from you to my L. Cardinal.

D. Smith readily to receive their Confession, but could not be satisfied. Sentence pronounced against Mr. Cawton and Higbed.

Then D. Smith said, that he would answer their Confession. But the Bishop (not suffering him to speak) willed Harpsfield to say his mind, for the stay of the people; who taking their Confession in his hand, neither touched nor answered one sentence thereof.

Which done, the Bishop pronounced Sentence, first against the said Thomas Cawton, and then calling Thomas Higbed, caused his Articles and Answers likewise to be read. In the reading whereof Higbed said, Ye speak Blasphemy against Christs Passion, and ye go about to trap us with your subtilties and snares. And though my Father and Mother, and other my Kinsfolk did believe, as you say, yet they were deceived in so believing.

And further, where you say, that my Lord, named Crammer (late Archbishop of Canterbury) and others specified in the said Articles, be Hereticks; I do wish that I were such an Heretick as they were, and be. Then the Bishop asked him again, whether he would turn from his Error, and come to the Unity of their Church? To whom he said, No; I would ye should recant: for I am in the Truth, and you in Error.

Well (quoth the Bishop) if ye will return, I will gladly receive you.

No, said Higbed, I will not return as you will have me, to believe in the Sacrament of the Altar your God.

Whereupon the Bishop proceeded, and gave Judgment upon him, as he had done before upon Thomas Cawton. When all this was thus ended, they were both and sent delivered to the Sheriffs, and so by them sent to Newgate, where they remained by the space of 14. days, praised be God, not so much in Afflictions as in Comfortations.

For the increase whereof they earnestly desired all their good Brethren and Sisters in Christ to pray, that God for his Sons sake would go forth with that great mercy, which already he had begun in them, so that they might persevere unto the end, to the praise of the eternal God, and comfort of all their Brethren.

These 14. days (after the condemnation) once expired, they were the 23. day of this Month of March fetched from Newgate at four of the Clock in the morning, and so led through the City to Algate, where they were delivered unto the Sheriff of Essex, and there being fast bound in a Cart, were shortly after brought to their several appointed places of burning: that is to say, Thomas Higbed to Hornden on the Hill, and Thomas Cawton to Rayly (both in the Countrey of Essex) where they did most constantly, the 26. day of the same Month, Seal their Faith with shedding of their Blood by most cruel fire, to the Glory of God, and great rejoicing of the Godly.

M. Cawton and M. Higbed brought from Newgate into Essex.

The constant Martyrdom of M. Thomas Cawton, and M. Higbed, Martyrs.

At the burning of which M. Higbed Justice Brown was also present, as is above specified, and divers Gentlemen in the Shire were commanded to be present, for fear belike, lest they should be taken from them. And thus much touching the Apprehension, Examination, Confession, Condemnation, and burning of these two Godly and constant Martyrs of God.

William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence, with their Examination and constant Martyrdom.

IN the story before of Thomas Tomkins and his fellow; March 23. mention was made of six which were Examined, and Condemned together by Bishop Boner, the 9. day of February. Of the which six Condemned Persons, two, which were Tomkins and William Hunter (as ye heard) were executed, the one upon the 26. of February, and the other upon the 26. day of March. Other three, to wit, William Pygot, and Stephen Knight, suffered upon the 28. day, and John Laurence the 29. of the said Month of March.

William Pygot, Stephen Knight, John Laurence, Martyrs.

Touching

Touthing the which three Martyrs, now something to say of their Examinations: It was first demanded of them, what their opinion was of the Sacrament of the Altar. Whereunto they severally answered, and also subscribed, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under forms of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Substance of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but a special partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ: the very Body and Blood of Christ being only in Heaven, and no where else. This Answer thus made, the Bishop caused certain Articles to be read unto them, tending to the same effect, as did the Articles before of *Tomkins* and of *M. Causton*. The tenor whereof here followeth.

Articles or Interrogatories objected by the Bishop of London to William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence, the 8. of February. 1555.

Articles objected to William Pygot a 11. b. 1. col. 45.

WHether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that it is a Catholick, Faithful, Christian, and true Doctrine, to teach, preach, and say, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is without any Substance of Bread and Wine there remaining, by the Omnipotent Power of Almighty God, and his Holy Word, really, truly, and in very deed the true and natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the self same in Substance (though not in outward form and appearance) which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and suffered upon the Croas, yea, or nay?

Belief of their forefathers.

Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your Parents, Kinsfolks, Friends, and Acquaintance, here in this present Realm of *England*, before your Birth a great while, and also after your Birth, professing and believing the said Doctrine and Faith, concerning the said Sacrament of the Altar, had a true Christian Faith, and were Faithful and true Christian People, or no?

Belief of their Godfathers and Godmothers.

Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your Godfathers and Godmothers, professing and believing the said Doctrine and Faith, concerning the said Sacrament of the Altar, had a true Christian Faith, and were Faithful and true Christian People, or no?

Belief of their young Age.

Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your own self in times past, being of the Age of 14. years, and above, did think and believe concerning the said Sacrament of the Altar in all points, as your said Parents, Kinsfolks, Friends, Acquaintance, Godfathers, and Godmothers, did then think and believe them, or no?

Belief of the King and Queen, and Nobility.

Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that our Sovereigns the King and the Queen of this Realm of *England*, and all the Nobility, Clergy, and Laity of this Realm, professing and believing the said Doctrine and Faith, as other Christian Realms do, concerning the said Sacrament of the Altar, have a true Christian Faith and believe as the Catholick and true Church of Christ hath always taught, preached, and taught, or no?

Belief of the true and Catholick Church.

Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that our Saviour Christ, and his Holy Spirit hath been, is, and shall be with his Catholick Church, even to the Worlds End, governing and ruling the same in all things especially in the necessary points of Christian Religion, not suffering the same to err, or to be deceived therein?

The true Presence and Substance.

Whether is it true, that you being suspected, or inflamed to be culpable and faulty in speaking against the Sacrament of the Altar, and against the very true Presence of Christs Natural Body, and the Substance thereof in the said Sacrament, and thereupon called before me upon complaint made to me against you, have not been a good space in my House, having freely Meat and Drink, and also divers times instructed and informed, as well by one being our Ordinary, as also by my Chaplains and divers other learned men, some whereof were Bishops, some Deans, and some Archdeacons, and every one of them learned in Divinity, and minding well unto you, and desiring the safeguard of your Soul, and that you should believe and believe the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, as afore said concerning the said Sacrament of the Altar, and whether you did not at all times since your last coming to me, intend, intend to follow and believe the said Doctrine concerning the said Sacrament?

Whether can you now find in your heart and conscience to conform, your self in all points to the said Faith

and Catholick Church concerning the said Sacrament of the Altar, faithfully, truly, and plainly, without any dissimulation, believing therein, as our said Sovereigns, with the Nobility, Clergy, and Laity of this Realm, and other Christian Realms, and other persons afore said, and also the said Catholick Church, have and do believe in that behalf?

In case you so cannot, what ground have you to maintain your opinion, and who is of the same opinion with you, and what conference have you had therein with any, what comfort and what relief have you had therein by any of them, and what are their Names and Surnames, and their dwelling places?

Their Answers to these Articles were not much different from *Tomkins*, and other like Martyrs above mentioned, as here followeth to be seen.

The Answers of Stephen Knight, and William Pygot, to the afore said Articles.

Answers to the Articles afore said.

TO the first Article, they believe, that the contents of this Article is not agreeable to Scripture.

To the second, they answer and believe, that their Parents and other expressed in the said Article, and so believing as is contained in the same, were deceived.

To the third they answer, that they so believed, but they were deceived therein, as they now believe.

To the fourth they say, that they have heretofore believed as is contained in the said Article, but now they do not so believe.

To the fifth they say, that if they so believe, they are deceived.

To the sixth, they believe the same to be true.

To the seventh they answer, and believe the contents of the same to be true.

To the eighth they answer, that they can no whit conform themselves to the Faith and Doctrine contained and specified in this Article, until it be proved by Scripture.

To the ninth they say, that they have no ground to maintain their said opinions, but the Truth, which (as they said) hath been perfwaded by Learned Men, as D. *Taylor* of *Ladley*, and such other.

Their Answers being made and exhibited, they were commanded to appear again the next day, at eight of the Clock in the Morning, and in the mean while to be think themselves what they would do.

Another appearance of the said Prisoners before Boner.

THe next day in the Morning, being the 9. of February, before their open appearance, the Bishop sent for *William Pygot*, and *Stephen Knight* into his great Chamber in his Palace, where he perfwaded with them to recant, and deny their former Profession.

Another appearance.

Who answered, that they were not perfwaded in their Consciences to return and abjure their opinions, whereunto they had subscribed. Within a while after, they were all three, with *Thomas Tomkins*, and *William Hunter* (afore named) brought openly into the Consistory, the 9. day of February afore said, and there had the same Articles propounded unto them, which were before propounded unto the fore said *Thomas Tomkins* (as appeareth in the discourse of his History) and thereto also subscribed their words, *I do so believe*.

The Bishop also used certain talk unto *John Laurence* only; Whereunto he answered in this manner; that he was a Priest, and was consecrated and made a Priest about 18. years past, and that he was sometime a Black Friar professed; that also he was assured unto a maid, whom he intended to have married.

Talk between Boner and John Laurence Priest. John Laurence sometime a Friar.

And being again demanded his opinion upon the Sacrament, he said, that it was a remembrance of Christs Body, and that many have been deceived in believing the true Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, and that all such as do not believe as he doth, do err. And after this talk and other fair words and threatenings, they were all of them commanded to appear again at afternoon.

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The third
and last
appearance.*The third and last appearance.*Stephen
Knight,
Wife,
Pygot, and
John Laurence
condemned.
John Laurence
degraded.

At the which hour they came thither again; and there after the accustomed manner were exhorted to recant and revoke their Doctrine, and receive the Faith. To the which they constantly answered they would not, but would stick to that Faith that they had declared and subscribed unto, for that they did believe that it was no Error which they believed; but that the contrary thereof was very Heretic.

When the Bishop saw that neither his fair flatterings, nor yet his cruel threatnings would prevail, he gave them severally their Judgments. And because *John Laurence* had been one of their anointed Priests, he was by the Bishop there (according to their order) solemnly degraded, the manner whereof you may see in the History of Mr. Hooper afore-said.

Their Sentence of Condemnation, and this Degradation once ended, they were committed unto the custody of the Sheriffs of *London*, who sent them unto *Newgate*, where they remained with joy together, until they were carried down into *Essex*, and there the 28. day of *March* the said *William Pygot* was burned at *Braintree*, the *Stephen Knight* at *Mauldon*, who at the Stake, kneeling on the ground, said this Prayer which here followeth.

The Prayer that Stephen Knight, said at his death upon his Knees, being at the Stake, at Mauldon.

A godly
prayer of
Ste. Knight
at his
Martyrdom.

O Lord Jesus Christ, for whose love I leave willingly this Life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy Cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the Blasphemy of thy most Holy Name, or to obey men in breaking thy holy Commandment: Thou seest, O Lord, that where I might live in Worldly Wealth to worship a false God, and honour thine enemy, I choose rather the torment of the Body, and the loss of this Life, and have counted all things but vile, dust, and dung, that

I might win thee; which death is dearer unto me, than thousands of Gold and Silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my Breast, that I hunger for thee, as the Deer that is wounded desireth the Soy. Send thy holy comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing that is good: Therefore, O Lord, as of thine accustomed goodness, and love thou hast bidden me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own Cup amongst thine elect; even so give me strength, O Lord, against this thine Element, which is to my fight it is most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may at thy Commandment (as an obedient servant) be sweet and pleasant; that through the strength of thy holy Spirit, I may pass through the rage of this fire into thy bosom, according to thy promise, and for this mortal receive an immortal, and for this corruptible put on incorruption: Accept this burnt Sacrifice, and Oil rings, O Lord, not for the Sacrifice, but for thy dear Son Jesus Christ, thy Saviour, for whose Testimony I offer this my Body, offering with all my heart and with all my strength, O Heavenly Father, forgive me my Sins, as I forgive the World. O sweet Son of God my Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O Blessed and Holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither, conduct me into everlasting Life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my Spirit. Amen.

Psal. 42.

Mark the
spirit of
this Prayer
and compare
it with the
Prayer of
the Papists
at the
Sacrifice of
the Mass.*The death and Martyrdom of John Laurence Priest.*John
Laurence
Priest.

The next day, being the 29. day of this Month, the said *John Laurence* was brought to *Colestree*, and there being not able to go (for that as well his legs were sore worn with heavy irons in Prison, as also his Body weakened with evil keeping) was born to the fire in a Chair, and so sitting, was in his constant faith consumed with fire.

At the burning of this *Laurence*, he sitting in the

John
Laurence
Priest.

March 29.

He was
born with
irons in
Prison.The Martyr-
dom of John
Laurence.

Bristol, 22.

Oleaster.

Anno 1555.

The cruel burning of John Laurence Martyr.

fire the young Children came about the fire, and cried, as well as young Children could speak, saying; Lord strengthen thy Servant, and keep thy promise, Lord strengthen thy Servant, and keep thy promise: which things, as it is rare, so it is no small manifestation of the Glory of God, which wrought this in the hearts of these little ones; nor yet a little commendation to their Parents, which from their youth brought them up in the knowledge of God and his Truth.

The History of Dr. Robert Farrar, Bishop of S. Davids in Wales, who most constantly gave his Life for the Testimony of the Truth, March 30. Anno 1555.

The next day after, which was the 30. day of the said Month of *March*, followed the worthy and constant Martyrdom

The burning of Dr. Robert Farrar, Bishop of S. Davids, and Martyr. 56. Articles against Bishop Farrar in K. Edwards time, devised by Thomas Young, Chancellor, and other his Adversaries. Tho. Young Son in law to Confessor.

Martyrdom of the Bishop of S. Davids in Wales, called Robert Farrar, who was the next Bishop in this Catalogue of Christian Martyrs, that suffered after Mr. Hooper. This aforesaid Farrar, by the favour and good will of the Lord Protector, was first called and promoted to that Dignity. This man I may well call twice a Martyr, not only for the cruel death of the fire, which he suffered most constantly in the days of Q. Mary, unto the shedding of his Blood, but also for divers other injuries and molestations in K. Edwards time, which he no less firmly than unworthily sustained at the hands of his enemies after the fall of the Duke of Somerset. Of these his vexations and troubles, with the wrangling Articles and Informations laid against him, to the number of 56. and of the malice conceived against him by certain covetous Canons of the Church of Carmarthen, and what were the proceedings of both parts, as well of the innocent, as of the crafty Adversaries, and what were their Names, in their Articles against him, in order here followeth.

The Principal Articles against Bishop Farrar.

1. George Constantine, David Walter his Servant, Thomas Young Chaunter of the Cathedral Church, who was afterward Archbishop of York, Rowland Merriack Doctor of Law, who was afterward Bishop of Bangor, Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlins, &c.

Through the procurement and instance of these his Adversaries, joyning and confederating together, one Hugh Rawlins Priest, and Thomas Lee Brother in Law to the said George Constantine, did exhibit to the Kings most honourable Counsel certain Articles and Informations, conceived and devised by the persons before named, to the intent to blemish the Bishops credit, and utterly (as they thought and made their boast) to pull him from his Bishoprick, and to bring him in a Premunire. The Copy of which Articles we thought here good to express, and so after them to set his answers to the same.

Articles and Informations to the Kings Honourable Council, put up and exhibited by Hugh Rawlins and Thomas Lee, against the Blessed Man of God, Master Farrar Bishop of S. Davids.

Abuse of the Authority to him committed.

1. *Item*, when the said Bishop first came to his Diocese, he appointed his Chancellor by his Letters of Commission, omitting the Kings Majesties Seale and Authority, and grounded his said Commission upon forraign usurped Laws and Authority, by force of which Authority his said Chancellor did visit certain Deaneries of his said Diocese, and monished the Chaunter and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of S. Davids aforesaid, against a certain day and place, for like intent and purpose, contrary to the Kings Highnesss Laws and Statutes, and in derogation of his Highnesss Supremacy.

2. *Item*, that the said Chaunter and Chapter, perceiving the fault of the said Commission, took the same from the Register into their custody, refusing to appear by vertue thereof, and by secret and charitable ways and means did admonish the said Bishop of the unlawfulness and faults of the said Commission, and of the danger that he had incurred for granting and executing the same, opening also unto him the effect of the Statute made in the 28. year of our late Sovereign Lord Henry the 8. Which Monitions notwithstanding, the said Bishop neglecting the same, and continuing in his malicious doing or inexcusable ignorance, about the 20. day of August, in the fourth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord that now is, did confer unto one John Evans the Vicarage of Pembryn, instituting him by Authority of the old forraign usurped Law, making no mention of the Kings Highnesss Authority, in contempt and derogation of the same.

3. *Item*, whereas the Chancellor and Vicar General to the said Bishop, did upon a lawful Title, and by the Kings Highnesss Supream Authority, admit and institute one John Gough into the Rectory of Haskard with the appurtenances, and gave out in the Kings Name under his Highnesss Seal Ecclesiastical appointed for that

Office, with the Teste of the said Bishop, and subscription of the said Chancellor, a Mandate to induct accordingly; by vertue whereof the said John Gough was inducted by the Official there, into the real possession of the same Rectory, with the rights and appurtenances to the same belonging; whereupon the Register of the said Diocese, at the request of the fore said Chancellor did signify the premises, with all the circumstances, before divers persons to the forenamed Bishop: Who notwithstanding did institute and cause to be inducted one Harry Goddard unto the same Parsonage, making no mention of the Kings Majesties Authority nor Supremacy; in contempt and derogation of the same his Highnesss Crown and Dignity, and in extolling the forraign usurped Authority, contrary to the form of the Statute, &c.

4. *Item*, the said Bishop, immediately after the unlawful Institution and Induction of Goddard aforesaid, molested the said John Gough, lawfully instituted and inducted as before, citing him from place to place, objecting no matter unto him of long season, till at length he arried. Among which Articles was contained, *Item*, interrogatur quo titulo venet Restoriam de Haskard: So taking upon him the cognition of the Title of the whole fruits and Patronage, in contempt of the Kings Highnesss Regal Crown and Dignity, and in derogation of the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

5. *Item*, He hath commonly made his Collations and Institutions, as he did his first Commission, in his own name and Authority, without expressing the Kings Supremacy.

6. *Item*, He made under his Seal one Collation, two Institutions, and three Mandates to induct, in one vacation of one Benefice, three several persons, without order of Law, or revocation of any of them, giving to every one like Authority, Title and Right. Whereby, except good foresight, as well of Justices of the Peace, as of the Friends had not been, there had ensued much inconvenience amongst the partakers of the intituled Incumbents in that behalf.

7. *Item*, the said Bishop decreeing Caveats to be made in Benefices, thereby knowing the Titles Litigious, instituted and caused to be inducted without Trial of any Title or due order of Law.

8. *Item*, He directeth his Mandates of Induction unto private men, and not to the Archdeacons nor their Officials; contrary to the Law and Custom used in that behalf. Notwithstanding he hath been Counseled to the contrary of men that be learned.

9. *Item*, having no manner of knowledge nor practice in the Law, he hutch every day in Harvest, and other times, upon causes without assistance of learned in the Law, having with him only an unlearned Boy, which is no Notary, to his Scribe, neither observing the Law, nor yet, reasonable order. And therefore doth no good, but trifles the time, as may appear by his Acts, if he have them to be shewed.

10. *Item*, He and his Officers, by his knowledge, useth to dispense with Marriages, to be Solemnized without Banes, contrary to the Laws and Ordinances in that behalf.

11. *Item*, Whereas one Thomas Pritchard, a Chaplain of his, solemnized Matrimony in a private House without Banes, and that betwixt a Priest, and a Sister of hers that was appointed to be married with the said Priest that day; he also being a Parson, and leaving his Cure unperfected that day being Sunday: and notwithstanding that one of the Kings Council in the Marches of Wales informed the said Bishop of the same Misdemeanours, requiring due reformation thereof, He hath done nothing therein, but put the same Chaplain in Office, and made him his Commissary General since that time, bearing a special favour to the rest of the offenders.

12. *Item*, Whereas one Meredith ap Thomas, his Household-servant, was accused of one Sage Hugh, to have been Father of her Child: the said Bishop, without purgation of his Servant, caused him to sue the Parents of the said Sage of Infamy, first in his principal Consistory, and from thence before a Commissary of his, being his Household Chaplain, and at the last took the matter before himself, so railing against all his Officers, because they proceeded not after his partial affection, and against the

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Anno 1555. the Law, that honest men of *Carmarthen*, where he then fate upon the Cause, judge him to be, or at the least to have been detract of his wit, and by this partial handling, the Cause remaineth unfinished, and the Child without Father.

13. Item, Whereas one *Jeskin Ph.* accused *William Chambers*, a Servant of the Bishops that found this *William* in adulterous manner with his Wife, by reason whereof the Bishop expelled the Wife out of his House, the said Infamy not purged, the parties have been both again in the Bishops House and Service since that time, to the evil example of other.

14. Item, By his unlawful sequestration of the fruits of the Benefices of *Langatock*, and *Lamybangel*, by the undiscreef handling of the same, there were raised the number of four hundred people or more, which bickered sundry times together, to the great danger of the Inhabitants thereof, had it not been pacified by the discreet means of Sir *Roger Vaughan* Knight.

15. Item, By his like unlawful collation of the Prebend of *Lambister* to one *Stephen Green*, a Chaplain of his, by covenant and promise to maintain the Sute, by whose crafty and undiscreef handling of the same, there was raised in the Country of *Radnor* the 19. day of *August* last past, about three or four hundred men to like danger, but that the matter was stayed by *John Bradshaw*, *Rice ap Glin*, and *Stephen ap Rice*, Justices of the same County. Who with great danger to themselves and theirs, pacified the matter, committing an hundred of the offenders to ward.

16. Item, such as he oweth displeasure unto, he citheth from place to place, and day to day, only for their vexation, laying no matter against them; and being divers times required the Copy of his proceedings against them, to the intent they might answer accordingly, and be at their lawful defence; he denied to all such persons the Copies of his proceedings.

17. Item, He and his Officers wink at the manifest and open crimes of his Fautors and Adherents, to the evil example of the whole Diocess, and abuse the Censures of Excommunication and Suspension, making it an Instrument of revenging against such as they do not favour.

18. Item, Having received payment of the Kings Majesties Subsidy, due in *October*, the 4. year of his Graces Reign, of the foresaid Chaunter of the Cathedral Church of S. *Davids*, and *Rowland Meyrike*, two of the Rectors there, before *Christmas* last, he unjustly of a repented mind and purpose afterward certified them for Recusants, to their undoing, if they had not been admonished of his cruel purpose, and provided lawful defence for the same.

19. Item, The said Bishop celebrating Matrimony in his own person, dispensed contrary to the Book of Ordinance, with the parties married, for not receiving the holy Communion; the parties both being young, and lusty persons, having no reasonable cause wherefore they should abstain. At which celebration the Bishop Communicated not himself. And further, the Communion was celebrated by a Chaplain of his, with superstitious blowings, kneelings, and knockings both of the Chaplain that Ministred, and of all the company, onely one other Priest Communicating for the manner.

20. Item, Where the Official of the Archdeacon of *Carmarthen*, in his visitation within *Carmarthen*, found, contrary unto the said Ordinance, an Altar set up in the Body of the Church, for celebration of the Communion, and caused the said Altar to be taken away, and a table to be set in the middle of the Church; the Bishop after the same commanded the Vicar of *Carmarthen* to set the Table without the Chancel again for the Ministrations of the Communion.

21. Item, He being often in *Carmarthen*, and other places in the Chancel at the time of holy Communion, not only tarried there himself, neither Communicating nor Ministring bareheaded and uncovetied, reverently kneeling; but also permiteth the people there to continue, the Chancel and Quire full, kneeling and knocking their Breasts. Which manner is yet used in all the Diocess, without any reformation or gainstay of him or any of his Officers.

22. Item, Whereas superstitious praying upon beads is not only ungodly; but reproved in the Kings Majesties Injunctions; the said Bishop meeting many with Beads in their hands never rebuked any of them.

23. Item, The said Bishop being in the Pulpit, and seeing Croffes there within the Church, with a great number of lights upon them, never spake against any of them.

24. Item, Whereas the Ordinance willeth, that no Children be Baptized but upon the Sunday; or Holy day (only Cause of necessity excepted) he, having two Children himself born without danger, caused one of them to be Baptized on the work day. And by his example, without any contradiction or motion of reformation, it is used, as it hath been customed, in all the Diocess commonly, contrary unto the Book of Ordinance in that behalf.

25. Item, From his first coming into the Diocess, he hath had and yet hath his only study, labour, and practice, to survey Land, and to look for Mines, &c. neglecting his own bounden duty to apply to his Book and Preaching.

26. Item, He keepeth no manner of Hospitality, but hath his Servants Table in one Parlour with him, left any Stranger should approach his Servants being at their meat.

27. Item, He is commonly talking not of Godliness, but of Worldly matters; as baking, brewing, inclosing, ploughing, mining of Mill-Stones, discharging of Tenants and such like, not only at his Table, but also most commonly at other places.

28. Item, He hath warned divers Tenants out of their Lands, which they and their elders have enjoyed for their rents these Hundred years, and more, and occupied with tillage; which he saith he will inclose, and being sued to of poor men, because of quietness, he answered; The Crows shall eat the Corn, rather than ye shall have any profit thereof.

29. Item, When the Vicars Choral of Saint *Davids*, for relief of their Hospitality, had an lland of his called the Bishops Ile, for 40. s. rent, he hath set it to a Chaplain of his for five pound by year. And where, at the suit of the said Vicars, it was granted by the Bishop in the whole Chapter, that the Vicars should have it for years at 40. s. rent, and pay 20. li. entry; he now covetously, and against his promise openly made, denieth the same, except the Vicars would give 50. pound.

30. Item, He caused the Curate of S. *Davids* to warn their Tenants out of their said Lands in the Pulpit, to the great Offence of the People, which were wont to have Gods Word Preached there; and so they said to the Curate at that time.

31. Item, To the Plowing of a Pasture not above ten days work, in *Lent*, Anno 1549. he had 32 Ploughs in one day, and those Ploughs the Priest bade in the Church, contrary to the Statute of *Gomoriba* in that behalf provided, and to the evil example of Gentlemen in that Country.

32. Item, Where the Kings Majesty of godly remembrance, *Henry* the eighth, appointed at *Brecknock* a Schoolmaster, Usher, Reader of Divinity, a Minister, and certain Scholars, and for the maintenance thereof appointed xl. and xii. li. of the pensions and revenues of *Brecknock*: the Bishop finding it so furnished, hath neither Reader nor Minister there, covetously converting their stipends to his own use.

33. Item, The Bishop was twice in one day presented in the great Court, holden in the Court of *Carmarthen*, for inclosing and covetous incroaching of the Kings High-Way.

34. Item, He covetously occupieth purchasing of Lands, buying of Cattel, Merchandise, and other things, being indebted a notable sum to the Kings Majesty, as may by his accounts in the Court of Tenths and first fruits appear.

35. Item, Whereas one *Lewis John Tho. Boal*, putting from him his lawful wedded Wife, upon *Christmas* Even last past, without banns had Marriage Solemnized with a Concubine of his in a Church within three miles of the Bishops abode at that time: The Bishop since knowing the premises, hath not only of a covetous mind entered familiarity with the said *Lewis*, and bought a piece of Land of him, but also ever since hath (to have his Lands

lands good cheap) left both the parties and Priest unpunished, using him so familiarly, that whereas a Sumner cited the parties to appear among other criminals for the same fact; the Bishop commanded the said Sumner to let him alone, and so they all remain unpunished.

36. *Item*, Whereas the whole Chapter of S. Davids (as it was thought) was in assured amity with the Bishop, they all being his Officers or Chaplains, he procured them to be impleaded with a Writ of *Quo Warranto* in the Kings Bench, keeping the Writ with him secretly, at the least three Months, not delivering it, but only ten days before the day of their appearance, the parties being seven days journey distant from London.

37. *Item*, He is a wilful wrong doer, and troubler of men in their rights, entering upon their lawful possessions, stirring thereby much contention, and so notably known, to the offence of the Country.

wilful negligence.

38. *Item*, Whereas the Bishop aforesaid was appointed in August, Anno 1547. and consecrated in September following, he never came into the Diocese himself, nor sent or appointed any Officer there before the Month of April, Anno 1558. to the great disorder of the Kings Majesties Subjects, lack of reformation, and Ministration of Justice.

39. *Item*, During his visitation, the said Bishop did not endeavor himself to see reformation, but rode surveying of Lands, appointing vain inclosures, and such other things. Which are no part of the Office to him committed, nor yet convenient, namely at that time.

40. *Item*, The visitation finished, he neither appointed his Officers to examine the Clergy of the places of Scripture to them appointed to be studied in the same visitation, nor hath hitherto effectually gone about any godly reformation, according to the ordinance of this Realm.

41. *Item*, The Bishop since his coming to the Diocese never Ministrated the Communion, saving only at two times, that he ordered certain Deacons; but in every thing (save that he otherwhiles preacheth) ordereth himself like no Minister, nor man of his vocation.

42. *Item*, He hath so alienated himself from study, that he Preacheth undiscernedly, discrediting the Office, not only utterly reporting the Scriptures, but also Preaching the ten Commandments in one place in declaration of the eighth of them, for lack of stuff, the pith of his matter was Matrimony of Priests.

43. *Item*, the 13. day of September last, he ordained certain Deacons, and making his exhortation, he taught that a man was not bounden to forgive, but him that asketh forgiveness; and being admonished by a Letter better to declare the same, because that divers were offended with that Doctrine; he hath hitherto deferred so to do, to the maintenance of malicious hearts in these parts.

44. *Item*, Since the first day of August, Anno 1549. unto the feast of Candlemas last, he hath Preached but two or three Sermons, of which one was Preached at Aberguilly upon Saint Stephens day last, to a great Audience that understood no English, being but a mile from Carmarthen, an English Town, and chief of his Diocese.

45. *Item*, Since his ordinary visitation, which was finished in July, Anno 1548. he hath neither Preached, nor caused to be Preached in the Towns of Tenby, Pembroke, nor Haverford, being English Towns, not much distant from the place of his most continuance.

46. *Item*, The Churches appropriate to the Bishop have no Paraphrases in English, and few of them Bibles.

47. *Item*, The Churches of the Diocese for the most part, and the Clergy almost every one lack Paraphrases, notwithstanding there hath been these two years, and yet be a great number of them to be sold in the Diocese.

Folly.

48. *Item*, To declare his folly in riding, he useth a Bristle with white studs and snaffle, white Scottish stirrups, white spurs, a Scottish pad with a little staff of three quarters long, which he hath not only used Superstitiously these four or five years, in Communication oftentimes boasting what Countreys he hath compassed and measured with the same staff.

49. *Item*, he hath made a vow, that he will never wear a cap; for he saith, it is comely wearing of a hat,

and so cometh in his long gown and hat, both in to the Cathedral Church, and to the best Town of his Diocese, sitting in that sort in the Kings great Sessions, and in his Consistory, making himself a mock to the People.

50. *Item*, He said that he would go to the Parliament on foot: And to his friends that dissuaded him, alleging that it is not meet for a man in his place; he answered, I care not for that, it is no Sin.

51. *Item*, having a Son, he went before the Midwife to the Church, presenting the Child to the Priest, and giving his Name Samuel, with a solemn interpretation of the Name, appointing also two Godfathers and two Godmothers, contrary to the ordinance, making his Son a monster, and himself a laughing stock throughout all the Country.

52. *Item*, He daily useth whistling of his Child, and saith that he understood his whistle, when he was but three days old. And being advertised of his friends, that men laughed at his folly, he answered; They whistle their hories and dogs, and I am contented; they might also be contented that I whistle my Child, and so whistle him daily, all friendly admonition neglected.

53. *Item*, In his ordinary visitation among other his sins, he surveyed Milford Haven, where he espied a Seal-fish tumbling. And he crept down to the water side, and continued there whistling by the space of an hour, perfwading the company that laughed fast at him, that by his whistling he made the fish to tarry there.

54. *Item*, speaking of scarcity of Herrings, he laid the fault to the covetousness of Fishers, who in time of plenty took so many, that they destroyed the Breeders.

55. *Item*, Speaking of the alteration of the Coin, he wished that what metal soever it were of, the penny should be in weight worth a penny of the same metal.

56. For a conclusion, the said Bishop in all his doings, since he came to his Diocese, hath behaved himself most unmeet for a man of his vocation, being for a Minister of Justice, an abuser of the Authority to him committed, for a teacher of the Truth, and reformer of Superstition, a maintainer of Superstition without any Doctrine of reformation, for a liberal and hospital, an unfatiable covetous man: for a diligent over-seer, wilful and negligent: for an example of godly Wisdom, given wholly to folly: for merciful, a cruel revenger. And further, for a peace-maker, a fower of discord. And so in all his behaviour a discreditor and slanderer of his vocation, and a deceiver of all men, that had hope that he should do any reformation. For he yet hath neither brought into his Diocese, nor hath belonging unto him any learned Preacher. But such learned Preachers as he found in the Diocese at his entry, he so vexeth and disquieteth, that they cannot attend to apply their preaching, for the defence of their livings, against his quarrellous inventions and unjust certificates.

After these wrangling Articles and Informations were given up, then was the Bishop called for to answer, the hearing whereof was committed unto Dr. Watson, and Sir John Mason Knight, who likewise received the Bishops answers to the forsaide Articles, the Copy and effect of which answers hereafter follow.

D. Watson and Sir John Mason Contradictors for the hearing of the Bishops matter.

The Answer of Robert, Bishop of S. Davids, to the Articles Ministrated unto him.

TO the first Article he saith, that after lawful Ministration in the Kings Majesties Name and Authority, from the said Bishop (being then at London) given to the Chaunter and Chapter of S. Davids, for visitation at a certain day there to be entred; the said Bishop himself for such purpose coming into the Diocese, knowing also that the Chaunter, and one of the Canons of that Church, and late before Commissaries in that Diocese, had not only by their own evil example and winking at the faults of other, or neglecting to correct the same, left there among Priests and others, much detestable whoredom; but had also spoiled the Cathedral Church of Croffes, Chalice, and Censers, with other Plate; Jewels, and Ornaments of the Church, to the value of five hundred Marks or more, for their own private lucre (the Church remaining even yet very vile, & in great decay) and had also made further under their Chapter Seal many blankes, to the number

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number of twelve or more, *Sede vacante*, without the Kings licence or knowledge; Therefore he brought with him one *Edmund Farlee*, Bachelour of Law, by Dr. *Tung* and Dr. *Neofen* to him commended, as a man sufficient in faithful truth and learning, to be his Chancellor. To whom he granted and sealed a Commission for that purpose, giving credit to him in his faculty, concerning the draught and form thereof. But the Kings Majesty's title of Supremacy was fully set forth in the same Commission. Whether there were any default of formal words in setting forth of the Kings Authority therein, he is not certain. For he committed the doing thereof to his Chancellor, who was commended to him for a learned man. And the Bishop saith, that he did never ground the Commission upon any foreign usurped Laws or Authority: Neither did his said Chancellor by force of such Authority visit any Deany of the said Diocess, nor gave any Monition to the Chaunter and Chapter there, by force of that Commission for any like intent or purpose, but only offered in the Kings Majesty's Name and Authority (to the said Bishop committed) to enter Visitation of the Chaunter and Chapter of the Cathedral Church, at another day to be executed by the Bishop himself, for reformation of the Chapter Church, and Ministers there, according to the Kings gracious Ordinances and Injunctions in that behalf. But the aforesaid Chaunter and Canon of the Church, before the sight of any Commission, stubbornly answered the said Chancellor, that they would not receive him, nor any other to Visit them, except he were one of their Chapter. And further, desiring to see his Commission, he delivered the same into their hands, who would not deliver it him again. And so it may appear that he did nothing by force of that Commission.

2. To the second Article he saith, that they opened not unto him the danger of any Statute, to his knowledge and remembrance. Nevertheless, he not knowing any default in the said Commission, and certainly minding with all diligence the faithful execution of his office of Preaching, and Visiting the whole Diocess in his own person, by the Kings Majesty's Authority, for the conservation of Gods peace and the Kings, in that dangerous time of Rebellion, then beginning to arise in other places, did neglect and lay apart the stubborn behaviour and ungodly doings of the said Chaunter and Canon, and agreed with them, omitting all contempts and reproaches toward him and his said Chancellor, and all manner of contention by them done, fearing else that through their unquietness some Tumult might have risen among the People thereof and did also make the said Chaunter his Chancellor, and Canon his Commissary, according to their ambitious desires, to appease their malice in that dangerous time. And further, he saith, that he made Collation to Sir *John Evans* of the Vicarage of *Pembrin*, what day or time he remembereth not, not by any old foreign usurped Authority, but by the Kings Authority only, making full mention of the Kings Title and Authority in the same Collation.

3. and 4. To the third and fourth he saith, that whereas he had granted to *George Constantine* the office of a Register, who brought unto him a Commission for the Chancellorship, to be sealed and delivered to the aforesaid Chaunter of *Saint Davids*, desiring the said Bishop to seal it, he utterly refused so to do, because the said *George* had put therein a clause of admitting Clerks into Benefices: the which Authority the said Bishop would not in any wise grant, reserving the examination and admission of Clerks only to himself, for the avoiding of wicked bribery and partiality. Whereupon the said *George* and the Chaunter promised the said Bishop by their faith and truth, afore three or four honest witnesses, not to execute that clause of Institution into Benefices, but only to those Clerks whom the Bishop did first examine and admit, and send unto them to be instituted and inducted; upon which promise the Bishop sealed the said Commission. And after that time, the Parsonage of *Haskard* being void, and by the reason of Lapse devolved to the Bishops gift for that time, he conferred it to one Sir *Henry Godberd*, with a Collation of Institution by the Kings Authority, not extolling any foreign usurped Authority. In the which Collation or Institution is fully mentioned the renunciation of the Bishop of *Rome*, and all foreign powers

and Authority, with the full stile of his Majesty's Supremacy. And this Collation of the Church of *Haskard* he gave, before he understood or knew that his Chancellor had given out the like, and he surely thinketh his Collation was the first. That notwithstanding, the said *George Constantine*, and the said Chaunter having a Vowson determined by reason of Lapse, admitted and instituted one *John Gough*, to the said Parsonage of *Haskard*, by Vertue of their expired Vowson, and Sealed his Institution with a wrong Seal (because they had not the right Seal of Office to that purpose) contrary to their former earnest promise, and the Bishops Right, and without any manner of warning or fore-knowledge thereof to him given, which thing by them untruly done, the said *George Constantine* nevertheless came to the Bishops House and there did write with his own hand the Letters of Induction for the said Sir *Henry Godberd* Priest, comprising in the same the whole Sum of the Institution or Collation which the said Bishop had made, and the same *George* did Seal the said Letters of Induction with his own hand, finding no manner of fault therein, nor making any word or mention of his and the Chaunters former wrong doing, but so departed for that time. And afterward he came again, and shewed the Bishop what they had done before concerning the Parsonage aforesaid. And further, the said Defendant saith, that he did not molest the said *John Gough*, but lawfully did call him in the Kings Majesty's Name, not for any Title of Patronage, but to know whether he were Parson of *Haskard*, and how he was thereto admitted, and instituted, and inducted, and by what Authority he presumed to preach there, without the Kings Majesty's licence, with other like lawful demands, whereunto he sturdily refused to give Answer; and saith, that the Article contained in his accusation, saying thus: *Item interrogator quo titulo tenet Rectorem de Haskard*, was not mislaid unto the party in that sort, so far as he knoweth, but in these words or like, *Quomodo intravit in Rectorem, &c.*

5. To the fifth he saith, that albeit *George Constantine* Register, did wilfully withdraw his bounden Service due to the Kings Highness, and to the said Defendant in the Kings Name, refusing to attend either by himself, or his sufficient Deputy for writing of Records and other Instruments, yet the said Defendant made his Collations and Institutions in his own Name, not by his own Authority, nor by another, save only the Kings Authority, according as he hath declared in his Answer to the first Article, expressing in them the Kings Supremacy with the Bishops own Name and Seale of Office, as he ought to do, according to the provision of the Kings Statute in such a case.

6. To the sixth he saith, that the Vicar of *Pembrin* being void, he, as right Patron thereof to his knowledge, conferred it to *John Evans* Clerk, with Letters of Institution and Induction; and after, when the Kings Presentation came to him for one *David Jenkins* Clerk, he desired fourteen days respite at that time, either to shew ancient record for his right, and then the matter to stand to the Determination of the Law, or else if he shewed not, both he and his Clerk to give place to the Kings Clerk, Which condition was by Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight, Doctor M. and the said *David Jenkins* received, and an Institution with an Induction was made conditionally to be put into the hands of Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight, for safe custody of the Kings Clerks behoof, after the fourteen dayes to be executed at the hands of the said Defendant, if he failed to shew. Within which time the said Defendant did shew an old ancient Record, declaring the full right of Patronage on the said Defendants behalf, and so that Institution and Induction was never by the said Defendant put in execution. Nevertheless, the said *David Jenkins* (contrary to his promise and Oath giving thereupon his right hand to the said Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight) took Advantage by the said writing, without knowledge of the said Defendant. After which time the Lord Chancellor, by his Letters written to the said Defendant, advertised him, to admit one *John Ap Powell* Clerk presented by vertue of a Vowson which the Lord Chancellor judged to be good, and so to be admitted notwithstanding

his former pretension, whereby he would not abate the others mans right. And so this Defendant made one Collation, two Institutions, and three Mandates, doing no wrong thereby to his knowledge. And further he saith, that there was no business nor unquietness about the possession of the said Vicarage, but this Defendant giving place, was content to lose his right for that time.

7. To the seventh he saith, that as he now remembereth, he never decreed any Caveats to be made in Benefices, neither did institute nor cause to be inducted any into Benefices, being known to him litigious.

8. To the eighth he saith, that because the Archdeacons be absent from their Offices, and have not had faithful diligent Officials, he hath directed his Mandates to them or their Officials, or to other lawfull persons in that behalf, so far as he knoweth.

9. & 10. The ninth and tenth Articles he denieth as very untrue.

11. To the eleventh he saith, that whereas Sir Thomas Jones Knight advertised him, that Thomas Pritchard had celebrated Matrimony in a private House, betwixt a certain Priest and a Woman, whose Sister had refused the same, the said Pritchard leaving his own Cure unserved on that Sunday, this Defendant did put the same Thomas Pritchard to penance for so doing, Marrying them without Rance. And whereas he made the said Thomas Pritchard, who is a Bachelor of law, his Commissary; it was for the respect of learning in the law, thereby faithfully to execute his office according to Justice. And the said Defendant did never favor nor bear with any man wrongfully in his wrong doings. He confesseth that the Matrimony was solemnized in a private Church, and that the Cure was that day unserved.

12. To the twelfth he saith, that it is slanderous and utterly untrue. And that one Sir John Hughes, Priest, made Sage Hughes (daughter to his Stepmother) an Heiress at seven years of age, and after Married openly to another man, being Minister thereof himself. After which doing he took her away from her Husband again, and kept her, alledging a former contract. And when the said John Hughes was lawfully convicted before the said Bishop, in open Court at Carmarthen, of that his abominable Adultery, claiming the Kings pardon thereof, yet the said Sage confessed, that he had to do with her the night before that day of appearance. Which later crime he denied. Nevertheless shee proved with Child, affirming, both before the Birth and after, the Child to be his, the Midwife and others being Witnesses thereof. Yet notwithstanding, George Constantine, as a wicked Bolsterer of the said Priest in his naughty doings, with the help of the aforesaid Chaunter, first uttered that Meredith Thomas was Father of the said Child: which matter was ordered in the Ecclesiastical Court according to Justice, without any partial affection of the said Bishop, or of any other to his knowledge.

13. To the 13. he saith, it is utterly false so far as he knoweth.

14. To the 14. he saith, that by lawfull sequestration in the Kings Majesty's name, he committed the custody of the fruits of Llangethoke and Llanvihangel to two honest men, for the behoof of the Kings first fruits and tenths, and of the next incumbent, and further he did not meddle nor Minister any cause of unquietness in that behalf.

15. To the 15. he saith, that he made a collation, lawfull (as he supposeth) of the Prebend of Lanbister, to Stephen Graene his Chaplain, without any covenant or colour, and further he did not meddle in that behalf.

16. To the 16. he saith, it is untrue as far as he knoweth.

17. To the 17. he saith, it is untrue for his own part, and his Officers, as far as he knoweth.

18. To the 18. he saith, it is untrue as far as he knoweth, and that he did certify the Recusants justly, as he thinketh, because they refused wilfully to pay the Kings whole Subsidy of their whole dividends, as it standeth in the Kings booke, pertaining to the Canons Resident.

19. To the 19. he saith, that after travel of fourteen miles, being not able fasting to celebrate the communion, in a Chappel within the House of Sir Thomas Jones

Knight, one of the Kings Majesty's Honourable Council of the Marches of Wales, this Defendant celebrated Matrimony without receiving the Communion for the causes aforesaid, betwixt M. Giffith Rice, and the Daughter of the said Sir Thomas Jones, according to the Kings Ordinances. And Thomas Pritchard Priest, administered the holy Communion there without any Superstition; to this Defendants knowledge: and the Married persons not disposed to receive the holy Communion, he could not compel them against their Consciences, and saith, that he did not dispense with them, as it is contained in the Article.

To the slanderous and untrue title of maintenance of Superstition, &c. he saith, that he did not maintain any Superstition, contrary to the Kings Ordinances and Injunctions, but abhorring in his heart all Superstition, hath Travelled and doth Travel to Abolish the same by True Doctrine, and doing as much as he can, with the Kings peace, among his People there.

20. To the 20. he saith, that George Constantine in the third year of the Kings Maiesties Reign not regarding the dangerous time of Rebellion in other places, rashly caused to be pulled down, without any Authority known to this Defendant, the Communion Altar in Carmarthen Church, by his own presumptuous mind, appointing the use thereof in another place of the Church, not without grudge of the People. Wherefore the Bishop fearing Tumult, commanded the Vicar to set up the Communion Table (for the time) near to the place where it was before.

21. To the 21. he saith, that he hath been divers times in the Quire of Carmarthen, and hath tarried there in the Communion time, not communicating himself, and that in every Church where he cometh on the Holy day to preach, or to pray, he kneeleth in the Quire barcheaded, as well at Matins before the Communion, as at Evensong after, without any Superstition: he thinketh it not necessary for the Communion sake to leave kneeling to Christ. But he hath diligently taught the People not to kneel nor knock to the visible shew; or external shew of the Sacrament. And the Quires of Carmarthen and other places there, are not close at the sides, so that the People may come in and forth at their pleasure. Moreover the Kings Ordinances do not Authorize him to rebuke the People for knocking on their breasts, in token of repentance of their sins; nor for kneeling, in token of submission to God for mercy in Christ.

22. To the 22. he saith, that in the time of Rebellion in Devonshire and Cornwall, threatening to come into Wales, he teaching the People the true form of Prayer, according to Gods holy Word, and declaring the Prayer upon Beads to be vain and superstitious, yet durst not for fear of Tumult forcibly take from any man his Beads, without Authority. And touching the not reproving of such as he should meet, wearing Beads, he remembereth not that he hath so done, unless it were in the Rebellion time, at which time he durst not rebuke such Offenders.

23. To the 23. he saith, that he being in the Pulpit, his face towards the People; did not see the lights, if any were set up about the Corps behind his back till after that he came down from the Pulpit. But he with George Constantine and the aforesaid Chanter, sitting in the Church in Carmarthen to hear Causes, and seeing the Vicar with other Priests, with song and lights bringing a Corps up to the Church, called forth with the Vicar and Priests, and rebuked them in open Court, as Cormorants and Ravens, flying about the dead carcass for lucre sake.

24. To the 24. he saith, that he caused the one Child being born with great peril of death to the Mother, and itself lying for dead a certain space after, to be christened on the working day: the other Child was christened on the working day, because both Father and Mother, and all other People there were in peril of death by reason of the sudden sweat, which all men feared at that time. And touching the rest of the accusation, which is, that by that example, it is used after the old accustomed fashion, he knoweth no such thing.

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To the Title of Covetousness, he saith; His doings prove the contrary, as his Neighbours know.

25. And the 25. Article he utterly denieth.

26. To the 26. he saith, That his Hall at *Abergilly* being ruinous, he useth for his Hall a great Chamber adjoining, for himself and his Servants, and all manner of Strangers, and besides twenty Persons in house daily. What other Hospitality he keepeth, honest Neighbours can tell.

27. To the 27. he saith, That his Talk is according to his Hearers, that is to say, reverently and truly of Faith, Love, and honest Life, according to the Scripture to like Auditors; and to other unreverend and rash Tumblers of Scriptures and holy Doctrine, he doth talk of honest worldly things with godly intent; and that he doth not most commonly talk of such things as are expressed in this Article, but when he hath honest occasion so to do.

28. The 28. he saith is untrue, and that he hath wretched no man out of their Lands; but where he is definite of necessary provision, and would have part of his own Demain from certain Freeholders, having it only from year to year at pleasure, he cannot obtain it without brawling. Wherefore he suffereth them to keep it even yet still, against right and reason. And touching the rest, that he had rather the Crows should eat it, &c. he never spake any such word.

29. To the 29. he saith, That whereas his Predecessor Bishop Barlow did let to farm the Isle of *Ramsay* to one *William Brown*, after whose hands this Defendant received it into his own possession, the Vicars of *S. David's* being dispossessed of it long before; he did let it over to *Stephen Green* for 40 Shillings the Ground, as it was before, and 3 Pounds more for Seals, Conveys, and Fowls there; and he knoweth of no right the Vicars Choral had therein, who did refuse when this Defendant did diligently upon reasonable Conditions offer the same unto them: and this Defendant made no Promise unto them, as is contained in the Article.

30. To the 30. he saith, He knoweth not but that he advertised his Bailiff to warn the Freeholders; and others having his Demain in Rent, during pleasure, to leave it at a lawful day to this Defendants necessary use; and did not cause the Curate to do as is contained in the Article to his remembrance.

31. To the 31. he saith, That he knoweth not what the Priest bade in the Church, nor how many Plows there came, undesired of this Defendant. But he knoweth certainly, that he desired no mans labour but for his Money.

32. To the 32. he saith, That he knoweth not any such appointment of Schools and Revenues there, but he found there (after the departing of Bishop Barlow) a Schoolmaster, an Usher being a Priest, and 20 Scholars, which he hath hitherto maintained better than he found it, to his knowledge: he did never convert any Penny thereof to his own use, albeit he might lawfully have done the same.

33. The 33. he saith, is all untrue, so far as he knoweth.

34. To the 34. Article he saith, He never purchased more than three Parcels, whereof one was two Shillings eight Pence by the year; the second, three Shillings four Pence; and the third, six and twenty Shillings and eight Pence, or thereabout, by year; the rest he denieth.

35. To the 35. he saith, That he never bought of *Lewis John Thomas* his Land good cheap, but after 40 years purchase, not knowing at that time any such thing as is contained in the Article against the said *Lewis John*. Either bade he the Sumner to let him alone, but as soon as he heard any thing of it, commanded the Sumner to cite him; and so he was cited in this Defendants House, occasioning him to break his bargain: to the which *Lewis* this Defendant said these words, If you would give me your Land with an House full of Gold, I cannot, nor will I suffer you to keep a Lemman. Then the said *Lewis* affirming the latter Woman to be his wife, and the first unknown to this Defendant, he caused the said *Lewis* to be called to the Consistory for

Trial, where it hangeth yet: And also by lawful Process Excommunicated the first Woman, for that she would not by any means appear in the Court to claim or to countenance Marriage with the said *Lewis*, and so the standeth this day at the point of Signification.

36. To the 36. he saith, That whereas the Chantor, and *R.M.* with other Canons there, would not obey the Kings godly Injunctions, concerning the finding of a School for Poor mens Children, a Lecture of Divinity, Sermons on the Sundays, Repairing of their Church and Mansion Houses, decent Order and Ministration there; but stubbornly counted themselves (with the Chantor) to be a Body Politick, without regard of the Bishop and his lawful Monitions, being himself named in their Shire Statutes, *Decanus & quasi Decanus*, having all their Dean-Stall in the Quire with a Prebend thereunto annexed, and the chief place in the Chapter-House, with a Key of their Chapter-Seal, being also by the Kings Majesties Commission appointed their Ordinary: yet would they not in any wise deliver unto him a Book of their Statutes, for the better knowledge of his and their Duties, nor shew unto him their Records and Monuments, for declaration of the Kings Right and his. For which cause this Defendant, by Writ of *Quo warranto*, lawfully called them to answer, which yet lieth asleep, to the loss of the Kings Majesties Right. The time of delivery of the said Writ, he remembereth not.

37. The 37. he saith is all false, as far as he knoweth.

To the Title of Wilful Negligence; he saith, that he hath used to his power Willing Diligence.

38. To the 38. he saith, That he being attendant according to his bounden duty) to serve the Kings Highness during the time of the Parliament, from the first unto the last day; then immediately after repaired into his Diocese, and he might not trust *R.M.* the Chantor, and *George Constantine* to execute faithfully the Jurisdiction, because they had before (through their slanderous life, and not punishing Misdoers) left the Country in great enormity of filthy Whoredom. And saith farther, that one cause why he appointed not an Officer, &c. was for that he lacked his Letters of Authority of Jurisdiction.

39. 40. The 39 and 40. he saith are untrue.

41. To the 41. he saith, That how often he did minister the Communion he doth not remember; but in all other things so far as he knoweth, he hath studied to order himself according to his vocation, as far as he believeth, he goeth like a Minister.

42. To the 42. he saith, That he hath not alienated himself from study, neither preached undirectly, nor reported the Scriptures untruly to his knowledge: (but he hath been very much hindered both from Study and Preaching, by the malicious, crafty, and covetous behaviour of the forenamed Persons.) And that he did set forth the Doctrine of honest Marriage, as well of all other men as of Priests, even as the Scripture then rehearsed did minister occasion.

43. To the 43. he saith, That reciting the words of *Luke*, If thy Brother have offended against thee, blame him, and if he repent forgive him, and if he have offended against thee seven times in one day, and seven times in the day be converted unto thee, saying, I am sorry, forgive him: He said farther these words in effect, It appeareth by this place of Scripture, that we are not bound (except he repent) to forgive him; but we are bound to pray God to forgive him; and to give him grace to repent, that he may forgive him.

44. To the 44. he saith, That he hath preached right often at *Carmarthen*, as well as at other places; and he saith, that a great number at *Abergilly* do understand English very well.

45. To the 45. he saith, That after he had preached first at *Brecknock*, *Carmarthen*, *Swansea*, *Laugharne*, *Tinly*, *Pembroch*, *Hereford*, *St. Davids*, *Cardigan*, with other notable Towns; he hath since that time preached to a great many other poor Churches, but not in *Tinly* nor *Pembroch*: but for *Hereford* he standeth in doubt. And whereas he brought with him at the first a learned Preacher, of godly life, the ungodly stubborn behaviour of the

persons before named wearied him away. And whereas, he had waded another Learned man to come into his Diocess to preach, *George Constantine* by his discouragement advised him from this Defendant.

46. To the 46. he saith, That in all his Churches appropriately ingrossed into his hands a great number of Paraphrases; and this Defendant hath admonished the Clergy to buy every one, for his discharge: and if the said *George* being Official of two Archdeaconries, and other Officials in their Office would declare unto him what Churches do lack Bibles or Paraphrases, he would cause it to be amended as much as in him lieth.

To the title of Folly, he saith, That his desire is in true simple manner of his words, deeds, and other honest behaviour, through Gods Grace to shew godly Wisdom.

48. TO the 48. he saith, That he thinketh no folly in the decent colour or fashion with honest use of Saddle, Bridle, Stirrups, Staff, and other like necessary or convenient things; and saith, that he used a Saddle made after the *Scotish* fashion, with Stirrups of Iron unvarnished and like Spurs: and black Bridle without Studs, the Bit and Saddle white as other mens be.

49. To the 49. he saith, That when he goeth abroad in Winter, he weareth a Hat to bear off Rain and Snow, and in Summer to shadow him from the Sun, without any vow of Superstition or offence of the People.

50. To the 50. he saith, That all is one to him, to ride or go, as cause requireth; and whether he saith as is contained in the Article or not, he remembereth not. Howbeit he doth use to go a foot.

51. To the 51. he saith, That after lawful Prayer he pleased God to give him a Son begotten and born in honest Marriage; whom he therefore caused to be named *Samuel*, presenting him to the Minister to be received into Christs Church, as a poor Member of Christ: by the holy Sacrament of Baptism was this done openly in the Cathedral Church, with earnest gravity, and without offending any man; and also two Wives, being before at variance, desired both to be Godmothers, which were both received to make Unity between them, not knowing any Law to the contrary, nor any Offence thereby conceived of the People.

52. To the 52. he saith, That he doth use with gravity all honest loving entertainment of his Child, to encourage him hereafter willingly at his Fathers mouth, to receive wholesome Doctrine of the true Fear and Love of God; and saith, that he hath whistled to his Child, but said not that the Child understood it, and that he answered to one that found fault with it, as is contained in the Article.

53. To the 53. he saith, That he was never Surveyor, but went to see *Milford* Haven for honest purpose, and not to survey it; and for that he at the sight of a Seal whistled in his fist, such as meant folly might turn it to their purpose. And it is not true, that he stood whistling an hour to the Seal, nor that any fault was found with it, nor any such answer made by him to his knowledge.

54. To the 54. he saith, That if he did say, The destroying of the Fry letteth plenty of Fish, he thinketh the same not against reason; but he remembereth not to have said, as is contained in the Article.

55. To the 55. he saith, That he remembereth not that ever he said as they alledge.

To the flandrous, untrue, and ungodly conclusion he saith, that *George Constantine* with other his Adversaries belied, and their Adherents, not regarding the Fear of God, and their bounden duty of loving Obedience towards G. M. and the Kings, and his true Ministers, have too much flanderously with false Tongues, contumacious words, and false deeds, laboured by all means to discredit and cease the Kings gracious Authority to him committed. Who, ever since he came to the Diocess, hath endeavoured himself to shew his faithful Mini-

stry by his true honest doing, and to use his Authority according to his Vocation, to Gods glory and the Kings honour. And that he hath been diligent in reaching of Truth, reforming of Superstition, free of Hospitality, diligent in overseeing with godly wisdom, peace, and mercifulness, as he trusteth in God, may be truly approved. And he is able justly to charge his Adversaries with all the Faults herein by them most unjustly and slanderously against him objected. And he doth marvel greatly, that *George Constantine*, with other his Adherents, are not ashamed maliciously to object (for the intent to slander him) molesting of Preachers found there. For truth it is that he hath molested none, but hath justly brought under *Significavit*, one *Morice* a Preacher, living lewdly, for his stubborn Behaviour and malicious Contempts, even yet continuing in his wilful contempt and irregularity. And he hath (to his knowledge) justly certified *Hugh Rawlins*, Parson of *Tinby*, for his wilful Recusancy of two other Parsonages, shamefully deceiving the Kings Majesty by colour of Commission, as appeareth by the same. And as for the railing, contemptuous Preaching of *R. M.* and the unlearned arrogant Preaching of the Chantor, he referreth to discreet Hearers, which were offended thereat, as they shewed this Defendant. And this Deponent brought into his Diocess both Learned Preachers, and Learned men in the Law, to his very great charges, which men *George Constantine* with his Adherents hath wearied away.

After these Answers thus exhibited by the virtuous and godly Bishop against the quarrelling and frivolous Articles of his foresaid Adversaries, to wit, *Hugh Rawlins*, and *Thomas Lee*: then came in for witnesses, upon the said Articles and Informations, *George Constantine*, and the Chantor of *S. Davids*: against whom the Bishop laid first Exceptions, then also exhibited matter Justificatory, the tenour and process whereof here followeth in order to be seen, first concerning the exceptions, and after the matter Justificatory.

Exceptions general, laid and proposed on the behalf of Robert, Bishop of S. Davids, against all and singular the pretended Witnesses, produced on the behalf of Hugh Rawlins Clerk, and Thomas Lee, upon their untrue surmised Articles by them exhibited unto and before the Kings most honourable Council, by the device and procurement of the Chantor, and George Constantine, with R. M. Clerk, against the said Bishop.

Left, the said Bishop saith and alledgeth, That by Law there ought no faith or credence to be given unto the Depositions and Sayings of the said Witnesses, or any part thereof, because they are infamous, false, perjured, and in some part of their Depositions discording, partial, conducted, subornate, instructed, and for favour of the Informers and their Bolsterers, have deposed of malice more than the Articles whereupon they were produced to contain; and beside, and without the compass of the same Articles, and in divers other parts of their Depositions, they depose *unum & eundem præmeditatum sermone*, as by their said Depositions doth appear, unto the which the said Bishop referreth himself as much as it shall be expedient for him, and none otherwise. And further, for other causes particularly and specially, as is declared in the Book of Exceptions.

Exceptions against the unlawful proceedings of Hugh Rawlins Clerk, and Thomas Lee, promoters of the foresaid untrue Articles, in executing of their Commission for proof of the same.

Item, The said *Thomas Lee* for himself and the other Promoter did contrary to Justice, at the Execution of their Commission, examine certain of the Witnesses himself, in the house of his Brother in Law *George Constantine*, and the said *Lee*, and *David Walter* the Bishops mortal Enemy, and Servant to the said *George Constantine*, did write these Depositions upon the Articles at their own pleasures, and also after the device of the said *George Constantine*, and the Chantor and *R. M.* the Bishops mortal Enemies, and the very devisers and procurers of the Informations, and bolsterers and bearers of the Promoters in the suit thereof. These are the names of the Witnesses so examined,

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Anno 1555. examined, which are already known: *David ap Si Richard of Gethin*, a perjured and an adulterous Person, standing in the number for two Witnesses, written in two places of the Book.

Item, *ap Rudds, of Kennarthe, Griffith ap Howell, Guyne of Kennarthe, Lawes David Clerk, David ap Harvey Clerk, Sir Gogbe, alias Morgan, &c.*

Item, One *John Draper of Carmarthen*, and an adherent of the foresaid Adversaries and Enemies to the said Bishop, did also, contrary to the tenor of their Commission examine certain Witnesses, and had to his Clerk one *William Davids*, Servant in Livery unto the foresaid *Griffith Donne*, the Bishops utter Enemy: by which shameful partiality they have written more matter, more words, other Terms and Sentences, than some of the Deponents have deposed or could depose. *Humphrey Toy* the fifth Deponent, *Rice Gough* the fourteenth Deponent, *William ap Jenkins* the sixteenth Deponent, *John Bengay* the 48th Deponent, *Richard Parson* the 39th, which are already known what manner of Men the Promoters are.

Item, The said *Hugh Rawlins* was not present at the Bishops Sermon, whereof his Information maketh mention, neither yet at their cutting off the Commission for the proof thereof: for the foresaid Adversaries did devise the same, and gave it unto the said *Rawlins* to promote, chusing him for the same purpose, knowing him to be a man willing (and finding his whole delight) to work mischief, both with word and deed, who abuseth his Tongue most shamefully, with most unfitting words, ever railing upon the said Bishop to every man that will hear him, without either respect or reverence of the Kings Majesties Authority to the said Bishop committed. And the said *Rawlins* hath four or five Benefices about the value of 200 Marks a year, and is resident upon none of them, but spendeth his Living to the hindrance of other men, going about here and there, wandering to and fro, without either Man or Boy waiting on him, more like a light Person, than a man of such Livelyhood and of his Vocation, being a Preacher. And indeed he is taken for a Jewd Fellow of all that know his behaviour, inasmuch that when a certain Man objected unto the Adversaries, That it was ill done to put so Jewd a Fellow as *Rawlins* to promote their Cause: They answered and reported his honesty with these words, We know *Rawlins* to be a very Knave, and so meet for no purpose as he is to set forward such a matter: of which Report there is a sufficient Witness. And it is thought that he hath done much ill with his spiteful Tongue: for he speaketh as boldly in this furnished matter to all the Council, as though it were true, and much for the Kings profit.

Item, The other Promoter *Thomas Lee* is a Merchant, who hath sold his Ware and spent his Money, and now for want of other business is become a Promoter of the foresaid Articles, having his Costs and Charges born by the said principal Adversaries, as it is alleged in the Bishops Exceptions, which shall be proved if Commission might be awarded for the purpose.

And thus much concerning the Exceptions against his pretended Accusers: next followeth the matter Justification exhibited by the said Bishop, in defence of his own Cause, as by the effect here appeareth.

Certain Articles ministered by Robert Bishop of S. Davids, against a furnished Information exhibited by Thomas Lee, to the Kings Majesty his most Honourable Council, against the said Bishop.

Inprimis, viz. That there ought none advantage to be taken against the said Bishop, of the Contents of the said pretended Information, for the Causes particularly following. And first, whereas it is objected against the said Bishop, in the first, second, and fifth Articles of the same Information, that he contrary to the Kings Highness Laws and Statutes, and in the derogation of his Highness Supremacy, passed a certain Commission, Institutions, and Collations to Benefices, in his own name, making no mention of the Kings Highness Authority, whereas of truth the said Bishop, if he had passed out the Commission, Institutions, and Collations in his own name, and without the Kings Majesty his Stile, as is furnished (as he did not) yet had he offended neither the Laws nor

Statutes of this Realm therein, as doth and may appear evidently in the same Statutes and Laws, to the which he referreth himself.

Item, Whereas it is deduced in the third Article of the said pretended Information, that the Chancellor of the said Bishop did admit and institute *J. Gough* into the Rectory of *Hawards*, and gave a Mandate for the induction of the said *John*, under the Kings Majesties Seal Ecclesiastical, for the Diocese of *S. Davids*, with the Teste of the said Bishop and Subscription of the said Chancellor, which thing so deduced, if it be true, yet the said Bishop cannot be worthily blamed thereof. But the Chantor (thet his Chancellor unworthy) shewed himself therein very ignorant of the Kings Statutes of Parliament, wherein it is expressly provided, that in such cases the Ordinary ought to pass all such Institutions and Inductions in his own Name, and under his own Seal, and not in the Kings Majesties Name, nor under his Seal. And further, of very truth, the said Chancellor in admitting and instituting the said Clerk to the said Benefice, without the knowledge and consent of the said Bishop, did exceed his Commission, for as much as the said Bishop, at the granting of his Commission of his Chancellorthip unto the said Chantor, had restrained him expressly from the admitting and instituting of any Clerk to any Benefice within the said Diocese, except the same Clerk were first examined, found worthy, and admitted by the said Bishop himself to the same Benefice.

Item, Whereas in the fourth Article of the said Information it is contained, that the said Bishop, after the admitting and instituting of the said *John Gough*, as is aforesaid, objected Articles against him, amongst the which it was contained in effect.

Item, *interrogatur quo titulo tenet Rectorem de Hawards.*

TRue it is that the said Bishop, without molestation of the said *Gough*, otherwise than Law did permit, and without taking upon him the cognition of the Title of the said Fruits and Patronage of the said Benefice, in contempt of the Kings Majesties Regal Crown and Dignity, and without any derogation of the Kings Majesties Laws and Statutes of this Realm, did Interrogate the said *John Gough*, how he held the said Benefice, being admitted and instituted to the same without his knowledge or consent, as he might lawfully do, and as it meet every Ordinary should know how Pastors are admitted to any Cure within their Diocese.

Item, Touching the Contents of the sixth Article of the said Information, the said Bishop alledgeth that the Vicaridge of *Pembrin*, in the Diocese of *S. Davids* being void, he as Patron thereof, to his knowledge, conferred it to *John Evans* Clerk, with Letters of Institution and Induction, and afterwards when the Kings Presentation came to him for one *David Jenkins* Clerk, he desired 14 days respite, at that day either to shew ancient Record for his Right, and then the matter to stand to the determination of the Law, or else if he shewed not, both he and his Clerk to give place to the Kings Clerk: which Condition was by Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight, Dr. *Merike*, and the said *David Jenkins* received; and an Institution with an Induction was made conditionally, to be put into the hands of Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight, for safe custody for the Kings Clerk his behoof, after the 14 days to be executed at the hands of the said Bishop, if he failed to shew within which time the Bishop did shew an old ancient Record, declaring the full right of Patronage on the said Bishops behalf, and so that Institution and Induction was never put in execution by the said Bishop.

Nevertheless the said *David Jenkins* (contrary to his Promise and Oath giving thereupon his Right hand to Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight) took advantage by the said Writing without knowledge of the said Bishop; after which time the Lord Chancellor, by his Letters written to the said Bishop, advertised him to admit one *John ap Howell* Clerk, presented by virtue of a Vowlon, which the Lord Chancellor adjudged to be good, and so to be admitted, notwithstanding his former Presentation, whereby he would not abate the other mans Right. And so the said Bishop made one Collation, two Institutions, and three

proved by the Statutes.

Proved by the Statutes.

Ad. adducit possit.

Mandates, doing no wrong thereby to his knowledge. And further, there was no business nor uneasiness about the possession of the said Vicarage. But the said Bishop giving place, was content to lose his right for that time.

Item, Whereas Sir Thomas Jones advertised the said Bishop, that Thomas Pritchard Clerk had celebrated Matrimony in a private House, betwixt a certain Priest and a Woman whose Sister had refused the same (as it is deduced in the 11th Article of the firmized Articles laid in against the said Bishop) the said Pritchard leaving his own Cure unserved that Sunday, he did put the said Thomas Pritchard to Penance for such his misdoings, and the said Pritchard did such Penance as was enjoined him to do. And whereas the said Bishop made the said Tho. Pritchard (who is Bachelor of Law) his Commissary, it was for the respect of his Learning in the Law, thereby faithfully to execute his Office, according to Justice, and none otherwise.

Item, In the 14th Article of the said firmized Information, it is untruly declared, that through the unlawful Sequestration of the Fruits of the Benefices of Longrooke and Lanvibangei Cundy, and the undiscreeit handling of the said Bishop, there were raised a great number of People, to the great danger of the Inhabitants thereabouts. Truth it is, that the said Bishop upon good and lawful Considerations, and specially for that the Kings Majesty should be truly answered of his First-Fruits and Tenths of the said Benefices, did lawfully (and as he was bound to do) sequester the said Fruits in the Kings Majesties Name, and by his Authority, and committed the custody thereof for a time unto two honest Men, to the effect aforesaid, and none otherwise, without any occasion of tumult or gathering the People through his default or folly.

Item, Whereas it is alleged in the 19th Article of the Information, that the Bishop did celebrate Matrimony in his own person, without receiving or ministering the Communion to the Persons married, it is true, for that the said Bishop had travelled fourteen long Welsh Miles, and not able to celebrate the holy Communion fasting, and for other reasonable and lawful Causes him moving, did in a Chappel within the House of Sir Thomas Jones Knight (one of the Kings Honourable Council of the Marches of Wales) solemnize Matrimony betwixt Mr. Griffith Rice, and the Daughter of the said Sir Thomas Jones, without either receiving the holy Communion himself, or ministering the same to the Persons married, being as then not disposed so to do lawfully and godly, without any superfluous Knockings or Blessings, or other uncomely gestures, as is deduced in that Article.

Item, Touching the Contents of the residue of all the said Articles, contained in the said Information, the said Bishop, partly for the avoiding of tediousness, and partly for that some of them be untrue and meer false, some other general, obscure, frivolous, vain, and of none effect, but of malice and evil-will, contrary to Truth conceived, leaveth them particularly unanswered unto.

Item, The said Bishop alledgeth, that he hath not by all the time that he hath been Bishop, used any Superstitions or Papistry, as it is untruly furnished against him, but hath and doth to the uttermost of his power, wit and cunning, set forth, maintain teach and preach the true Doctrine of the Gospel, and such laudable Doctrine as he ought to do by the Kings Laws, Injunctions and Proceedings, and for such a Teacher he hath been and is commonly known, named, reputed, taken, and accepted notoriously.

And where the said Chantor and George perceived their Depositions to be insufficient, they required, and had Commission into the Country to examine further Witnesses, which they executed very partially and unlawfully, as is alleged in the Bishops Exceptions, above-mentioned. And whereas the said Rawlins and Lee were awarded two several Commissions, they by favour of the Officers, and for sparing of Costs, conjoined both in one, and had three Months to make return, as appeareth by the Copy of their Commission, which hereafter followeth.

A Copy of the Commission awarded down into the Country, for the Examination of Witnesses.

Anno

1555.

Edwardus Sextus Dei gratia, Anglie, Francie, & Hibernie Rex, Fidei defensor, & in terra Ecclesie Anglicane & Hibernie supremum caput, dilectis & fidelibus suis Georgio Harbert Militi, Thomae Jones Militi, & Johanni Wogan Militi, ac dilectis sibi David Vaughan, & Owino ap Owen Armigeris, salutem. Sciatis quod nos de fidelitatis, & providis circumspiciendis vestris plurimum fidentes, assignavimus vos, quatuor, tres ac duos vestrum, ac tenore presentium damus vobis, quatuor, tribus, vel duobus vestrum plenam potestatem, & Auctoritatem capiendi & recipiendi Depositiones & Examinationes quorumcumque testium ex parte Hugonis Rawlins Clerici, & Thomae Leghe, de & super quibusdam Articulis per ipsos Hugonem & Thomam Leghe Concilio nostro exhibitis & presentibus inclusis. Necnon Depositiones & Examinationes in scriptis redigendas. Et nos de hujusmodi Examinationibus, & Depositionibus cum se per vos, quatuor, tres vel duos vestrum capte fuerint, in Cancellarium nostrum in Craistino Aconsensu Domini proximi future, abeuntes tunc fuerit sub Sigillis vestris, quatuor, tribus, vel duorum vestrum Clausis certificandum, remittentes vobis tunc Articulis predictis una cum hoc brevi. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod circa premissa diligenter intendatis cum effectu. Teste me ipso apud Westm. 9. die Martii, Anno regni nostri Sexto.

Martem.

During all this time of the Examination of the Witnesses, the said Bishop was stayed at London, upon the Allegation of the said Adversaries, which was, That if the said Bishop should depart into his Diocese, he would let them of their Proofs.

And at the return of their Commission it was signified unto the Council what a great number of Witnesses they had examined, viz. Sixscore and seven, which sounded very heinous in the Councils ears.

And about three Weeks after, publication of their Witnesses was granted, and after that, it was a fortnight ere the Bishop could get a Copy written of their Depositions, because the Book thereof is so huge and monstrous.

Then the Bishop desired time, First, to enquire of what condition the Persons were that had witnessed against him, and to make Exceptions and Matters to justify direct contrary, and to have a Commission for the proof thereof, which was then granted. And now it is objected, That the Bishop was appointed so to travel with the expedition of his matter, that he should have sued out his Commission, and have made return thereof at All-Hallowtide last past; but there was no such Decree put in writing. And it was not possible for the Bishop to do it in so short a time, these Causes considered which he could not avoid, as followeth.

First, it was the latter end of July ere he came home to S. Davids, where he began his Visitation, which before was appointed.

Secondly, He was by force of Law constrained to answer at the Bar daily, during all the time of the great Sessions at Carmarthen, in defence of his just Cause against the pretended matter of *Præmunire*, which his Adversaries of meer malice have procured against him.

Thirdly, The said Adversaries, to molest him further, did privily pack a Quest of ignorant Persons of no Reputation, and indicted him upon the words of Rawlins Information, as appeareth by a Copy of the Indictment, intending thereby to make the matter found more heinous, notwithstanding that the same Cause dependeth before the Kings high Council undetermined.

Fourthly, He was appointed by the Commissioners, before his departure from London, to pay two Hundred pound (which was Arrearages) into the Courty of First-Fruits and Tenths at Bartholomew day then next following, which payment he made accordingly, notwithstanding that his Adversaries wrought means to have made him break his day; namely, one Edward Harbert Gent. who hath a Parsonage of his to Farm, kept back his Rent

Anno 1555. to the very last day, because that Money should not help to serve his turn; and so by crafty cavillation detaineth it still in his hand with a years Rent and an half more: for the said *Edward Harbert* is an Adherent of the said Bishops Adversaries.

Fifthly, The Book of their Depositions is so great, that it asketh a long time to peruse. And also the greatest part of their Witnesses were utterly unknown of the Bishop and all his: And also dwelling in so many sundry places of the Diocess among the Mountains and elsewhere, scarcely within the circuit of two hundred Miles.

Item, Another great Sessions holden at *Carmarthen* in the Month of *October* last, during which time he was attendant there, as is aforesaid. All which Causes considered, being also in the time of his ordinary Visitation, which he did execute himself, he could not make ready his Exceptions in shorter time.

The said Bishop dispatched his Man towards *London* the three and twentieth day of *October*, who ever since hath been and is attendant in the same Suit, for the obtaining the Commission for proof of this matter against his Adversaries.

A Copy of a certain Letter written by the Bishop of *S. Davids*.

Most humbly sheweth unto your Honour, your poor Orator *Robert, Bishop of S. Davids*, That whereas one *Thomas Lee* (by the procurement of *Thomas Young* and *Rowland Merick*, being both Canons of *S. Davids*, and *George Constantine* Register to the said Bishop) hath exhibited unto your Honour against him certain Articles, in the which are mentioned many trifling things, unworthy to be declared in your honourable Audience, and also their pretended weighty Articles (as they have alledged there) are utterly untrue: for proof whereof the said *Thomas Lee* hath had his Commissions into the Country: Therefore it may please your Honour of your favourable goodness, to grant unto your said Orator a like Commission for the Examination of Witnesses, in defence of his Truth and Honesty against the said *Thomas Lee*, *George Constantine*, and the forenamed *Rowland Merick*, and all other Persons, with their unjust Articles, Attestations and Sayings, which have deposed against him. And in tender consideration that your said Orator standeth bounden, and Sureties with him, in the Sum of 1000 Marks, to appear before the Kings Justice in the Sessions at *Carmarthen*, in July next coming, to answer to a forged matter of *Præmunire*, by the procurement and counsel of his forenamed Adversaries, maliciously furnished against him to his utter undoing. And furthermore, your Orator being in debt to the Kings Majesty, by reason of the malicious Vexation of his forenamed Adversaries, cannot (if he remain here) satisfy the same: for whereas there be Arrearages to a great Sum (as well of the Kings Money as of his own Rents) he can receive none thereof, his Adversaries have made such ill Report to his discredit, bearing the People in hand, that he shall come no more thither. By reason of which bruit, neither his own Tenants will pay their Rents and Arrearages, nor the Priests their Arrearages due to the Kings Majesty, as well for Anno secundo and tertio, as for quarto and quinto. In consideration of all which things, it may please your honourable goodness to licence your said Orator to depart into the Diocess, for these Affairs and other. And he is ready at all times, at your honourable commandment and pleasure, to repair again, and ever to pray to the Lord Jesus for the perpetual conservation of your Honour, to his glory.

Another Letter written by the Bishop of *S. Davids*.

Right Honourable, and my very special good Lord, with humble Service and hearty Thanks to God, and to you for your godly favour towards me at all times, as right plainly appeareth by your Fatherly Letters, most lovingly to admonish me to incline unto that which is very necessary, as charitable Concord and Unity: This is, further to beseech your Lordship for the Lords sake not to be grieved, but benignly to hear, and gravely to ponder that weighty matter, which, appearing (to other)

but a light grief to me, is in very deed a right grievous offence to God, with no little hindrance of his holy Word, and disturbance of the Kings godly proceedings, and may be a great occasion of much Inobedience and disorder of good life. Wherefore I am straitly bounden for the true Zeal I ought to bear unto Gods Word of Life, Christian Religion, the Kings Majesties Honour, and the godly quiet state of his People, not faintly to let fall the burthen of diligent redress to be sought at his Majesties hands by the godly wisdom of his most honourable and upright Counsel, but with hearty affection to bear it up against those high-minded, arrogant, stubborn, ambitious, covetous Canons, trusting in their biting Tongues, with crafty prevention, and utterly untrue surmises, to stop the Light that their ungodly misdoing in darkness shall either not be seen, or at the least may seem to appear in colourable appearance of Right. Inasmuch that I do not a little marvel at these qualities in *M. Chantor*, the Canon, and the Dean of *Worcester*, whose ungentle and untrue behaviour I have not only known, but expertly proved, and sensibly felt in two of the first to my great losses, whereof I make no Complaint. But I wonder in my mind, and lament in my heart, the strange alteration and wilful going back of of my old faithful Brother *George Constantine*, the which (knowing them all three to have been in times past either obstinate Enemies to the true bearers of the Cross of Christ, or at least private lurkers under pretence of favour towards the Gospel, to sting the poor Followers thereof, seeking but their own lucre and pleasure in all their doings) would so earnestly cleave unto them in their wrong Deeds, as to betray me with his Tongue, become untrue of his Promise, and a bearer of filthy sin for *Lawres sake*, even yet still persisting in the same (namely) in things manifestly known unto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited. And as for their *Præmunire*, both *George* and they at my first coming, ungently detaining from *M. Farlee* his Commission for the Chancellorship, would have faced me down with *Præmunire*, because it was written in my own Name according to the Statute: yet was I fain, for the zeal of Unity, not to see their uncourteous Deeds, departing with *M. Farlee* for the avoiding of their Malice and Envy, and gave that Office, for the amity of *George*, unto *Mr. Chantor* his Son in Law, and to *D. Merick* the Office of *Cardigan*. But seeing afterward their covetous respect to their own glory and lucre, not regarding the Reformation of Sin, and specially of themselves Whoredom, I was compelled to remove them fore against their wills: and whereas I desired many and sundry times Charitable redress of their wrong doings in the Vacation time, I obtained many fair words, and nothing in deed. Also desiring to have sight of the Book of Statutes of the Church, for the knowledge of my duty and theirs, I could not obtain it. Desiring to have a Key of the Chapter Seal, as my Lord of *Bathe* had, they would not deliver it but upon Conditions; yet was I content to be bridled, receiving it as pleased them to give it. And further, requiring the sight of necessary Evidences, for the declaration of divers things in traverse of my Right, they would in no wise grant it. And thereupon considering their ungentleness, I moved the *Quo warranto*, knowing right well, that if they should shew any substantial Grant under the Kings Seal for their Corporation, it must therein appear the Bishop to be the Head, and ever hath been under the King; for other they never have, nor had, except they would return to *Rome* again, as I trust they will not. And yet perceiving afterward that they had no special Grant to shew, or else such as they would not shew, I myself for the respect of Unity wrote my Letters to the Kings Attorney, by reason whereof the *Quo warranto* was stayed, and so yet remaineth.

But touching the Certificate, the Kings Subsidy being due at *Michaelmas* last, and forborn till after *Christmas*, and lawfully demanded afore they did utterly refuse to pay both to my Vice-Collector and to myself, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowing where to ask the rest, and it is committed to me in the Kings Roll a whole Sum in gross, to be received of the Canons Residentaries for their dividend: who because they cannot agree in dividing, would have the Kings Majesty to tarry for his Money, till they can agree to make division,

civilian; and I cannot demand it of any particular person, nor at any particular place.

Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Fatherly goodness, for the Lords sake, to persist and continue my good Lord and Friend unto such time as ye find me either desiring to be defended in my wrong, or not willing to put the Judgment of my right Cause into your hands. And because that the residue of matters touching them and their ungentle, untrue, and ungodly doings is too long, and I have molested you too much with this my tedious Letter, I shall now forscake; humbly beseeching your good Lordship to accept in good part this my boldness proceeding of necessity, and to pardon it for the love of our Lord Jesus, who save and keep you in health, comfort, and honour long to endure, for the advancement of his glory. Written at *Aberguily* this Ninth of March.

Your Lordships to command during
life, R.F.

And thus you have heard the first trouble of this blessed Martyr of the Lord in King *Edward's* days, with the whole discourse thereof. Which we thought the rather here to express, to give other good Bishops warning to be more circumspect, whom they should trust and have about them. Briefly, in few words to conclude this Process, B. *Farrar* partly upon the importunate sute of his Adversaries, partly upon the sinister and infortunate Fall of the good Duke of *Somerset*, by whom he had been before promoted and maintained, having but small favour shewed, was detained in Prison till the death of King *Edward*, and the coming in of Queen *Mary* and Popish Religion, whereby a new trouble rose upon him, being now accused and examined for his Faith and Doctrine. The Process of which his trouble here likewise followeth.

After that the foresaid Mr. *Farrar* Bishop of *St. Davids* had been long detained in custody under Sureties, in the Reign of King *Edward*, not for any just cause for his part defended, but by reason that he had been promoted by the Duke of *Somerset*; and now after his Fall he found fewer Friends to support him against such as hunted after his Bishoprick, at length after the decease of King *Edward*, by the coming in of Queen *Mary*, the state of Religion begun to be changed and altered. Whereby a new Trouble rose upon him, being now accused and examined, not for any matter of *Præsumption*, but for his Faith and Doctrine. Whereupon he was called before the Bishop of *Winchester*, with Mr. *Hooper*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Bradford*, Mr. *Smyler*, and others aforesaid, the fourth of *February*. On the which day he should also with them have been Condemned: but because leisure or list did not so well then serve the Bishop, his Condemnation was deferred, and he sent to Prison again, where he continued till the 14. day of the laid month of *February*. What his Examinations and Answers were before the said Bishop of *Winchester*, so much as remained and came to our hands, I have here annexed in manner as followeth.

The Answer of Robert Farrar, Bishop of St. Davids, before Winchester and others.

The Talk of
B. Farrar
before the
Bishop of
Winchester
and other
Commissio-
ners.

AT his first coming and kneeling before my Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of *Durham*, and the Bishop of *Worcester*, who sat at the Table; and Mr. *Rochester*, Mr. *Scutbvel*, Mr. *Bourne*, and others standing at the Tables end; the Lord Chancellor said unto him on this sort:

Winchester, Now Sir, have you heard how the World goeth here?

Farrar, If it like your Honour, I know not.

Win. What say you? Do you not know things abroad, notwithstanding you are a Prisoner?

Far. No, my Lord, I know not.

Winch. Lo, what a froward Fellow is this?

Farrar, If it please your Lordship, how should I know any thing abroad, being a Prisoner?

Winch. Have you not heard of the coming in of the Lord Cardinal?

Farrar, I know not my Lord Cardinal; but I heard that a Cardinal was come in, but I did not believe it, and I believe it not yet.

Worcester. I pray your Lordship (said the Bishop of *Worcester*) tell him your self, that he may know what is done.

Winch. The Queens Majesty and the Parliament hath restored Religion into the same state it was in at the beginning of the Reign of our King *Henry* the Eighth. Ye are in the Queens debt, and her Majesty will be good unto you, if you will return to the Catholick Church.

Farrar, In what state I am concerning my Debts to the Queens Majesty, in the Court of *Exchequer*, my Lord *Treasurer* knoweth: and the last time that I was before your Honour, and the first time also, I shewed you that I had made an Oath never to consent nor agree, that the Bishop of *Rome* should have any Power or Jurisdiction within this Realm: and further, I need not rehearse to your Lordship, you know it well enough.

Bourne, You were once abjured for Heresie (said M. *Bourne*) in *Oxford*.

Farrar, That was I not.

Bourne, You were.

Far. I was never, it is not true.

Bourne, You went from *S. Davids* to *Scotland*.

Far. That I did not.

Bourne, You did.

Far. That did I never, but I went from *Tork* into *Scotland*.

Bourne, Ah, so said I; you went with *Barlow*.

Farrar, That is true, but never from *Saint Davids*.

Bourne, You carried Books out of *Oxford*, to the Archbishop of *Tork*, *L. Lee*.

Farrar, That did I not.

Bourne, You did.

Farrar, I did not, but I carried old Books from *S. O. of* *Windsor* to the Bishop of *Tyrk*.

Bourne, You supplanted your Master.

Farrar, That did I never in my life.

Bourne, By my Faith you did.

Farrar, Forsooth, I did not, never in my life, but did shield and save my Master from danger, and that I obtained King *Henry* the Eighth, for my true Service, I thank God therefore.

Bourne, My Lord (said Mr. *Bourne* to my Lord Chancellor) he hath an ill Name in *Wales* as ever had any.

Farrar, That is not so. Whosoever saith so, they shall never be able to prove it.

Bourne, He hath deceived the Queen in divers sums of Money.

Farrar, That is utterly untrue, I never deceived King nor Queen of one Penny in my life, and you shall never be able to prove that you say.

Winch. Thou art a false Knave.

Farrar, Then *Farrar* stood up unbidden (for all that while he knelt) and said, No, my Lord, I am a true man, I thank God for it. I was born under King *Henry* the Seventh, I served King *Henry* the Eighth, and King *Edward* the Sixth truly, and have served the Queens Majesty, that now is, truly with my poor heart and word: more I could not do, and I was never false, nor shall be by the Grace of God.

Winchester, How wilt thou, wilt thou be reformed?

Farrar, My Lord, if it like your Honour, I have made an Oath to God, and to King *Henry* the Eighth, and also to King *Edward*, and in that to the Queens Majesty, the which I can never break while I live; to die for it is.

Durham, You have made another Oath before.

Farrar, No my Lord, I never made another Oath before.

Durham, You made a Vow.

Farrar, That did I not.

Winch. You made a Profession to live without a Wife.

Farrar, No, my Lord, if it like your Honour, that did I never; I made a Profession to live chaste, not without a Wife.

Worcester. You were sworn to him that was Master of your House.

Farrar.

Anno
1555.

B. Farrar
charged
with the
Queens
Debt.

B. Farrar
refuseth the
Pope.

M. Bourne
layeth to
B. Farrar
sally to
have ab-
jured at Ox-
ford.

B. Farrar
sally charged
to have
supplanted
his Master,
whom in-
deed he de-
fended from
danger.

B. Farrar
sally charged
upon his
Truth.

B. Farrar
handeth to
his Oath
made to
the King
against the
Pope.

Vow of
Chastity is
not to live
without a
Wife.

Anno 1555. *Farrar.* That was I never.
Wincheff. Well, you are a forward Knave: we will have no more to do with you, seeing that you will not come; we will be short with you, and that you shall know within this Seven-night.

Wincheffes
Perjury
toucht.

Farrar. I am as it pleaseth your Honour to call me; but I cannot break my Oath which your Lordship your self made before me, and gave in example, the which confirmed my Conscience. Then I can never break that Oath whilst I live to die for it.

Dursm. Well, saith he, he standeth upon his Oath: call another.

My Lord Chancellor then did ring a little Bell, and Mr. *Farrar* said, I pray God save the King and Queens Majesties long to continue in honour to Gods glory and their comforts, and the comfort of the whole Realm; and I pray God save all your Honours, and so departed.

After these Examinations thus ended, Bishop *Farrar* so remained in Prison uncondemned, till the fourteenth day (as is aforesaid) of *February*, and then was sent down into *Wales*, there to receive Sentence of Condemnation. Who then upon the six and twentieth of *February*, in the Church of *Carmarthen*, being brought by *Griffith Lestyn* Esquire Sheriff of the County of *Carmarthen*, was there personally presented before *Henry* Bishop of *S. Davids*, and *Constantine* the publick Notary: which *Henry* there, and then discharged the said Sheriff, and received him into his own custody, further committing him to the keeping of *Owen Jones*, and thereupon declared unto the said Mr. *Farrar* the great mercy and clemency, that the King and Queens Highness pleasure was to be offered unto him, which he there did offer unto the said Mr. *Farrar*: that is to say, That if he would submit himself to the Laws of this Realm, and conform himself to the Unity of the Universal Catholick Church, he should be received and pardoned: after that, seeing the said Mr. *Farrar* to give no answer to the Premises, the said Bishop ministred unto him these Articles following.

B. Farrar
brought be-
fore Dr.
Morgan,
pretended
Bishop of
S. Davids.

Articles devised against Bishop Farrar.

Articles ob-
jected a-
gainst
B. Farrar.

1. First, Whether he believeth the Marriage of Priests lawful by the Laws of God, and Holy Church, or no?

2. Item, Whether he believeth, that in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration duly pronounced by the Priest, the very Body and Blood of Christ is really and substantially contained, without the substance of Bread and Wine?

The Answer
of Bishop
Farrar.

Unto the which Articles the said Bishop required the said Mr. *Farrar* to answer upon his Allegiance.

To which he said, he would answer when he saw a lawful Commission, and would make no further answer at that time. Whereupon the said Bishop taking no advantage upon the same Answer, committed him to the said Keeper, to be kept in Prison until a new Monition, and in the mean time to deliberate with himself for his further answer to the Premises.

Another Examination of the Bishop of S. Davids, before Henry Morgan the pretended Bishop of Saint Davids, George Constantine his Register, and others, the last of February, An. 1555.

Another
Examina-
tion of
B. Farrar.

This day and place, *Morgan* the pretended Bishop of *S. Davids* sitting as Judge, ministred unto Bishop *Farrar* there personally present before him, certain Articles and Interrogatories in writing: which being openly read and ministred unto him, the said Bishop *Farrar* refused to answer, till he might see his lawful Commission and Authority. Whereupon the aforesaid pretended Bishop of *S. Davids*, did pronounce him as *Contumax*, and for the punishment of this his Contumacy to be counted *pro confesso*, and so did pronounce him in writing. Which being done, he committed the said Bishop to the custody of *Owen Jones*, until Monday next, being the fourth of *March*, then to be brought again into the same place, between one and two.

Another appearance of the said Bishop Farrar, before Morgan the pretended Bishop of S. Davids.

Item, The day and place appointed, the said Bishop appearing again before the pretended Bishop, humbly submitting himself as ready to answer to the Articles and Positions above-mentioned, gently required the Copy of the Articles, and a competent term to be assigned unto him, to answer for himself: which being granted unto him, and the Thursday next being assigned unto him between One and Three to answer precisely and fully; so he was committed again to Custody, as above.

Another
appearance
of the said
B. Farrar.

Another Appearance of the said Bishop.

ON Thursday, as was appointed, which was the seventh of *March*, the said Bishop personally again appeared, where he exhibited a certain Bill in writing, containing in it his Answer unto certain Articles objected and ministred unto him before. Then after *Henry* the pretended Bishop of *S. Davids*, offered him again the said Articles as before: the tenor whereof tendeth to this effect, First, That he willed him being a Priest to abrenounce Matrimony.

Another
appearance
of the said
B. Farrar.

Secondly, To grant the Natural presence of Christ in the Sacrament, under the forms of Bread and Wine.

Thirdly, That the Mass is a propitiatory Sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

Fourthly, That general Councils lawfully congregated never did, nor can erre.

Fifthly, That men are not justified before God by Faith only, but that Hope and Charity are also necessarily required to Justification.

6. Sixthly, That the Catholick Church which only hath Authority to expound Scriptures, and to define Controversies of Religion; and to ordain things appertaining to publick Discipline, is visible, and like unto a City set upon a Mountain for all men to understand.

To these Articles thus objected to him, he refused to subscribe, affirming that they were invented and exco-
gitated by man, and pertain nothing to the Catholick Faith. After this, the Bishop above-named, delivered unto him the Copy of the Articles, signing him Monday next following, to answer and subscribe to the same, either Affirmatively or Negatively.

Arti-
cles
objec-
ted
to
B. Farrar.

B. Farrar
denied to
subscribe to
the Articles

Another Appearance of Bishop Farrar.

UPON the which Monday, being the 11 of *March*, he appearing again before the Bishop, and the aforesaid Notary *George Constantine*, exhibited in a written Paper his mind and answer to the foresaid Articles, which the Bishop had twice now objected against him before, to the which Articles and Answers he did so subscribe, adding these words, as *tenens se de aequitate & iustitia esse Episcopum Menevensem*, that the Bishop assigned the next Wednesday, in the Fore-noon, to hear his final and definitive Sentence.

Another
appearance,
of Examina-
tion of
B. Farrar.

The last Appearance of Bishop Farrar.

THE which day and place the said Bishop and true Ser-
vant of God Mr. *Farrar*, personally there appearing, was demanded of *Henry* the pretended Bishop of *S. Davids*, whether he would renounce and recant his Heresies, Schisms, and Errors (as he called them) which hitherto he had maintained, and if he would subscribe to the Catholick Articles, otherwise than he had done before.

After this the said godly Bishop, Mr. *Farrar*, did exhibit a certain Schedule written in *English*, and remaining in the Acts; appealing withal by express word of mouth from the Bishop, as from an incompetent Judge, to Cardinal *Pools*, &c.

All which notwithstanding, the said Bishop proceeding in his rage, pronounced the definitive Sentence against him contained in Writing, and there left in the Acts: by the which Sentence he pronounced him as an Heretick Excommunicate, and to be given up forthwith to the Secular Power, namely, to the Sheriff of the Town

The last
appearance
of Examina-
tion of
B. Farrar.

B. Farrar
appealed
from the
Bishop of
S. Davids
to the
Cardinal

from the
Acts: by
the which
Sentence
B. Farrar,

of Carmarthen, No. Lxxij. The tenour of which Sentence, as well of his Condemnation, as of his Degradation, here followeth.

The Sentence of Condemnation against B. Farrar.

IN Dei nomine. Amen. Nos Henricus permissione divina Meneven. Episcopus judicialiter, & pro Tribunali Sedente, in eadem inquisitionis & hereticæ præviatatis negotio, contra Robertum Farrar Presbyterum, coram nobis in iudicio personaliter comparentem, & nobis super Hereticæ præviatatis traditum, ac fama, & notorietate facti delictum, ac in ea parte legitime procedendo auditum, & intellectum, ruminatum, ac matura deliberatione discussum, & ponderatis dicti negotii meritis & circumstantiis, fore utique in omnibus per omnia in eodem negotio de iure servandis, ac quomodolibet requisitis, Christi nomine invocato, ac ipsum solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes: Quia per acta inquisitionis, deducta, confessata, & ex parte sua coram nobis eodem in negotio scriptis recognita, asserta & confirmata, comperimus te, tum per confessiones tuas varias, tum per recognitiones tuas judiciales, coram nobis judicialiter factas, Errores, Hæreses, & falsas Opiniones subscripsi, Juri divino, ac Catholica universalis & Apostolica Ecclesiæ Determinationi obviasse, contrarias, & repugnantes tenuisse, credidisse, affirmasse, prædicasse, & dogmatizasse infra Diocesim nostram Meneven. Vix. Quod licet cuicunque Religioso etiam expressè professio & Presbytero, post susceptam professionem, & post susceptum Presbyteratus ordinem, ducere uxorem, ac cum eadem tanquam cum uxore legitima coconvalescere. Item sacras Religiones, ab Ecclesiæ Catholica institutas, cum scandalo damnasce & reprobasce. Item, quod in Eucharistia, sive Altaris Sacram. una cum Corpore & Sanguine Christi remanet substantia Panis &

Vini. Item, quod Missæ non est sacrificium N. Testamenti, propitiatorium pro peccatis aique defunctis. Et Sacramentum Altaris non esse in Altari ministrandum, elevandum, vel aliquo modo adorandum. Item, quod homo sola fide iustificatur. Quos quidem Errores, Hæreses, et falsas Opiniones Juri divino ac Catholica universalis et Apostolica Ecclesiæ Determinationi obviasse, &c.

Here followeth the Copy of his Degradation.

IN nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen. Quia nos Henricus permissione divina Meneven. Episc. per viam Inquisitionis in negotio Hereticæ præviatatis, cognoscentes te Robertum Farrar Clericum propter tuam manifestam contumaciam & obsequiam per nos nuntiaturum fuisse, & esse in illud detestabile crimen Hæresis multipliciter incidisse & commisisse: quod cum non solum grande, sed etiam damnable & damnosum sit, & adeo enorme, quod exinde non tantum divina Majestas offensa, sed & universa Diæcesis Menevenensis commota est, & ob hoc indignus officio Sacramentali & Ecclesiastico tui redditus: Idcirco nos auctoritate Dei Patris Omnipotentis, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, & nostra, te ab omni hujusmodi officio sententialiter perpetuo privamus in his scriptis, teque ab illis verbo deponimus realiter, & actualiter secundum traditionem Canonum deponendum, & degradandum, prout in Ordinario & Pontificali continetur degradamus, prout sequitur. In primis amoveramus à te, &c.

Thus this godly Bishop being condemned and degraded, was committed to the Secular Power, who not long after was brought to the place of Execution in the Town of Carmarthen, where he in the Market place in the South-side of the Market-Cross, the thirtieth day of March, being Saturday next before Passion-Sunday, most constantly sustained the torments and passion of the Fire.

Anno 1555.

The Sentence of Degradation against B. Farrar.

The cruell burning of Doctor Farrar, Bishop of S. Davids.



The burning of Rawlins White, Martyr.



Touching the which Constancy of this blessed Martyr, this is moreover to be added and noted, that one named Richard Jones, a Knights Son, coming to M. Farrar a little before his death, seemed to lament the painfulness of the Death he had to suffer; unto whom the Bishop answered again to this effect, saying, That if he saw him once to stir in the pains of his Burning, he should then give no credit to his Doctrine. And as he said, so he right well performed the same; for so patiently he stood, that he never moved, but even as he stood, holding up his Stumps, so still he continued, till one Richard Gravell with a Staff dashed him upon the head, and so struck him down.

A memorable Example of Constancy in this blessed Bishop and Martyr.

¶ Letters.

As touching the Letters of M. Farrar, we do not find many that he did write. And peradventure in Queen Maries time his imprisonment was so strait, that at no time it was permitted him to write. Albeit in his other Troubles in King Edwards time, certain Letters he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cramer, and to the Earl of Warwick: which Letters although they might be well referred to the first Edition of this story; yet because in the said Letters is contained briefly and in

few

Anno 1555. few lines, the whole discourse of his unjust vexation at that time wrought by his Adversaries, I thought good not to pass them over, but to communicate them unto the Reader, for the better understanding both of the innocency of that blessed Bishop, and of the crafty iniquity of his conspired Enemies; as in the said Letters here following to the indifferent Reader may easily appear.

The Copy of a certain Letter of the Bishop of Saint Davids, written belike to the Lord Chancellor Doctor Goodrick Bishop of Ely.

Molt humbly sheweth unto your Honour, your poor Orator Robert Bishop of Saint Davids, That whereas one Thomas Lee (by the procurement of Thomas Young, and Rowland Merick being both Canons of Saint Davids, and George Constantine Register to the said Bishop) hath exhibited unto your Honour against him certain Articles, in the which are mentioned many trifling things, unworthy to be declared in your Honourable Audience, and also their pretended weighty Articles (as they have alleged there) are utterly untrue: for proof whereof the said Thomas Lee hath had Committions into the Country. Therefore I may please your Honour of your favourable goodness, to grant unto your said Orator a like Committion for the Examination of witnesses, in defence of his Truth and honesty against the aforementioned Thomas Lee, George Constantine, Thomas Young, Rowland Merick, and all other persons with their unjust Articles, attestations, and sayings, deposed against him. And in tender consideration that your said Orator standeth bounden, and Sureties with him in the sum of a Thousand Marks, to appear before the Kings Justice, in the Sessions at Carmarthen, in July next coming to answer to a forged matter of *Premunire*, by the procurement and counsel of his forenamed Adversaries, maliciously furnished against him to his utter undoing. And furthermore that your Orator being in debt to the Kings Majesty, by reason of the malicious vexation of the forefaid Adversaries, cannot (if he remain here) satisfy the same: for whereas there be Arreages to a great sum. (as well of the Kings money as of his own rents) he can receive none thereof, his Adversaries have made such ill report to his discredit, bearing the People in hand, that he shall come no more thither. By reason of which bruit, neither his own Tenants will pay their Rents and Arreages, nor the Priests their Arreages due to the Kings Majesty, as well for *Anno secundo*, and *tertio*, as for *quarto*, and *quinto*. In consideration of all which things, it may please your Honourable goodness to licence your said Orator to depart into the Dioceses, for these affairs and other. And he shall be ready at all times, at your honourable commandment and pleasure, to repair again, and ever to pray to the Lord Jesus for the perpetual conservation of your Honour, to his glory.

Besides this letter he wrote another likewise to the said Lord) who was, as I remember, Dr. Goodrick L. Chancellor afore mentioned) wherein he declareth the whole cause of his trouble, how it rose against him by his Adversaries, as here followeth.

Another Letter written by the Bishop of S. Davids to the Lord Chancellor afore said.

R ight honourable, and my very special good Lord, with humble service and hearty thanks to God, and to you for your godly favor towards me at all times, as right plainly appeareth by your Fatherly Letters, most lovingly admonishing me to incline unto that which is very necessary, as charitable concord and Unity; This is further to beseech your Lordship for the Lords sake not to be grieved, but benignly to hear, and gravely to ponder that weighty matter, which, appearing to other but a light grief, to me is in very deed a right grievous offence to God-ward, with no little hinderance of his holy Word, and disturbance of the Kings godly proceedings, and may be a great occasion of much disobedience, and disorder of good life.

Wherefore I am straitly bounden to the true Zeal that I am to bear unto the Word of Life, Christian Religion, the Kings Majesty's honour, and the godly quiet state of his People, not faintly to let fall the burden of diligent redress to be sought at his Majesty's hands by the godly wisdom of his most honourable and upright counsel, but with hearty affection to bear it up against those high-minded, arrogant, stubborn, ambitious, covetous Canons, trusting in their biting tongues, which crafty prevention, and utterly untrue surmises, to stop the light that their ungodly misdoings in darkness shall either not be seen, or at the least may have a colourable appearance of right. In so much that I do not a little marvel at these qualities in Master Chaunter, the Canon, and the Dean of Worcester, whose ungentle and untrue behaviour I have not only known, but expertly proved, and sensibly felt in two of the first to my great losses whereof I make no complaint.

But I wonder in my mind and lament in my heart the strange alteration and wilful going backward of mine old faithful Brother George Constantine, the which (knowing them all three to have been in times past either obstinate enemies to the True bearers of the Cross of Christ, or at the least privy lurkers under pretence of favour towards the Gospell, to sting the poor followers thereof, seeking but their own lucre and pleasure in all their doings) would so earnestly cleave unto them in their wrong deeds, as to betray me with his tongue, become untrue of his promise, and a bearer of filthy Sin for Laurels sake, even yet stiffly persisting in the same, namely, in a thing manifestly known unto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited.

And as for their *premunire*, both George and they at this time my first coming, urgently detaining from M. Farlee his committion for the Chancellorship, would have faced me down with *premunire*, because it was written in my own name according to the Statute: yet was I fair, for the Zeal of Unity, not to see their uncourteous deeds, departing with M. Farlee for the avoiding of their malice and envy, and gave that office for the amity of George unto M. Chaunter his Son in Law, and to M. Merick the Office of Cardigan. But seeing after their covetous respect to their own glory and lucre, not regarding the reformation of Sin, and especially of shameless whoredom, I was compelled to remove them, fore against their wils: and whereas I desired many and sundry times charitable redress of their wrong doings in the vacation time, I obtained many fair words, and nothing in deed.

And desiring to have sight of the Book of Statutes of the Church, for the knowledge of my duty and theirs, I could not obtain it. Desiring to have a key of the Chapter House Seal, as my Lord of Bath had, they would not deliver it but upon conditions; yet was I content to be bridled, receiving it as it pleased them to give it. And further requiring the sight of necessary Evidences, for the declaration of divers things in traverse of my rights, they would in no wise grant it. And thereupon considering their ungentleness, I moved the *Quo warranto*, knowing right well, if they should shew any substantial grant under the Kings Seal for the Corporation, it must therein appear the Bishop to be the Head, and ever hath been under the King: for other they never have, nor had, except they would return to Rome again, as I trust they will not. And yet perceiving afterward, that they had no special grant to shew, or else such as they would not shew, I myself for the respect of Unity, wrote my Letters to the Kings Attourney, by reason whereof the *Quo warranto* was stayed, and so yet remaineth.

But as touching the certificate, the Kings Subsidy being due at Michaelmas last, and forborn till after Christmas, and lawfully demanded afore, they did utterly refuse to pay both to my Vice-chancellor and to my self, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowing where to ask the rest, and it is committed unto me in the Kings Roll a whole sum in gross, to be received of the Canons Residentiaries for their dividend: who, because they cannot agree in dividing, would have the Kings Majesty to tarry for his money, till they could agree to make division; and I cannot demand it of any particular person, nor at any particular place.

Wherefore

Bishop Farrar with his Sureties in a Thousand Marks to appear in a matter of Premunire.

The unkind dealing of George Constantine against B. Farrar.

This Farlee was Chancellor to B. Farrar.

This Chaunter was Dr. Young.

Dr. Young and Dr. Merick, removed by B. Farrar from their offices.

The wrongs which B. Farrar received by Tho. Young and Dr. Merick.

Another letter of Bishop Farrar to the Lord Chancellor.

Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Fatherly goodness for the Lords sake, to purfuit and continue my good Lord and friend unto such time as ye find mee either desiring to be decended in my wrong, or not willing to put the Judgement of my right cause into your hands. And because that the residue of matters touching them and their ungentle, untrue, and ungodly doings is too long, and I have molested you too much with this my tedious Letter, I shall now suffice. Humbly beseeching your good Lordship to accept in good part this my boldness proceeding of necessity, and to pardon it for the Love of our Lord Jesus, who save and keep you in health, comfort, and Honour long to endure, for the advancement of his glory Written at Aburgully this 9. of March.

Your Lordships to command during life, R. F.

The Historie of one Rawlins White, burned at Cardiffe in Wales about the Month of March, for the Testimony of Christs Gospel, reported by L. Dane being yet alive, who was almost continually with him during his trouble, unto his death.

Rawlins White Martyr, but not at Cardiffe in Wales.

For so much as we have here passed the History of Master Farrar, burned at the Town of Carmarthen in Wales, I thought to adjoyn and accompany with the same the History also of one Rawlins White, a Fisher-Man, which both in the like cause, and in the same Country of Wales, and also about the same Month of March, and year aforesaid, gave his Life like a Valiant Soldier of Jesus Christ to Martyrdom, and was burned at Cardiffe, the process of whose story here followeth expressed more at large.

This Rawlins was by his calling and occupation a Fisherman, living and continuing in the said trade by the space of Twenty years at the least, in the Town of Cardiffe, being (as a man of his vocation might be) one of a very good Name, and well accounted amongst his Neighbors. As touching his Religion at the first, it cannot otherwise be known, but that he was a great partaker of the Superstition and Idolatry that then was used, I mean in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth. But after that God of his mercy had raised up the light of his Gospel, through the blessed Government of King Edward the sixth, here in this Realm of England, this Rawlins began partly to mislike that which before he had embraced, and to have some good opinion of that which before by the iniquity of the time had been concealed from him: and the rather to bring this good purpose and intent of his to pass, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great teacher out of the Truth.

But because the good man was altogether unlearned, and withall very simple, he knew no ready way how he might satisfy his great desire. At length it came in his mind to take a special remedy to supply his necessity which was this: He had a little Boy which was his own Son, which Child he set to School to learn to read English. Now after the little Boy could read indifferently well, his Father every night after supper, Summer and Winter, would have the Boy to read peice of the holy Scripture, and now and then of some other good Book. In which kind of Vertuous Exercise the old man had such a delight and pleasure, that as it seemed, he rather practised himself in the study of the Scripture, than in the Trade or Science which before time he had used: so that Rawlins within few years in the said time of King Edward, through the help of his little Son, a special Minister appointed by God (no doubt) for that purpose, and through much conference besides, profited and went forward in such sort, that he was able not only to resolve himself touching his own former Blindness and Ignorance, but was also able to Admonish and Instruct others: and therefore when occasion served he would goe from one place to another Visiting such as he had best hope in. By which his doing he became in that Country, both a notable and open Professor of the Truth, being at all times and in all such places, not without the Company of his little Boy, whom (as I have said) he used as an assistance to this good purpose. And to this his great industry and endeavour in the study of the Scripture, God did also add in him a singular gift of Memory, so that by the benefit thereof he

The desire of Rawlins to learn the truth.

The goodly fruit of Remembrance in forcing his son to school.

The means whereby Remembrance first came to know ledge: Remembrance of his young son came to the knowledge of the Scripture.

would and could do that in vouching and rehearsing of the Text, which men of ripe and more profound knowledge, by their notes and other helps of Memory could very hardly accomplish. Inasmuch that he, upon the alledging of Scripture, very often would cite the book, the lease, yea and the very sentence; such was the wonderful working of God in this simple and unlearned Father.

Now when he had thus continued in his profession the space of five years, King Edward died, upon whose decease Queen Mary succeeded, and with her all kind of Superstition and Papistry crept in. Which thing being once perceived, Rawlins did not altogether use open instruction and admonition (as before he was wont) and therefore oftentimes in some private place or other he would call his trusty Friends together, and with earnest Prayer and great lamentation pass away the time, so that by his Vertuous instructions, being without any blemish of Error, he converted a great number, which number (no doubt) had greatly increased, had not the cruel storm of persecution been.

The extremity and force whereof at the last he pursued this good Father Rawlins, that he looked every hour to go to prison: whereupon many of those, which had received comfort by his instructions, did resort unto him, and by all means possible began to perswade him to shift for himself, and to dispose his goods by some reasonable order to the use of his Wife and Children, and by that means he should escape that danger, which was imminent over his head.

But Rawlins nothing abashed for his own part through the iniquity of the time, and nothing at all moved with these their fleshly perswasions, thanked them most heartily for their good will, and told them plainly that he had learned one good lesson touching the confession and denial of Christ, advertising them, that if he upon their perswasions should presume to deny his Master Christ, Christ in the last day would deny and utterly condemn him: and therefore (quoth he) I will by favourable grace confess and bear witness of him before men, that I may find him in everlasting life.

Notwithstanding which Answer, his Friends were very importunate with him. Howbeit Father Rawlins continued still in his good purpose so long, till at the last he was taken by the Officers of the Town, as a man suspected of Heresie; upon which apprehension he was conveyed before the Bishop of Landaffe that then was, the said Bishop lying then at his House besides Chepstow: by whom after divers combats and conflicts with him and his Champions, this good Father Rawlins was committed to prison in Chepstow. But this his keeping, whether it were by the Bishops means, because he would rid his hands of him, or through the favour of his Keeper, was not so severe and extreme, but that (if he had so listed) he might have escaped oftentimes.

But that notwithstanding, he continued still, inasmuch that at the last he by the aforementioned Bishop was removed from Chepstow to the Castle of Cardiffe, where he continued by the space of one whole year: During which time, this Reporter resorted to him very often, with Money and other reliefe from this Reporters Mother (who was a great favourer of those that were in affliction in those days) and other of his Friends: which he received not without great thanks and praises given to the Name of God. And albeit that he was thus troubled and imprisoned as ye have heard, to his own undoing in this World, and to the utter decay of his poor Wife and Children: yet was his heart so set to the instruction and furtherance of others in the way of Salvation, that he was never in quiet, but when he was perswading or exhorting such of his familiar Friends as commonly came unto him. Inasmuch that on the Sundays and other times of leisure, when his Friends came to visit him, he would pass away the time in prayer and exhortations, admonishing them always to beware of false Prophets which come in Sheeps Clothing.

Now when he had continued in Cardiffe Castle by the space of one whole year (as I have said) the time of his further trial was at hand. Whereupon the forenamed Bishop of Landaffe caused him to be brought again from the Castle of Cardiffe unto his own House besides Chepstow and whilst he continued there, the Bishop assayed many ways how to reduce him to some conformity. But

Anno 1555.
The gift of Memory in Rawlins.

Rawlins exhorted to shift for him self.

Rawlins promises to be constant to the death.

Rawlins apprehended and conveyed before the Bishop of Landaffe, named Anthony Rawlins, might escape and would not.

Rawlins a whole year in prison. A goodly Woman stirred up to relieve Rawlins.

Exhortation of Rawlins to his Friends.

Anno 1555. *Rawlin* by no means could be reduced to Popery. when all means either by their threatening words, or flattering promises, were to no purpose: the Bishop would him to advise, and be at a full point with him, either to recant his Opinions, or else to abide the rigour of the Law, and thereupon gave him a day of determination. Which day being come, the Bishop with his Chaplains went into his Chappel, not without a great number of other By-dwellers, that came to behold the manner of their doings. When the Bishop, with his Retinue were placed in order, poor *Rawlins* was brought before them. The Bishop after a great deliberation in addressing himself (as it seemed, and silence forewarned to the rest that were there present) used a long kind of Talk to him, declaring the cause of his sending for, which was for that he was a man well known to hold Heretical Opinions, and that through his Instruction many were led into blind Error. In the end he exhorted him to consider his own estate wherein he stood: for (said the Bishop) *Rawlins*, you have oftentimes since your first trouble, both here in my house, and elsewhere been travell'd withal touching your Opinions, and that notwithstanding ye seem altogether obdurate and wilful. Now hereupon we thought good to send for you, to see if there were any conformity in you: so that the matter is come to this point, That if you will shew your self Repentant for that which you have done against God and the Princes Laws, we are ready to use favour towards you; but if by no means we can persuade with you touching your Reformation, we are minded at this time to minister the Law unto you, and therefore advise with your self what you will do.

When the Bishop had made an end of his long Tale, this good Father *Rawlins* spake boldly to him, and said, My Lord, I thank God I am a Christian man, and I hold no Opinions contrary to the Word of God; and if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the Word of God, as a Christian man ought to be. Many more words in like sort were between the Bishop and *Rawlins*, which this Reporter doth not well remember. But in the end, when *Rawlins* would in no wise recant his Opinions, the Bishop told him plainly, that he must proceed against him by the Law, and condemn him as an Heretic.

Proceed in your Law a Gods name, said *Rawlins*; but for an Heretic you shall never condemn me while the World standeth. But (said the Bishop to his Company) before we proceed any further with him, let us pray unto God that he would send some spark of Grace upon him, (meaning *Rawlins*) and it may so chance, that God through our Prayer will here turn and convert his heart. When *Rawlins* heard the Bishop say so; Ah my Lord, quoth he, now you deal well and like a goodly Bishop, and I thank you most heartily for your great charity and gentleness. Christ faith, *Whereas two or three be gathered together in my Name, I will be in the midst of them*: and there be more than two or three of you. Now if it be so that your Request be godly and lawful, and that ye pray as ye should pray, without doubt God will hear you. And therefore my Lord go to, do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God, I know that my God will both hear my prayer, & perform my desire.

By and by the Bishop with his Company fell to Prayer. And *Rawlins*, turning himself to a Pew that stood somewhat near him, fell down upon his Knees, covering his Face with his hands: and when they had prayed a while, the Bishop with his Company arose from Prayer. And then also arose *Rawlins*, and came before the Bishop.

Then said the Bishop, Now *Rawlins*, how is it with thee? Wilt thou revoke thy Opinions, or no? Surely (said *Rawlins*) my Lord, *Rawlins* you left me, and *Rawlins* you find me, and by God's Grace *Rawlins* I will continue. Certainly if your Petitions had been just and lawful, God would have heard them: but you honour a false God, and pray not as ye should pray; and therefore hath not God granted your desire. But I am one poor simple man, as you see, and God hath heard my complaint, and I will be strengthened in my own Cause.

The Bishop, when he perceived that this Hypocrite of theirs took no effect, then with hot words he reproved him, and forthwith was ready to read the Sentence. Howbeit, upon some advice given to him by his Chaplains that were there present, he thought best first to have a Mass said, which was done by the doing some won-

derful work should be wrought in *Rawlins*, and thereupon a Mass began a Mass.

In the mean time poor *Rawlins* betook himself to Prayer in a secret place there by, until such time as the Priest came to the Sacring, as they term it, which is a principal point of their Idolatry. When *Rawlins* heard the Sacring, (Jell ring (as the use was) he rose out of his place, and came to the Quire-door, and there standing a while, turned himself to the People speaking these words, Good People, if there be any Brethren amongst you, or at the least, if there be but one Brother amongst you, the same one bear witness at the Day of Judgment, that I bow not to this Idol (meaning the Host that the Priest held over his Head.)

The Mass being ended, *Rawlins* afterwards was called for again. To whom the Bishop used many persuasions; but the blessed Man continued so steadfast in his former Profession, that the Bishops Talk was altogether in vain, and to no purpose. Whereupon the Bishop caused the definitive Sentence to be read. Which being ended, *Rawlins* was dismissed, and from thence he was by the Bishops commandment carried again to *Cardiff*, there to be put into the Prison of the Town, called *Cockmarch*, a very dark, loathsome, and most vile Prison.

Rawlins in the mean time passed away the time in Prayer, and chiefly in singing of Psalms: which kind of godly Exercise he always used, both at *Cardiff* Castle, and in all other places.

Now after he had thus continued a Prisoner in *Cockmarch* Prison at *Cardiff* (as is aforesaid) a good space, about three weeks before the day wherein he suffered, the Head Officers of the Town, that had the charge of his Execution, were determined to burn him, because they would be sooner rid of him; having not indeed a Writ of Execution awarded, as by the Law they should have. Whereupon one *H. Lewes*, the Recorder of the Town that then was, seeing that they went about to burn him without any Warrant by Writ, came to them and told them, That if they did burn him before they had the Writ, *De Hereticis comburendis*, the Wife of the said *Rawlins* would upon just cause, by Law, call their doings into question.

Immediately upon this Advertisement, they sent to *London* for the Writ above-named: upon the receipt whereof they made some speed to the Execution of the said *Rawlins*. Now when the day was come, wherein the good Father should perform and accomplish the last act of this his worthy conflict, he was the Night before willed to prepare himself.

Now when he perceived his time was no less near than it was reported unto him, he sent forthwith to his Wife, and willed her by the Messenger, that in any wife she should make ready and send unto him his Wedding-garment, meaning a Shirt, which afterward he was burned in. Which request, or rather commandment of his, his Wife with great sorrow and grief of heart did perform, and early in the Morning did send it to him, which he received most gladly and joyfully.

Now when the hour of his Execution was come, this good and constant Father *Rawlins* was brought out of Prison, having on his Body the long Shirt, which (as you heard before) he called his Wedding-garment, and an old Rusty-Coat which he was wont to wear. Besides this, he had upon his Legs an old pair of Leather-Buskins, which he had used long afore. And thus being brought out of Prison (as I have said) he was accompanied, or rather guarded with a great company of Bills and Glieves. Which sight when he beheld, Alas quoth he, what meaneth all this? All this needeth not. By God's Grace I will not start away: but I with all my heart and mind give unto God most hearty Thanks, that he hath made me worthy to abide all this for his holy Names sake.

So he came to a place in his way, whereas his poor Wife and Children stood weeping, and making great lamentation: the sudden sight of whom so pierced his heart that the very Tears trickled down his Face. But he soon after, as though he had misliked this Infirmary of his flesh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himself: Inasmuch, that striking his Breast with his hand, he used these words, Ah Flesh, thyself thou me so? wouldest thou gain prevail? Well, I tell thee do what thou canst, thou shalt not, by God's Grace, have the Victory.

Rawlin brought before the Bishop of Landaf in open Judgment. The words of the Bishop to Rawlin.

Rawlin answered to the Bishop.

The B of Landaf proceeded with prayer in consideration of Rawlin, which commonly they call a Prayer, before they would do.

The Bishop prayed to his God, and Rawlin to his.

Rem. confirmed in his doctrine.

Peop. R. Bishops stay to pray, & God and there, we are heard.

A Mass said for God, & for o. R. B. do.

The words of Rawlin to the People at the Sacring time.

Rawlin still constant in the Profession of Gods Truth.

Sentence read against Rawlin. Rawlin sent to Prison to Cardiff Castle.

The Officers intended to burn Rawlin without a Writ.

The Writ awarded for burning of Rawlin.

Rawlin's wedding-garment.

Rawlin going to the place of Execution.

Rawlin, some what moved at the sight of his Wife and Children. Rawlin, who then was against his flesh.

By this time the poor Innocent came to the very Altar of his Sacrifice ('I mean the place appointed for his death) and there found a Stake ready set up, with some Wood toward the making of the Fire. Which when he beheld, he set forward himself very boldly; but in going toward the Stake, he fell down upon his knees and kissed the ground; and in rising again, the Earth a little sticking on his Nose, he said these words, *Earth unto Earth, and Dust unto Dust: thou art my Mother, and unto thee I shall return.* Then went he cheerfully and very joyfully, and set his Back close unto the Stake; and when he had stood there a while, he cast his eye upon this Reporter, and called him unto him, and said, I feel a great fighting between the Flesh and the Spirit, and the Flesh would very fain have his swing; and therefore I pray you, when you see me any thing tempted, hold your finger up to me, and I trust I shall remember my self.

As he was thus standing with his Back close unto the Stake, a Smith came with a great Chain of Iron: whom when he saw, he cast up his hand with a loud voice, and gave God great thanks. Then the Smith cast a Chain about him, and as he was making it fast on the other side, *Rawlins* said unto him, I pray you good Friend knock in the Chain fast; for it may be that the Flesh would strive nightly, but God of thy great mercy give me strength and patience to abide the extremity.

Now when the Smith had made him sure to the Stake, the Officers began to lay on more Wood, with a little Straw and Reed: wherein the good Old man was no less occupied than the best; for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the Straw and Reed, and lay it about him in places most convenient for his speedy dispatch. Which thing he did with such a cheerful Countenance and familiar Gesture, that all men there present were in a manner astonished.

Thus when all things were ready, so that there lacked nothing but the putting to of the Fire, directly over against the Stake, in the face of *Rawlins*, there was a Standing erected, whereon stood up a Priest, addressing himself to speak to the People, which were many in number, because it was Market-day. When *Rawlins* perceived him, and considered the cause of his coming, he reached a little Straw unto him, and made two little Stays and set them under his Elbows. Then went the Priest forward in his Sermon, wherein he spake of many things touching the Authority of the Church of Rome. In the mean time *Rawlins* gave such good ear and attention, that he seemed nothing at all moved or disquieted. At the last, the Priest came to the Sacrament of the Altar, and there he began to inveigh against *Rawlins* Opinion in which his Invection he cited the common place of Scripture, and thereupon made a Clergly Interpretation.

Now when *Rawlins* perceived that he went about not only to teach and preach the People false Doctrine, but also to confirm it by Scripture, he suddenly start up, and beckoned his hands to the People, saying twice; Come hither good People, and hear not a false Prophet preaching: and then said unto the Preacher, Ah thou naughty Hypocrite, dost thou presume to prove thy false Doctrine by Scripture? Look in the Text what followeth; Did not Christ say, *Do this in remembrance of me?* After which words, the Priest being rather amazed than interrupted, forthwith held his peace.

Then some that stood by cried out, Put fire, set to fire; which being set to, the Straw and Reed, by and by, cast up both a great and sudden flame. In the which flame this good and blessed man bathed his hands so long, until such time as the Sinews shrunk, and the Fat dropped away, saving that once he did, as it were, wipe his Face with one of them. All this while, which was somewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, *O Lord, receive my Soul; O Lord, receive my Spirit*, until he could not open his mouth. At the last the extremity of the Fire was so vehement against his Legs, that they were consumed almost before the rest of his Body was burned, which made the whole Body fall over the Chain into the Fire sooner than it would have done. During which time of his burning, it cannot be said that he felt any great pain, considering that not without his perfect memory he abode both quietly and patiently, even unto the departing of his life. Thus died this goodly and old man *Rawlins*.

for the Testimony of Gods Truth, being now rewarded, Anno no doubt, with the Crown of eternal Life.

It is recorded furthermore of the said good Father *Rawlins*, by this Reporter, that as he was going to his death, and standing at the Stake, he seemed in a manner to be altered in Nature. For as before he was wont to go stooping, or rather crooked, through the infirmity of Age, having a sad Countenance and a very feeble Complexion, and wical very soft in Speech and Gesture, now he went and stretched up himself not only bolt upright, but also bore withal a most pleasant and comfortable Countenance, not without great courage and audacity both in Speech and Behaviour. He had (of which thing I should have spoken before) about his Head a Kerchief, the Hairs of his head (somewhat appearing beneath his Kerchief) and also of his Beard, were more inclining to white than to gray, which gave such a shew and countenance to his whole Person, that he seemed to be altogether Angelical.

It is also said by this Reporter, that a little before the Fire flashed up to his Body (as ye have heard) many of his Friends came to him, and took him by the hand, amongst whom the Reporter of this story held him so long by the hand, till the flame of the Fire rose and forced them to sunder. In the mean time the Priest, of whom I spake afore, cried out and said, that it was not lawful for any man to take him by the hand, because he was an Heretic, and condemned by the Church. The chief cause of his Trouble, was his Opinion touching the Sacrament of the Altar. He was at that time of his death of the Age of Threescore years, or thereabouts.

The sum of the words spoken by Queen Mary to certain of her Counsellors, March 28. An. 1555. touching the restitution of Abby-Lands.

Before I pass over this Month of March, I cannot but leave a little Memorandum of the words or consultation of Q. Mary, used to certain of the Council the 28. day of the said Month of March, touching the restoring again of the Abby-Lands. Who after the had called unto her presence four of her Privy Council, the day and month aforesaid (the names of which Counsellors were these)

1. William, Lord Marquess of Winchester, High Treasurer of England.
2. Sir Robert Rochester Knight, the Queens Controller.
3. Sir William Peter Knight, Secretary.
4. Sir Francis Inglesfield Kt. Master of the Wards.

The said Queen Mary inferred these words, the principal effect and sum whereof here followeth. You are here of our Council, and we have willed you to be called unto us, to the intent you might hear of me my Conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the Lands and Possessions as well of Monasteries, as of other Churches whatsoever, being now presently in my possession.

First, I do consider, that the said Lands were taken away from the Churches aforesaid in the time of Schism, and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the Law of God and of the Church. For the which cause my Conscience doth not suffer me to detain them; and therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim or to retain the said Lands for mine, but with all my heart freely and willingly, without all paction or condition, here and before God I do surrender and relinquish the said Lands and Possessions, or Inheritances whatsoever, and do renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to our most holy Lord the Pope, or else his Legate the Lord Cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our Realm.

And albeit you may object to me again, that considering the state of my Kingdom and the Dignity thereof, my Crown Imperial cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid: yet notwithstanding I set more by the salvation of my Soul, than by ten Kingdoms; and therefore the said Possessions I utterly refuse here to hold after that sort and title, and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, who hath given me an Husband, whom I love, with no less affection in this behalf, than I am my self.

Where-

The Agony and Fight of this Christ in War-fight.

Rawlins fall to the Stake.

The cheerful face of Father Rawlins at his Death.

A Popish Scrum perched at Rawlins Martyrdom.

Rawlins words to the false Prophet.

The Mass, you do not know, but I do.

The confession of the Pope.

Anno 1555. A sudden alteration of Nature marvelous in Rawlins before his death.

The Reporter of this story was one M. Duns.

The names of the Counsellors called before Q. Mary.

The effect of Q. Marys words touching Abby-lands to be restored.

The Queen maketh a Confession in keeping Abby-lands.

The Queen surrendreth from her self the possession of Abby-lands.

Anno 1555. Wherefore I charge and command, that my Chancellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before) and you four, to morrow together do resort to the most Reverend Lord Legate, and do signifie to him the Premises in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the state of my Kingdom, and of the foresaid Possessions accordingly, as you your selves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same.

This Intimation being given by the Queen, first unto the Councillors, and then coming to the Cardinals hand, he drawing out a Copy thereof in Latin, sent the same to the Pope: which Copy drawn in Latin, and coming afterward to my hand, I have thus translated into English, as you have heard.

Furthermore, here by the way it is to be understood, that in the Month before, which was February, and in the 19 day of the said Month, the Bishop of Ely, with the Lord Mountacute and Seven score Horle, were sent as Embassadors from the King and Queen unto Rome. For what cause, in story it is not exprest; but by conjecture it may be well supposed to be for the same cause of Abby-Lands, as by the sequel thereof may probably appear.

For it was not long after, but the Pope did set forth in print a Bull of Excommunication for all manner of such Persons, without exception, as kept any of the Church or Abby-Lands; by virtue of which Bull, the Pope Excommunicated as well such as had any of the Church or Abby-Lands as also all such Princes, Bishops, and Noblemen, Justices of Peace and other in Office, who had not, or did not forthwith put the same Bull in Execution. Albeit this execution (God be thanked) yet to this day was never put in practise.

Wherein again it is to be observed another Catholick fetch, not unworthy (perchance) of marking. For where this kind of Catholicks by rigor and force may overmaster, they spare for no cost, but lay on load enough. This well appeared, and still doth appear in burning the poor patient Christians, whom because they see to be destitute of power and strength to resist them, and content with patience to receive whatsoever is put unto them, where they play the Lions, and make no end of burning and persecuting. But where they spy themselves to be over-matched, or fear to receive a foil in presuming too far, there they keep in, and can stay the execution of their Laws and Bulls, be they never so Apostolical, till they spy their time convenient for their purpose, as in this case is evident for all the world to see.

For notwithstanding that the Popes Bull, coming down with full Authority for restitution of Abby-Lands, did so thunder out most terrible Excommunication, not only against them which detained any such Lands, but also against all other that did not see the Popes commandment to be executed; yet neither Winchester, nor any of all the Popes Clergy, would greatly stir in that matter, perceiving the Nobility to be too strong for them to match withal; and therefore were contented to let the Case fall, or at least to stay for a time, while time might better serve them.

Yea, and moreover under a crafty pretence, that the Nobility and men of Lands at the first coming out of the Bull should not be exasperate too much against them, they subtilly abused the Pulpits, and dissembled with the People, affirming that the said Popes late Bull, set forth in print for restitution of Abby-Lands, was not meant for England, but for other foreign Countries: where in very deed the meaning of that Bull, was only for England, and no Country else, as both by this Intimation of Queen Mary here mentioned, and by many other conjectures,

and also by Mr. Fockens; Ballet of Carvats Emptors, may appear. Whereby it is easie for all men to understand that the purpose of those men was to do, if time, which they observed, might have served their Devotion. But to let this matter pass of the Popes Bull, the time now serveth to intreat of Pope Julius death, forsomuch as he made his end about the latter end of this foresaid Month of March.

Concerning the Deeds and Acts of which Pope, to make a full declaration, it were not so much tedious to the Reader, as horrible to all good Ears. Under this

Julius flourished the Archbishop of Beneventum; a Florentine, named Johannes à Casa, Dean of the Popes Chamber, and chief Legate to the Venetians: who well declaring the fruit of that filthy See, so far forgot both Honesty and Nature, that he shamed not only to play the filthy Sadomite himself, and to boast openly of the same; but also took upon him most impudently in Publick Metre, to all mens ears, to set forth the praise and commendation of that beastly Iniquity, saying, That he himself never used other: and this Book was printed at Venice by one Trojanus Nervus; and yet the Pope could suffer this so great Iniquity and shameless Beastliness, even under his nose in his own Chamber, which could not abide the true Doctrine of Christ in Christian Books.

Amongst other Franks and Deeds of this foresaid Pope, in his Jubilee, and in the Synod of Trent, and in confirming of the Idol of Lauretane, this is also reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatly in Pork-flesh and Peacocks. Upon a time when he was admonished of his Physician to abstain from all Swines-flesh, for that it was noysom for his Gout, and yet would not follow his counsel; the Physician afterward gave warning to his Steward or Orderer of his Diet, that he should set no more Pork-flesh before him.

Whereupon when the Pope perceived the said Pork-flesh to be lacking in his accustomed service: Where (said he) is my Pork? And when his Steward had answered that his Physician had forbidden any Pork to be served: then the Pope bursting out into a great rage, saith these words, Bring me, said he, my Pork-flesh, Al dispetto de Dio, that is to say in English, In the despite of God.

At another time, he sitting at Dinner, pointing to a Peacock upon his Table, which he had not touched; Keep (said he) this cold Peacock for me against Supper, and let me sup in the Garden: for I shall have Guests. So when Supper came, and amongst other hot Peacocks, he saw not his cold Peacock brought to his Table: the Pope, after his wonted manner, most horribly blaspheming God, fell into an extrem rage, &c. Whereupon one of his Cardinals sitting by, desired him, saying, Let not your Holiness, I pray you, be so moved with a matter of so small weight. Then this Julius the Pope answering again, What, said he, if God was so angry for an Apple, that he cast our first Parents out of Paradise for the same, why may not I, being his Vicar, be angry then for a Peacock, since a Peacock is a greater matter than an Apple? Behold here (good Reader) by this Pope, the holiness of that blasphemous See: and yet thou shalt see here what affection was born to this Pope here in England, by the Dirige, Hearies, and Funerals commanded to be had and celebrated in all Churches by the Queen and her Council, as may appear by the Copy of their Letters here following.

A Letter from the Bishop of Winchester (being Lord Chancellor) unto Boner Bishop of London, touching the celebrating of the Popes Funeral.

After my hearty Commendations to your good Lordship, the King and Queens Majesty having certain knowledge of the death of the Popes Holiness, thought good there should be at well solemn Obsequies said for him throughout the Realm, as also these Prayers (which I send you herewith enclosed) used at Mass time in all places at this time of Vacation, and therefore willed me to signifie their pleasures unto you in this behalf, that thereupon ye might proceed to the full accomplishment thereof, by putting the same in due execution within your own Diocesse, and sending word to the rest of the Bishops, to do the like in theirs.

Thus doubting not but that your Lordship will use such diligence in this matter at this time, as shall be necessary, I bid your Lordship heartily well to fare. From my House at Alther, the tenth of April 1555.

Your assured Friend and Brother,
Stephanus Winton, Chancel.

Prayers commanded to be used in the Funeral Masses for the Pope, Apostolica sede vacante.

Supplicet Dominus humilitate deposcimus, ut tua mensa pietas Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae concedat Pontificem illum qui & pro in nos studio semper tibi

Read more of this in a Book called a Warning to England. The death of P. Julius the Third. Vide scriptum Pauli Veneris contra hunc Archiepisc. Note here what an holy Catholick Church this is.

A Porkish Pope.

Monstrous Blasphemy in the Popes

Pope Julius blasphemeth God for a Peacock. O vocem Antichristi digamus!

April 12. Winchester Letter to Boner for the Popes Funeral.

A Collect for the Pope

Promises for restitution of Abby-Lands.

Embassadors sent from England to Rome, Febr. 19.

The Popes Bull for restitution of Abby-Lands.

Note the nature of the Papists, where they can overcome they are Lions; where they are over-matched they play the Foxes.

Here lacked no good will in the Bishops, but time as yet did not serve them.

Falsely dissembling in the Popes Catholick Church.

Mr Fockens; Ballet of Carvats Emptors.

gratus: & tuo populo pro salubri regimine sit assidue ad gloriam tui nominis venerandus per Dominum nostrum.

Secreta.

Tue nobis Domine pietatis abundantia indulgeat, ut gratum Majestatis tue Pontificem sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ regimini præesse gaudeamus, per Dominum nostrum.

Post Communionem.

Another Prayer for choosing of the Pope.

Preciosi Corporis & Sanguinis tui Domine, Sacramento refectus merifica tue Majestatis gratia de illius summi Pontificis assumptione lætificet, qui & plebem tuam virtutibus instruat, & fidelium mentes, spiritualium Aliminatione odore perfundat, per Dominum nostrum.

A Woman of S. Magdalen Imprisoned for not praying for the Pope.

Upon this Commandment, on Wedneseday in Easter Week there were Hearths set up, and Diriges sung for the said Julius in divers places. At which time it chanced a Woman to come into S. Magnes Church at the Bridge-foot in London, and there seeing an Hearth and other preparation, asked what it meant: and other that stood by, said that it was for the Pope, and that she must pray for him. Nay (quoth she) that will I not, for he needeth not my Prayers: and seeing he could forgive us all our Sins, I am sure he is clean himself; therefore I need not to pray for him. She was heard speak these words of certain that stood by: which, by and by, carried her unto the Cage at London-Bridge, and bid her cooler self there.

A Spectacle for all Christians to behold, and so take heed of the Popes blasphemous Doctrine.

By many and sundry ways Almighty God hath admonished Men of all Nations in these our later

years to embrace, and not violently to repugn against the light of his Gospel: as firstly by preaching of his Word; secondly, by the Blood of the Martyrs; and thirdly, by terrible Examples shewed from time to time upon his Adversaries. In the number of whom cometh here to be remembered the notable working of Gods hand upon a certain Priest in Kent, named Nightingal, Parson of Crondall besides Canterbury: who upon Shrove-Sunday, of which was about the third day of the said Month of March, and Year of our Lord aforesaid, rejoicing belike not a little at this alteration of Religion, began to make a Sermon to his Parishioners, taking his Theme out of the words of S. John; He that saith that he hath no sin, is a liar, and the truth is not in him, &c. And so upon the same very imperiently declared to them all such Articles as were set forth by the Popes Authority, and by the commandment of the Bishops of this Realm; saying moreover unto the People in this wise, Now Masters and Neighbourhoods rejoice and be merry, for the Prodigal Son is come home. For I know that the most part of you be as I am, for I know your hearts well enough. And I shall tell you what hath happened in this Week past: I was before my Lord Cardinal Poles Grace, and he made me as free from Sin, as I was at the Font-stone: and on Thursday last being before him, he hath appointed me to notify (I thank him for it) the same unto you. And I will tell you what it is. And so reading the Popes Bull of Pardon that was sent into England, he said, he thanked God that ever he had lived to see that day; adding moreover that he believed, that by the virtue of that Bull he was clean from Sin, as that Night that he was born: and immediately upon the same fell suddenly down out of the Pulpit, and never stirred hand nor foot, and so lay he. Testified by Robert Austen of Caribam, which both heard and saw the same, and is witnessed also by the whole Country round about.

Anno

1555.

A Popish

Parson

preaching

to his Pa-

rishioners.

A terrible

Example of

Gods severe

punishment

upon Wyl-

ingal, Parson

of Crondal

in Kent.

Blasphemy

to Christs

Gospel per-

mitted.

The description of a Popish Priest who, who had taken away the Glory and office of Christs fell down suddenly and died.



The sudden death of one Nightingal, Parson of Crondal in Kent, who was made by the Cardinals Authority, chief Penitentiary of that Deceasy.

John Awcock.

April 2.
John Awcock
died.

In the beginning of April, and the second day of the said Month, died in Prison John Awcock, who after was buried in the Fields as the manner of the Papists was, to deny their Christian Burial to such as died out of their Popish Antichristian Church.

Now forsomuch as having passed the Month of March; we are carried into the Month of April, to set down in

order out of publick Records what happened in the said Month, here followeth to be noted: That the first day of April, Anno 1555. a Letter was sent to the Sheriff of Kent, to apprehend Thomas Wodgat and William Maynard, for Preaching secretly, and to send them up to the Council.

The seventh day of the said Month, another Letter was sent to the said Sheriff for the apprehension of one Harwich, who went about with a Boy with him, Preaching from place to place.

The

Anno
1555.

The 15. of *April* a letter was directed to Sir *Nicolas Hare*, and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, willing them to examine *M. Flower*, a *Las Branch*, what he meant to wear about his neck written, *Deum time, Idolum fuge* and whom else he knew to wear the like, praying them also to speak to *Boner Bishop of London*, speedily to proceed against him for his Religion according to the Laws, and that the Justices of Peace of *Middlesex* should likewise proceed against him for Shedding of Blood in the Church, according to the Statute, so as if he continue his opinion, he might be executed at the farthest by the latter end of this week, and that his Right Hand be the day before his execution, or the same day, stricken off.

The 22. of *April* there was a like letter sent to the Justices of Peace of *Middlesex*, with a Writ for the Execution of the said *Flower*, commanding them to see his Hand stricken off before his burning.

The 20. of *April*, *M. Robert Horneby*, Servant than to the Lady *Elizabeth*, was converted before the Council for his Religion; and standing constantly to the Truth, notwithstanding their threats and other persecutions, was therefore committed to the *Marshalsea*.

A declaration of the life, examination, and burning of George Marth, who suffered most constant Martyrdom for the profession of the Gospel of Christ at Westminster, the 24. day of April, Anno 1555.

April 24:
Marth's
Martyr.

THe said *George Marth* was born in the Parish of *Deane*, in the County of *LANCASTER*, and was well brought up in learning and honest trade of living by his Parents, who afterwards about the 25. year of his age took to Wife an honest maiden of the Country; with whom he continued, earning their living upon a Farm, having Children between them lawfully begotten: and then God taking his Wife out of this World, he being most desirous of godly studies (leaving his Household and Children in good order) went unto the University of *Cambridge*, where he studied, and much increased in learning and godly Vertues, and was a Minister of Gods Holy Word and Sacraments, and for a while was Curate to *Lawrence Saunders*, as himself reporteth. In which condition of life he continued for a space, earnestly setting forth Gods true Religion, to the defacing of Antichrists false Doctrin, by his godly readings and Sermons, as well there as in the Parish of *Deane*, as elsewhere in *Lancashire*.

In Court
of Chesser,
a persecutor
of G. Marth
detained.

Whereupon at length, by detection of certain Adversaries, he was apprehended, and kept in close prison by *George Cotes* then Bishop of *Chesser*, in strict prison in *Chesser*, within the precinct of the Bishops House, about the space of four Months, being not permitted to have relief and comfort of his Friends; but charge being given unto the porter, to mark who they were, that asked for him, and to signify their Names unto the Bishop, as by the particular Description of his Story, testified and recorded with his own pen, more evidently may appear in the process hereunder following.

The handling, Intreating, and Examination of George Marth, being sent first by the Earl of Darby to Doctor Cotes, Bishop of Chesser.

The examination
of G. Marth
written with
his own
hand. M.
Barton gentleman,
and persecutor.

ON the Monday before Palm-sunday, which was the 12. day of March, it was told me at my Mothers House, that *Roger Winstone*, with other of *M. Bartons* Servants did make diligent search for me in *Bolton*, and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave strict charge to *Robert Ward* and *Robert Marth*, to find and bring me to *M. Barton* the day next following, with others, to be brought before the Honourable Earl of *Darby*, to be examined in matters of Religion, &c.

G. Marth
ad-
vertised by
his Friends
to flee.

I knowing this, by relation of divers of my Friends was diversly affected; my Mother, and other my Friends advising me to flee, and to avoid the peril, which thing I had intended afore after a week then next ensuing, if this in the mean while had not chanced; seeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of Religion, as they thought I would not, and as God strengthening and assisting me with his Holy Spirit I never will it would not only have put them to great sorrow, heaviness and losses, with costs and charges, to their shame and re-

buke in this World, but also mine own self, after troubles and painful imprisonment, unto shameful Death.

This considered, they advised me and counselled me to depart and flee the Country, as I had intended to have done, if this had not happened. To whose Counsel my weak Flesh would gladly have consented, but my Spirit did not fully agree; thinking and saying thus to my self, that if I fled away, it would be thought, reported, and said, that I did not only flee the Country, and my Nearest and Dearest Friends: but much rather from Christs Holy Word, according as these years past I had with my heart, or at least with mine outward living professed, and with my mouth and word taught, according to the small talent given me of the Lord. I being thus with their Counsel and Advice, and the Cogitations and Counsels of mine own mind drawn as it were divers ways, went from my Mothers House, saying, I would come again at evening.

In the mean time I ceased not by Earnest Prayer to ask and seek Counsel of God (who is the giver of all good gifts) and of other my Friends, whose godly Judgments and knowledge I much trusted unto. After this, I met with one of my said Friends on *Dean Moor*, about Sun going down: and after we had consulted together of my business, not without Hearty Prayer kneeling on our knees, we departed. I not fully determining what to do, but taking my leave with my Friend, said, I doubted not but God (according as our Prayer and trust was) would give me such Wisdom and Counsel, as should be meet to his Honour and Glory, the Profit of my Neighbors and Brethren in the World, and obtaining of mine Eternal Salvation by Christ in Heaven.

This done, I returned to my Mothers House again, where had been divers of *M. Bartons* Servants seeking charged to seek him. after me; who, when they could not find me, strictly charged my Brother and *William Marth* to seek me that night, & to bring me to *Smethehills* the next day: who being so charged, were gone to seek me in *Adderton*, or elsewhere I know not. Thus intending afore to have been all night with my Mother, but then considering that my tarrying there would disquiet her with her Household, I departed from thence, and went beyond *Dean Church*, and there tarried all night with an old Friend of mine, taking ill rest, and consulting much with my self of my Trouble.

So at my first awaking, one came to me from a faithful Friend of mine with Letters, which I never read nor yet looked on, who said this: My Friends Advice was that I should in no wise flee, but abide and boldly Confess the Faith of Jesus Christ. At whose Words I was so confirmed and established in my Conscience, that from thenceforth I consulted no more, whether it were better to fly or to tarry; but was at a point with my self, that I would not fly, but to go to *M. Barton* who did seek for me, and there present my self, and patiently bear such Cross as it should please God to lay upon my shoulders. Whereupon my Mind and Conscience afore being much unquieted and troubled, was now merry and in quiet Estate.

So betimes in the Morning I arose, and after I had said the English Litany (as my custom was) with other Prayers, kneeling on my knees by my Friends bed side, I prepared my self to go toward *Smethehills*: and as I was going thitherward, I went into the Houses of *Henry q. Marth* Widowes, of my Mother in Law, of *Ralph Teton*, and of the Wife of *Thomas Richardson*, desiring them to pray for me, and have me commended to all my Friends and to comfort my Mother, and be good to my little Children: for (as I supposed) they should not see my face any more before the last day: and so took my leave of them not without tears shed on both parts, and came to *Smethehills* about nine of the Clock, and presented my self afore *M. Barton*: who shewed me a Letter from the Earl of *Darby*, wherein he was commanded to send me with others to *Latham*.

Whereupon he charged my Brother and *William Marth* to bring and deliver me the next day by ten of the Clock, before the said Earl or his Counsel: made earnest suite with other special Friends, which I had there at the same time, to *M. Barton*, that he would take some one of them, or them all bound by Recognizance or otherwise, for mine appearing before the said Earl or his said Council, thus

that my brother and *William Marth* might be at home, because it was the closest time of feeding, and their ploughs could no go to work they were not at home; but nothing could be obtained.

G. Marth
said that he
leave of his
Mother.

So we went to my Mothers, and there I dined and shifted part of my Cloths, and in praying, took my leave of my Mother, the Wife of *Richard Marth*, and both their Households, they and I both weeping, and so departed from them, and went toward *Latham*, and were all night a mile and an half on this side *Latham*. So the next day, which was Wednesday, we arose, prayed, and came to *Latham* betimes, and tarried there till four of the Clock at Afternoon.

G. Marth
brought be-
fore the
Earl of
Darby.

Then was I called by *Roger Mokinson* to my Lord and his Council, and so I was brought into the Chamber of presence, where was present *Sir William Nares*, *Sir Pierce Ale*, *Master Sherburn* the Parson of *Grappal*, *Malter More*, with others. Where when I had tarried a little while, my Lord turned him toward me, and asked what was my name: I answered, *Marth*.

Then he asked, whether I was one of those that sowed evil seed and dissention amongst the People: Which thing I denied, desiring to know mine accusers, and what could be laid against me: but that I could not know.

G. Marth
examined
before the
Earl of
Darby.

Then, said he, he would with his Council examine me themselves, and asked me whether I was a Priest: I said no. Then he asked me, what had been my living. I answered I was a Minister, served a Cure, and taught a School. Then said my Lord to his Council, this is a wonderful thing. Afore he said he was no Priest, and now he confesseth himself to be one. I answered, by the Laws now used in this Realm (as farre as I do know) I am none.

Then they asked me who gave me Orders, or whether I had taken any at all. I answered, I received Orders of the Bishop of *London* and *Lincoln*.

Then said they one to another, those be of these new Hereticks, and asked me what acquaintance I had with them? I answered, I never saw them but at the time when I received Orders.

They asked me how long I had been Curate, and whether I had Ministred with a good Conscience, I answered, I had been Curate but one year, and had Ministred with a good Conscience, I thanked God, and if the Laws of the Realm would have suffered me, I would have Ministred still; and if the Laws at any time hereafter would suffer me to Minister after that sort, I would Minister again.

The blasphemous
mouth
of the Par-
son of Grap-
pal.

Whereat they murmured, and the Parson of *Grappal* said, this last Communion was the most Devilish thing that ever was devised. Then they asked me what my Belief was.

I answered, I believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as the Scriptures of the old and new Testaments do teach, and according as the four Symbols or Creeds, that is to wit, the Creed Commonly called *Apostolorum*, the Creed of *Nice* Council, of *Athanasius*, and of *Aufin*, and *Ambrose* do teach. And after a few Words, the Parson of *Grappal* said; But what is thy Belief in the Sacrament of the Altar?

G. Marth
believed in the
Sacrament.

I answered, I believed that whosoever, according to Christs Institution, did receive the Holy Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, did eat and drink Christs Body and Blood with all the Benefits of his Death and Resurrection to their Eternal Salvation; for Christ (said I) is ever present with his Sacrament.

Then asked they me, whether the Bread and Wine, by the Virtue of the words pronounced by the Priest, were changed into the Flesh and Blood of Christ, and that the Sacrament, whether it were received or reserved, wasthe very Body of Christ;

G. Marth
both to an-
swer to the
question of
the Earl of
Darby, and
to the Earl of
Marth.

Whereunto I made Answer, I knew no further than I had shewed already. For my knowledge is imperfect said I; desiring them not to ask me such hard and unprofitable questions, whereby to bring my Body into Danger of death, and to suck my Blood. Whereat they were not a little offended, saying, they were no Blood-Suckers, and intended nothing to me but to make me a good Christian.

So after many other Questions, which I avoided as well as I could, remembering the saying of *Paul*, *Foolish and*

unlearned questions avoid, knowing they doe but ingender strife; my Lord commanded me to come to the Board, and gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to write mine Answers to the Questions of the Sacrament above named; and I wrote as I had answered before. Whereat he being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct Answer, saying, I should not chafe but do it.

Then I took the Pen and wrote, that further I knew not. Whereat he being fore grieved, after many threatnings, said, I should be put to shamefull death like a Traytor, with such other like words; and sometimes giving me fair words if I would turn and be conformable as other were, how glad he would be.

In conclusion, after much ado, he commanded me to ward in a cold, windy, stone house, where was little room; where I lay two nights without any bed, having a few great canvas tent-clothes, and the done, I had a pair of sheets, but no woollen clothes, and so continued till Palm-sunday, occupying my self as well as I could in meditation, Prayer and study; for no man could be suffered to come to me but my Keeper twice a day when he brought me meat and drink.

Another examination of Gorge Marth before the Earl of Darby.

ON Palm-sunday after dinner I was sent for to my Lord and his Council (saying *Sir William Nares* and *Sir Pierce Ale* were not then present in place) amongst whom was *Sir John Beram*, and the Vicar of *Prescot*. So they Examined me yet once again of the Sacrament. And after I had communed apart with the Vicar of *Prescot* a good space concerning that matter, he returned to my Lord and his Council with me, saying; That Answer which I had made before, and then did make (as it is above written) was sufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profess a perfect knowledge in that matter, until such time as I had learned further. Wherewith the Earl was very well pleased, saying, he doubted not but by the means and help of the Vicar of *Prescot* I would be conformable in other things. So after many fair words he commanded I should have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go amongst his Servants, so that I would do no harm which my communication amongst them.

And so after much other communication I departed, much more troubled in my spirit than afore, because I had not with more boldness confessed Christ, but in such sort as mine Adversaries thereby thought they should prevail against me; whereat I was much grieved: For hitherto I went about as much as in me lay, to rid my self out of their hands: if by any means without open denying of Christ and his word that could be done.

This considered, I cried more Earnestly unto God by Prayer, desiring him to strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, with Boldness to confess him: and to deliver me from their enticing words, and that I were not spoiled through their Philosophy and deceitful vanity after the Traditions of men and Ordinances of the World, and not after Christ.

And so after a day or two I was sent for to the Vicar of *Prescot*, and the Parson of *Grappal*; where our most communication was concerning the Mass: and he asked what offended me in the Mass. I answered, the whole Mass did offend me, first because it was in a strange language, whereby the People were not edified, contrary to *St. Pauls* Doctrine, *1 Corin. 14.* and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses and Errors contained therein, contrary to Christs Priest-hood and Sacrifice.

Then they asked me in what place thereof and I named certain places; which places they went about with gentle and far sought interpretations to mitigate, saying those places were understood far otherwise than the words did purport, or than I did take them.

I answered, I did understand them as they did purport, and as their own books do comment & gloss upon them.

They said, *Sacrificium* or *Oblatio* did not in the Mass signifie any thing else, than either a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or else a memorial of a Sacrifice or Oblation. So they caused a Mass-book to be sent for

Anno
1555.

G. Marth
commanded
by the Earl
of Darby
to write his
Answers.

The Earl
of Darby
comman-
ded Marth,
into prison

Marth a-
gain exami-
ned about
the Sacrament.

Marth yet
keepeth
himself
close in the
Sacrament.

Marth trou-
bled in his
Conscience
for being
no more
bold touch-
ing the
Sacrament.

Marth pray-
eth for
more
boldness.

Marth a-
gain exami-
ned before
the Bishop
Chaplain.
Talk about
the Mass.
Allegations
against the
Mass.

Sacrificium
Missæ quid sit

Anno 1555. for, and shewed me where in some places of the Mass was written: *Sacerdos laudat*. Whereunto I answered, that it followed not therefore that in all places it signified a Sacrifice or oblation of praise or thanksgiving; and although it did, yet was not a Sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving to be offered for the sins of the People, for that did Christ by his own passion once offer on the Cross: where the words of the Mass were, that the Priest did offer an oblation and Sacrifice for the sins and offences both of himself, and of the People; for them that were dead, and for the salvation of the living; and that the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ was health both of Body and Soul.

The Vicar Answered, that was to be understood of the communion of Christs Body and Blood with his Church or People. So after much exhortation unto me that I should be conformable to the true Catholick Church (which, as they meant was the Romish Church) I departed, not consenting unto them.

So within a day or twain came to me Master More, bringing with him certain Articles, whereunto Doctor Cromwell had consented and subscribed in the presence of certain witnesses in the days of K. Henry the Eighth, and willed me to read them over, and asked me whether I would consent and subscribe unto those Articles: and after communication had of one or two of the said Articles, I confessed plainly I would in no wise consent and subscribe to those Articles: for then I did against mine own Conscience; and so he departed.

So within a short space after, which was on Shier-thurday, the said Parson and Vicar sent for me again, saying, my Lord would be at a short point with me: for if I would not consent and subscribe unto four Articles drawn out of the Articles aforesaid, I must go to prison straightways.

The first was, whether the Mass now used in the Church of England was according to Christs Institution, and with faith, reverence, and devotion to be heard and seen?

The second, whether the Almighty, by the words pronounced by the Priest, did change the Bread and Wine after the words of Consecration into the Body and Blood of Christ, whether it were received or reserved?

Thirdly, whether the lay People ought to receive but under the form of Bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?

Fourthly, whether Confession to the Priest now used in England were godly and necessary?

These four Questions or Articles they delivered me in writing, and bade me go to my chamber and subscribe my Answers with mine own hand, and come again. So within one half hour I came to them again, and delivered them the Questions with mine Answers. The first I denied. The second I answered, as I did to my Lord afore, and as is above written. To the third I answered, that the lay People by Christs institution ought to receive under both kinds, and that it sufficeth not them to receive under the one kind only. Fourthly, that though confession auricular were a commodious mean to instruct the rude People, yet it was not necessary nor commanded of God.

They much exhorted me then to leave mine opinions, saying; I was much deceived, understanding the Scriptures amiss, and much counselled me to follow the Catholick Church of Christ, and to do as other did. I answered, my Faith in Christ conceived by his holy Word I neither could nor would deny, alter, or change, for any living creature whatsoever he were, desiring them to speak to my Lord, that during my life and imprisonment my Poor Friends might be suffered to relieve me with necessary things according to their powers. And so after much exhortation of them, to do and believe as the Catholick Church did, we departed; I from thence forth continuing in the Porters ward, not coming forth of my chamber, saving at noon and night while I dined and supped.

Upon one of the Easter Holy days Master Sherburn and Master More sent for me, perswading me much to leave mine opinions; saying, all the bringers up and favourers of that Religion had evil luck, and were either put to death or in prison, and in Danger of Life. Again, the favourers of the Religion now used had wondrous good

luck and prosperity in all things: with many other Wordly reasons of mans Wisdom; for as for the Scriptures M. Sherburn confessed himself Ignorant.

I answered, that I believed and leaned only to the Scriptures, not judging things by Prosperity or Adversity: but they earnestly advised me to refuse mine opinions, and not to let for any Worldly Shame.

I answered, that that which I did, I did not for the avoiding of any Wordly shame, saying; My Soul and Life were dearer to me than the avoiding of any Worldly Shame: neither yet did I it for any vain praise of the World, but in thereverent fear of God.

Then M. More questioned with me of receiving the Sacrament under the one kind. I said, Christs Institution was plain, that all men should Drink of the Cup. Then he told me of the 24. of Luke, and the 20. of the Acts, where was but mention of Breaking Bread only: whereof he gathered, that they received the Sacrament but under one kind.

That I denied saying, those places either did not speak of the Celebration of the Lords Supper, or else under the Name of Breaking Bread was signified and meant the receiving of the Sacrament, both of the Body and Blood of Christ, according to his Institution. So after much communication of that matter, M. Sherburn said, It was great pity that I being a wellfavoured young man, and one that might have good living and do good, would so foolishly call my self away, sticking so hard to such foolish opinions.

I answered as afore I had done to my Lord and to his Council, that my Life, Mother, Children, Brethren, Sisters, and Friends, with other delights of Life, were as dear and sweet unto me as unto any other man, and that I would be as loath to lose them as another would, if I might hold them with good Conscience, and without the Ignominy of Christ; and seeing I could not do that, my trust was, that God would strengthen me with his Holy Spirit to lose them all for his sake: for I take my self (said I) for a Sheep appointed to be slain, patiently to suffer what Cross soever it shall please my merciful Father to lay on me. And so after I had desired them that if I were committed to prison my Friends might be suffered to relieve me, they departed.

M. More after this brought unto me a book of one Alphonsus a Spanish Friar, of all heresies wherewith the Church of Rome, which he called Christs true Church, had been troubled since Christs time, willing me to read and take Counsel of that Book; and appointed me a place, where this Author did write against them that say, the lay people ought to receive under both kinds.

This Author I perceived did vehemently write against Luther, Melancthon, Pelican; and other Germanes of this our time, in all points defending the blasphemous abuses and enormities of the Romish Church, condemning as detestable Heresies whatsoever was written, taught, or believed contrary to the same, using for his strongest and surest Arguments, the Consent, Agreement, and Determination of the Romish Church. So within a few days M. More came to me again, asking me how I liked the Book. I said the Author of the Book did in all points, being a Papist, allow the Rites and abuses of the Romish Church; and shewed him further, that this Author without Authority, and contrary both to the Scriptures and old Doctors, did condemn for Heresies the lay people receiving of this Sacrament under both kinds, whereas this Author witnesseth his own self, Christs Church nine hundred years after Christ used the contrary.

So in conclusion he rebuked me, saying I was unlearned, and erred from the Catholick Faith, stubborn, and stood altogether in mine own conceit. I answered, for my learning, I knowledge myself to know nothing but Jesus Christ, even him that was crucified, and that my Faith was grounded upon Gods holy Word only, and such as, I doubted not, pleased God, and as I would stand in until the last day, God assisting me, and that I did not lay or do any thing either of stubbornness, self-willfulness, vain-glory, or any other Worldly purpose, but with good Conscience, and in the fear of God, and desired him to speak to my Lord and his Council, that might find some gentleness and mercy at their hands. He made me short

The Articles of D. Cromwell consented and subscribed in the presence of certain witnesses in the days of K. Henry the Eighth, and willed me to read them over, and asked me whether I would consent and subscribe unto those Articles: and after communication had of one or two of the said Articles, I confessed plainly I would in no wise consent and subscribe to those Articles: for then I did against mine own Conscience; and so he departed.

Four Popish Articles for Marth to subscribe unto 1. Mass.

2 Transubstantiation.

3 Receiving to one kind.

4 Confession.

G. Marth denieth the Articles.

G. Marth adhered to the Catholick Church.

M. Sherburn and M. More exhorters of G. Marth.

Christs Bread is not to be eaten by one kind.

G. Marth to receive to one kind.

Alphonsus: a Spanish Friar, of all heresies wherewith the Church of Rome, which he called Christs true Church, had been troubled since Christs time, willing me to read and take Counsel of that Book; and appointed me a place, where this Author did write against them that say, the lay people ought to receive under both kinds.

M. More judgment of Alphonsus in book.

that answer. I than I said, I commit my cause unto God, who hath numbered the hairs of my head, and appointed the days of my life, saying; I am sure God which is a righteous Judge, would make inquisition for my Blood, according as he hath promised. Then he took his book from me, and departed.

I continued still in ward until Low Sunday, and after dinner my Keeper Richard Scot came to me into my Chamber, and told me that two young men were come to carry me to Lancaster, and so delivered me unto them, a great company both of my Lords Servants and others, accompanying and bringing me on the way, unto Richard Adderions, and somewhat further, counselling and persuading like as is aforesaid.

To whom I made plain answer, that in matters of Faith I would give place to no earthly creature. So they comforted me, and said that they were sorry for me, saying; If I knew mine opinion to be good, I did well, and so they departed, willing my bringers to intreat me honestly.

My bringers by the way shewed me they were willed and advised to bind me, and that they desired first to see me: and after they had looked on me sitting at dinner, they answered they would take charge of me being loose; for they said I seemed to be an honest man.

The first night we were all night at Broughton, and the second day we came to Lancaster betimes at afternoon, and so they kept me all night with them of their Gentleness, and on the morrow delivered me to the Jaylor, who brought me into the highest prison, where I do remain.

After that, the said George came to Lancaster Castle, and there being brought with other prisoners unto the Sessions, was made to hold up his hand with the malefactors. The Earl of Darby had this communication with him as here followeth.

Communication between George Marth, and the Earl of Darby.

I said unto my Lord, I had not dwelled in the Country these three or four years past, and came home but lately to Visit my Mother, Children, and other my Friends, and to have departed out of the Country before Easter then next, and to have gon out of the Realm. Wherefore I trusted, being nothing could be laid against me, wherein I had offended against the Laws of this Realm, his Lordship would not with captious Questions examine me, to bring my Body into danger of Death, to the great discomfort of my Mother, but suffer me to avoid peaceably, seeing I might have fled out of the Country, and yet of mine own will came to his Lordship.

He said to his Counsel, he had heard tell of me above at London; and intended to make search for me, and take me either in Lancashire or above at London, and asked me into what Land I would have gon.

I answered, I would have gon either into Almain, or else into Denmark. He said to his Counsel; in Denmark they used such Herckie as they have don in England; but as for Almain, he said the Emperor had destroyed them.

So after such like words I said unto him, my trust was, that his Lordship being of the Honourable Council of the late King Edward, consenting and agreeing to Acts concerning Faith toward God and Religion, under great pain, would not so soon after consent to put poor men to Shameful Death, as he had threatened me for embracing the same with so good a Conscience.

He answered, that he, with the Lord Windsor and Lord Deeres, with one mo, whose name I have forgotten, did not consent to those Acts, and that the names of them four would be to be seen, as long as the Parliament House stood. Then my Lord did rehearse the evil luck of the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, with others, because they favoured not the true Religion; and again the good hap and prosperity of the Queens Highness, because she favoured the true Religion, thereby gathering the one to be good, and of God, and the other to be wicked, and of the Devil, and said that the Duke of Northumberland confessed so plainly.

George Marth to the Reader.

Forasmuch as not only when I was at Latham, but also, since I departed thence, I hear that there be divers and sundry Reports and Opinions of the cause of mine imprisonment, as well at Latham as at Lancaster (as by credible persons I am informed) some saying it was only because I would not do open penance, and some because I could not agree with my Lord and his Council concerning the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, and the manner of Christs presence there, some because I would not grant it sufficient, and according to Christs Institution, the lay-people to receive the said Sacrament under the one kind only: I thought it good, dearly Beloved in Christ, and my bounden Duty, to certify you by mine own hand-writing, of mine Examination and handling at Latham, and to tell you the truth as near as I could, to quiet your mind in this behalf; and therefore I have here written with mine own hand the Certainty of those things, as near as I could, here above expressed, not omitting any thing at all concerning Religion, whereof they did examine me: how be it I perceive in some things I keep not the same order in writing that thing which was asked by them, and answered by me afore or after, as it was in very deed in all points, saving this, telling the truth as near as I can, desiring you to accept in good worth this my good will, and to pray for me and all them that be in bonds, that God would assist us with his Holy Spirit; and that we may with boldness Confess his Holy Name; and that Christ may be Magnified in our Bodies, that we may stand full and perfect in all the will of God; to whom be all Honour and Glory World without end, Amen.

And thus you have heard all the whole trouble which George Marth sustained both at Latham, and also at Lancaster, testified and written with his own hand, where to he addeth moreover, and faith:

While I was, faith he, in ward at Latham, divers at sundry times came unto me. Some said unto me that all my fellows had recanted, and were gon home, whereas indeed that was not so; for I saw divers of them divers times after. Other said, that it was reported amongst my Lords Household, that I had consented and agreed in all things with my Lord and his Council.

Furthermore, while I was at Lancaster, at this Session many came to me to talk with me, some of good will towards me, but without knowledge gave me such like Counsel as Peter gave Christ as he went up to Jerusalem, when he took him aside and began to rebuke him, saying; Master, favour thyself, this thing shall not be unto thee. But I answered with Christs sharp answer unto Peter again; who turned about, and said unto Peter, Come after me Satan: and perceiving that they were an hinderance unto me, and that they favoured not the things which are of God, but the things that are of men, I made them plain answer, that I neither could, nor would follow their Counsel, but that by Gods grace I would both live and die with a pure conscience, and according as hitherto I had believed and professed. For we ought in no wise to flatter and bear with them, though they love us never so well, which go about to pluck us away from the obedience that we owe unto God and to his word, but after Christs example sharply to rebuke them for their Council.

Some others, yea even strangers also came to me far unlike to these, who after sober communication had, consented with me in all things, lamenting much my troublesome estate giving me Comfortable words, and some money too, and referred to me oftentimes, for the space of two, three, or four days. There came also many Priests to me, by two, three, four, five, or fix at once, whose mouths it was a thing easie enough to stop; for the Priests (which is much to be lamented) be not always the greatest Clerks, and best learned in the Law of God. At their departing they either consented with me, or els had nothing to say against me, saying they could find no fault with my words. My communication with them

Marth carried to Lancaster Castle.

G. Marth caused to hold up his hand at Lancaster amongst other prisoners.

Talk between G. Marth, and the Earl of Darby.

The Earl of Darby charged the Rescuer of Denmark, or Herckie.

The Earl of Darby Lord Windsor, and Lord Deeres in R. Edwards time agreed not to the Acts of Religion.

Anno

1555

G. Marth writeth his own examination.

Peter Counsel to Christ to save himself.

G. Marth followeth Christs answer to Peter.

Priests note always the greatest Clerks.

Anno
1555.G. Marth
dressed
in Prison
with the
boldness
of Gods Spirit.

then was about the Sacrament. There came also into the Prison to me Mr. Westby, Mr. Ashton of Hall, Mr. Ashton of Chatterton, and many more, both Gentlemen and others, to my great comfort. Unto whom I had good occasion to utter a great part of my Confidence: for God so strengthened me with his Spirit of Boldness according to my humble Request and Prayer before (everlasting Thanks be given him therefore) that I was nothing afraid to speak to any that came to me, no not even to Judges themselves, before whom I was thrice arraigned at the Bar, amongst the Thieves, with Irons on my feet, and put up my hand as other did; but yet with boldness I spake unto them so long as they would suffer me.

They also sent for me the fourth time into their Chamber, where amongst other things they laid it straitly to my charge, that I had reported, that I knew a whole Meis of good Gentlemen in Lancashire of mine Opinion, and thrice charged me, upon pain of Allegiance to the Queens Grace, to shew who they were. But I denied that I had spoken any such thing (as it was indeed a false forged Lye of some wicked Wretches). After that, they threatened and rebuked me, for my Preaching to the People out of the Prison, as they called it, and for my Praying and Reading so loud, that the People in the Streets might hear. The truth is, I and my Prison-Fellow Warborton, every day kneeling on our Knees, did read Morning and Evening Prayer, with the English Litany every day twice, both before Noon and after, with other Prayers more, and also read every day certain Chapters of the Bible, commonly towards Night: and we read also these things with so high and loud a voice, that the People without in the Streets might hear us, and would oftentimes, namely in the Evenings, come and sit down in our lights under the Windows and hear us read, wherewith others being offended, complained.

All this while George Marth was not yet brought before the Bishop, whose name was Doctor Cotes, placed the same time in the Bishoprick of Chester. Of whose coming then into Lancaster, the said George Marth reporteth himself as followeth.

How the Bishop came to Lancaster, and of his doings there.

D. Cotes Bishop of Chester.

The Bishop judges Marth to be an Heretic, before he hearth him. His Judgment of Bishops received by Gods Word.

The unmerciful threats of the Bishop towards G. Marth in Prison.

The School-master of Lancaster rebuked for coming to Marth in Prison. Popish Bishops declare themselves by their threats to be very Enemies to Gods Word.

The Bishop being at Lancaster, there set up and confirmed all blasphemous Idolatry, as Holy-Water casting, Procession, Gadding, Martins mumbing, Children confirming, Mass hearing, Idols up setting, with such Heathenish Rites forbidden by God; but no Gospel-Preaching, which Christ, Gods Son, so earnestly commanded. He was informed of me, and willed to send for me and examine me. Which thing he refused to do, saying he would have nothing to do with Heretics so hastily: So hasty in Judgment, and calling men Heretics, are our Bishops in their Lordly Dignities, afore they hear or see what is to be amended or condemned, contrary to the express Commandment of Gods Word, which saith, *Condemn no man before thou hast tried out the Truth of the matter, and when thou hast made Inquisition, then reform righteously.* Give no Sentence before thou hast heard the Cause, but first let them tell out their Tale: and be that giveth Sentence in a matter before he hear it, is a Fool, and worthy to be confounded.

And instead of his liberality towards me poor Prisoner, he sent for the Jaylor, and rebuked him because he suffered me to fare so well, willing him to have me more strictly kept and dieted: but if his Lordship were Tabled but one Week with me, I do think he would judge our Fare but slender enough.

Also he, and his Chaplains and Chancellor did find fault with the School-master and others, for speaking to me as to a most heinous Heretic, and also with the Jaylor for suffering them. Such is the mercy that those Religious Fathers shew to the Friendless and Comfortless in their Adversities. If we may know the Tree by the fruits (as Christ saith) no man can judge such for any other, but for very Enemies to Christ and his true Religion. God lay it never to their charges, but forgive them, and turn their hard hearts, if it be his will.

But it is no new thing for the Bishops to persecute the

Truth, and the Prophets of the Lord for their constancy in Preaching of the true Faith; for so did their Patriarchal Fore-fathers, if ye mark well the Histories of the Holy Bible. *Paulus* was the head Bishop of the Temple, the Ring-leader of false Prophets, the chief Heretic-taker, that is as much as to say, the Out-thruster of true Godliness. After that the Dignity of Priesthood was given unto him, he abused it. For he taught not, neither reproveth by the Word, but feared the godly with Cruelty. He not only strook, but also imprisoned the holy Prophet *Jeremy*, though he withstood him not, but presently looked for the help of God, steadfastly preaching the Truth of God.

What mischief the ungracious Bishop *Jasen* wrought among the *Jews*, destroying all Godliness, and setting up abominable Idolatrous Laws, ye may read in the fourth Chapter of the second of *Maccabees*. How the execrable and blind Bishops, *Amas* and *Caiphas*, which never spake the Truth of God themselves, unless it were against their wills, unwittingly to their utter destruction, how (I say) they pressed the Truth in Christ and his Apostles, is so well known that I need not to rehearse it.

And thus much hitherto concerning the Prisonment of *George Marth*, and his Examinations before the Earl of *Dorby* and his Deputies above-named. Now proceeding further in the troublesome Persecution of this blessed man, let us likewise consider the later part of his Troubles and Examinations which followed under the Bishop of the same Diocese, which was Doctor *Cotes*; the effect whereof being drawn out of his own Writing, here briefly is to be seen, as followeth.

The Troubles and Examination of George Marth under D. Cotes Bishop of Chester.

YE heard before how *George Marth* being first imprisoned at *Latham*, and afterward translated unto *Lancaster*, was troubled by the Earl. Again, within few days after, the said *Marth* was removed from *Lancaster*, and coming to *Chester*, was sent for by Dr. *Cotes* then Bishop to appear before him in his Hall, no Body being present but they twain; and then he asked him certain Questions concerning the Sacrament: who made such Answers as the Bishop seemed therewith to be content, saying that he utterly denied Transubstantiation, and allowed not the abuse of the Mass, nor that the Lay-people should receive under one kind only, contrary to Christs Institution; in which point the Bishop went about to persuade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vain. Much other talk he had with him, to move him to submit himself to the Universal Church of *Rome*; and when he saw he could not prevail, he sent him to Prison again: and after being there, came to him divers times one *Messie*, a Fatherly old Man, one *Wrench* the School-Master, one *Hensham* the Bishops Chaplain, and the Arch-deacon, with many more; who with all probability of Words and Philosophy, or worldly Wisdom and deceitful Vanity, after the Tradition of Men, and the beggarly Ordinances and Laws of the World, but not after Christ as it were all singing one Song) went about to persuade him to submit himself to the Church of *Rome*, and to acknowledge the Pope to be Head thereof, and to interpret the Scriptures none otherwise than that Church did; with many such like Arguments and persuasions of fleshly Wisdom.

To whom the said *George Marth* answered, that he did acknowledge and believe (though much Evil be withal annexed) one holy Catholick and Apostolick Church, without which there is no Salvation, and that this Church is but one, because it ever hath, doth, and shall confess and believe one only God, and him only worship, and one only Messiah, and in him only trust for Salvation: which Church also is ruled and led by one Spirit, one Word, and one Faith, and that this Church is Universal and Catholick, because it ever hath been since the Worlds beginning, is, and shall endure to the Worlds end, and comprehending within it all Nations, Kindreds and Languages, degrees, states, and conditions of Men; and that this Church is builded only upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head Corner-stone, and not upon the *Romish* Laws and Decrees, the Bishop of *Rome* being the Supreme Head.

No new thing for Bishops to be persecutors. Examples of persecuting Bishops in the old time.

Bishop Jasen. Bishop Amas and Caiphas.

G. Marth appears before the Bishop.

Great labour to make G. Marth to recant.

The Church Apostolick. The Church, how it is called.

The Name, Constitution, and End of the true Church.

And

The nature, condition, and notes of the false Church.

Confession of the false Church, fully described.

Examples declaring the true Church. The false Church ever greater in number.

G. Marsh again brought before the Bishop and his Colleagues.

The Bishop with his Colleagues sitting upon G. Marsh.

Marsh sworn to answer before the Bishop.

G. Marsh purgeth himself.

The Bishops Clergy more able to examine than to dispute.

And where they said, the Church did stand in ordinary succession of Bishops, being ruled by General Councils, Holy Fathers, and the Laws of Holy Church, and so had continued by the space of fifteen hundred years and more; he made answer, that the holy Church, which is the Body of Christ, and therefore most worthy to be called Holy, was before any succession of Bishops, General Councils, or *Romish* Decrees; neither yet was bound to any time or place, ordinary Succession, General Councils, or Traditions of Fathers, either had any Supremacy over Empires and Kingdoms: but that it was a little poor silly Flock, dispersed and scattered abroad, as Sheep without a Shepherd in the midst of Wolves, or as a Flock of Orphans and Fatherless Children; and that this Church was led and ruled by the only Laws, Councils, and Word of Christ, he being the Supreme Head of this Church, and assisting, succouring and defending her from all Assaults, Errors, Troubles and Persecutions, wherewith she is ever compassed about.

He shewed and proved unto them also by the Flood of *Noah*, the destruction of *Sodom*, the *Israelites* departing out of *Egypt*; by the Parables of the Sower, of the Kings Sons Marriage, of the great Supper, and by other plain Sentences of Scripture, that this Church was of none estimation, and little in comparison of the Church of Hypocrites and wicked Wordlings.

He was thrust at with all violence of craft and subtilty, but yet the Lord upheld him and delivered him. Everlasting thanks be to that merciful and faithful Lord, which suffereth us not to be tempted above our might, but in the midst of our troubles strengtheneth us with his most Holy Spirit of Comfort and Patience, giveth us a mouth and wisdom how and what to speak; whereagainst all his Adversaries were not able to resist.

Another appearance of George Marsh before the Bishop.

NOW, after that the said Bishop had taken his pleasure in punishing this his Prisoner, and often reviling him, giving taunts and odious names of Heretick, &c. he caused him to be brought forth into a Chappell, in the Cathedral Church of *Chelster*, called our *Lady Chappell*, before him the said Bishop, at two of the Clock in the Afternoon, who was there placed in a Chair for that purpose, and *Fulk Dutton* Mayor of the said City, Dr. *Wall*, and other Priests assisting him, placed not far from the said Bishop, but somewhat lower. *George Wensloe* Chancellor, and one *John Gerham* Register, late directly over against the said Bishop.

Then they caused the said *George Marsh* to take an Oath upon a Book, to answer truly unto such Articles as should be objected against him. Upon which Oath taken, the Chancellor laid unto his charge, that he had preached and openly published most heretically and blasphemously within the Parish of *Dean, Eccles, Bolton, Berry*, and many other Parishes within the Bishops Diocesis, in the Months of *January, February*, or some other time of the year last, proceeding directly against the Popes Authority and Catholick Church of *Rome*, the blessed Mass, the Sacrament of the Altar, and many other Articles. Unto all which in sum he answered, That he neither heretically nor blasphemously preached or spake against any of the said Articles; but simply and truly, as occasion served, and (as it were) thereunto forced in Conscience) maintained the Truth touching the same Articles, as (he said) all you now present did acknowledge the same in the time of the late King *Edward the Sixth*.

Then they examined him severally of every Article, and bade them answer directly Yea or Nay, without circumstance; for they were come to Examine, and not to Dispute at that present.

Then he answered them unto every Article very modestly, according to the Doctrine by publick Authority received, and taught in this Realm at the death of the said King *Edward*: whose Answers were every one noted and written by the Register, to the uttermost that could make against him, which cannot at this present be gotten. After this, the Company for that time brake up, and he was returned to his Prison again.

The last and final appearance of George Marsh before the Bishop.

Within three Weeks after this, or thereabouts, in the said Chappell, and in like sort as before, the said Bishop and others before-named, there being assembled, the said *G. Marsh* was brought by the Keeper and others with Bills and divers Weapons before them; where first the said Chancellor, by way of an Oration, declared unto the People present the said Bishops charge and burning Charity, who even like as a good Shepherd doth see to his Flock, that none of his Sheep have the Scab or other disease for infecting other clean Sheep, but will fave and cure the said scabbed Sheep: so his Lordship had sent for the said *G. Marsh* there present, as a scabbed Sheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in shewing his charitable disposition toward the said *Marsh*, to reduce him from his naughty Heresies; but all that he could do would not help: so that he was now determined, if the said *Marsh* would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give Sentence definitive against him. Wherefore he bade the said *George Marsh* to be now well advised what he would do, for it stood upon his life: and if he would not at that present forsake his Heretical Opinions, it would be (after the Sentence given) too late, though he would never so gladly desire it.

Then the said Chancellor first asked him, whether he were not one of the Bishops Diocesis? To the which he answered, That he knew not how large his Diocesis was, for his continuance was at *Cambridge*. But then they replied and asked, whether he had not lately been at *Deane* Parish in *Lancashire*, and there abode? And he answered, Yea.

Then the Chancellor read all his former Answers that he made in that place at his former Examination, and at every one he asked him, whether he would stick to the same, or no? To the which he answered again, Yea, yea.

How say ye then to this, quoth the Chancellor? In your last Examination, amongst many other damnable and schismatical Heresies, you said, That the Church and Doctrine taught and set forth in King *Edward's* time, was the true Church, and the Doctrine of the true Church, and that the Church of *Rome* is not the true and Catholick Church.

I so said indeed, quoth *Marsh*, and I believe it to be true. Here also others took occasion to ask him (for that he denied the Bishop of *Rome's* Authority in *England*) whether *Linus, Anacletus*, and *Clement*, that were Bishops of *Rome*, were not good men, and he answered, Yes, and divers others: but (said he) they claimed no more Authority in *England*, than the Bishop of *Canterbury* doth at *Rome*; and I strive not, quoth he, with the place, neither speak I against the person of the Bishop, but against his Doctrine, which in most points is repugnant to the Doctrine of Christ.

Thou art an arrogant Fellow indeed then, said the Bishop. In what Article is the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* repugnant to the Doctrine of Christ?

To whom *George Marsh* answered and said, Oh my Lord, I pray you judge not so of me: I stand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my case hath no cause to be Arrogant, neither am I, God is my Record. And as concerning the disagreement of the Doctrine, among many other things the Church of *Rome* erreth in the Sacrament. For where Christ in the Institution thereof did as well deliver the Cup, as the Bread, saying, *Drink ye all of this*, and *Mark* reported, that they did drink of it: in like manner *S. Paul* delivered it unto the *Corinthians*. And in the same sort also was it used in the Primitive Church by the space of many hundred years. Now the Church of *Rome* doth take away one part of the Sacrament from the Laity. Wherefore, if I could be persuaded in my Conscience by Gods Word that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point.

Then said the Bishop, *Non disputandum est cum Hæretico*, that is, *There is no disputing with an Heretick*. And therefore when all his Answers were read, he asked him whether he would stand to the same; being as they were, said he, full of Heresie, or else forsake them, and come unto the Catholick Church.

Anno

1555.

The last appearance of Marsh before the Bishop.

The Chancellors Oration.

Interrogatories put to G. Marsh.

Note here the great Heresie of G. Marsh.

Argument.

Linus and Anacletus were good men.

Says the Pope is the Supreme Head of all Churches.

Neither the place nor person of the Pope spoken against, but only his Doctrine.

Wherein the Doctrine of the Church of Rome erreth.

So faith the Task in his *retico*, that is, *There is no disputing with an Heretick*. And therefore when all his Answers were read, he asked him whether he would stand to the same; being as they were, said he, full of Heresie, or else forsake them, and come unto the Catholick Church.

Ann^o 1555. To whom he made this full answer, and said, That he held no Heretical Opinion, but utterly abhorred all kind of Heresie, although they most untruly so did slander him. And he desired all the People present to bear him witness (if hereafter any would slander him, and say that he held any grievous Heresie) that in all Articles of Religion he held none other Opinion than was by Law most godly established, and publickly taught in England at the death of King Edward the Sixth, and in the same pure Religion and Doctrine he would, by Gods Grace, stand, live and dye. And here the Chancellor spake to one *Leach*, which stood near unto *Marth*, and bade him stand farther from him: for his preference did him no good.

This being done, the Bishop took a Writing out of his bosom, and began to read the Sentence of Condemnation: but when the Bishop had read almost half thereof, the Chancellor called him, and said, Good my Lord, stay, stay: for if ye proceed any farther, it will be too late to call it again, and so the Bishop stayed. Then his Popish Priests, and many other of the ignorant People, called upon *Marth*, with many earnest words, to recant, and amongst other one *Pallesyn* a Shoe-maker said to him, For shame man remember thy self, and recant. They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him: So they kneeled down, and he desired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

The Bishop then asked him again, whether he would not have the Queens mercy in time; and he answered, he did gladly desire the same, and did love her Grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he durst not deny his Saviour Christ, for losing his Mercy everlasting, and so win everlasting Death.

Then the Bishop put his Spectacles again upon his Nose, and read forward his Sentence about five or six Lines, and there again the Chancellor with a glowering and smiling Countenance called to the Bishop, and said, Yet, good my Lord once again stay, for if that word be spoken all is past, no relenting will then serve: and the Bishop (pulling off his Spectacles) said, I would stay, if it would be.

How fast thou speakest, wilt thou Recant? Many of the Priests and ignorant People bade him do so, and call to God for Grace; and pulled him by the Sleeve, and bade him recant and save his life. To whom he answered, I would as fain live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my Master Christ, and again he should deny me before his Father in Heaven.

So the Bishop read out his Sentence unto the end, and strait after said unto him, Now will I no more pray for thee, than I will for a Dog. And *Marth* answered, That notwithstanding he would pray for his Lordship: and after this the Bishop delivered him unto the Sheriffs of the City. Then his late Keeper bade him farewell good *George*, with weeping Tears, which caused the Officers to carry him to a Prison at the North-Gates, where he was very straitly kept until the time he went to his Death, during which time he had small comfort, or relief of any worldly Creature.

For being in the Dungeon or dark Prison, none that would him good could speak with him, or at least durst undertake to do for fear of Accusation: and some of the Citizens which loved him in God, for the Gospels sake (whereof there were but a few) although they were never acquainted with him, would sometime in the Evening at a hole upon the Wall of the City (that went into the said dark Prison) call to him, and ask him how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully, that he did well, and thanked God most highly, that he would vouchsafe of his mercy to appoint him to be a Witness of his Truth, and to suffer for the same, wherein he did most rejoice; beseeching him that he would give him Grace not to faint under the Cross, but patiently bear the same to his glory and comfort of his Church: with many other like godly sayings at sundry times, as one that most desired to be with Christ. Once or twice he had Money cast him in at the same hole, about Ten pence at one time, and Two shillings at another time: for which he gave God thanks, and used the same to his necessity.

When the time and day appointed came that he should suffer, the Sheriffs of the City, whose names were *Am*

and *Casper*, with their Officers and a great number of poor simple Barbers with rusty Bills and Poll-Axes, went to the North-Gate, and there took out the said *George Marth*, who came with them most humbly and meekly, with a Lock upon his feet. And as he came upon the way towards the place of Execution, some Folks proffered him Money, and looked that he should have gone to his Martyrdom with a little Purse in his hand (in the manner of Felons was accustomed in that City in those parts, at their going to Execution) to the end to gather Money to give unto a Priest to say Trentals or Masses for them after their death, whereby they might, as they thought, be saved: but *Marth* said, he would not as then be troubled with meddling with Money, but willed some good Man to take the Money, if the People were disposed to give any, and to give it unto the Prisoners or poor People. So he went all the way unto his death with his Book in his hand, looking upon the same; and many of the People said, This man goeth not unto his death as a Thief, or as one that deserveth to dye.

Now when he came to the place of Execution without the City, near unto *Spittle-Bow-brook*, one *Candrey* being then a Deputy Chamberlain of *Chester*, shewed *Marth* a Writing under a Great Seal, saying, That it was a Pardon for him if he would recant. Whereat *Marth* answered, That he would gladly accept the same (and said farther, that he loved the Queen) but so much as it tended to pluck him from God, he would not receive it upon that condition.

After that, he began to speak to the People, shewing the cause of his Death, and would have exhorted him to stick unto Christ. Whereupon one of the Sheriffs said: *George Marth*, we must have no Sermoning now. To whom he said, Master, I cry you mercy: and kneeling down made his Prayers, and then put off his Clothes unto a shirt, and then was he chained to the Post, having a number of Faggots under him, and a thing made like a Firkin, with Pitch and Tar in the same over his Head: and by reason the Fire was not skillfully made, and that the Wind did drive the same to and fro, he suffered great extremity in his death, which notwithstanding he abode very patiently.

Wherein this in him is to be noted, That when as he had been a long time tormented in the Fire without moving, having his Flesh so broiled and puffed up, that they which stood before him underneath could see the Chain Martyr, wherewith he was fastened, and therefore supposed no less but he had been dead, notwithstanding suddenly he spread abroad his Arms, saying, Father of Heaven have mercy upon me, and so yielded his Spirit into the hands of the Lord.

Upon this, many of the People said that he was a Martyr, and died marvellously patiently and godly. Which thing caused the Bishop shortly after to make a Sermon in the Cathedral Church, and therein affirmed, That the said *Marth* was an Heretick, burnt like an Heretick, and was a Fire-brand in Hell.

In recompence of this his good and charitable Sermon, within short time after, the just Judgment of God appeared upon the said Bishop, recompensing him in such wise, that not long after he turned up his heels and died. Upon what cause his death was gendred, I have not here precisely to pronounce, because the rumor and voice of the People is not always to be followed. Notwithstanding such a Report went in all mens Mouths, that he was burned of an Harlot. Wherefore, whether he died for no, I am not certain, neither dare lean too much upon publick Speech. Albeit this is certain, that when he was afterward searched, being dead, by some of his secret Friends and certain Aldermen for stopping the rumor of the People, this Maidenly Priest and Bishop was found not to be free from certain appearance, which declared but small Virginity in him, and that the Rumor was not raised up altogether upon nought amongst the People. But of this I will stay, and proceed no further; not because more cannot be said, but because I will not be so uncharitable in defacing these Men, as they are true, in condemning Gods Servants to death.

Marth and Casper, with their Officers and a great number of poor simple Barbers with rusty Bills and Poll-Axes, went to the North-Gate, and there took out the said George Marth, who came with them most humbly and meekly, with a Lock upon his feet.

Marth said, he would not as then be troubled with meddling with Money, but willed some good Man to take the Money, if the People were disposed to give any, and to give it unto the Prisoners or poor People.

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Anno
1555.

The cruell burning of George Marth, Martyr.



The burning of William Flower at Wylnunster; 24 of April 1555



Letters of George Marth

This good Man wrote divers and sundry Letters out of Prison, besides his Examinations, as before ye have heard. Touching the which his Examinations, this Letter first he fenseth to his Friends, the Copy whereof here followeth.

A Letter of G. Marth to the Reader, touching the matter of his Examination.

A Letter of
G. Marth
to the Re-
der.

Here have you, dearly beloved Friends in Christ, the chief and principal Articles of Christian Doctrine briefly touched, which heretofore I have both believed, professed and taught, and as yet do believe, profess and teach, and am surely purposed by Gods Grace, to continue in the same until the last day. I do want both time and opportunity to write out at large the probations, causes, parts, effects, and contraries or errors of these Articles, which whose desireth to know, let them read over the common places of the godly Learned men, Philip Melancthon and Erasmus Sarcerius, whose Judgment in these matters of Religion, I do chiefly follow and lean unto. The Lord give us understanding in all things, and deliver us from this present evil World, according to his will and pleasure, and bring us again out of this Hell of Affliction, into which it hath pleased the merciful Lord to throw us down: and deliver us out of the mouth of the Lion, and from all evil doing, and keep us unto his everlasting and heavenly Kingdom. Amen.

Though Satan be suffered as Wheat to sift us for a time, yet faileth not our Faith through Christs aid, but that we are at all times able and ready to confirm the Faith of our weak Brethren, and always ready to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the Hope that is in us, and that with meekness and reverence, having a good Conscience; and whenas they backbite us as Evil-doers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely accused our good Conversation in Christ. I thought my self now of late years, for the Cores of this life, well settled with my loving and faithful Wife and Children, and also well quitted in the peaceable possession of that pleasant Euphrates, I do confess it: but the Lord, who worketh all things for the best to them that love him, would not there leave me, but did take my dear and beloved Wife from me; whose death was a painful cross to my flesh.

Altho I thought my self now of late well placed in der

my most-loving and most gentle Mr. Lawrence Sanders, in the Cure of Langhton. But the Lord of his great mercy would not suffer me long there to continue (although for the small time I was in his Vineyard, I was not an idle workman.) But he hath provided me, I perceive it, to tast of a far other Cup; for by violence hath he yet once again driven me out of that glorious Babylon, that I should not tast too much of her wanton pleasures, but with his most dearly beloved Disciples to have my inward rejoicing in the Cross of his Son Jesus Christ: the glory of whose Church, I see it well, standeth not in the harmonious sound of Bells and Organs, nor yet in the glistering of Mitres and Copes, neither in the shining of gilt Images and Lights, (as the blind Papists do judge it) but in continual labours and daily afflictions for his Names sake.

God at this present here in England hath his Fan in his hand, and after his great Harvest, whereinto these years past he hath sent his Labourers, is now sifting the Corn from the Chaff and purging his floor, and ready to gather the Wheat into his Garner, and burn up the Chaff with unquenchable fire.

Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Scribes and of the Sadduces. I mean the erroneous Doctrine of the Papists, which with their glosses deprave the Scriptures. For as the Apostle St. Peter doth teach us, There shall be false Teachers amongst us, which privily shall bring in damnable Sects: And saith, that many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of Truth shall be evil spoken of, and that through covetousness they shall with fained words make merchandize of us; and Christ earnestly warneth us, to beware of false Prophets, which come to us in Sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves. By their fruits you shall know them. The fruits of the Prophets are their Doctrine. In this place are we Christians taught, that we should try the true Religion unto us, according to the saying of St. Paul, Try all things, and chuse that which is good. Also the Evangelist St. John saith, Believe not every Spirit, but prove the Spirits whether they be of God or not; for many false Prophets, saith he are gone out into the world. Therefore if thou wilt know the true Prophets from the false, try their Doctrine by the true Touch-stone, which is the Word of God: and as the godly Bereans did, search ye the Scriptures, whether those things which be preached unto you be even so or not; or else by the outward conversation if they may easily be deceived. Delecta fortassis aliqua.

G. Marth
Curee to
L. Sanders.

The glory
of the
Church
standeth not
in outward
lavours.

Anno

1555.

A Letter of

G. Marth

to the men of

Langhton.

A. 11.

D. 11.

Rom. 1.

A. 11.

Marth. 5.

True Salt

differed

from the

corrupt and

unlawful

Salt.

James 2.

Marth. 7.

Psalm 1.

Marth. 16.

1 Thes. 1.

True re-

ceivers of the

word, who

they be.

2 Tim. 1.

A. 11.

Marth. 5.

Marth. 7.

Mark 8.

Mortifica-

on and

bearing of

the Cross,

necessary for

all them

that will

reign with

Christ.

2 Thes. 1.

is verily

(saith the Apostle)

a righteous thing with God, to

A Letter Exhortatory of George Marth to the faithful Professors of Langhton.

Race be unto you, and Peace be multiplied in the knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

I thought it my duty to write unto you, my beloved in the Lord at Langhton, to stir up your minds, and to call to your remembrance the words which have been told you before, and to exhort you (as that good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, Barnabas did the Antiochians) that with purpose of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye stand fast, and be not moved away from the hope of the Gospel, whereof, God be thanked, ye have had plenteous preaching unto you by your late Pastor Mr. Sanders, and other faithful Ministers of Jesus Christ, which now, when Persecution ariseth because of the Word, do not fall away like shrinking Children, and forsake the Truth, being affamed of the Gospel whereof they have been Preachers, but are willing and ready for your fakes (which are Christs Mystical Body) to forsake not only the chief and principal Delights of this Life (I do mean) their Native Countries, Friends, Livings, &c. but also to fulfil their Ministry to the utmost, that is to wit, with their painful Imprisonments and Blood-sheddings, if need shall require, to confirm and seal Christs Gospel, whereof they have been Ministers; and (as S. Paul saith) they are ready not only to be cast into Prison, but also to be killed for the Name of the Lord Jesus.

Whether these being that good Salt of the Earth, that is, true Ministers of Gods Word, by whose Doctrine, being received through Faith, men are made savour unto God, and which themselves lose not their saltness, now when they be proved with the boisterous Storms of Adversity and Persecution; or others being that unsavoury Salt which hath lost his saltness, that is to wit, those ungodly Ministers, which do fall from the Word of God into the Dreams and Traditions of Antichrist: whether of these, I say, be more to be credited and believed, let all men judge.

Wherefore my dearly Beloved, receive the Word of God with meekness, that is grafted in you, which is able to save your Souls: And see that ye be not forgetful hearers, deceiving your selves with sophistry, but doers of the Word; whom Christ doth liken to a wise man, which buildeth his House on a Rock, that when the great Rain descended, and the Floods came and beat upon the House, it fell not, because it was grounded upon a Rock: this is to wit, that when Satan, with all his Legion of Devils, with all their subtle suggestions, and the World with all the mighty Princes thereof, with their crafty counsels, do furiously rage against us, we faint not, but abide constant in the Truth, being grounded upon a most sure Rock, which is Christ, and the Doctrine of the Gospel, against which the Gates of Hell, (that is, the power of Satan) cannot prevail.

And be ye followers of Christ and his Apostles, and receive the Word in much Affection (as the godly Theophylact saith) for the true Followers of Christ and the Apostles, be they which receive the Word of God. They only receive the Word of God, which both believe it, and also frame their lives after it, and be ready to suffer all manner of adversity for the name of the Lord, as Christ and all the Apostles did, and as all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must do: for there is none other way into the Kingdom of Heaven, but through much Tribulation. And if we suffer any thing for the Kingdom of Heavens sake, and for Righteousness sake, we have the Prophets, Christ, the Apostles and Martyrs for an example to comfort us: for they did all enter into the Kingdom of Heaven at the strait Gate and narrow way that leadeth unto Life, which few do find. And unless we will be content to deny our own selves, and take up the Cross of Christ, and his Saints, it is an evident Argument, that we shall never reign with him.

And again, if we can find in our hearts patiently to suffer Persecutions and Tribulations, it is a sure token of the righteous Judgment of God, that we are counted worthy of the Kingdom of God, for which we also suffer. It is verily (saith the Apostle) a righteous thing with God, to

recompence tribulation to them that trouble us, and rest to us that be troubled: For after this life, the godly being delivered from their tribulations and pains, shall have a most quiet and joyful rest: whereas the wicked and ungodly contrariwise shall be tormented for evermore with intolerable and unspeakable pains, as Christ by the Parable of the rich Glutton and wretched Lazzarus, doth plainly declare and teach. These ought we to have before our eyes always, that in the time of Adversity and Persecution (whereof all that will be the Children of God shall be partakers, and wherewith it hath pleased God to put some of us in ure already) we may stand steadfast in the Lord, and endure even unto the end, that we may be saved. For unless we, like good warriors of Jesus Christ, will endeavour our selves to please him, who hath chosen us to be Souldiers, and fight the good fight of Faith even unto the end, we shall not obtain that Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord, that is a righteous Judge, shall give to all them that love his coming.

Let us therefore receive with meekness the Word that is grafted in us, which is able to save our Souls, and ground our selves on the sure Rock Christ. For (as the Apostle saith) other foundation can no man lay, besides that which is laid already, which is Jesus Christ. If any man build on this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, timber, hay, stubble, every mans work shall appear, for the day shall declare it, and it shall be shewed in the fire. And the fire shall try every mans work what it is. If any mans work that he hath builded upon abide, he shall receive a reward: if any mans work burn, he shall suffer loss; but he shall be saved himself, nevertheless yet as it were through fire.

By Fire here doth the Apostle understand Persecution and Trouble, for they which do truly preach and profess the Word of God, which is called the Word of the Cross, shall be railed upon and abhorred, hated, thrust out of company, persecuted and tried in the Furnace of Adversity, as gold and silver are tried in the Fire.

By gold, silver, and precious stones, he understandeth them that in the midst of Persecution abide steadfast in the Word. By timber, hay, and stubble, are meant such as in time of Persecution do fall away from the Truth. And when Christ doth purge his floor with the wind of Adversity, these scatter away from the face of the Earth like light Chaff which shall be burned with unquenchable fire. If they then which do believe, do in time of Persecution stand steadfastly in the Truth, the Builder (I do mean the Preacher of the Word) shall receive a reward, and the work shall be preserved and saved: but if so be that they go back and swerve, when Persecution ariseth, the Builder shall suffer loss, that is to say, shall lose his labour and cost, but yet he shall be saved, if he, being tried in the Fire of Persecution, do abide fast in the Faith.

Wherefore, my Beloved, give diligent heed, that ye as living stones be builded upon this sure Rock, and be made a spiritual House and a holy Priesthood to offer up spiritual Sacrifices, acceptable unto God by Jesus Christ. For we are the true Temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in us, if so be that we continue in the Doctrine of the Gospel. We are also an holy and royal Priesthood, to offer up spiritual Sacrifices and Oblations; for the Sacrifices of the New Testament are spiritual and of three manners.

The first is the Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving, which S. Paul doth call the fruits of those lips which confess the Name of God.

The second is Mercy towards our Neighbours, as the Prophet Osee saith, I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice. Read the five and twentieth Chapter of Matthew.

The third is, when we make our Body a quick Sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, that is, when we mortifie and kill our fleshly Concupiscences and carnal Lusts, and so bring our flesh, through the help of the Spirit, under the obedience of Gods holy Law. This is a Sacrifice to God most acceptable, which the Apostle calleth Our reasonable serving of God. And let us be sure, that unless we do now at this present take better heed to our selves, and use thankfully the grace of God offered to us by the Gospel preached these years past, whereby we are induced and brought to the knowledge of the Truth; unless, I say, we keep Christ and his holy Word dwelling by Faith in the House and Temple of our hearts, the same thing that Christ threat-

Luke 14.

Heb. 12.

1 Tim. 2.

James 1.

1 Cor. 3.

Fire in

Scripture,

what it sig-

nifieth.

1 Cor. 3.

Luke 6.

Marth. 3.

Psalm 1.

The place of

S. Paul, 1 Cor.

3. expound-

ed.

Pet. 2.

1 Cor. 3.

Pet. 2.

Three sorts

of Sacrifices

of the New

Testament,

as the Job 11.

Osee 6.

Rom. 12.

Ephes. 3.

Marth. 14.

threateneth unto the Jews, shall happen unto us; that is to wit, the unclean Spirit of Ignorance, Superstition, Idolatry, and Inhability and Unbelief, the Mother and Head of all Vices, which by the Grace of God was cast out of us, bringing with him seven other Spirits worse than himself, shall to our utter destruction return again unto us: and so shall we be in worse case than ever we were before. For if we, after we have escaped from the filthiness of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, be yet tangled therein again and overcome, then is the latter end worse than the beginning: and it had been better for us not to have known the way of righteousness, than after we have known it, to turn from the holy Commandment given to us.

For it is then happened unto us according to the true Proverb, The Dog is turned to his Vomit again, and the Sow that was walked to wallowing in the Mire. And thus to continue and persevere in Inhability, and to kick against the manifest and known Truth, and so to dye without Repentance, and with a despair of the Mercy of God in Jesus Christ, is to sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come. For it is not possible (saith Saint Paul) that they which were once lightened, and have tasted of the heavenly Gift, and have tasted of the good Word of God, and of the Power of the World to come; if they fall away, should be renewed again by Repentance: Forasmuch as they have, as concerning themselves, crucified the Son of God again, making a mocking of him.

S. Pauls meaning in this place is, that they that believe truly and unfeignedly Gods Word, do continue and abide steadfast in the known Truth.

If any therefore fall away from Christ and his Word, it is a plain token that they were but dissembling Hypocrites for all their fair Faces outwardly, and never believed truly; as Judas, Simon Magnus, Demas, Hymeneus, Philetas, and others were, which all fell away from the known Verity, and made a mock of Christ: which S. Paul doth call here, to crucifie Christ anew, because that they turning to their old Vomit again, did most blasphemously tread the benefits of Christs Death and Passion under their feet. They that are such can in no wise be renewed by Repentance: For their Repentance is fleshly, as the Repentance of Cam, Saul, and Judas was, which being without godly comfort, breedeth desperation unto death. These are not of the number of the Elect: and as S. John doth say, *They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would have remained with us unto the end.* Also the Apostle saith in another place, *If we sin willingly after we have received the knowledge of the Truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a fearful looking for judgment and violent fire, which shall devour the Adversaries.*

They sin willingly, which of a set malice and purpose do withhold the Truth in Unrighteousness and Lying, kicking against the manifest and open known Truth, which although they do perfectly know that in all the World there is none other sacrifice for sin, but only that omni-sufficient sacrifice of Christs death: yet notwithstanding they will not commit themselves wholly unto it, but rather despise it, allowing other sacrifices for sin, invented by the imagination of man (as we see by daily experience) unto whom, if they abide still in their wickedness and sin, remaineth a most horrible and dreadful Judgment. This is that sin unto death, for which Saint John would that a man should pray.

Wherefore, my beloved in Christ, let us (on whom the ends of the world are come) take diligent heed unto our selves, that now in these last and perilous times (in which the Devil is come down, and hath great wrath because he knoweth his time is but short, and whereof the Prophets, Christ and the Apostles have so much spoken, and given us an earnest forewarning) we withhold not the Truth in Unrighteousness, believing, doing, or speaking any thing against our knowledge and confidence, or without Faith. For if we do so, for whatsoever cause it be, it is a wilful and obstinate infidelity, and a sin unto death: And as our Saviour Christ saith, *If ye believe not, ye shall die in your own sins.* For unless we hold fast the Word of Life, both believing it, and also bringing forth fruit worthy of Repentance, we shall

with the unprofitable Fig-tree, which did but cumber the ground, be cut down, and our Talent taken from us, and given unto another that shall put it to a better use: and we, through our own unthankfulness put from the Mercy of God, shall never be able to pay our Debts, that is to say, we shall altogether be lost and undone. For the Earth that drinketh in Rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth Herbs meet for them that dress it, receiveth blessing of God: but that ground that beareth Thorns and Briers, is reproveth and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned.

Nevertheless, dear Friends, we trust to see better of you, and things which accompany Salvation, and that ye being the good ground, watered with the moistness of Gods Word plentifully preached among you, will with a good heart hear the Word of God and keep it, bringing forth fruit with patience. And be none of those forgetful and hypocritical hearers, which although they hear the Word, yet the Devil cometh, and catcheth away that which was sown in their heart; either having no root in themselves, endure but a season, and as soon as Tribulation or Persecution ariseth because of the Word, by and by they are offended: either with the cares of this World and deceitfulness of Riches choke the Word, and so are unfruitful. Read the Parable of the Sower, and among other things note and mark, that the most part of the hearers of Gods Word are but Hypocrites, and hear the Word without any fruit or profit, yea, only to their greater condemnation; for only the fourth part of the Seed doth bring forth fruit. Therefore let not us that be Ministers, or Professors, and Followers of Gods Word, be discouraged, though that very few do give credit, and follow the Doctrine of the Gospel, and be saved.

Whoever therefore hath ears to hear, let him hear: To him that for whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away, even that he hath: that is to say, they that have a desire of Righteousness, and of the Truth, shall be more and more illuminated of God: on the contrary part, they that do not cover after Righteousness and Truth, are more hardened and blinded, though they seem unto themselves most wise. For God doth here follow an example of a loving Father, which when he seeth that fatherly love and correction doth not help towards his Children, useth another way. He ceaseth to be beneficial unto them, and to minister unto them fatherly correction: he giveth them over unto themselves, suffering them to live as they list themselves.

But we trust to see better of you, my dearly beloved, and that ye like very *Gaderenites*, for fear to lose your worldly substance or other delights of this Life, will not banish away Christ and his Gospel from among you; but that ye with all diligence of mind will receive the Word of God, taught you by such Ministers, as now when Persecution ariseth because of the Word, are not ashamed of the Testimony of our Lord Jesus, but are content to suffer Adversity with the Gospel, and therein to suffer trouble as evil doers, even unto Bonds. And if ye refuse thus to do, your own Blood will be upon your own heads. And as ye have had plentiful preaching of the Gospel, more than other have had: so ye shall be sure, if ye repent not and bring forth fruits worthy of Repentance, to be sorer plagued, and to receive greater vengeance at Gods hand, than others, and the Kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and be given to another Nation, which will bring forth the fruits thereof.

Wherefore, my dearly beloved in Christ, take good heed to your selves, and ponder well in your minds, how fearful & horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the Living God. And fee that ye receive not the Word of God in vain, but continually labour in Faith, and declare your Faith by your good Works, which are infallible witness of the true justifying Faith, which is never idle, but worketh by Charity. And fee that ye continually give your selves unto all manner of good Works: Amongst which the chiefest are to be obedient to the Magistrates (both they are the Ordinance of God, whether they be good or evil) unless they command idolatry and ungodliness, i.e. things contrary unto true Religion. For, then ought we to say with Peter, *We ought more to obey*

Exhortation to seek in the Word of God, not to lose it. 2 Pet. 1.

Prov. 26.

Math. 13.

Heb. 6.

The place of the Holy Spirit.

Math. 24. Filling from Christ.

To crucify Christ anew, what it is.

1 John 2.

Heb. 10.

Rom. 1. We are kicking against the known Truth.

S. Leo deus. 1.

1 John 5.

1 Cor. 10.

Apoc. 22. Multitude.

Rem. 1.

John 8.

Phil. 1.

Anno

1555.

Math. 5.

The fruitless Fig-tree.

Math. 21.

Month. 14.

Hebr. 6.

The good ground.

Math. 13.

The fruitless Fig-tree.

Math. 21.

James 1.

Math. 13.

The most part of the hearers of Gods Word are but Hypocrites.

Math. 13.

Example of Gods dealing with his Children.

Heb. 6.

Math. 6.

Acts 14.

1 Tim. 1.

2 Tim. 3.

Acts 13.

The more preaching with less following draweth greater vengeance at Gods hand.

Acts 13.

Gal. 5.

Tit. 2.

James 2.

Gal. 5.

Tit. 2.

Anno 1555. *obey God than man.* But in any wife we must beware of Tumult, Infurrection, Rebellion, or Resistance.

The Weapon of a Christian in this matter, ought to be the Sword of the Spirit, which is Gods Word and Prayer, coupled with Humility and due Submission, and with readines of heart, rather to die than to do any ungodliness. Christ also doth teach us, that all Power is of God; yea even the power of the wicked, which God causeth offendments to reign for our sins and disobedience towards him and his word. Whosoever then doth resist any Power, doth resist the Ordinance of God, and so purchase to himself utter destruction and undoing.

We must also by all means be Promoters of Unity, Peace and Concord. We must honour and reverence Princes, and all that be in Authority, and pray for them, and be diligent to set forth their profit and commodity.

Secondly, We must obey our Parents, or them that be in their rooms, and be careful for our Houtholds, that they be provided for and fed, not only with bodily food, but much rather with spiritual food, which is the Word of God.

Thirdly, We must serve our Neighbours by all means we can, remembering well the saying of Christ, *Whosoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye likewise unto them, for this is the Law and the Prophets.*

Fourthly, We must diligently exercise the necessary work of Prayer for all Estates: knowing that God therefore hath so much commanded it, and hath made so great promises unto it, and doth so well accept it. After these our Adversities, we must learn to know the Crois, and what affliction and mind we must bear towards our Adversaries and Enemies, whatsoever they be, to suffer all Adversities and Evils patiently, to pray for them that hurt, persecute, and trouble us: and by thus using our selves, we shall obtain an hope and certainty of our Vocation, that we be the Elect Children of God.

And thus I commend you, Brethren, unto God and to the Word of his Grace, which is able to build further, and to give you an Inheritance among all them which are sanctified; beseeching you to help Mr. Sanders and me your late Pastors, and all them that be in Bonds for the Gospels sake, with your Prayers to God for us; that we may be delivered from all them that believe not, and from unreasonable and froward men, and that this our Imprisonment and Affliction may be to the glory and profit of our Christian Brethren in the world, and that Christ may be magnified in our Bodies, whether it be by death or by life. Amen.

Salute from me all the faithful Brethren: and because I write not several Letters to them, let them either read or hear these my Letters. The Grace of our Lord be with you all, Amen. The 28. of June, by the unprofitable Servant of Jesus Christ, and now also his Prisoner,

George Marfh.

Save your selves from this untoward Generation. Pray, pray, pray: never more need.

Another Letter of the said George Marfh to certain of his dearly beloved Friends at Manchester in Lancashire.

Grace be with you and Peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

After Salutations in Christ to you, with thanks for your friendly remembrances of me, desiring and wishing unto you, not only in my Letters, but also in my daily Prayers, such Consolation in Spirit, and taste of heavenly Treasures, that ye may thereby continually work in Faith, labour in Love, persevere in Hope, and be patient in all your Tribulations and Persecutions, even unto the end and glorious coming of Christ: these shall be earnestly to exhort and beseech you in Christ, as ye have received the Lord Jesus, even so to walk, rooted in him, and not to be afraid of any terror of your Adversaries, be they never so many and mighty, and you on the other side never so few and weak: for the Battell is the Lords. And as in times past, God was with Abraham, Moses, Isaac, David, the Machabees, and other, and fought for them, and delivered all their Enemies into their hands, even so hath he

promised to be with us also unto the worlds end, and to assist, strengthen and help us, that no man shall be able to withstand us. For as I was with *Job*, so will I be with thee, faith God, and will never leave thee nor forsake thee. Be strong and bold; neither fear nor dread; for the Lord thy God is with thee, whether thou goest. Now if God be on our side, who can be against us?

In this our spiritual warfare is no man overcome; unless he traitorously leave and forsake his Captain, either cowardly cast away his Weapons, or willingly yield himself to his Enemies, either fearfully turn his back and fly. Be strong therefore in the Lord, dear Brethren, and in the power of his might, and put on all the Armour of God, that ye may be able to stand stedfast against the crafty Assaults of the Devil.

Now what Weapons ye must fight withal, I learn of *S. Paul*, a Champion both much exercised, and also most valiant and invincible. For we must think none other, but that the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon Earth, as the examples of all godly men throughout all Ages do declare. The valiant Warrior *S. Paul* being delivered into the hands of the ungodly, and that to many times, and also from so many extremities and dangers of death, as he his own self doth witness, is fain to commit himself in the end to the rough Waters of the Sea, where he was in great peril and jeopardy of his own life: yet was God always (to the great comfort of all that hear of it) most ready to comfort and succour him, and gloriously delivered him out of all his troubles; so that no man that invaded him, could do him any harm, and in the end he was compelled to say, I have finished my course, the time of my departing is at hand, I long to be loosed, and to be with Christ, which is the best of all, most heartily desiring death.

These things be written for our learning and comfort, and be to us a sure Obligation, that if we submit our selves to God and his holy Word, no man shall be able to hurt us, and that he will deliver us from all troubles, yea from death also, until such time as we covet and desire to dye. Let us therefore run with patience unto the Battell that is set before us, and look unto Jesus the Captain and Finisher of our Faith, and after his example, for the Rewards sake that is set out unto us, patiently to bear the Crois, and despise the shame. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer Persecution.

Christ was no sooner baptized, and declared to the world to be the Son of God, but Satan was by and by ready to tempt him: which thing we must look for also; yea, the more we shall increase in faith and virtuous living, the more strongly will Satan assault us: whom we must learn, after the example of Christ, to fight against, and overcome with the Holy and Sacred Scriptures the Word of God (which are our heavenly Armour) and Sword of the Spirit. And let the fasting of Christ, while he was tempted in the Wilderness, be unto us an example of sober living, not for the space of forty days (as the Papists do fondly fancy of their own brains) but as long as we are in the wilderness of this wretched life, assaulted of Satan, who like a roaring Lion walketh about, and croucheth not, seeking our utter destruction.

Neither can the Servant of God at any time come and stand before God, that is, lead a godly life, and walk innocently before God, but Satan cometh also among them, that is, he daily accuseth, findeth fault, vexeth, persecuteth, and troubleth the godly: for it is the nature and property of the Devil always to hurt, and do mischief, unless he be forbidden of God: for unless God doth permit him, he can do nothing at all, not so much as enter into a filthy Hog: but we are more of price than many Hogs before God, if we cleave unto his Son by Faith.

Let us therefore, knowing Satans deceits, and rancour, walk the more warily, and take unto us the Shield of Faith, wherewith we may be able to quench and to overcome all the fiery and deadly darts of the wicked. Let us take to us the Helmet of Salvation, and Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, and learn to use the same of the example of our grand Captain Christ, according to the example of our grand Captain Christ. Let us fast and pray continually. For this frantick kind of Devils goeth not out otherwife, as Christ doth teach

teach us, but by faithful Prayer and Fasting, which is true Abstinence and Sobriety of Living, if we use the Line according to the Doctrine of the Gospel and Word of God. Fasting is acceptable to God, if it be done without Hypocrisie, that is to say, if we use it to this intent, that thereby this mortal Body and disobedient Carcass may be tamed and brought under the subjection of the Spirit: And again, if we fast to this intent, that we may spare wherewith to help and succour our poor needy Brethren.

This Fast do the true Christians use all the days of their life, although among the common sort of People remaineth yet still that superstitious kind of Fasting, which God so earnestly reproveth by his Prophet *Ezra*. For as for true chastening of the Body, and abstaining from Vice, with shewing Mercy towards our needy Neighbours, we will neither understand nor hear of it, but still think with the Jews; that we do God a great pleasure when we Fast, and that we then Fast, when we abstain from one thing, and fill our bellies with another. And verily in this point doth our Superstition much exceed the Superstition of the Jews: For we never read that they ever took it for a Fast, to abstain from Flesh, and to eat either Fish or White-meat, as they call it.

To Fasting and Prayer must be joynted Alms, and Mercy towards the Poor and Needy: And that our Alms may be acceptable unto God, three things are chiefly required.

First, That we give with a cheerful and joyful heart; for the Lord loveth a cheerful giver.

Secondly, That we give liberally, putting aside all niggardship, knowing that he that soweth little, shall reap little, and he that soweth plentifully, shall reap plentifully. Let every man therefore do according as he is able. The poorest Caitiff in the world may give as great and acceptable an Alms in the sight of God, as the richest man in the world can do. The poor Widow that did offer but two Mites, which make a Farthing, did highly please Christ: Inasmuch that he affirmed with an Oath, That she of her Penny had added more to the Offerings of God, than all the rich men, which of their Superfluity had cast in very much. For if there be first a willing mind (as *S. Paul* saith) it is accepted, according to that a man hath, and not according to that a man hath not.

Thirdly, We must give without Hypocrisie and Ostentation, not seeking the Praise of men, or our own glory or profit. And although the Scriptures in some places make mention of a Reward to our Alms and other good Works, yet ought we not to think that we do merit or deserve any thing: but rather we ought to acknowledge, that God in his meer mercy rewardeth in us his own gifts. For what hath he that giveth Alms, that he hath not received? He then that giveth to a poor man any manner of thing, giveth not of his own, but of those goods which he hath received of God. *What hast thou, saith the Apostle, that thou hast not received? If thou hast received it, why rejoicest thou, as though thou hadst not received it?*

This Sentence ought to be had in remembrance of all men. For if we have nothing, but that which we have received, what can we deserve? or what need we to dispute and reason of our own Merits? it cometh of the free gift of God, that we live, that we love God, that we walk in his fear. Where is our deserving then? We must also in this our spiritual warfare arm our selves with continual Prayer, a very necessary, strong, and invincible weapon, and after the example of Christ and all other godly men, cry heartily unto God in Faith, in all our distresses and anguishes. Let us go boldly to the Seat of Grace, where we shall be sure to receive Mercy, and find Grace to help in time of need. For now is Pride and Persecution increased: Now is the time of destruction and wrathful displeasure.

Wherefore, my dear Brethren, be ye fervent in the Law of God, and jeopard ye your lives, if need shall require, for the Testament of the Fathers, and so shall ye receive great honor, and an everlasting name. Remember *Abraham*: Was not he found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness? *Jeseph* in time of his trouble kept the Commandment, and was made a Lord of Egypt. *Phineas* was so fervent for the

honour of God, that he obtained the Covenant of an Everlasting Priesthood. *Jehua* for the fulfilling of the Word of God, was made the Captain of *Israel*. *Caleb* bare record before the Congregation, and received an Inheritance. *David* also in his merciful kindness obtained the Throne of an Everlasting Kingdom. *Elas* being zealous and fervent in the Law, was taken up into Heaven. *Ananias*, *Azarias*, and *Misael* remained steadfast in the Faith, and were delivered out of the Fire. In like manner *Daniel* being unguilty, was saved from the mouth of the Lions.

And thus ye may consider throughout all Ages, since the world began, that whosoever put their trust in God were not overcome. Fear not ye then the words of ungodly men; for their glory is but dung and worms; to day they are set up, and to-morrow are they gone; for they are turned into Earth, and their memorial cometh to nought. Wherefore let us take good hearts unto us, and quit our selves like men in the Law: for if we do the things that are commanded us in the Law of the Lord our God, we shall obtain great honour therein.

Beloved in Christ, let us not faint because of Affliction, wherewith God trieth all them that are sealed unto Life everlasting: for the only way into the Kingdom of God is through much Tribulation. For the Kingdom of Heaven (as God teacheth by his Prophet *Ezra*) is like a City builded and set upon a broad Field, and full of all good things, but the entrance is narrow and sudden (full of sorrow and travel, perils and labours): Like as if there were a fire at the right hand, and a deep Water at the left; and as it were one straight path between them both, so final, that there could but one man go there. If this City were now given to an Heir, and he never went through the perilous way, how could he receive his Inheritance? Wherefore seeing we are in this narrow and straight way, which leadeth unto the most joyful and pleasant City of everlasting Life: let us not stagger, either turn back, being afraid of the dangerous and perilous way, but follow our Captain *Jesus Christ* in the narrow and straight way, and be afraid of nothing, no not even of Death it self: for it is he that must lead us to our Journeys end, and open us the door unto everlasting Life.

Consider also the course of this world, how many if worldly there be which for their Masters sake, or for a little Promotions sake, would adventure their lives in worldly affairs, as commonly in wars, and yet is their reward but light and transitory, and ours is unspeakable, great and everlasting. They suffer pains to be made Lords on Earth for a short season: how much more ought we to endure like pains, yea peradventure much less to be made Kings in Heaven for evermore? Consider also the wicked of this world, which for a little pleasures sake, or to be avenged on their Enemies, will fight with Sword and Weapons, and put themselves in danger of Imprisonment and Hanging. So much as Virtue is better than Vice, and God mightier than the Devil, so much ought we to excel them in this our Spiritual Battel.

And seeing Brethren, it hath pleased God to set me, and that most worthy Minister of Christs *John Bradford*, your Country-men, in the Fore-front of this Battel, where (for the time) is most danger, I beseech you all, in the Bowels of Christ, to help us, and in all our Fellow-souldiers standing in like perilous place, with your Prayers to God for us, that we may quit our selves like men in the Lord, and give some example of boldness and constancy mingled with patience in the fear of God, that ye and others our Brethren, through our example, may be so encouraged and strengthened to follow us, that ye also may leave example to your weak Brethren in the world, to follow you, Amen.

Consider what I say, the Lord give us understanding in all things. Brethren, the time is short; it remaineth that ye use this world as though ye used it not: for the fashion of this world vanisheth away. See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world: but let your affection on heavenly things, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Be meek, and long suffering, serve and edifie one another, with the gift that God hath given you. Beware of strange Doctrines, lay aside the old Conversation of greedy Lusts, and walk in a new life. Beware of uncleanness, covetousness, foolish talking, false Doctrine, and drunken

Prayer and Fasting, True Fast, what it is, How to Fast without Hypocrisie

Alms of the Law, as the Law of Christ, Law of

The Jewish manner of fasting reproveth, That Christ's Alms surpasseth the Jews

Mercy to the Poor,

1 Cor. 9. In Alms three things required.

Mark 12.

1 Cor. 7.

Alms without ostentation.

Works of Mercy do not merit with God touching our salvation any thing.

1 Cor. 4.

Continual Prayer, Math. 26. Mich. 6. 1 Math. 6.

To be faithful in temptation.

Gen. 22. Gen. 41. Num. 21.

Anno 1555.

Joshua 1. Numb. 14. 1 Reg. 24. 2 Reg. 21. Dan. 3. Dan. 6.

Psal. 38. He exhorteth to zeal and courage.

1 Cor. 14.

1 Pet. 2. Strife is the way which the flock must walk in.

Death is a door to life.

1 Cor. 9. men jeopard to much for earthly things, how much more ought we to jeopard for everlasting things?

1 Tim. 4. 1 Cor. 7. 1 John 2. Colos. 3.

Doctrine of good Works.

Anno 1555. drunkenness: rejoyce and be thankful towards God, and submit your selves one to another. Cease from sin, spend no more time in vice, be sober and apt to pray, be patient in trouble, love each other, and let the glory of God and profit of your Neighbour be the only mark ye shoot at in all your doings. Repent ye of the life that is past, and take better heed to your doings hereafter. And above all things cleave ye fast to him, who was delivered to death for our sins, and rose again for our justification. To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and rule for evermore. Amen.

Salute from me in Christ all others which love us in the Faith, and at your discretion make them partakers of these Letters: and pray ye all for me and others in Bonds for the Gospel, that the same God (which by his Grace hath called us from wicked Popishry unto true Christianity, and now of love proveth our patience by perfection) will of his mercy and favor in the end gloriously deliver us, either by death, or by life, to his glory; Amen. At Lancaster the 30. of August, 1555.

By me an unprofitable Servant of Christ,
George Marth.

To his welbelovéd in Christ, Jenkin Crampton, James Leiver, Elice Foggie, Ralph Bradshaw, the wife of Richard Bradshaw, Elice Crampton, and to every one of them, be these delivered from Lancaster. George Marth.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all, Amen.

After salutations in Christ, and hearty thanks for your friendly Tokens and your other Remembrances towards me, beseeching God that ye may increase in faith, fear, and love, and all good gifts, and grow up into a perfect man in Christ: These be earnestly to exhort you, ye and to beseech you in the tender mercy of Christ, that with purpose of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye worship and serve him in spirit, in the Gospel of his Son. For God will not be worshipped after the Commandments and Traditions of men, neither yet by any other means appointed, prescribed and taught us, but by his holy Word. And though all men for the most part defile themselves, with the wicked Traditions of Men, and Ordinances after the World, and not after Christ: yet do ye after the example of *Toby*, *Daniel*, and his three Companions, *Mattathias* and his three Sons, be it at a point with your selves, that ye will not be defiled with the unclean meats of the Heathen; I do mean the filthiness of Idolatry, and the very Heathenish Ceremonies of the Papists: but as the true Worshipers, serve ye God in Spirit and Verity, according to the Sacred Scriptures, which I would wish, and will you above all things continually and reverently (as both Saint *Paul* and Christ command you) to search and read, with the wholesome Monitions of the same: to teach, exhort, comfort and edify one another, and your Brethren and Neighbours, now in the time of this our miserable Captivity, and great famishment of Souls, for want of the Food of Gods Word. And doubt not but that the merciful Lord, who hath promised to be with us even unto the worlds end, and that whensoever two or three be gathered together in his Name, he will be in the midst of them, will assist you, and teach you the right meaning of the Sacred Scriptures, will keep you from all Errors, and lead you into all Truth, as he hath faithfully promised.

And though you think your selves unable to teach, yet at the commandment of Christ, now in time of Famine, the hungry People being in a Wilderness far from any Towns, which if they be sent away fasting, are sure to faint and perish by the way, employ and bestow those five Loaves and two Fishes that ye have, upon that hungry Multitude, although you think it nothing among so many. And he that increased the five Loaves and two Fishes to feed five thousand men, besides women and children, shall also augment his gifts in you, not only to the curing and winning of others in Christ, but also to an exceeding great increase of your knowledge in God and his holy Word. And fear not your Adversaries; for either

according to his accustomed manner God shall blow their evil eyes that they shall not see you, either shall they be slain in their fight, or else graciously deliver you out of their hands by one means or other.

Obey with reverence all your Superiours, until they command Idolatry or Ungodliness. Make provision for your Households, chiefly that they be instructed according to the Law of God. Love you? Wives even as you love your selves, and as Christ loved the Congregation. Love your Children, but rate them not, lest they be of a perverse mind: and bring them up in the nurture and discipline of the Lord, and teach them even as the goodly Parents of *Toby* the younger, and *Susanna* did teach their Child *Tobias* children, even from their infancy to reverence God according to his Law, and to abstain from sin, providing that in no wise they be brought up in idleness and wantonness, fearing that ye reckon your selves to be the Children of God, and look for the Life which God shall give to them which never turn their belief from him. See that ye ever fear God, and keep his Commandments: and though the Plague of God chance upon you, yet remain ye steadfast in the faith and fear of God, and thank him, and leave him in such holiness and righteousness as are acceptable before him all the days of your life. Comfort your selves in all your adversities, and stay your selves in him, who hath promised not to leave you as fatherless and motherless Children without any comfort, but that he will be to you like a most gentle and merciful Lord. He will continually stand by you in all your troubles, assisting, helping, and succouring you at all times. I will be with you (saith he) unto the end of the world. And cleave ye fast unto him, which was incarnate, lived, wrought, taught, and died for your sins, ye, rose again from death, and ascended into Heaven for your justification. Repent ye of the life that is past, and cease from sin, and from hence forward live as much time as remaineth in the flesh, not after the lusts of men, but after the will of God. To do good and distribute, forget not. Fast and pray busily, and as every man hath received the gifts, minister the same one to another as good Ministers of the manifold Graces of God, that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ, to whom be praise and dominion for ever, and while the world standeth, Amen.

Yours George Marth.

Another Letter.

The same Grace and Peace (dearly beloved in Christ) I do intirely desire and wish unto you, which the Apostle *S. Paul* wisheth to all them, unto whom he did write and send his Epistles, than which two things no better can be wished and desired of God. Grace is throughout all the Epistles of *Paul*, taken for the free mercy and favour of God, whereby he saveth us freely without any deservings or works of the Law. In like manner peace is taken for the quietness and tranquillity of the Conscience, being thoroughly persuaded that through the only Merits of Christs Death and Blood-shedding, there is an atonement and peace made between God and Us; so that God will no more impute our sins unto us, nor yet condemn us.

Dearly Beloved, I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of things, though that you know them your selves, and be also established in the present Truth; notwithstanding I think it meet, as long as I am in this Tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance. Wherefore I beseech your Brethren, and exhort you in the Lord Jesus, that ye increase more and more, even as ye have received, how ye ought to walk, and to please God. And as *Barnabas*, that good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, exhorted the *Antiochians*, with purpose of heart cleave ye continually unto the Lord. And stand fast, and be not moved from the hope of the Gospel, whereof God be thanked, ye have had plenteous preaching unto you these years past, by the faithful Ministers of Jesus Christ, *Leiver*, *Pilkinton*, *Bradford*, *Sanders*, and others like, which now, when Persecution ariseth, because of the Word, do not fall away like thinking Children, and forsake the Truth, but are preft and ready for your fakes, which are his Mystical Body, to forsake

forfake the chief and principal delights of this life, and some of them in giving place to the outrageous tyranny of the world, to forsake their Livings, Friends, Native Land, and other chief Pleasures of this Life, and to commit themselves to painful Exile, that if it please God, Christ may come again out of Egypt. And other some are ready to fulfil their Ministry unto the uttermost: that is to wit, with their painful imprisonments and blood-shedding, if need shall so require, to confirm and seal Christ's Gospel whereof they have been Ministers: and as S. Paul saith, not only to be cast into Prison, but also to dye for the Name of the Lord Jesus.

Men banished for the Gospel in Q. Marie days.

Be ye not therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus, neither be ye ashamed of us which are his Prisoners, but suffer ye adversity with the Gospel, for which Word of God is not bound with us. Therefore we suffer all things for the Elects sake, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory: wherefore stand ye fast in the Faith, and be not moved from the hope of the Gospel, and so shall ye make us even with joy to suffer for your sakes, and as the Apostle saith, To fulfil that which is behind of the Passions of Christ in our flesh, for his Bodies sake, which is the Congregation.

The meeting of S. Paul's words opened.

S. Paul doth not here mean, that there wanteth any thing in the Passion of Christ, which may be supplied by man: for the Passion of Christ, as touching his own Person, is that most perfect and omni-sufficient Sacrifice, whereby we are all made perfect, as many as are sanctified in his Blood: but these his words ought to be understood of the Elect and Chosen, in whom Christ is, and shall be persecuted unto the worlds end. The Passion of Christ then, as touching his mystical Body, which is the Church, shall not be perfected till they have all suffered, whom God hath appointed to suffer for his Sons sake. Wherefore stablish your selves, and be of good comfort, and be not moved in these Afflictions, knowing that we are appointed thereunto. For on our parts nothing can be greater remembrance of us always, praying for us as we do for you, as the Apostle writeth of the *Thessalonians*, saying, Now are we alive, if ye stand stedfast in the Lord: for good Shepherds do always count the welfare and prosperous estate of Christs Flock to be their own: for while it goeth well with the Congregation, it goeth well with them also in whatsoever Affliction or Adversity they be: but when they see the Church in any peril or weakness, then be they weary of their own lives, then can they have no rest nor joy. Who is weak, saith S. Paul, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I do not burn? But this Affliction is not in them that seek their own lucre and glory.

The condition of a true Pastor.

And so much as the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon Earth, let us run with joy unto the battell that is set before us, and like good warriors of Jesus Christ please him, who hath chosen us to be Souldiers, and not like shrinking Children faint and fall away from the Truth now in time of Adversity and Tribulation, wherewith all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must be tried, even as gold and silver is proved in the fire, and whereof all the Scriptures have given us so much forewarning.

A Christian mans life is a warfare upon Earth.

For God is wont for the most part, to warn his Elect and Chosen, what affliction and trouble shall happen unto them for his sake, not to the intent to fray them thereby, but rather to prepare their minds against the boisterous storms of Persecution. As we have a notable example in the Apostle S. Paul, unto whom God sent *Agabus*, who prophesied unto him of the Imprisonment and Bonds that he should suffer at *Jerusalem*: in whom we have also a good example of constancy and steadfastness, which regarding nothing the tears of his familiar Friends, nor yet the peril of his own life, did through fire and water go on still to set forth the glory of God; and he being delivered from the hands of his ungodly and blood-thirsty Enemies, and that so many times, is in conclusion fain to commit himself to the rough waters of the Sea, where he was a long season in great peril and jeopardy of his own life. But God was always (to the great comfort of all that shall hear of it) most ready to help and succour him. First, he did send him a most friendly and sweet company, I mean *Archippus* and *Lucas*, so ruling the heart of the

A. 3. 17.

under Captain *Julian*, that he courteously intreated him, and gave him liberty to go to his Friends, and to refresh himself, and he was beneficial unto him at all times. In like manner was God with *Joseph*, and delivered him from all his Adversities, and gave him favour and wisdom in the sight of *Pharaoh* King of Egypt, inasmuch that he made him Governor over all Egypt, and over all his Household. In like manner was he with *Jeremy* and *Daniel*, in their great troubles, and appointed men for them in their most troubles, to relieve, succour, and help them, to their singular comfort.

Also when Peter was in *Herods* Prison, sleeping between two Souldiers, bound with two Chains, and the Keepers before the door keeping the Prison, the same night that *Herod* had intended to have brought him out unto the People the day following, and to have put him unto death to please the Jews withal, as a little before he had killed *James* the Brother of *John* with the Sword; God sent his Angel, and the Chains fell off from Peters hands, and the Iron gate opened unto him by its own accord, and so was Peter wonderfully delivered by God. For it is the true living God that looseth all Bands, and delivereth out of Prison, and not that fained God S. *Leonard*. On that true God did S. Peter call, unto him did he ascribe the glory of his deliverance, saying, Now I know of a truth, that God hath sent his Angel, &c.

Peter delivered out of Prison.

These things are written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope. The God of patience and comfort, grant that we be like minded one towards another, after the example of Christ Jesus, that we all agreeing together, may with one mouth glorifie God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

A poor Prisoner for Christ, George Marth.

Another Letter of George Marth to Robert Langley.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God, and the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you good Brother in Christ, *Robert Langley*, and with all them that love the Lord Jesus unfeignedly, Amen.

Another Letter of G. Marth to R. Langley and others.

After hearty Commendations to you, with thanks for that ye did visit me a Prisoner in Christ, and unacquainted with, to your costs, this shall be to let you know, that ye shall receive from me mine Examination and handling at *Latham*, and the cause of mine Imprisonment, according as I did promise you: and this ye shall receive by my Brother, or some one of the *Bradshaws* of *Bolton* within this evenning, willing you to leave the same to such faithful men about *Manchester* or elsewhere, as you do take to be favourers of true Religion, and Christs holy Word, and then to deliver it again. And whereas you did put me in comfort, that if I did want any thing necessary unto this life, you with some others would be bearers with me in this my costly and painful Affliction; I give you most hearty thanks, and rejoyce greatly in the Lord, who stirs up the hearts of others to be careful for me in this my great necessity. I thank God, as yet I do want nothing, and intend to be as little chargeable to others (saying my Mother) as I can. If I do want, I will be bold with you and others, to send for your relief and help in my necessity; desiring you in the mean while to pray for me, and all others in the Bonds of Christ, that God would perform the thing which he hath begun in us, that we may with boldness confess Jesus Christ, and fight the good fight of Faith.

Yours George Marth.

A Letter of George Marth to a certain godly Friend.

Race be with you, and Peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God, and Jesus the Lord.

Another Letter of G. Marth to his friend.

After hearty commendations and thanks to you, not only for your large token, but much more for your loving Letters, full of consolation to me as touching my person to you unknown: these shall be to certify you, that I rejoyce greatly in the Lord, when I do perceive how my sweet Saviour Christ doth stir up the minds, not only of my familiar friends in times past, but also of sundry & divers heretofore

Anno 1555. tofore unto me unknown and unacquainted, to bear part with me in this my painful and costly Imprisonment, sending me things not only necessary for this present Life, but also comfortable Letters, encouraging and exhorting mee to continue grounded and stablished in the Faith, and not to be moved away from the hope of the Gospel, whereof, according to my small talent, I have been a Minister: and daily I call and cry unto the Lord in whom is all my trust. And without whom I can do nothing, that he which hath begun a good work in me, would vouchsafe to go forth with it until the day of Jesus Christ, being surely certified in my Confidence of this, that he will so do, forasmuch as he hath given me, that not only I should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. The Lord strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, that I may be one of the number of those blessed, which induring to the end, shall be saved.

And whereas you say, that my suffering of persecution with Christ is a thing to you most comfortable, I make answer, that in all mine adversity and necessity nothing on your behalf is greater consolation unto me, than to hear of the Faith and Love of others, and how they have good remembrance of us always, even as the Apostle reporteth by the *Thessalonians*, saying, Now are we alive, if ye stand stedfast in the Lord. For my trust in the Lord is, that this my business shall happen to the furtherance of the Gospel, and that you will be none of those forgetful and hypocritical hearers, whereof some being but way-side hearers, the devil cometh and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved, (but let Prayer be made without ceasing by the Congregation unto God for them) and (no doubt) God will to your Consolation gloriously deliver by one means or other his oppressed. Only tarry ye the Lords leisure; be strong, let your heart be of good comfort, and wait ye still for the Lord. He tarrieth not that will come, look for him therefore and faint not, and he will never fail you.

Yours, George Marth.

A Letter of a Godly Brother, one James Bradshaw, sent to George Marth in Prison.

A Letter of James Bradshaw to George Marth. What good affliction worketh in the godly.

Race and Peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ be with you always, Amen.

We had a Letter from you, which is a great comfort unto us, to see you take the Cross so thankfully. Trouble and affliction doth prove, try, instruct, confirm and strengthen the Faith, provoke and stir up Prayer, drive and force us to amendment of Life, to the fear of God, to meekness, to patience, to constancy to gentleness, to soberness, temperance, and to all manner of virtues, and are the occasion of exceeding much good, as well transitory as eternal, in this World as in the World to come. There is neither good nor bad, godly nor ungodly, but he hath one cross or other. And although some there be that can shift for a while, and make provision for themselves for a time, by craft and subtilty and dissimulation, or by some fallhood in fellowship (as they call it) yet they bring themselves at length into the highest danger, confusion and shame, both in this World, and in the World to come. And seeing that all the troubles and adversity in this World are a thousand times more light and easie, yea nothing in comparison of the eternal fire, which is prepared and already kindled for the unfaithful wicked enemies of God; all Faithful and Godly Persons ought to bear and suffer their transitory affliction and adversity the more patiently, willingly, and thankfully; considering and remembering all the dearly beloved friends of God, which were wonderfully vexed and plagued of their enemies, *Abraham of the Caldees, Lot of the Sodomites, Isaac of Ishmael, Jacob of Esau, Moses of his People, David of Saul,* and of his own Son. As for *Job*, he had not a drop of Blood in his Body. *John Baptist*, the holiest that ever was born of a Woman, was, without any Law, right or reason, beheaded in Prison, as though God had known nothing at all of him.

We have many thousands fellow Martyrs and companions of our misery and adversity, in respect of whose imprisonment, rackings, chains, fire, wild beasts, and other means wherewith they were tormented, all that we

suffer is but a blast of wind. Therefore now, whosoever is ashamed of the cross of Christ, and aggrieved therewith, the same is ashamed to have Christ for his fellow and companion, and therefore shall the Lord Jesus Christ be ashamed of him again at the latter day.

Thus I leave for this time, beseeching you to let me have your advice, because I do not outwardly speak that with my Tongue that I do not think in my Heart. Pray for me, as I for you. I beseech the Holy Ghost have you in his keeping always, Amen.

By your friend,
James Bradshaw.

A Prayer of G. Marth, which he used daily to say.

O Lord Jesus Christ, which art the only Physician of wounded Consciences, we miserable sinners trusting in thy gracious goodness, do briefly open unto thee the evil tree of our hearts, with all the roots, boughs, leaves, and fruits, and with all the crooks, knots and knarres, all which thou knowest: for thou thoroughly perceivest as well the inward lusts, doubtings, and denying thy providence, as these gross outward Sins which we commit inwardly and deadly. Wherefore we beseech thee, according to the little measure of our infirmity, although we be far unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldest mercifully circumscribe our stony Hearts, and for these old Hearts create new within us, and replenish us with a new Spirit, and water us, and moisten us with the juice of Heavenly Grace, and wells of Spiritual Waters, whereby the inward venom and noysome juice of the flesh may be dried up, and custom of the Old Man changed, and our Hearts, always bringing forth thorns and briars to be burned with fire, from henceforth may bear spiritual fruits in righteousness and holiness, unto Life everlasting, Amen.

Beloved, among other exercises, I do daily on my knees, use this Confession of Sins, willing and exhorting you to do the same, and daily to acknowledge unfaithfully to God your unbelief, unthankfulness, and disobedience against him. This shall ye do, if ye will diligently consider and look your selves first in the pure glass of Gods Commandments and there see your outward filthiness and uncleanness, and learn to vanquish the same, that is to wit, fall in hearty displeasure against Sin, and thereby be provoked to long after Christ, for we truly are Sinners; but he is just, and the justifier of all them that believe on him. We are poor, but he is rich in mercy toward all them that call upon him. If we hunger and thirst for righteousness, let us resort unto his Table, for he is a most liberal feeder. He will set before us his own holy Body, which is given to us to be our meat, and his precious Blood, which was shed for us, and for many for the remission of Sins, to be our drink. He biddeth, willeth, and calleth for guests, which hunger and thirst. Come (saith he) all ye that labor and are laden, and I will refresh you, cool and ease you, and you shall find rest unto your Souls.

The Life and Story of W. Flower, who for striking of a Priest, was apprehended, first having his hand cut off, and after Martyred for his constant standing to the Truth.

William Flower, otherwise named Branch, first W. Flower concerning his trade of Life, and bringing up, he was born at *Snowhill* in the County of *Cambridge*, where he went to School certain years, and then came to the Abbey of *Ely*, where, after he had remained a while, he was a professed Monk according to the Order and Rule of the same House wherein he remained, using and bearing the Habit of a Monk, and observing the Rules and Order of the same House, until he came to one and twenty years of Age, or thereabout: and before he came to that Age, and being a professed Monk, he was made a Priest also in the same House, and there did celebrate and sing Mass. W. Flower at a good space together. After that, by reason of a Visitation, and certain Injunctions given in the same time by the Authority of King *Henry* the eighth, he forsook the same House, and casting from him the said Monks Habit and Religion afore said, took upon him and used the Habit of a Secular Priest, and returned to *Snowhill*, where he

A Prayer of G. Marth.

1 Cor. 10.
Mat. 24.

Mat. 22.

W. Flower
first a Monk
then a Priest
in the house
of Ely.

W. Flower at
the Supper of
Son of Ab-
raham turned
Christian.
W. Flower a
Mass Priest.

was born; and there he did celebrate and sing Mass, and taught Children their Primar and Accidence about half a year together.

Then he went from thence to *Ludgate in Suffolk*, and then, for some time, he went to *Stamland*, where he married and lived as a secular Priest about a quarter of a year; and then, for some time, he went to *Stamland*, where he married and lived as a secular Priest, until the coming out of the Articles: And then he departed from thence, and went into *Glocestershire*, where at *Lanham* he had his abode in the Countrey a while, at length in *Tewkesbury*, according to Gods Holy Ordinance, he married a Wife, with whom he ever after lawfully and honestly continued: and after his Marriage, he tarried in *Tewkesbury* about two years together, and then from thence he went unto *Bristol*, where he tarried three quarters of a year, and practised Physick and Chirurgery, and from thence he removed to *Northamptonshire*, where under a Gentleman he taught Children their Primars, and to write and read, a good space. And so departing from thofe parts; he came to *London*, and there continuing for a certain space. After that, being directed by Gods Countenance, he returned to *Southampton*.

where he was born from thence to *Brankley* in *Essex*, then to *Canall*, where he taught Children a space; and so came to *Lambeth* in *London*, where he hired a House, and served his Wife, whose he and his Wife did afterwards live to, till his time: howbeit for the most part he was idle and slothful at home, except once or twice, in a Month, to visit and see his Wife, where he living a while upon *Essex* day abouts 10. or 12. *Christen* the Forenoon, the same day, came over the Water Men, cometh into *St. Dunstons Church* at *Westminster*, where he hearing and seeing a Priest call *John Calvin* his King and giving the sacrament of the Altar to the People, and thereby being greatly offended in his Conscience by the Prii that for the same his doing (for that he perceived him not to be a Catholick Minister, neither his Altar to be Catholick and lawfull according to Gods Word), he did rise and wound him upon the Head, and also upon his Arm and Hand with his Woodknife, the Prii upon the same time in his Hand a Chalice, with certain Consecrated Hosts therein, which were sprinkled with the Blood of the said Priest.

In the which so doing as indeed he did not well or Evangelically, so afterward, being examined before Bishop *Boner*, did no less confess his not well doing in the same, submitting therefore himself willingly to punishment, when it should come. Howbeit touching his Beier in the Sacrament, and the Popish Ministration, he neither would nor did submit himself.

Whereupon the foresaid W. Elizer, being first apprehended and laid in the *Gatehouse* at *Wexminster* (where he had given two Groats the five day a little before to the Prisoners, saying he would shortly after come to them) with as many from as he could bear: afterward was converted before *Boner* his Ordinary, April 19. Anno 1555. where the Bishop after he had sworn him upon a Booke according to his ordinary manner ministered Articles and Interrogatories to him. But before I speak of the Articles, first we have here to let forth what Communion passed betwixt him and *Robert Smib* being then also there Prisoner with him in *Newgate*; concerning his Pact done at *Wexminster*, the tenor and effect of which Communication here followeth.

Robert Smith.

Friend, for as much as I do understand that you do profess the Gospel, and also have so done along season, I am bold to come unto you, and in the way of Communion to demand and learn a truth at your own Mouth, of certain things by you committed, to the astonishing not only of me, but of divers other, that also profess the verity.

Flower. I praise God for his great goodness, in shewing me the light of his holy word; and I give you hearty thanks for your visitation, intending by Gods Grace to declare all the Truth that ye shall demand lawfull of me, in all things.

Smith. Then I desire you to shew me the Truth of Anno
your deed, committed on *John Chelam* Priest in the 1555.
Church, as neer as you can, that I may hear from your
own Mouth how it was.

File. I came from my House at Lambeth over the Water, and entering into *S. Margaret's Church* (so called) and there seeing the People falling down before a most shameful and detestable idol, being moved with extreme zeal for my God, whom I saw before my Face dishonoured, I drew forth my Hanger, and I strake the Priest which Ministered the same unto them; whereupon I was immediately apprehended, and this is most true, as the Act is manifest.

Smi. Did ye not know the person that ye strake, or were ye not zealous upon him for any evil will or hatred between you at any time.

Flo. No verily, I never to my knowledge saw the Person before that present, neither ought him or any man alive evil will, or malice; for if he had not had it, another should, if I had any time come where the like occasion had been ministred; if God had permitted me so to do it

Smith. Do ye think that thing to be well done, and after the Rule of the Gospel?

Fla. I do confess all Flesh to be subject to the Power of Almighty God, whom he maketh his Ministers to do his will and pleasure; as in example, *Moses, Aaron, Phineas, Joshua, Eimry, Jehu, Judah, Mattathias*, with many others, not only changing degrees, but also planting zeals to his honour; against all order and respect of Flesh and Blood. For, as *saith S. Paul, His Works are plain finding out* : by whose Spirit I have also given my self at this present unto such order, as I shall please the good will of God to appoint, in death, which before the Act committed I looked for.

Smith. Think you it convenient for me, or any other, to do the like by your example?

Fla. No verily, neither do I know if I were to do as
gain, whether I could do it again, or no: for I was a
very early at *Pauls Church* (fo called) upon Christs day
in the morning, to have done it in my jealousie:
but when I came in place I was no more able to do it,
than now to undo that is donee and yet now being compelled
by the spirit, not only to comeover the Water, and to
enter the Church, but being in mind fully content to dye
for the Lord, gave over my Elefth willingly without all
fear, I praise God. Wherefore I cannot learn you to do
the like. First, because I know not what is in you. Se-
condly, because the rules of the Gospel commandeth us
to suffer with patience all wrongs and injury; yet neverthe-
less, if he make you worthy, that hath made me zealous,
ye shall not be letted, judged, nor condemned: for he
that is in his People his unpkeable works in all Ages,
which no man can comprehend. I humbly beseech you
to judge the biall of the spirit, and condemn not Gods doings,
for I cannot expref with my Mouth the great Mercies
that God hath shewed on me in this thing, which I repent
not.

Smith. Are ye not assured to have death ministred unto you for the same Act committed, and even with extremity?

Fla. I did betwixt the dead committed, adjudg my Body
to dye for the same: whereupon I came and about me
writing, mine Opinion of God and the Holy Scriptures
that it if had pleased God to have given them leave
to have killed my Body in the Church, they might in the said
writing have seen my hope, which I praife God for
I had up safe within my breast, notwithstanding any death
that may be inflicted upon my Body in this World:
being ascertained of everlasting life through Iesus Christ
our Lord, and being most heartily sorry for all mine of-
fences committed in this Flesh, and trusting shortly through
his mercy, to cease from the same.

Smith. It is no need to examine or commune with you of the hope that ye have any further: for I perceive (God be praised) ye are in good Estate, and therefore I beseech God for his mercies spread his Wings over you, that as for his love you have been zealous, even to the loss of this Life, so he may give you his Holy Spirit to conduct you out of this Death into a better Life, which I think will be shortly.

I do. I hunger for the love (dear friend, being full
ascertained

M. Fowler
and
W. H. C.

W. Flower
cometh to
Lanceth.

W. Flower
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W. Flower
repenteth
his Act in
stealing
W. Flower
constant in
his Faith.

W. Flower
1st 10 the
C. as last
W. transfer

W Flower
bryght be
fore Bishop
Diner

The talk b
tween Re-
lent South
a 1 W
Kemp.

The zeal of
W. F. in
helping the
Lords Ho-
nour deter-
red.

Extraordi-
nary zeals
are no gene-
ral rules to
be followed.

W. Flower
intending at
Paul's to
have done
the like.

W. Flower
prepared
himself to
death before
the fact
committed.

Anno
1555.

asserted that they can kill but the Body, which I am assured shall receive life again everlasting, and see no more death; entirely desiring you and all that fear the Lord, to pray with me to Almighty God, to perform the same in me shortly. And thus Robert Smith departed, leaving him in the Dungeon, and went again to his Ward. And this (gentle Reader) is the Truth, as near as the said Smith could report it.

And thus much concerning the talk between him and Robert Smith in Newgate, concerning his Fact in striking the Priest. Now to return again to the matter of his Examination, where we left: We shewed before how this William Flower, after his striking the Priest, first was laid in the Gatehouse; then, being Examined before Boners, had Articles ministered against him the Copy whereof here followeth,

Articles objected and ministered by Boner, against William Branch, alias Flower, late of Lambeth in the County of Surry.

Articles objected against W. Flower by B. Boner.

To the latter days certain said depart from the Faith forbidding marriage and eating of meats. 2 Tim. 4.

A great Heretic.

First, that thou being of a lawful Age and discretion at the least of seventeen years Old wast professed Monk in the late Abbey of Ely, wherein after thy profession thou remainedst until the Age of 21. years, using all the mean time the Habit and Religion of the same House, and wast reputed and taken notoriously for such a person.

Item, that after the premises, thou wast ordered and made Priest, according to the laudable custom of the Catholick Church, and afterward thou didst execute and minister as a Priest, and wast commonly reputed, named, and taken for a Priest.

Item, that after the premises thou forgetting God, thy Conscience, honesty, and the laudable order of the Catholick Church, didst contrary to thy Profession and Vow, take, as unto thy Wife, one Woman, commonly called Alice Pulson, in the Parish Church of Tewkesbury in the Diocese of Gloucester, with whom thou haddest mutual cohabitation, and carnal copulation, as Man and Wife, and begat of her two Children.

Item, that thou being a Religious Man and a Priest, didst contrary to the order of the Ecclesiastical Laws, take upon thee to practise in divers places within the Diocese of London, Physick, and Chirurgery, when thou wast not admitted, expert, nor learned.

Item, that upon Easter day last past, that is to wit, the fourteenth day of this present Month of April, within the Parish Church of S. Margarets at Westminster, within the County of Middlesex and Diocese of London, thou didst maliciously, outrageously, and violently pull out thy Weapon, that is to wit, thy Woodknife or Hanger. And whereas the Priest and Minister there, called Sir John Chelton, was executing his Cure and Charge, especially in doing his service, and ministering the Sacrament of the Altar to Communicants, then didst thou wickedly and abominably smite with thy said Weapon the said Priest, first upon the head very fore, and afterwards upon his hands or other parts of his Body, drawing Blood abundantly upon him; the said Priest then holding the said Sacrament in his hand, and giving no occasion why thou shouldst so hurt him; the people being grievously offended therewith, and the said Church polluted thereby, so that the Inhabitants were compelled to repair to another Church to Communicate, and to receive the said Sacrament.

Item, that by reason of the premises, thou wast and art by the Ecclesiastical Laws of the Church, amongst other penalties, Excommunicate and accursed, *ipso facto*, and not to be companied withal, neither in the Church, nor otherwise, but in special Cases.

Item, that thou, concerning the verity of Christs Natural Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, hast been by the space of these years, 20. 19. 18. 17. 16. 15. 14. 13. 12. 11. 10. 9. 8. 7. 6. 5. 4. 3. 2. and 1. or any one of them, and yet art at this present of this opinion; that is to say, that in the said Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained (under the forms of Bread) the very true and Natural Body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Item, that thou for the hatred, and disdain that thou hadst and didst bear against the said Sacrament, and the

verity thereof, and against the said Priest ministering the same (as before) didst smite, wound, and hurt him in manner and form as before is declared.

Item, that thou, over and besides the pains due unto thee for the doing of the cruel fact, art also by the order of the Ecclesiastical Laws of the Church, and the laudable Custom and Ordinance of the same, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged (as thou art indeed) a very Heretic, and to be punished by and with the pains due for Heresie, by reason of the said Heresie & Damnable Opinion.

Item, that all the premises be true, manifest, and notorious and famous, and that upon the same, and every part thereof, there was and is within the said Parish of S. Margarets and other places thereabout, a publick voice and fame.

The Answer of William Flower made to the Articles aforesaid.

To the first Article he answereth and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof, except that he faith and confesseth that he never consented and agreed in his heart to be a Monk.

To the second Article he answereth and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof. Howbeit he faith, that he never did, nor yet doth effect the said order of Priesthood, according to the said order of the Catholick Church, because he was offended therewith in his Conscience.

To the third Article he answereth and confesseth, that he intending to live in godly Matrimony, and not forgetting God, did marry with the said Alice Pulson named in this Article, wherein he believed that he did well, and according to Gods Laws. Further, confessing and believing, that all the time when he was professed Monk, and made Priest; he did thereby utterly forget God, but when he did so marry the said Alice Pulson, he did continuing with her did beget three Children, he did remember God, as he faith, and believeth that he did then lawfully.

To the fourth Article he answereth, and believeth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the fifth Article he answereth and confesseth, that his Conscience being greatly offended with the said Sir John Chelton Priest, for ministering of the Sacrament of the Altar to the people at the place and time specified in this Article, he did so smite and strike the same Priest with his Hanger or Woodknife, as well upon his head, as upon other parts and places of his Body, which he remembereth not, whereby the Blood ran out, and was shed in the said Church, as he believeth, having, as he faith, none other cause or matter so to do, but only that his Conscience was offended and grieved, in that the same Priest did so give and minister the said Sacrament to the People, which People he believeth was greatly abashed and offended with his said fact and doing, and were enforced and compelled to go out of the Church, and to repair to another to receive the said Sacrament. And further, being then demanded and Examined, whether he did then mind and intended to have killed the said Priest, or not he said he would not answer thereunto. And being further examined, whether he did well or evil in striking the said Priest; he would make no answer thereunto, as he said.

To the sixth he answereth and faith, that whether he be so Excommunicate or accursed, as is contained in this Article, he referreth himself herein to the Ecclesiastical Laws.

To the seventh he answereth and faith, that by the space of six and twenty years now past, he hath always been, and yet is of this opinion touching the said Sacrament of the Altar, as followeth; *undelict*, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained under the form of Bread, the very true and Natural Body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

To the eighth he answereth, and believeth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the ninth he answereth, and herein he referreth himself to the said Laws, Customs, and Ordinance specified in this Article; that is to say, the Canonical Laws.

Flower saith he never consented to the Articles.

Flower made no answer to his will.

Flower confesseth his Matrimony to be honest & lawful. W. Flower wrote de facto to God being in the state of Matrimony, than before.

The order of Priests striking the Priest at the Altar.

Note that the said W. Flower afterwards in his next answer corrected and reformed this Answer.

Flower will not answer whether he intended to kill the Priest.

To

To the last he answereth and believeth, that those things before by him confessed be true, and those which he hath denied, be untrue; and that the said common Voice and Fame hath and doth only labour and go upon those things by him before confessed.

By me W. Flower, alias Branch.

W. Flower
enforced to
recount.

After this Examination done, the Bishop began after the best sort of his fine Divinity to instruct him, and to exhort him to return again to the Unity of his Mother the Catholick Church, with such reasons as he is commonly wont to use to others, promising many fair things if he would do so, besides the remitting of that was past.

To this William Flower answering again, thanked him for his offer: And where it was in his power to kill or not to kill his Body, he stood therewith contented, let him do therein what he thought; yet over his Soul he had no such power, which being once separated from the Body, is in the hands of no man, but only of God either to save or spill. As concerning his opinion of the Sacrament, he said he would never go from that he had spoken, do he with him what he would.

Then the Bishop assigned him again to appear in the same place at afternoon, betwixt 3. and 4. In the mean time to advise himself of his former Answers, where he would stand to the same his opinions or no: which if he so did, he would further proceed against him, &c.

W. Flower
reneweth to
revolve his
Faith and
Doctrine.

At Afternoon the said William Flower, appeared again before the said Bishop the hour and place appointed. To whom the Bishop sitting in his Consistory, spake these words: Branch, ye were this forenoon here before me, and made Answer to certain Articles; and thereupon I respited you till now, to the intent you should consider and weigh with your self your state, and to remember while you have time, both your abominable Act, and also that evil opinion which ye have conceived touching the verity of Christs true Natural Body in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Another ap-
pearance of
W. Flower
before B.
Zouet.

To whom the said Branch answered again, and said as followeth: That which I have said, I will stand to; and therefore I require that the Law may proceed against me. Whereupon the Bishop commanded his Notary (Harward by name) to read to him again his Articles, as before. Which being read, the said William Flower persisting in his Godly Sentence, answered to all parts of the Articles, as in the forenoon before, save only that he requested the Bishop concerning the fifth Article, he might alter something his Answer therein, after this tenor and manner of words, to wit, and moreover confessed and faith, that whereas he strake the Priest on Easter day last past, in S. Margarets Church in Westminister, he hath since that time, and yet doth mislike himself in that doing, and doth now judge and believe that the same his Act was evil and naughty. Howbeit he faith and believeth that for the matter and cause wherefore he so frook the said Priest (which was for ministring of the Sacrament of the Altar, which he taketh and judgeth abominable) he neither did nor doth mislike himself at all therein.

W. Flower
Randolph to
had doctrine

Flower mislike
d his own
act in stri-
king the
Priest.

Flower re-
neweth his
Answer to
the sixth
Article.

Moreover, he desired of the said Bishop Licence to be granted him, to alter and take out somewhat of the ninth Article, and in place thereof, these words to be placed, to wit, Herein he referreth himself to the Laws, Customs and Ordinance specified in this Article, &c. At which request, Boner granted to the altering of both the Articles according as he desired, and so put in the Acts.

After this, the Bishop turning again to his old manner of exhorting, went about with words (and words only) to persuade him to submit himself to the Catholick Church, and to the Faith thereof. All which his persuasions notwithstanding, William still remained in the constancy of his Sentence, saying, that he would not be removed from that he had spoken, to dye therefore. Whereupon the Bishop assigned him the next day (being the twentieth day of April) to appear in the same day and place, between the hours of 8. and 9. before noon, there and then to hear the Sentence pronounced, in case he would not relent, &c.

The last appearance of William Flower before Bishop Boner.

Anno
1555.

In the which day, hour, and place, the said William Flower as he was appointed, was brought by the Keeper, belonging to the Warden of the Fleet, before Boner, who after his wonted manner of perswasion going about to reduce him to his Catholick Church and the Unity thereof, that is from Christ to Antichrist, sometimes with fair promises alluring, sometime with menaces and terrors, fearing him, &c. To this William answering, said on this wise: Do what ye will, I am at a point: for the Heavens shall as soon fall, as I will forsake mine opinion &c. Whereupon the Bishop after he had commanded these words to be registred, called for the depositions of certain witnesses, produced for the better information of this matter, the names of which witnesses were these: William Tennyngs, John Bray, Robert Graunt, Richard Dod, William Pampion, Robert Smalwood, the Parish Priest of S. Margarets at Westminister. The sum and effect of whose depositions here ensue.

The last ap-
pearance of
W. Flower
before B.
Zouet.

W. Flower's
constancy.

Witnesses pro-
duced a-
gainst W.
Flower.

The Depositions or Attestations produced upon the Answers of William Flower.

Robert Graunt of Westminister, Examined upon the said Answers of William Flower, faith and depose; that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognize the said Answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand, and also was present in the Church of S. Margarets in Westminister, when the said William Flower did finite and wound the Priest, when (as he faith) he was ministring the Sacrament; and how this examine among other preased towards him to take him, and was hurt thereby upon his Chin, and after he was taken, this examine help to conduct him to the Gatehouse at Westminister.

Richard Dod of Westminister, examined upon the said Answers, faith and depose; that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognize the said Answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hands; and also did see and was present, when the said Flower upon Easter day last past drew his Wood-knife, and strake the Priest upon the head, hand, and arm: who being wounded therewith, and having a Chalice with consecrated Hosts there in his hand, sprinkled with the said Priests Blood, was holpen and refused by this examine, and the said Flower carried to the Gatehouse at Westminister, and his Wood-knife taken away by this examine.

William Pampion, one of the Churchwardens of the said Parish Church of S. Margarets in Westminister, examined upon the said Answers of the said Flower, faith and depose, that the same Answers be true, and in his sight were subscribed with the hand of the said Flower. And that upon Easter day last past, about eleven of the Clock in the forenoon, in the Parish Church of S. Margarets in Westminister, among a great number of the People ready to be housled, the Priests back being turned toward the said Flower, he the said Flower suddenly drew forth his Wood-knife, and strake Sir John Cheltham the Priest both upon his head, hand, and arm, whereby he was wounded, and bled abundantly, and the Chalice with consecrated Hosts being in his hand, were sprinkled with his Blood, and the People in great fear cried out lamentably, as though they should presently have been killed.

Robert Smalwood of Westminister, examined upon the said Answers, faith and depose, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognize the said Answers, and subscribe the same with his own hand, and touching the striking and wounding the Priest in S. Margarets Church in Westminister upon Easter day last, this examine faith, he was not there when the fact was done, but immediately after, he came to Church, and found Sir John hurt, and wounded in the head

Anno 1555. head, hand, and arm, by the said Flower, and the People in great heaviness by reason thereof. Also the People did report (as this examine saith) That Flower did the deed, as the Priest had the Chalice in his hand, ministering the Sacrament to the People.

William Jennings of Westminster, being examined upon the Answers of the said William Flower, saith and deposeth by virtue of his Oath, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognize the said Answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand in the Confessory place: and further deposeth, that he (upon Easter day last past) was present in the Church of S. Margarets in Westminster, where Flower strake the said Sir John Cheliam Priest, first upon the head and afterward upon his arm two fore strokes, whereby the said Priest is like to lose his hand. Also this Jurate deposeth, that the said Sir John Cheliam had a Chalice with certain Consecrated hosts therein (in his hand) which were sprinkled with the Blood of the said Priest, and after the said Flower was apprehended by this examine and others, they carried him immediately to the Gatehouse in Westminster.

John Bray one of the Churchwardens of the Parish Church of S. Margarets in Westminster, sworn and examined upon the said Answers, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognize the said Answers, and also subscribe unto the same. And further deposeth of Flowers striking the Priest, in effect, as the rest of the examines do, and that this said Jurate was present there at the deed doing.

After the depositions of these foresaid witnesses being taken, published, and denounced, the said Bishop speaking to William Flower, asked him if he knew any matter or cause why his Sentence should not be read, and he to be pronounced as an Heretic. Whereunto the Martyr of God answered again as followeth; I have nothing at all to say, for I have already said unto you all that I have to say; and that I have said I will not go from: and therefore do what you will, &c.

Which when he had spoken, the Bishop proceeded to the Sentence, Condemning and Excommunicating him for an Heretic, and after pronounced him also to be degraded, and so committed him to the Secular Power. Upon the 24. day of the foresaid Month of April, which was S. Marks Even, he was brought to the place of Martyrdom, which was in S. Margarets Churchyard at Westminster, where the fact was committed: and there coming to the Stake where he should be burned, first he maketh his Prayer to Almighty God, with a Confession of his Christian Faith, in manner as followeth.

A Prayer and Confession of William Flower.

O Eternal God, most mighty and Merciful Father, who hast sent down thy Son upon the Earth, to save me and all Mankind, who ascended up into Heaven again, and left his Blood upon the Earth behind him, for the redemption of our Sins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for thy dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christs sake in whom I confesse only to be all Salvation and Justification, and that there is none other mean, nor way, nor holiness, in which or by which any man can be saved in this World. This is my Faith, which I beseech all men here to bear witness of.

Then he said the Lords Prayer, and so made an end.

Then M. Cholmeley came to him, willing him to recant his Heretic, whereby he might do good to the People, or else he would be damned.

Flower answered as followeth: Sir, I beseech you for Gods sake to be contented: for that I have said, I have said, and I have been of this Faith from the beginning; and I trust to the living God he will give me his holy Spirit to continue to the end. Then he desired all the World to forgive him whom he had offended, as he forgave all the World.

This done, first his hand being held up against the Stake, was stricken off, his left hand being stayed behind

him. At the which striking off his hand, certain that were present beholders of the matter, and purposely observing the same, credibly informed us, that he in no part of his Body did once shrink at the striking thereof, but once a little he stirred his shoulders.

And thus fire was set unto him, who burning therein, cried with a loud Voice; O the Son of God have mercy upon me, O the Son of God receive my Soul, three times, and so his Speech being taken from him, he spake no more, lifting up notwithstanding his stump with his other arm as long as he could.

And thus indured this constant witness and Faithful Servant of God the extremity of the fire, being therein cruelly handled, by reason that to his burning little wood was brought, so that for lack of fagots there not sufficient to burn him, they were fain to strike him down into the fire. Where he lying a long (which was doleful to behold) upon the ground, his neither part was consumed in the fire, whilst his upper part was clean without the fire, his Tongue in all mens sight still moving in his Mouth.

May 1555.

The third of May a Letter was sent to George Cole and Thomas Daniel, to make search for, and apprehend John Bernard and John Walsh, who used to repair to Sudbury, and carrying about with them the Bones of Pigot that was burned; do shew them to the People, persuading them to be constant in his Religion, and upon Examination to commit them to further ordering, according to the Laws.

This day Stephen Appes was committed to the Little Ease in the Tower, there to remain two or three days, until further Examination.

The 12. day M. Thomas Ros's Preacher, was by the Councils Letters delivered from the Tower to the Sheriff of Norfolk, be to conveyed and delivered to the Bishop of Norwich, and he either to reduce him to recant, or else proceed against him according to the Law.

The 16. a Letter was sent to the Lord Treasurer, signifying what the L. L. had done for Ros, and that order should be given, according to his Lordships request, for Letters to the Bishops: and for Appes, whom the Lieutenant of the Tower reporteth to be mad, his Lordship perceiving the same to be true, should commit him to Bebbles, there to remain until their further order.

The 26. a Letter was sent to the Lord Treasurer, to confer with the Bishop of London, and the Justices of the Peace of that County, wherein they are to be executed, that are already Condemned for Religion, and upon agreement of places, to give order for their Execution accordingly.

The 28. a Letter was sent to the Lord Treasurer, to cause speedy preparation to be made of such money as was appointed for such persons as should carry the joyful tydings of Queen Marius good delivery of Child, to divers Princes, so as they be not compelled to stay when time shall come. The Embassadors were, to the Emperor the Lord Admiral, to the French King the Lord Fitzwater, to the King of Romans Sir Henry Sidney, to the King of Portugal Richard Shelley, whose free passage through France M. Doctor Watton was willing to procure by Letters the 24. of June.

The 29. was a Letter directed to Sir Francis Inglesfield to make search for one John D. at London, and to apprehend him, and send him to the Council, and to make search for such Papers and Books as he thinketh may touch the same D. or one Bengier.

The Burning and Martyrdom of John Cardmaker and John Warne Upholster which suffered both together in Smithfield, Anno. 1555.

Upon the 30. day of May suffered together in Smithfield John Cardmaker, otherwise called Taylor, John Cardmaker, and John Warne Upholster, of the Church of Wals, and John Warne Upholster, of the Parish of S. John in Walbrook. Of which it remaineth now particularly to enquire, beginning first with M. Cardmaker, who first was an obsequant Prier before the dissolution of the Abbeyes: then after was a married Minister, and in King Edwards time

Sentence of
Condemna-
tion and de-
gradation
pronounced
against Wil-
liam Flower.

Flowers
Prayer.

Talk be-
tween W.
Flower and
M. Cholmeley.

May 30.
John Card-
maker and
John Warne
Upholster.

M. Cardmaker Reader in Pauls.

Cardmaker with M. Barlow appointed to Winchester as Catholicks.

Taylor and Cardmaker acceptable to Winchester as Catholicks.

M. Barlow exiled for the Truth.

Conference between Lawrence Sanders and John Cardmaker.

Dr. Martin with against Cardmaker.

May 24. Articles submitted against [in Cardmaker by the Bishop of London.] in Cardmaker first an observant Prior.

time appointed to be a Reader in Pauls, where the Papists were so much agreed with him for his Doctrines sake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his Gown with their Knives. This Cardmaker being apprehended in the beginning of Queen Mariæ Reign, with M. Barlow Bishop of Bath, was brought to London, and laid in Prison in the Fleet, King Edwards Laws yet being in force. But after the Parliament was ended, in which the Pope was again admitted as supreme Head of the Church, and the Bishops had also gotten Power and Authority, *Ex officio*, to exercise their Tyranny, these two were brought before Wincheſter Chancellor, and others appointed by Commission (as before is mentioned) to examine the Faith of such as were then Prisoners, and as unto others before, so now unto them the Chancellor offered the Queens mercy, if they would agree, and be conformable, &c.

To this they both made such an Answer, as the Chancellor with his fellow Commissioners allowed them for Catholics. Whether they of weakness so answered, or he of subtilty would so understand their Answer, that he might have some forged Example of a shrinking Brother to lay in the dish of the rest, which were to be examined, it may easily be perceived by this, that to all them which followed in Examination, he objected the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, commending their soberness, discretion, and learning. But whatsoever their Answer was, yet notwithstanding Barlow was led again to the Fleet, from whence he afterward being delivered, did by exile constantly bear witness to the Truth of Christs Gospel. Cardmaker was conveyed to the Counter in Breadstreet, the Bishop of London procuring it to be published, that he should shortly be delivered, after that he had subscribed to Transubstantiation and certain other Articles. To the same Prison where Cardmaker was, Lawrence Sanders was brought (after the Sentence of Excommunication and Condemnation was pronounced against him) where these two Prisoners had such Christian Conference, that whatsoever the Breath of the Bishop blustered, and the tickle ears of the People too lightly believed, in the end they both showed themselves constant Confessors and worthy Martyrs of Christs of Lawrence Sanders it is already written. After whose departure Cardmaker remained there Prisoner, to be baited of the Papists, which would needs seem to have a certain hope that Cardmaker was become theirs. Continual and great Conference divers of them had with him, with reasonings, persuadings, threatnings, and all to none effect. To the end that their doings might appear, he required them to put their reasons in writing, and promised by writing to answer them.

Doctor Martin, who bare also a part in those pageants, took upon him to be the chief doer by writing, whose long unflattering Letters and simple reasons for Transubstantiation, and such papistical trash, this Cardmaker answered largely, learnedly, and substantially, confuting the same, opening the fallshood of his Arguments, and delivering the Sentences of the Fathers (which Martin abused for his purpose) to their true understanding; which his Answers I would had come to our hands. Thus constantly abode this Man of God all the enemies doings, as he did also the death which he suffered in Smithfield in London: whereof ye shall hear more anon. But first we will survey the matter and manner of his Articles objected against him by B. Boner, with his Answers annex to the same, as consequently hereunder followeth.

Articles objected by Boner against John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, with his Answers unto the same.

First, I Edmund Bishop of London, object against thee Sir John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, that thou wast and art of the City and Diocets of London, and so of the Jurisdiction of me Edmund Bishop of London.

Item, that thou in times past didst profess the rule of S. Francis, and didst by Vow promise to keep poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to the rule of S. Francis.

Item, that thou in times past didst receive all the orders

of the Church then used: to wit, *sam majores quam Anno minores.*

Item, that thou after thy said entry into Religion and profession and orders aforesaid, didst take to Wife a Widow, and with her hadst carnal Copulation, and didst get of her a Woman Child, breaking thereby thy Vow and Order, and also the Ordinance of the Church.

Item, that thou hast believed and taught, and so dost believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar under the visible signs there, that is to say, under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is really and truly the true and very Natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Item, that the Belief of the Catholick Church is, that in having the Body and Blood of Christ really and truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, is to have (by the Omnipotent Power of Almighty God) the Body and Blood of Christ there invisibly and really present under the said Sacrament, and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Christ, or a new Body of Christ.

Item, that it may stand well together, and so is the Faith of the Catholick Church; that the Body of Christ is visibly and truly ascended into Heaven, and there is in the visible form of his Humanity; and yet the same Body in substance is invisibly and truly contained in the said Sacrament of the Altar.

Item, that Christ at his last Supper taking Bread into his hands, blessing it, breaking it giving it to his Apostles, and saying; *Take, eat, this is my Body*; did institute a Sacrament there, * willing that his Body really and truly should be contained in the said Sacrament, its substance of Bread and Wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof.

Answers of Cardmaker to the Articles aforesaid.

To the first Article he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the second Article he answereth and confesseth, that he, being under Age, did profess the said Order and Religion, and afterward by the Authority of King Henry the eighth, he was dispensed with for the same Religion.

To the third he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the fourth he answereth and confesseth, the first part thereof to be true; and to the second part of the same Article he answereth and saith, that in marriage he brake no vow, because he was set at liberty to marry, both by the Laws of this Realm, and also by the Laws and Ordinances of the Church of the same.

To the fifth he answereth and confesseth, that he hath believed and taught, as it is contained in this Article, but he doth not now so believe nor teach.

To the sixth he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

To the seventh he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

To the eighth he answereth and doth believe, *videlicet*, that it is true; that is to say, that Christ taking Bread at his last Supper into his hands, blessing it, breaking it giving it to his Disciples, and saying; *Take, eat, This is my Body*, did institute a Sacrament there. And to the other part of his Article, *videlicet* (willing that his Body really and truly should be contained in the said Sacrament, no substance of Bread and Wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof) he answereth that he doth not believe the same to be true.

By me John Cardmaker.

Master Cardmaker calling to mind afterwards the ready cavillings of the Papists, and thinking himself not to have fully and according to his true meaning answered the latter part of the last eighth Article, did the next day after the fore said Answers exhibit unto the Bishop in a schedule this hereafter following.

Where in my Answer to your Articles I deny the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, I mean not his Sacramental Presence, for that I confess; but my denial is of his Carnal Presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken of the holy Fathers, not only for Bread and Wine, but also for the whole administration

1555. John Cardmaker was read.

The belief of the Popes Catholick Church.

To speak naturally of the Natural Body of Christ, these two cannot stand together as one true, unless we grant Christ to have two Bodies. * Thus Christ never willed, neither can the Scriptures bear it.

John Cardmaker answereth to the Articles.

The first part of this Article is true: the second is false.

A more full Answer to the second part of the eighth Article.

Anno 1555. Sacramental Preface in the Sacrament. Christ Pre- fered in the Sacrament denied

stration and receiving of the same, according to Christs Institution: so I say, that Christ is present spiritually too, and in all them which worthily receive the Sacrament; so that my denial is fill of the Real, Carnal, and Corporal Prefence in the Sacrament, and not of the Sacramental, nor Spiritual Prefence.

This have I thought good to add to my former Answer, because no man should misunderstand it.

By me John Cardmaker.

Next to these Articles of Mr. Cardmaker, I thought best to infer the Articles and Answers likewise of John Warne his Martyr fellow, in manner as followeth.

Articles ministered against John Warne Upolster, of the Parish of S. John in Walbrook, with his Answers to the same.

Articles against John Warne Upolster in Walbrook.

I Tell, That thou John Warne, being of the age of 29 years, and of the Parish of S. John of Walbrook in London, hast believed, and dost believe firmly and stedfastly, that in the Sacrament, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, there is not the very true and natural Body of our Saviour Christ in Subtance, under the forms of Bread and Wine.

Against Transubstantiation.

Item, That thou hast believed, and dost believe, that after the words of Consecration spoken by the Priest, there is not (as the Church of England doth believe and teach) the Body of Christ; but that there doth only remain the Subtance of material Bread, as it is before the Consecration, or speaking of the words of Consecration; and that the said Bread is in no wise altered or changed.

Against the Sacrifice of the Mass.

Item, That thou hast said and dost believe, that if the Catholick Church do believe and teach, that there is in the Mass, now used in England, and in other places of Christendom, a Sacrifice wherein there is a Sacrament containing the Body and Blood of Christ really and truly; then that Belief and Faith of the Church is naughty, against Gods Truth and the Scripture.

Herefor laughing a Squall storm on the Head.

Item, That thou hast said, that where about a twelve month ago, and more, a great rough Water Spaniel of thine was shorn on the Head, and had a Crown like a Priest made in the same; thou didst laugh at it and like it, though thou didst it not thy self, nor knewest who did it.

Item, That thou neither this Lent last past, nor at any time since the Queens Majesties Reign, hast come into the Church, or heard Mass, or been confessed, or received the Sacrament of the Altar; and hast said, that thou art not sorry that thou hast so done, but thou art glad, because thou hast not therewith defiled thy Conscience, which otherwise thou shouldst have done.

Upon all which Articles John Warne being examined by the said Borer, in presence of divers Witnesses, the 23. of May, the year 1555. did confesse and believe the same, and subscribe hereunto his Name with his own Hand.

By me John Warne.

Another addition of Articles.

Also it was objected against the said John Warne, by the Bishop aforesaid, as followeth.

Item, That thou John Warne wast in time past here in the City of London, converted in the Guildhall for Heresie against the Sacrament of the Altar, according to the order of the Laws of this Realm of England in the time of King Henry the Eighth, and when Alderman Barnes was Sheriff, and the Thursday after that Anne Askew was burnt in Smithfield, and thereupon thou wast sent a Prisoner to Newgate, to whom Edmund Bishop of London did repair with his Chaplains, to instruct thee in the true Faith of Christ, touching the said Sacrament of the Altar, and to bring thee from thy Error, which was, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the Body of Christ, nor any Corporal Prefence of Christs Body and Blood, under the forms of Bread and Wine; but that in the said Sacrament there is only material Bread and Wine, without any Subtance of Christs Body and Blood at all: and because thou wouldst not leave

and forsake thy said Heresie therein, but perst and abide obstinately and wilfully therein, thou wert according to the said Laws condemned to death and to be burnt; and thereupon labour being made for thee to the King and other in the Court, thou hadst a Pardon of King Henry the Eighth, and so thereby didst save thy life.

Nevertheless, in thy Heart, Conscience, and Mind, thou didst both then, and also afore believe no other wise than at this present thou dost believe; that is to say, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is neither the very true Body or Blood of Christ, nor no other Subtance but the Subtance of material Bread and Wine. and to receive the said material Bread and Wine, and to break it, and to distribute it among the People, only is the true receiving of Christs Body, and no otherwise: so that thy Faith and belief is, that in the said Sacrament there is no Subtance of Christs material Body and Blood: but all the thing that is there, is material Bread, and the receiving thereof as afore; and that the Subtance of the natural and true Body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, is only in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament of the Altar. In which thine Opinion thou hast ever hitherto since continued, and so dost continue at this present, thou confessing all this to be true, and in witness thereof subscribing thy Name therunto, as followeth.

By me John Warne.

John Warne being examined upon the aforesaid Articles by the Bishop before certain Witnesses, whose names were John Roswell, John Heywood, Robert Rowens, and the 23. of May, did answer to the same, confessing and granting the Articles and the Contents thereof to be true, according as they were objected in every part, subscribing also the same with his Hand. Such strength and fortitude Gods holy Spirit wrought in him, to stand stoutly and confidently to the defence of the sincere Doctrine of his Son.

Whereupon the Bishop exhorting him with many words to leave his Heresies (as he called them) and to return to the bosom of his Mother the holy Church, commanded him to appear again the next day, being the 24. of the same Month.

Who so doing (and answering as he did before) was willing to come thither again at Afternoon, and so he did where and at what time he was earnestly exhorted by the said Bishop to recant his Opinions. To whom he answered, that he would not depart from his received Profession, unless he were therunto thoroughly persuaded by the holy Scriptures.

Upon which Answer he was willing to come again the next day, being the 25. day of the same Month, at one of the Clock in the Afternoon. At which day and hour the Bishop examined him again upon all his former Articles before objected, to the which he most constantly did stick, with this further Answer therunto added: I am perswaded (quoth he) that I am in the right Opinion, and I see no cause to repent; for all Filthiness and Idolatry is in the Church of Rome.

The Bishop then seeing that notwithstanding all his fair Promises, and terrible Threatnings (whereof he used store) he could not any thing prevail; finished it is Examination with the definitive Sentence of Condemnation pronounced against the said John Warne, and so charged the Sheriffs of London with him, under whose Custody he remained in the Prison of Newgate, until the 30. day of the same Month of May.

Upon the which 30. of May, being the day appointed for their Execution, John Cardmaker, and John Warne, were brought by the Sheriffs to the place where they should suffer. Who being come to the Stake, first the Sheriffs called Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly, so long, that in the mean time Warne had made his Prayers, was chained to the Stake, and had Wood and Reed set about him, so that nothing wanted but the firing; but still abode Cardmaker talking with the Sheriffs.

The People which before had heard that Cardmaker would recant, and beholding this manner of doing, were afraid in a marvellous dump and sadness, thinking inwardly that Cardmaker should now recant at the burning of

John Warne pronounced by King Henry 8.

John Warne and belief is, that in the said Sacrament there is no Subtance of Christs material Body and Blood: but all the thing that is there, is material Bread, and the receiving thereof as afore; and that the Subtance of the natural and true Body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, is only in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament of the Altar.

The plain Answer of John Warne to the Articles.

The second Session against John Warne.

The third Session. May 25.

John Warne confesse against the Articles given a-gainst John Warne.

Severall answers given a-gainst John Warne.

May 30. Cardmaker and John Warne brought to Execution.

John Warne tied to the Stake.

The people were afraid of Cardmakers recanting.

Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the Sheriffs, and came towards the Stake, and (in his Garments as he was, kneeled down and made a long Prayer in silence to himself; yet the People confirmed themselves in their fantasie of Recanting, seeing him in his Garments, praying secretly, and no semblance of any burning.

*John Cardmaker's Hand-
writing to
the M.C.*

His Prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his Clothes unto his Shirt, went with bold Courage to the

Stake, and kissed it sweetly: he took Warne by the hand, and comforted him heartily, and so gave himself to be also bound to the Stake most gladly. The People seeing this so suddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy (with so great a shout as hath not lightly been heard a greater) saying, God be praised, the Lord strengthen thee Cardmaker, the Lord Jesus receive thy Spirit. And this continued while the Executioner put fire to them, and

Anno

1555.

*Cardmaker
and Warne
joyn hands.
The joy-
clap of the
People at
Cardmakers
constancy.*

The Martyrdom of John Cardmaker, and John Warne Upholster, Anno 1555.



they both passed thorow the fire to the blessed Rest and Peace among Gods holy Saints and Martyrs, to enjoy the Crown of Triumph and Victory prepared for the Elect Souldiers and Warriours of Christ Jesus in his blessed Kingdom. To whom be Glory and Majesty for ever. Amen.

The Confession of the Faith of John Warne Citizen of London, which he wrote the day before he was burned, the 30th day of May, Anno 1555.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, and Maker of Heaven and Earth.

The Confession of John Warne.

A Father, because he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the everlasting Word, whom before all worlds he hath begotten of himself, which Word was made Flesh, and therein also manifested to be his Son; in whom he hath adopted us to be his Children, the Inheritors of his Kingdom, and therefore he is our Father; An Almighty God, because he hath of nothing created all things visible and invisible, both in Heaven and in Earth, even all Creatures contained therein, and governeth them.

And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord.

The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal Power in all things, of the same Substance, of like Glory, by whom all things were made, and have life, and without whom nothing liveth: He was made also perfect Man, and so being very God, and very Man in one Person, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ransomer of them which were lost in Adams our Forefather. He is the only mean of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the surety of our salvation.

Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.

According to the Fathers most merciful promise, this eternal Son of God, forsaking the heavenly Glory, humbled himself to take Flesh of a Virgin, according to the Scriptures, uniting the Substance of the Godhead to the

Substance of the Manhood, which he took of the Substance of that blessed Virgin Mary in one Person, to become therein the very Messiah, the anointed King and Priest, for ever appointed to pacifie the Fathers wrath, which was justly gone out against us all for our sin.

Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into Hell.

He was Arraigned before Pontius Pilate the Ruler of Jewry, and so unjustly accused of many Crimes, that the Ruler judged him innocent, and sought means to deliver him; but contrary to known Justice, he did let go Barabbas which had deserved death, and delivered Christ to be crucified, who deserved no death: which doth declare unto us manifestly, that he suffered for our sins, and was buffeted for our offences, as the Prophets do witness, thereby to have it manifested to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Therefore suffering for our sins, he received and did bear our deserved condemnation, the pains of death, the taste of abjection, the very terror of Hell, yielding his Spirit to his Father, his Body to be buried in Earth.

The third day he rose again from death to life.

To make full and perfect the whole work of our Redemption and Justification, the same crucified Body which was laid in the Grave, was raised up again the third day from death, by the Power of his Father, and Glory of his Godhead: he became the first fruits of the Resurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by him might be raised up from death. Through whom all true penitent sinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remission of their sins.

He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty.

After that in his Death and Resurrection he had conquered Sin, Death, and the Devil, and had been conversant forty days in the Earth, being seen of the Apostles, and more than five hundred Brethren at once, in the same Body in which he wrought the work of our Salvation,

The triumphant victory over death.

Anno 1555. Bode how the wrought the work of our Salvation, be seated at the right hand with eternal Triumph, for the victory over Death; so, He leaving the Passage open, by which all we believe may and shall enter into his Kingdom, where as now at the right hand of his Fathers right hand, is at ease, in Power and Glory equal, in Majesty co-eternal.

From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

He shall appear again in great Glory to receive his Elect unto himself, and to put his Enemies under his feet, changing all living men in a moment, and raising up all that be dead, that all may be brought to his Judgment. In this shall he give each man according to his Deeds. They which have followed him in Regeneration, which have their sins washed away in his Blood, and are clothed with his Righteousness, shall receive the everlasting Kingdom, and reign with him forever; and they, which after the race of the corrupt Generation of Adam have followed Flesh and Blood, shall receive everlasting damnation with the Devil and his Angels.

I believe in the Holy Ghost.

I do believe that the Holy Ghost is God, the third Person in Trinity, in Unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through Christ to inhabit our Spirits, by which we are made to feel and understand the great power, virtue, and loving kindness of Christ our Lord. For he illuminateth, quickeneth, and certifieth our Spirit, that by him we are sealed up unto the day of Redemption, by whom we are regenerate and made new Creatures, so that by him and through him we do receive all the abundant goodness promised us in Jesus Christ.

The Holy Catholic Church.

The Church. This is an holy number of Adams Posterity, elected, gathered, washed, and purified by the Blood of the Lamb from the beginning of the world; and is dispersed through the same by the tyranny of *Gog and Magog*; that is to say, the Turk and his Tyranny, and Antichrist, otherwise named the Bishop of Rome, and his Angels, as this day also doth teach.

The Communion of Saints.

Which most holy Congregation (being as *Paul* teacheth, builded upon the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Christ being the Head-corner-stone) though it be by the tyranny of Satan and his Ministers persecuted, some by Imprisonment, some by Death, and some by other Afflictions and painful Torments; yet doth it remain in one perfect Unity, both in Faith and Fellowship: which Unity is knit in an unpeasable knot, as well of them which are departed from this mortal life, as of them which now be living, and hereafter shall be in the same, and so shall continue until they all do meet in the Kingdom, where the Head Jesus Christ, with all his holy Members (of which number through Christ I assuredly believe I am one) shall be fully complete, knit, and united together for evermore.

The forgiveness of sins.

Remission only through Christ. I do believe that my sins, and all their sins which do rightly believe the holy Scripture, are forgiven only through Jesus Christ, of whom only I do profess that I have my whole and full Salvation and Redemption, which *S. Paul* saith, cometh not through our works and deservings, but freely by Grace, lest any should boast himself. Through the Blood of the Cross all things in Heaven and Earth are reconciled, and set at Peace with the Father; without him no heavenly life given, nor sin forgiven.

The Resurrection of the Body.

Refused. I do believe, that by the same my Saviour Christ, I and all men shall rise again from death; for he, as *S. Paul* saith, is risen again from the dead, and is become the first fruits of them which sleep. For by a man came death, and by a man cometh the Resurrection from death. This man is Christ, through the power of whose Resurrection I believe that we all shall rise again in these our Bodies; the Elect clothed with Immortality to live with Christ for ever; the Reprobate also shall rise Immortal to live with the Devil and his Angels in death everlasting.

And the Life everlasting.

Through the same Jesus, and by none other, I am sure to have life everlasting. He only is the way and entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven. For so God loved the world, that he did give his only Son Jesus Christ, to the end that so many as do believe in him might have everlasting life. The which I am sure to possess so soon as I am dissolved, and departed out of this Tabernacle, and in the last day shall both Body and Soul possess the same for ever, to the which God grant all men to come.

I believe, that the Sacraments, that is to say, of Baptism and of the Lords Supper, are Seals of Gods most merciful Promises towards Mankind. In Baptism, as by the outward Creature of water I am washed from the filthiness which hangeth on my flesh; so do I assuredly believe, that I am by Christs Blood washed clean from my sins, through which I have sure confidence of my certain Salvation. In the partaking of the Lords Supper, as I receive the Substance of Bread and Wine (the Nature of which is to strengthen the Body) so do I by Faith receive the redemption wrought in Christs Body broken on the Cross, life by his death, resurrection by his resurrection, and in sum, all that ever Christ in his Body suffered for my Salvation, to the strengthening of my Faith in the same. And I believe, that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the Creatures of Bread and Wine in his holy Supper according to his Word, to move and to stir up my mind to believe these Articles above written.

This is my faith; this do I believe; and I am content by Gods Grace to confirm and seal the truth of the same with my Blood.

By me John Warne.

A Letter of John Cardmaker to a certain Friend of his.

The Peace of God be with you.

You shall right well perceive that I am not gone back, as some men do report me, but as ready to give my life, as any of my Brethren that are gone before me, although by a Policy I have a little prolonged it, and that for the best, as already it appeareth unto me, and shall shortly appear unto all. That day that I recant any point of Doctrine, I shall suffer twenty kinds of death, the Lord being mine assistance, as I doubt not but he will. Commend me to my Friend, and tell him no less. This the Lord strengthen you, me, and all his Elect. My Riches and Poverty is as it was wont to be, and I have learned to rejoice in Poverty as well as Riches, for that I account now to be very Riches. Thus fare ye well in Christ. Salute all my Brethren in my Name. I have conferred with some of my Adversaries, learned men, and I find that they be but Sophists and Shadows.

A note concerning Mr. Cardmaker.

After Cardmaker being Condemned, and in Newgate, one Beard a Promoter came to him two or three days before he was burned, and said unto him, Sir, I am sent unto you by the Council, to know whether ye will recant or no?

Card. From which Council are ye come? I think ye are not come, nor yet sent from the Queens Council, but rather from the Commissioners, unto whom (as I suppose) ye belong. And whereas ye would know, whether I will recant or no, thus I pray you report of me to those whom ye said sent you. I know you are a Taylor by your Occupation, and have endeavoured your self to be a cunning Workman, and thereby to get your living: so I have been a Preacher these twenty years, and ever since that God by his great Mercy hath opened mine eyes to see his eternal Truth, I have by his Grace endeavoured my self to call upon him, to give me the true understanding of his holy Word, and I thank him for his great Mercy; I hope I have discharged my Conscience in the setting forth of the same, to that little Talent that I have received.

Beard. Yea Sir; but what say you to the blessed Sacrament of the Altar?

Card. I say, and mark it well, that Christ the night before

John 1.
Li. and Sel.
v. 19. only
by Pa. th. ad
Christ.

Two Seve-
nities of the
New Testa-
ment.

A Letter of
Mr. Cardma-
ker to a cer-
tain Friend
of his.

A note con-
cerning the
interview
Mr. Cardma-
ker and
Beard a Pro-
moter.

before his bitter Passion, ordained the holy and blessed Communion, and hath given commandment, that his death should be preached before the receiving thereof, in remembrance of his Body broken, and his precious Blood shed for the forgiveness of our sins, to as many as faithfully believe and trust in him.

The Sen-
ence and
Judg^{mt} of
the Court
was touch-
ing the Sa-
crament.

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly with him, he asked of him, Whether the Sacrament he spake of had a beginning or no? Whereunto when he had granted and affirmed the same to be, then Mr. Cardmaker again thus interred thereupon: If the Sacrament (said he) as you confess, have a beginning and an ending, then it cannot be God; for God had no beginning nor ending; and so willing him well to note the same, he departed from him.

The fifth day, Mr. Secretary Bourne, the Master of the Rolls, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir Richard Read, and Doctor Hughes, authorizing them, or two or three of them at the least, to proceed to further Examination of *Benger, Cary, D. and Field*, upon such Points as they shall gather out of their former Confessions, touching their lewd and vain practices of Calculating or Conjuring, presently sent unto them with the said Letters.

The seventh day there was another Letter to Sir John Tregonwell, willing him to join in Commission with the said Lord North, and others above named, about the Examination of the said Parties and others, for Conjuring and Witchcraft.

And the 29. of August, *Cary and D.* were set at liberty upon Bonds for their good Appearing until Christmas after.

The twelfth day a Letter was sent to the Lord Treasurer, to cause Writs to be made to the Sheriff of *Suffex*, for the burning and executing of *Dirike* a Brewer, at *Leves*, and other two, the one at *Staining*, the other at *Chichester*.

The 23th of June a Letter was sent to *Boner*, to examine a Report given to the Council of four Parishes within the Soken of *Essex*, that should still use the English Service, and to punish the Offenders, if any such be.

The Story of John Ardeley and John Simson of the Parish of Wigborow the Great, in Essex.

The Story of
John Simson
and John
Ardeley,
Marriage.

Vth Mr. Cardmaker and John Warne, upon the same day, and in the same Company, and for the same Cause was also condemned *John Ardeley* and *John Simson*, which was the 25th day of May. But before we come to the Story of them, first here is to be noted the Copy of the King and Queens Letter, directed from the Court the same day, and sent by a Post early in the morning to the Bishop, in tenor and form as followeth.

To the right reverend Father in God, our right trusty and wellbelov'd, the Bishop of London.

The King
and Queens
Letter to his
Grace.

Right Reverend Father in God, right trusty and wellbelov'd, we greet you well. And where of late we addressed our Letters to the Justices of Peace within every of the Counties of this our Realm, whereby amongst other Instructions given them for the good order and quiet government of the Country round about them, they are willed to have a special regard unto such disordered persons as (forgetting their duties towards God and Us) do lean to any erroneous and heretical Opinions, refusing to shew themselves conformable to the Catholick Religion of Christs Church; & herein if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform them, they are willed to deliver them to the Ordinary, to be by him charitably travelled withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty Opinions, or else if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the Law, provided in that behalf: understanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the said disordered persons, being by the Justices of Peace for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the Ordinaries to be used as aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither so travelled with, as Christian Charity requires, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of Justice, but are suf-

fered to continue in their Errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others; like as we find this matter very strange, so we have thought convenient both to signify our knowledge, and therewith also to admonish you to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the Office of a good Pastor and Bishop, as when any such Offenders shall be by the said Officers or Justices of Peace brought unto you, you to use your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to remove them from their Errors, if it may be, or else in proceeding against them (if they shall continue obstinate) according to the order of the Law; so as through your good furtherance, both Gods glory may be better advanced, and the Commonwealth more quietly governed. Given under our Signet, at our Honour of Hampton Court, the 24th of May, the first and second years of our Reigns.

Anno
1558.

Q. Mary fits
rects Bener so
shed inno-
cent blood,

This Letter thus coming from the Court to the Bishop, made him the more earnest and hasty to the condemnation, as well of others, as of these men, of whom now we have presently to intreat, of *John Simson* I mean, and *John Ardeley*. Which being both of one Country, and of one Town together, and of one Trade, that is, being both Husbandmen in the Town of *Wigborow* in *Essex*, and also almost both of one age, save that *Simson* was of the age of 34. the other of 30. were brought up both together by the under Sheriff of *Essex*, to *Boner* Bp. of *London*, upon the Accusation (as in that time it was called) of Heresie.

John Arde-
ley and John
Simson, both
husband-
men in the
Town of
Wigborow.

As touching the order and manner of their Examinations before the Bishop; as the Articles ministred against them, were much like, so their Answers again unto the same were not much discrepant in manner and form; as out of the Bishops own Registers here followeth exprefsed.

Articles objected against John Simson and John Ardeley of the Parish of Wigborow the Great in Essex, Husbandsmen, by Boner Bishop of London, at Fulham, May 22. Anno 1555.

1. **F**irst, that thou *John Simson* (or *John Ardeley*) Husbandman of the age of 34. years or thereabout, wast and art of the Parish of great *Wigborow*, within the Diocess of *London*, and thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that there is here in Earth one Catholick and Universal whole Church, which doth hold and believe all the Faith and Religion of Christ, and all the necessary Articles and Sacraments of the same.

Articles mi-
nistred a-
gainst John
Simson and
John Ardeley

Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounden, under the pain of damnation of thy Soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said Catholick and Universal Church, and to the Religion of the same, in all necessary Points of the said Faith and Religion, without wavering or doubting in the said Faith or Religion, or in any part thereof.

3. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe that that Faith and Religion, which both the Church of *Rome*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, *Scotland*, and all other Churches in *Europe*, being the Members and Parts of the said Catholick and Universal Church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the said Catholick and Universal Church, and the Faith and Religion of Christ, and also is the very true Faith and Religion which all Christian People ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep: but contrariwise thou hast believed, and dost believe, that that Faith and Religion, which the said Church of *Rome*, and all the other Churches aforesaid have heretofore believed, and do now believe, is false, erroneous, and naughty, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed of any Christian man.

The Church
of Rome, Ita-
ly, Spain, Eng-
land, France,
Ireland, Scot-
land, and other
For-
eign Coun-
tries in
Europe.

4. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is in Substance the very Body and Blood of Christ under the forms of Bread and Wine, and albeit that it be so believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the said Church of *Rome*, and all other the Churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not so believed; nor dost so believe; but contrariwise thou hast and dost believe firmly and steadfastly, that there is not in the said Sacrament of the Altar under the said forms of Bread and Wine, the very Substance of Christs Body and Blood, but that there is only the Substance of material and common Bread

The Sub-
stance of
Christs Bo-
dy under
forms of
Bread and
Wine.

Anno 1555. and Wine, with the forms thereof; and that the faid material and common Bread and Wine, are only the Signs and Tokens of Christs Body and Blood, and by Faith to be received, only for a remembrance of Christs Paffion and Death, without any fuch Subftance of Christs Body and Blood at all.

5. Item, That thou haft believed and taught, and thou haft openly fpoken, and to thy power maintained and defended, and fo doft believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christs Body and Blood, is only to take material and common Bread, and to break it, and to diftribute it amongft the People, remembering thereby the Paffion and Death of Chrift only.

6. Item, That thou haft likewise believed, taught and fpoken, that the Mafs now ufed in this Realm of England, and other the Churches aforefaid, is abominable and naught, and full of Idolatry, and is of the Ordinance of the Pope, and not of the Inftitution of Chrift, and hath no goodnefs in it, faving the Gloria in Excelsis, and the Epiftle and the Gofpel, and that therefore thou haft not, nor will not come to be prefent at the Mafs, nor receive the Sacrament of the Altar, or any other Sacrament of the Church, as they are now ufed in this Realm of England, and other the Churches aforefaid.

7. Item, That thou haft in times paff believed precisely, and officinately affirmed and faid, and fo doft now believe and think, that Auricular Confeflion is not needful to be made unto the Prieft, but it is a thing fuperfluous and vain, and ought only to be made to God, and to none other perfon: and likewise thou haft condemned as fuperfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the Ceremonies of the Church and the Service of the fame, and haft faid, that no Service in the Church ought to be faid but in the Englifh tongue, and if it be otherwife faid, it is unlawful and naught.

The Answers of John Simfon, and alfo of John Ardeley, to the forefaid Articles.

TO the firft, they believe, that here in Earth there is one Catholick and Univerfal holy Church, which doth hold and believe as is contained in the firft Article, and that this Church is difperfed and fcattered abroad throughout the whole world.

To the fecond, they believe, that they be bound to give Faith and Credence unto it, as is contained in the fecond Article.

To the third, as concerning the Faith and Religion of the Church of Rome, of Italy, Spain, France, Ireland, Scotland, and other Churches in Europe, they fay, they have nothing to do with that Faith and Religion: But as concerning the Faith and Religion of England, that if the faid Church of England be ruled and governed by the Word of Life, then the Church of England hath the Faith and Religion of the Catholick Church, and not otherwife; and do fay alfo, that if the Church of England were ruled by the Word of Life, it would not go about to condemn them and others of this Herefie.

To the fourth they answer, that in the Sacrament, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, there is very Bread and very Wine, nor altered nor changed in Subftance in any wife, and that he that receiveth the faid Bread and Wine, doth fpiritually and by faith only receive the Body and Blood of Chrift, but not the very Natural Body and Blood of Chrift in Subftance under the forms of Bread and Wine.

To the fifth they fay, they have answered, answering to the faid fourth Article, and yet nevertheless they fay, that they have believed, and do believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the very Subftance of Christs Body and Blood, but only the Subftance of the Natural Bread and Wine.

To the fixth they fay, that they believe, that the Mafs is of the Pope, and not of Chrift; and therefore it is not good, nor having in it any goodnefs, faving the Gloria in Excelsis, the Epiftle and Gofpel, the Creed, and the Pater noster; and for this caufe they fay they have not, nor will not come and hear Mafs.

To the feventh John Ardeley answereth and faith, that he believeth the Contents of the fame to be true; but

John Simfon doth answer, that he is not as yet fully refolved with himfelf, what answer to make therunto; and further, that as touching the common and daily Service faid and ufed in the Church, he faith, that he never faid, that Service in the Church ought to be faid but in the Englifh Tongue, nor yet he never faid, that it is be otherwife faid and ufed than in Englifh, it is unlawful and naught.

John Ardeley and John Simfon.

Thus thefe Articles being to them objected, and their Answers made unto the fame, as before, the Bifhop, according to the old trade of his Confiftory Court, relited them to the Afternoon, bidding them to make their Appearance the faid day and place, between the hours of two and three. At what time the faid Bifhop repeating again the faid Articles unto them, and beginning with John Ardeley did urge and follicitate him, according to his manner of words, to recant.

To whom John Ardeley again, constantly ftanding to his profefled Religion, gave answer in words as followeth; My Lord (quoth he) neither you, nor any other of your Religion, is of the Catholick Church; for you be of a falfe Faith: and I doubt not but you fhall be deceived at length, bear as good a face as ye can. Ye will fhed the innocent Blood, and you have killed many, and yet go about to kill more, &c.

And added further, faying, If every pair of my head were a man, I would fuffer death in the Opinion and Faith that I am now in. Thefe with many other words he fpake. Then the Bifhop yet demanded if he would relinquifh his erroneous Opinions (as he called them) and be reduced again to the Unity of the Church. He answered as followeth, No, God forefield that I fhould fo do, for then I fhould lofe my Soul.

After this, the faid Bifhop asking John Ardeley (after his formal manner) if he knew any caufe why he fhould not have Sentence condemnatory againft him; fo read the Condemnation, as he alfo did againft John Simfon, ftanding likewise in the fame caufe and confcancy with John Ardeley: which was done the 25th day of May, and fo were they both committed to the Secular Power, that is, to the hands of the Sheriffs, to be conveyed to the place where they fhould be executed. But before I come to their Execution, here is not to be paffed a thing not unworthy the looking upon, which hapned in the clofing up the Examination of thefe two innocent Martyrs of God, which is this.

At the time of the Examination of this Simfon and John Ardeley aforefaid, there was afsembled fuch a great multitude of People, that becaufe the Confiftory was not able to hold them, they were fain to ftand in the Church, near about the faid Confiftory, waiting to fee the Prifoners when they fhould depart. It hapned in the mean time, that the Bifhop being fet in a heat with the flour and bold Answers of the faid two Prifoners (efpecially of John Simfon) burft out in his loud and angry voice, and faid, Have him away, have him away.

Now the People in the Church hearing thefe words, and thinking (becaufe the day was far fpent) that the Prifoners had their Judgment, they being defirous to fee the Prifoners had to Newgate, fevered themfelves, one running one way, another another way, which caufed fuch a noife in the Church, that they in the Confiftory were all amazed, and marvelled what it fhould mean: wherefore the Bifhop alfo being fomewhat afraid of this fudden ftir, asked what there was to do. The ftanders by answering faid, That there was like to be fome tumult; for they were together by the caufe.

When the Bifhop heard this, by and by his heart was in his heels, and leaving his Seat, he with the reft of the Court betook them to their legs, haftning with all fpeed poffible to recover the door that went into the Bifhops Houfe: but the reft being fomewhat lighter of foot than my Lord, did fooner recover the door, and thronging haftily to get in, kept the Bifhop ftill out, and cried, Save my Lord, fave my Lord, but meaning yet firft to fave themfelves if any danger fhould come, whereby they gave the ftanders by good matter to laugh at; refembling in fome part a fpectacle not much unlike to the old fa-

Transubstantiation denied.

The Mafs abominable.

Their Answers to the Articles.

Transubstantiation denied.

The Mafs detested.

Another appearance of Simfon and John Ardeley before the Bifhop.

The words of J. Ardeley to Bntz.

John Ardeley and John Simfon cont. demanded.

The noise of the soldiers near of the door.

The soldiers less fear of Bntz and his Doctors.

gers at Oxford, worse feared than hurt, when as the Church there was noised to be set on fire, whereof ye may read before. But of this matter enough.

Now *John Simson* and *John Ardeley* being delivered (as is aforesaid) to the Sheriffs, were shortly after sent down from *London* to *Essex*, where both they in one day (which was about the Tenth day of *June*) were put to death, albeit in several places; for *John Simson* suffered at *Rochford*, *John Ardeley* the same day was had to *Rasley*, where he finished his Martyrdom most quietly in the quarrel of Christs Gospel.

A Note of John Ardeley.

For the better consideration of the rigorous cruelty of these Catholick days, this is furthermore not unworthy of all men to be noted and known to all Posterity, concerning the Examinations of this *Ardeley* and his Company, how that they being brought before the Commissioners, were by them greatly charged of stubbornness and vain-glory. Unto whom they answered in defence of their own simplicity, that they were content willingly to yield to the Queen all their Goods and Lands, so that they might be suffered to live under her, in keeping their Conscience free from all Idolatry and Papistical Religion. Yet this would not be granted, although they had offered all to their heart blood; so greedy and so thirsty be these Persecutors of Christian blood. The Lord give them Repentance if it be his will, and keep from them the just reward of such cruel dealing. Amen.

The ridiculous handling and proceeding of Bishop Boner and his Rates against John Tooley, first suspected and condemned after his death, and then digged out of his Grave, and given to the Secular Power, and so burned for an Heretic.

The Story of John Tooley.

About the same time of the burning of these two aforesaid, in the beginning of the said Month of *June*, fell out a solemn Process, and much ado was made about the Popes Spirituality against *John Tooley* in a case of Heretic. The story is this: There was about the time that the Spaniards began first to keep a flir in *England*, one *John Tooley* a Citizen and Poulter in *London*, who conspired with certain other of his Society, to rob a Spaniard at *S. James's*; and although the deed were heinous and wicked of it self, yet was it aggravated and made greater than it was by other, being committed against such a person, and against such a Country, which both the Queen and her whole Court did highly favour. The robbery being known, and brought into Judgment, this *Tooley* was found guilty, and judged to be hanged, whereas notwithstanding in this Realm there are many more Thiefs committed than Thieves executed.

The aforesaid *Tooley* being led to the Gallows (which stood fast by *Charing Cross*) a little before he died, standing upon the Cart, read a certain Prayer in a printed Book, and two other Prayers written in two several Papers: who then having the Halter about his Neck, desired the People there present to pray for him, and to bear him witness that he died a true Christian man, and that he trusted to be saved only by the Merits of Christs Passion, and shedding of his precious Blood, and not by any Masses, or Trentals, Images, or Saints, which were (as he said) meer Idolatry and Superstition, and devised by the Bishop of *Rome*: and as the same *Tooley*, and two other his Fellows which were there hanged with him, did steal and rob for Covetousness, so the Bishop of *Rome* did sell his Masses and Trentals, with such other Paltry, for Covetousness, and there being in a great anger (as appeared) against the Bishop of *Rome*, spake with a loud voice these words following; *From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable Enormities; From false Doctrine and Herefie, and from the Contempt of thy Word and Commandment, Good Lord deliver us.*

Ex Registo.

And then adding further to the same, he spake unto the People; All you that be true Christian men, say with me, Amen. And immediately thereupon 200. persons and more, to the judgment and estimation of those that were there present, answered and said, Amen, three times together at the least.

After this it hapned, that when *Tooley* had read the Bill the first time, it fell from him, and a certain young man (who was thought to be a Prentice) stooped down and took up the Bill, and climbed up by the Cart, and delivered it unto *Tooley* again, which he again did read to the People. That done, he delivered unto one of the Marshals Officers the Book aforesaid, and willed him to deliver it unto one *Haukes*, saying, that it was his Book. Furthermore, he delivered one of the Prayers, written in a Paper, to one *Robert Bromley* Sergeant, which desired to have it of him. Upon the top of which Bill was written a line, containing these words, *Beware of Antichrist*; and subscribed underneath, *Perme Thomam Harold, Prisoner in the Marshalsea, enemy to Antichrist*. For the Bill aforesaid, *Robert Bromley* was brought afterward *coram nobis*, and was fain to ask Pardon of the Bishop, and to detest all the words of *Tooley*, and glad so to escape.

Thus while *Tooley* had made his Prayers, as is aforesaid, to be delivered from the Popes Tyranny, by the same Prayer he fell into great tyranny. For so soon as the brute of this fact came unto the ears of the Priests and Mitred Prelates, they were not a little mad thereat, thinking it not tolerable that so great a Reproach should be done against the holy Father. Calling therefore for a Council together, as though it had been a matter of great importance. *Tooley's* talk at his death was debated among themselves.

At last (after much *Pro* and *Contra*) they all consented to those mens judgment, which thought it meet that the violating of the Popes Holiness should be revenged with fire and fagot. And I do easily believe that Cardinal *Poole* was no small doer in this Sentence: for as *Winchester* and *Boner* did always thirst after the blood of the living, so *Poole's* lightning was for the most part kindled against the dead; and he reserved this Charge only to himself, I know not for what purpose, except peradventure being loth to be so cruel as the other, he thought nevertheless by this means to discharge his duty towards the Pope. By the same Cardinals like lightning and fiery flit the Bones of *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Phagius*, which had lien almost two years in their Graves, were taken up and burned at *Cambridge*, as *Tooley's* Carcass was here at *London*. And besides this, because he would them foke token of his diligence in both Univerities, he caused *Peter Martyrs* Wife, a Woman of worthy memory, to be digged out of the Church-yard, and to be buried on the Dunghil. Of these two prodigious acts ye shall hear more hereafter. But now to our purpose of *Tooley*, which having ended his Prayer, was hanged and put into his Grave, out of which he was digged again, by the commandment of the Bishops, and because he was so bold to derogate the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, at the time of his death, it pleased them to judge and condemn him as an Heretic, upon the commandment of the Councils Letter, as here appeareth.

A Letter sent unto Boner Bishop of London, from the Council.

After our very hearty Commendations to your Lordship, understanding that if late amongst others that have suffered about *London* for their Offences, one lewd person that was condemned for Felony, died very obstinately, professing at the time of his death sundry heretical and erroneous Opinions; like as we think it not convenient that such a matter should be overpassed without some example to the world, so we thought good to pray your Lordship to cause further inquiry to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceed to the making out of such Process as by the Ecclesiastical Laws is provided in that behalf. And so we bid your Lordship heartily well to fare. From Hampton Court, the 28. of April, 1555.

Your Lordships loving Friends,

Ste. Winton. Chancel.
F. Shrewsbury.
John Gage.
Thomas Cheney.

R. Rochester.
William Peter.
Rich. Southwell.

Anon

Anno 1555.

A Council called against Tooley.

Card. Poole a great doer in burning dead mens bones.

Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, Peter Martyrs wife, and John Tooley, burned for Heretics after their death.

The Councils Letter to B. Boner concerning Tooley.

Anno 1555. After a Citation was ſet up upon Pauls Church door under the Biſhop of Londons great Seal; the tenor whereof here enſueth.

The Writ or Mandate of Boner Biſhop of London, ſet up at Charing Croſs, on Pauls Church door, and at S. Martins in the field, for the citing and further inquiring out of the caſe of John Tooley.

Edmond by the ſufficiency of God, Biſhop of London, to all and ſingular Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and others, Clerks and learned Men, being within our Dioceſs of London, and ſpecially unto Richard Clunie, our ſworn Summor, greeting, ſalutation, and benediſtion. Forſomuch as it is come to our hearing by common fame, and the declaration of ſundry credible perſons, that one John Tooley late Citizen and Poulter of London, the Son of perdition and iniquity, coming to the profundity of malice in the ſelf ſame time in the which he ſhould go to hanging, according to the Laws of the Realm, for the great treaſon lately by him committed, at which time chiefly he ſhould have cared for the wealth of his Soul, and to have died in the Unity of the Catholick Church, did utter divers and ſundry damnable, blaſphemous and heretick opinions and errors, utterly contrary and repugnant to the Verity of the Catholick Faith and Unity of the ſame, and did exhort, ſtir up, and encourage the People, there ſtanding in great multitude, to hold and defend the ſame errors and opinions: And moreover, certain of the People there ſtanding, as it did appear, affected with Errors and Hereties, as fauours and defenders of the ſaid John, did confirm and give expreſſe conſent to the foreſaid words, propoſitions, and affirmations; which thing we do utter with ſorrow and bitterness of heart.

We therefore the foreſaid Edmond and Biſhop aboveſaid, not being able, nor daring to paſs over in ſilence, nor winck at the foreſaid heinous Act, left by our negligence and ſlackneſs the Blood of them might be required at our hands at the moſt terrible day of Judgment, deſiring to be certified and informed whether the premiſſes declared unto us, be of the truth, and left that any ſcattered ſheep, lurking amongſt the ſimple flock of our Lord, do infect them with peſtiliferous Heretie: to you therefore we ſtraightly charge and command that you cite, or cauſe to be cited all and ſingular, having or knowing the truth of the premiſſes, by ſetting up this Citation upon the Church door of S. Martins in the field, being within our Dioceſs of London, and alſo upon the Cathedral Church door of Saint Pauls in London, leaving there the Copy hereof, or by other means or ways, the beſt you can; that this Citation and Monition may come to their knowledge.

All which and ſingular by the tenor of theſe preſents we cite and admoniſh that they appear, and every one of them do appear before us, our Vicar general, or Commiſſary, whatſoever he be in that behalf, in our Cathedral Church of S. Paul in London, in the Conſiſtory place, upon Thursday the ſecond day of May now next enſuing, betwixt the hours of nine and ten of the Clock in the forenoon the ſame day, to bear witneſs of the truth in this behalf, and to depoſe and declare faithfully the truth that they know or have heard of the premiſſes, and moreover to do and receive what Law and reaſon doth require.

Further we commit unto you as before, and ſtraightly enjoying you do command, that ye will generally cite the Wife of the ſaid Tooley that is dead, and his Children, and his kindred by Father and Mother, his friends and his familiars in eſpecial, and all other and every of them, if there be any perſons that deſire to defend and purge the remembrance of the perſon in the premiſſes, that ye admoniſh them after the manner and form aforeſaid, whom welikewiſe by the tenor of theſe preſents, do in ſuch ſort cite and moniſh that they appear all, and that every one of them do appear (under pain to be compelled to keep ſilence for ever hereafter in this behalf) before us, or our Vicar general in ſpiritual matters, or ſuch our Commiſſary, at the day, hour, and place aforeſaid, to defend the good name and remembrance of him that is dead, and to ſay, ſallege and propoſe in due form of Law

a cauſe reaſonable, if they have or can tell of any, why the ſaid John Tooley, that is dead, ought not to be determined, and declared for ſuch an Heretick and excommunicate perſon, and his remembrance condemned, in the deteſting and condemning of ſo heinous a detestable crime, and his Body or carcaſs to lack Church burial, as a rotten of member cut off from the Church, and the ſame to be committed to the arm and Power ſecular, and they compelled hereafter for ever to hold their peace.

And furthermore, to do, receive, and to ſuffer as Law and reaſon will, and as the quality of ſuch matter, and the nature of themſelves do conſtrain and require; and moreover, that you cite and moniſh, after the manner aforeſaid, all and every of the receivers, fauours, and creditors of the ſaid John Tooley that is dead, eſpecially if any of them do incline and give conſent to thoſe wicked and deteſtable affirmations, propoſitions, and rehearſals aforeſaid, that on this ſide the ſaid Thursday they return and ſubmit themſelves unto us, and to the lap of the Mother holy Church: which thing if they do, we truſting upon the mercy of Almighty God; do promiſe that we will receive them being penitent for ſuch their Errors and faults; with thanks, benignity, mercy, and favour, to the comfort and health of their own Souls, and in that behalf ſave their honeſties to the uttermoſt of our power; otherwiſe if they will not provide thus to come of their own accord, but to abide the ordinary proceſs of the Law; let thoſe Men know that we will puniſh more ſeverely this offence, according to the uttermoſt of the Law, and as far as the Law will bear it; and what ye ſhall do in the premiſſes, let him among you, which ſhall execute this our preſent Mandate, certifie vs, or our Vicar general in ſpiritual matters, either by his own perſon, or by his Letters Patents, together with theſe authentically ſealed.

Dated at London under our Seal, the laſt day of April. 1555. and of our tranſlation the 11.

When the time of this Citation was expired, and this Tooley being cited did not appear: next in order of Law came the Suſpenſion (whereas one ſuſpenſion had been enough for him) and after that cometh the Excommunication, that is, that no man ſhould eat and drink with him; or if any met him by the way, he ſhould not bid him good morrow, and beſides that, he ſhould be excluded from the Communion of the Church. Theſe things being prepared in ſuch manner, as in ſuch caſes fall wiſely they uſe to do, at length one ſtood out for the nonce, that made Answer to certain Articles, rehearſed in Judgment openly and that in the behalf of the dead Man. But when the poor dead Man could neither ſpeak for himſelf, nor did (as they ſaid) ſufficiently Answer them by the other, to avoid the name of an Heretick: firſt witneſſes were provided againſt him, whole names were Henry Clark Eſquire, Thomas Way Keeper of the Maſtreaſſy, Philip Andrew Undermaſthal, William Holingworth Filhonger, William Gellard, William Walten Chandler, Richard Longman Merchantaylor, Philip Britten, John Barton Brewer, Thomas Smith Sergeant. Then he was for an Heretick condemned, and ſo committed to the ſecular power, namely to the Sheriffs of London, which with the like diligence went about to execute their charge. Therefore receiving the man being ſuſpended Excommunicated, Condemned as an Heretick, and beſides that, dead, they laid him on the fire to be burned namely, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, for a continual remembrance thereof: This was done the fourth day of June.

Here followeth the Hiſtory and Martyrdom of the worthy ſervant of Chriſt, Thomas Haukes Gentleman, with his Examinations and Answers had with B. Boner, recorded and penned with his own hand.

Immediately after the Story of Doctor Taylor, mention before was made of fix men brought and conveyed before Biſhop Boner upon the eighth day of February 1571. The names of which Martyrs were Stephen Knight, W. Pigot, Thomas Tomkins, J. Laurence, W. Hunter. In which number was alſo Tho. Haukes, and condemned likewiſe with them the 9. day of the foreſaid Month.

The carcaſs of Tooley cut off from Church burial.

The Biſhop ſeeth his will to catch whom he may trouble;

Witneſſes at Tooley.

Tooley given to the ſecular power.

A citation ſet up by Boner, and then in Latin, commanding his kin and Riſuals to ſay for him what they could before the ſerene given, or elſe to hold their peace for ever.

Note how Boner here preſenteth Conſcience in preſcribing this matter, when only he was commanded unto it by the Councils Letters.

The Wife, Children and kindred of John Tooley cited.

Month of February. But because his Execution did not so shortly follow with theirs, but was prolonged to this present 10. day of the Month of June, wherewith we are now in hand, it followeth therefore now consequently to enter tractation thereof; first, beginning briefly with his Godly Conversation and Institution of Life, then shewing of his Troubles, also of his Examinations and Conflicts with the Bishop and other Adversaries, according as the order of his story doth require.

The life and conversion of Tho. Haukes.

As touching therefore his education and order of Life, first he was of the Country of Essex, born of an honest stock, in calling and profession a Courtier, brought up daintily from his Childhood, and like a Gentleman. Besides that, he was of such comeliness and stature, so well endued with excellent qualities, that he might seem on every side a Man (as it were) made for the purpose. But his gentle behaviour toward other, and especially his fervent study and singular love unto true Religion and Godliness did surmount all the rest. Wherein as God did singularly adorn him: even so he, being such a valiant Martyr of God, may seem to nobilitate the whole company of other holy Martyrs, and as a bright star to make the Church of God and his Truth, of themselves bright and clear, more gloriously to shine by his Example.

The Victory of Martyrs, is the Triumph of Christ.

For if the Conquests of Martyrs are the Triumphs of Christ (as S. Ambrose doth notably and truly write) undoubtedly Christ in few Men hath either Conquered more notably, or Triumphed more gloriously, than in this young Man: he stood so wisely in his cause, so godly in his Life, and so constantly in his death.

Tho. Haukes first in Service with the Earl of Oxford.

But to the Declaration of the matter: first this Haukes following the guile of the Court, as he grew in years, entered service with the Lord of Oxford, where he remained a good space, being there right well esteemed and loved of all the household, so long as Edward the sixth lived. But he dying, all things began to go backward, Religion to decay, godliness not only to wax cold, but also to be in danger every where, and chiefly in the Houses of good Men. Haukes milking the state of things, and especially in such Mens Houses, rather than he would change the Profession of true godliness, which he had tasted, thought to change the place, and so, forsaking the Noblemans House, departed thence to his own home, where more freely he might give himself to God and use his own Conscience.

Haukes compelled to leave the Earl of Oxford's House.

But what place in this World shall a Man find so secret for himself, whither the old wicked Serpent cannot creep, whereby he may have some matter to overthrow the quietness of the godly? Now in the mean season (as it happened) Haukes keeping his House at home, had born unto him a young Son, whose Baptism was deferred to the third week, for that he would not suffer him to be Baptized after the papistical manner, which thing the Adversaries not able to suffer, laying hands upon him, did bring him to the Earl of Oxford, there to be reasoned with, as not found in Religion, in that he seemed to contemn the Sacraments of the Church.

Haukes brought before the Earl.

The Earl either intending not to trouble himself in such matters, or else seeing himself not able, to weigh with him in such cases of Religion, sent him up to London with a Messenger, and Letters, and so, willing to clear his own hands, put him in the hands of Boner B. of London; the contents of which his Letter sent to Boner, be these.

Haukes sent up by the Earl to Bishop Boner.

A Letter of the Earl of Oxford to Boner.

The Earl's letter to Boner.

Most reverend Father in God, be it known unto you, that I have sent you one Thomas Haukes, dwelling in the County of Essex, who hath a Child that hath remained unchristened more than three weeks; who, being upon the same examined, hath denied to have it Baptized, as it is now used in the Church, whereupon I have sent him to your good Lordship, to use as ye think best, by your good discretion.

When the Bishop had perused this Letter, and afterward read it to M. Haukes, he hearing the same, thought with himself that he should not be very well used, seeing he was put to his discretion. Then wrote the Bishop a Letter again to him that sent the Prisoner, with many great thanks for his diligence in setting forth the Queens

proceedings. Then began the Bishop to enter Communication with M. Haukes, first asking, what should move him to leave his Child unchristened so long? To whom M. Haukes answered thus again as followeth.

Haukes. Because we be bound to do nothing contrary to the Word of God.

Boner. Why? Baptism is commanded by the Word of God.

Haukes. His Institution therein I do not deny.

Boner. What deny ye then?

Haukes. I deny all things invented and devised by Man.

Boner. What things be those that he devised by Man, that ye be so offended withal?

Haukes. Your, Oyl, Cream, Salt, Spittle, Candle, and conjuring of Water, &c.

Boner. Will ye deny that which all the whole World, and your Father hath been contented withal?

Haukes. What my Father and all the whole World hath done, I have nothing to do withal: but what God hath commanded me to do, to that stand I.

Boner. The Catholick Church hath taught it.

Haukes. What is the Catholick Church?

Boner. It is the Faithful Congregation, wheresoever it be dispersed thoroughout the whole World.

Haukes. Who is the Head thereof?

Boner. Christ is the Head thereof.

Haukes. Are we taught in Christ, or in the Church now?

Boner. Have ye not read in the eighth of John where he said, he would send his Comforter which should teach you all things?

Haukes. I grant you it is so, that he would send his comforter, but to what end? Forsooth to this end, that he should lead you into all Truth and Verity, and that is not to teach a new Doctrine.

Boner. Ah Sir, ye are a right Scripture Man. For ye will have nothing but the Scripture. There is a great number of your Country-Men of your Opinion. Do you know one Knight and Pygot?

Haukes. Knight I know, but Pygot I do not know.

Boner. I thought ye were acquainted with him: it seemeth so by your Judgment. What Preachers do ye know in Essex?

Haukes. I know none.

Boner. Do ye not know one Baget there?

Haukes. Yes forsooth, I know him.

Boner. What manner of Man is he?

Haukes. An honest Man so far as I know.

Boner. Do you know him if ye see him?

Haukes. Yea that I do. Then said he to one of his Servants, Go call me Baget hither. And then he said to me; Ye seem to be a very proud Man and a stubborn. He that brought me up stood all this while by.

Haukes. What should move your Lordship so to say?

Boner. Because I see in a Man that came with you much humility and lowliness.

Haukes. It seemeth your Lordship speaketh that to me, because I make no courtesy to you: and with that came Baget. Then the Bishop said to Baget: How say ye, Sir, know ye this man?

Baget. Yea forsooth my Lord; with that Baget and I shook hands. Then said the Bishop to Baget, Sir, this Man hath a Child which hath lyen three weeks unchristened (as I have Letters to shew) who refuseth to have it Baptized, as it is now used in the Church: how say you thereto?

Baget. Forsooth, my Lord, I say nothing thereto (with low courtesy to the hard ground.)

Boner. Say you nothing thereto? I will make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequented and used in the Church or not.

Baget. I beseech your Lordship to pardon me, he is old enough, let him answer for himself.

Boner. Ah Sir knave, are ye at that point with me? Go call me the Porter, said he, to one of his Men, Thou shalt sit in the Stocks, and have nothing but Bread and Water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made thus much of you, and have I you at it is point? Then came the Bishops Man, and said, The Porter is gone to London: Then said the Bishop to Baget, Come

Anno 1555.

Private talk or conference between Mr. Haukes and B. Boner.

Mans Tavern added to Baptism. The forefathers.

The Catholick Church.

Boner looked to be courteous.

Baget brought to the sight of Tho. Haukes.

Boner cheerfully answered.

Anno 1555.
Boner taketh Bage with him ſide to conſeruation.
Come with me, and he went away with him, and commanded me away, and bade one of his Gentlemen to talk with me (who was one of his own teaching) who desired amongst other things to know of me, with whom I was acquainted in *Eſſex*, and what men they were that were my teachers.

Haukes. When I ſee your Commiſſion, I will make you Answer. And then immediately came the Biſhop again: but ere he came, his man and I had much talk. Then the Biſhop ſate down under a Vine in his Orchard, and called *Baget* to him, whom he carried away, and brought again, and called me alſo, and ſaid to *Baget*: How ſay ye now Sir unto Baptiſm? Say whether it be to be frequented and uſed in the Church as it is now, or no?

Baget. Forſooth my Lord, I ſay it is good.

Boner. I beſee your heart, could ye not have ſaid ſo before? Ye have wounded this mans Conſcience. Then the Biſhop turned to me, and ſaid; How ſay ye now, Sir, this man is turned and converted.

Haukes. I build my Faith neither upon this man, neither upon you, but only upon Chriſt Jeſus, who (as *Paul* ſaith) is the founder and author of all mens Faith.

Boner. I perceive ye are a ſubborn fellow. I muſt be glad to work another away with you, to win you.

Haukes. Whatſoever ye do, I am ready to ſuffer it: for I am in your hands to abide it.

Boner. Well ye are ſo. Come on your waies, ye ſhall go in, and I will uſe you Chriſtianlike: You ſhall have meat and drink, ſuch as I have in my Houſe: but in any wiſe talk not.

Haukes. I purpoſe to talk nothing but the Word of God and Truth.

Boner. I will have no Hereſie talked on in my Houſe.

Haukes. Why is the Truth become Hereſie? God hath commanded that we ſhould have none other talk in our Houſes, in our Beds, at our Meats, and by the way, but all Truth.

Boner. If ye will have my favor; be ruled by my Council.

Haukes. Then I truſt you will grant me my requeſt.

Boner. What is that?

Haukes. That your Doctours and Servants give me none occaſion: for if they do, I will ſurely utter my Conſcience. Then commanded he his Men to take in *Baget*, and let not *Haukes* and him talk together. And ſo thus we departed, and went to dinner, and I dined at the Stewards Table.

After Dinner, his Chaplains and his Men began to talk with me. But amongst all other, there was one *Darbiſhire* principal of *Broadgates* in *Oxford*, and the Biſhops kinsman, who ſaid to me, that I was too curious: for ye will have (ſaid he) nothing but your little pretty Gods Book.

Haukes. And is it not ſufficient for my Salvation? Ye, (ſaid he) it is ſufficient for our Salvation, but not for our Inſtruction.

Haukes. God ſend me the Salvation, and you the Inſtruction. And as we thus reaſoned, came the Biſhop, who ſaid unto me; I gave you a Commandment that you ſhould not talk.

Haukes. And I deſired you that your Doctours and Servants ſhould give me none occaſion, Then went we into his Orchard again, he and his Doctours and I.

Boner. Would not ye be contented to have, that your Child ſhould be Chriſtened after the Book that was ſet out by King *Edward*?

Haukes. Yes, with a good will: it is a thing that I deſire.

Boner. I thought ſo: ye would have the ſame thing. The principal is in the Name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, and in the neceſſity it may ſerve.

Haukes. Chriſt did uſe it without any ſuch neceſſity: and yet we lack the chiefeſt point.

Boner. What is that?

Haukes. Go, teach all Nations, Baptizing them, &c.

Boner. Thou ſpeakſt that becauſe I am no Preacher.

Haukes. I ſpeak the Text: I do not mean you. Then ſpoke all the Doctours and his Men that were with him: he ſpoke it of you my Lord (with a great noiſe that they made.)

Boner. Will ye be content to tarry here, and your Child ſhall be Baptized, and you ſhall not know of it, ſo that you will agree to it?

Haukes. If I would ſo have done, I needed not to have come to you: For I had the ſame Council given before.

Boner. You ſeem to be a luſty young Man; you will not give your head for the waſhing; you will ſtand in the defence of it for the honor of your Country. Do ye think that the Queen and I cannot command it to be done in ſpite of your teeth?

Haukes. What the Queen and you can do, I will not ſtand in it: but ye get my conſent never the ſooner.

Boner. Well, you are a ſubborn young Man: I perceive I muſt work another way with you.

Haukes. Ye are in the hands of God, and ſo am I.

Boner. Whatſoever you think, I will not have you ſpeak ſuch words unto me. And ſo we departed untill even long time: and ere evenſong was begun, my Lord called for me to come to him into the Chappel, and ſaid; *Haukes*, thou art a proper young Man, and God hath done his part unto thee: I would be glad to do thee good. Thou knoweſt that I am thy Paſtor, and one that ſhould answer for thee. If I would not teach thee well, I ſhould answer for thy Soul.

Haukes. That I have ſaid, I will ſtand to it, God willing: there is no way to remove it.

Boner. Nay, nay *Haukes*, thou ſhalt not be ſo willful. Remember Chriſt bade two go into his Vineyard, the one ſaid he would, and went not; the other ſaid he would not, and went.

Haukes. The laſt went.

Boner. Do thou likewiſe, and I will talk friendly with thee; how ſayeſt thou? It is in the firſt of *S. John*; I am the Bread of Life, and the Bread that I will give is my Fleſh, which I will give for the Life of the World. And whoſoever eateth my Fleſh and drinketh my Blood, hath everlaſting Life. My Fleſh is very meat indeed, and my Blood is drink indeed. And he that eateth my Fleſh and drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Do ye believe this?

Haukes. Ye, I muſt needs believe the Scriptures.

Boner. Why? then I truſt that you be found in the Bleſſed Sacrament.

Haukes. I beſeech your Lordſhip to feel my Conſcience no farther then in that, that I was accuſed in unto you.

Boner. Well, well, let us go unto Evenſong.

Haukes. With that I turned my Back to go out of the Chappel.

Boner. Why, will you not tarry Evenſong?

Haukes. No forſooth.

Boner. And why?

Haukes. For I will not.

Boner. And why will ye not?

Haukes. For becauſe I have no edifying thereby, for I underſtand no Latin.

Boner. Why? you may pray by your ſelf. What Books have ye?

Haukes. I have the New Teſtament, the Books of *Solomon*, and the *Pſalter*.

Boner. Why I pray you tarry here, and pray you on your *Pſalter*.

Haukes. I will not pray in this place, nor in any ſuch. Then ſaid one of his Chaplains; let him go my Lord, and he ſhall be no partaker with us in our Prayers.

Haukes. I think my ſelf beſt at eaſe when I am fartheſt from you. And ſo the Biſhop went to Evenſong, and I came down, and walked between the Hall and the Chappel in the Court, and tarried there till Evenſong was done, and within an hour after that Evenſong was done, the Biſhop ſent for me into his Chamber where he lay himſelf, and when I came, there was he, and three of his Chaplains.

Boner. Ye know of the talk that was between you and me, as concerning the Sacrament. You would not have your Conſcience ſought any farther, than in that ye were accuſed of.

Haukes. I thought you would not be both mine accuſer and judge.

Boner

M. Hauke
will not
eat his
have his
could Chriſt
beſeech ſure
the Popiſh
order.

Boner ex-
tremely
talks of
the Sac-
rament.

The Hauke
reſolve to
leave Boner
Evenſong.

The Hauke
called for
again by Be-
ner.

Boner. Well, ye shall Answer me to the Sacrament of the Altar, the Sacrament of Baptism, the Sacrament of Penitence, and the Sacrament of Matrimony.

Haukes. There is none of these, but I dare speak my Confidence in them.

The matter
and cause
of the Sacra-
ment.

Boner. The Sacrament of the Altar ye seem to be sound in.

Haukes. In the Sacrament of the Altar? why Sir, I do not know it.

Boner. Well, we will make you to know it, and believe in it too, ere ever we have done with you.

Haukes. No, that shall ye never do.

Boner. Yes, a Fagot will make you do it.

Haukes. No, no, a point for your fagot. What God thinketh meet to be done, that shall ye do and more ye shall not do.

The matter
and cause
of the Sacra-
ment.

Boner. Do ye not believe that there remaineth in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration be spoken, no more Bread, but the very Body and Blood of Christ? and at that word he put off his Cap.

Haukes. I do believe as Christ hath taught me.

Boner. Why? did not Christ say, *Take, eat, this is my Body?*

Haukes. Christ said so: but therefore it followeth not, that the Sacrament of the Altar is so as you teach, neither did Christ ever teach it so to be.

Boner. Why? the Catholick Church taught it so, and they were of Christs Church.

Haukes. How prove you it? The Apostles never taught it so. Read the Acts, the second, and the twenty. Neither Peter nor Paul ever taught it, neither instituted it so.

Boner. Ah Sir, ye will have no more than the Scripture teacheth, but even as Christ hath left it bare.

Haukes. He that teacheth me any otherwise, I will not believe him.

Boner. Why? then ye must eat a Lamb, if ye will have but Christs Institution only.

Haukes. Nay, that is not so, before that Christ did institute the Sacrament, that Ceremony ceased, and then began the Sacrament.

Boner. Alas, you know not how it began, neither of the Institution thereof.

Haukes. Then I would be glad to learn.

Boner. Marry, we will teach you: but you are so stubborn that ye will not learn.

Haukes. Except ye learn me by the word of God, I will never credit you, nor believe you: and thus we concluded. Then the Bishop and his Chaplains laughed and said: Jesu, Jesu, what a stubbornness and arrogancie is this? and this was in his Chamber where he lay. Then said the Bishop to me, go ye down and drink, for it is fasting day: it is *Midsummer* Even, but I think ye love neither fasting nor Praying.

Haukes. I will never deny fasting neither Praying, so that it be done as it ought to be done, and without Hypocritie or vain glory.

Boner. I like you the better for that: and so we left for that night.

The next day the Bishop went to London: for *Tech-nam* was made Dean that day, and I tarried still at *Fulham*.

Then did the Bishops men desire me to come to Mats, but I did utterly refuse it, answering them as I did their Master.

That Night the Bishop came home to *Fulham* again.

Talk between Harpsfield and Thomas Haukes.

Then upon the *Munday* Morning, very early, the Bishop did call for me. There was with him *Harpsfield* Archdeacon of London, to whom the Bishop said; this is the Man which I told you of, who would not have his Child Christened, nor will have any Ceremonies.

Harpsfield. Christ used Ceremonies. Did he not take Clay from the ground, and took spittle, and made the Blind Man to see?

Haukes. I wot well that, but Christ did never use it in Baptism, If ye will needs have it, put it to the use that Christ put it unto.

Talk be-
tween
The Reader
and Harp-
field.
But Christ
never made
any ordi-
na or
custom of
the Cer-
emony.

Harpsfield. Admit your Child die unchristened: what a heavy case stand you in?

Haukes. I admit that if it do, what then?

Harpsfield. Marry then are ye damned, and your Child both.

Haukes. Judge you no farther than ye may by the Scriptures.

Harpsfield. Do ye not know that your Child is born in Original Sin?

Haukes. Yes that I do.

Harpsfield. How is Original Sin washed away?

Haukes. By true Faith and Belief of Christ Jesus.

Harpsfield. How can your Child bring an Infant be- lieve?

Haukes. The Deliverance of it from Sin standeth in the Faith of his Parents.

Harpsfield. How prove you that?

Haukes. By *S. Paul*, in the seventh and the first to the *Corinthians*, saying, *The unbelieving man is sanctified by the believing Woman, and the unbelieving Woman is sanctified by the believing Man, or else were your Children unclean.*

Harpsfield. I will prove that they whom thou putteth thy trust in, will be against thee in this Opinion.

Haukes. Who be those?

Harpsfield. Your great learned Men in Oxford.

Haukes. If they do it by the Scriptures, I will believe them.

Boner. Recant, recant do ye not know that Christ said, Except ye be Baptized ye cannot be saved?

Haukes. Doth Christianity stand in outward Ceremo- nies, or no?

Boner. Partly it doth: what say you to that?

Haukes. I say as *S. Peter* saith, *Not the washing of Water purgeth the filthiness of the Flesh, but a good Conscience consenting unto God.*

Harpsfield. Beware of Pride, Brother, beware of Pride.

Haukes. It is written, *Pride serveth not for Men, nor yet for the Sons of Men.*

Boner. Let us make an end here. How say you to the Mats, Sirra?

Haukes. I say it is detestable, abominable, and profit- able for nothing.

Boner. What nothing profitable in it? what say you to the Epistle and Gospel?

Haukes. It is good, if it be used as Christ left it to be used.

Boner. Well, I am glad that ye somewhat recant: re- cant all, recant all.

Haukes. I have recanted nothing, nor will do.

Boner. How say you to Confessors.

Haukes. I say it is abominable and detestable, yea, and a Blasphemy against God and his Son Christ, to call up- on any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, save only to Christ Jesus.

Boner. To trust to any, we bid you not: but to call upon them, and to pray to them, we bid you. Do ye not know when ye come into the Court ye cannot speak with the King and the Queen, unless ye call to some of the privy Chamber that are next to the King and Queen?

Haukes. They that list receive your Doctrine. You teach me that I should not believe nor trust in any, but to call on them: and *S. Paul* saith, *How should I call upon him, on whom I believe not?*

Boner. Will you have no Body to pray for you when you be dead?

Haukes. No surely, except you can prove it by the Scriptures. Then the Bishop pointed unto *Harpsfield*, and said unto me; Is it not well done to desire this man to pray for me?

Haukes. Yes surely, so long as we live, Prayer of the Righteous Man is available: but this Mans Prayers, you being dead, profiteth nothing at all.

Boner. Will ye grant the Prayer of the Righteous Man to prevail?

Haukes. I grant it doth for the living, but not for the dead.

Boner. Not for the dead?

Haukes. No forsooth, for *David* saith, *No Man can deliver us from death, nor make agreement unto God.*

Anno
1555.
The state
of Chil-
dren dying
without
Baptism.

The believ-
ing Parents
sanctifie the
Child.

Christianity
standeth not
in outward
Ceremonies.

Strach. 10.

Confessors
in the Mats
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Boner simi-
litude to
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ing to Saints.
We ought
not to be-
lieve in
Saints.
Ergo, we
ought not to
call upon
them.

Praying for
the dead.

Psal. 48
God

Anno 1555. God for him: for it cost more to redeem their Souls, so that ye must let that alone for ever.

Also Ezekiel said. Though Noah, Daniel, or Job dwell among them, yet can they in their righteousness exceed no further than themselves. Then the Bishop said to Harpsfield, Sir, ye see this Man hath no need of our Lay, neither of any of the Blessed Saints. Well, I will trouble you no longer; I did call you hoping that you should do some good on him, but it will not be. And he said to me, Sir, It is time to begin with you; we will rid you away, and then we shall have one Heretick less.

Ex k. 14.

When he came over one by Devison, gets about 1. 5. words by Authority.

Harps. What Books have you?
Haukes. The New Testament, Salomons Books, and the Psalter.

Harps. Will you read any other Books?

Haukes. Yea, if you will give me such Books as I will require.

Harps. What Books do you require?

Haukes. Latimer Books, my Lord of Canterburies Book, Bradfords Sermons, Ridleyes Books.

Boner. Away, away, he will have no Books but such as maintain his Heresies: and so they departed for Harpsfield was bootied to ride unto Oxford, and I went to the Porters lodg again.

The next days talk.

The next daye talk. The Bishop came was Lord, Bishop sometime of Colchester, and Suffragane of Exeter, of whom read before. B. 2. we improved for his Anger.

The next day came thither an Old Bishop, who had a Pearl in his Eye, and he brought with him to my Lord a dish of Apples, and a Bottle of Wine. For he had lost his living, because he had a Wife. Then the Bishop called me again into the Orchard, and said to the Old Bishop: this young Man hath a Child, and will not have it Christened.

Haukes. I deny not Baptism.

Boner. Thou art a Fool thou canst not tell what thou wouldst have, and that he spake with much anger.

Haukes. A Bishop must be blameless or faultless, sober, discreet, no chider, nor given to anger.

Boner. Thou judgest me to be angry: no by my Faith am I not, and stroke himself upon the Breast.

Then said the Old Bishop, Alas good young Man, you must be taught by the Church, and by your ancients, and do as your forefathers have done before you.

Boner. No, no, he will have nothing but the Scriptures, and God wot he doth not understand them. He will have no Ceremonies in the Church, no not one, What say you to Holy Water?

Haukes. I say to it, as to the rest, and to all that be of his making that make them.

Boner. Why, the Scriptures do allow it.

Haukes. Where prove you that?

Boner. In the Book of Kings, where Elizeus threw salt into the Water.

Haukes. Ye say truth; that it is written in the fourth Book of the Kings, the second Chapter, the Children of the Prophets came to Elizeus, saying The dwelling of the City is pleased, but the Waters be Corrupted. This was the cause that Elizeus threw Salt into the Water, and it became sweet and good: and so when our Waters be corrupted, if ye can by putting in of Salt make them sweet, clear and wholesome, we will the better believe your Ceremonies.

Boner. How say you to Holy Bread?

Haukes. Even as I said to the other. What Scripture have you to defend it?

Boner. Have ye not read where Christ fed five thousand men five with Loaves, and three Fishes.

Haukes. Will ye make that Holy Bread? There Christ dealt Fish with his Holy Bread.

Boner. Look I pray you how Captious this Man is.

Haukes. Christ did not this miracle, or other, because we should do the like miracle: but because we should believe and credit his Doctrine thereby.

Lamer. We believe no Doctrine, but that which is wrought by miracles.

Haukes. No forsooth, for Christ said, These Tokens shall follow them that believe in me: They shall speak with new Tongues, they shall cast out Devils, and if they drink any deadly poison, it shall not hurt them.

See how Boner proveth holy Water by the Scripture. Elizeus put Salt in the Water, not to wash away Sin, but only to make the Water sweet.

Boner proveth holy Bread by the five Loaves and three Fishes.

Meth. 16.

Boner. With what new Tongues do ye speak?

Haukes. Forsooth, where before that I came to the knowledge of Gods Word, I was a foul bawling, and filthy talker, since I came to the knowledge thereof, I have lauded God, praised God, and given thanks unto God, even with the same Tongue; and is not this a new Tongue?

Boner. How do you cast out Devils?

Haukes. Christ did cast them out by his word, and he hath left the same word, that whosoever doth credit and believe it, shall cast out Devils.

Boner. Did you ever drink any deadly Poyson?

Haukes. Yea forsooth that I have; for I have drunken of the peccilent Traditions and Ceremonies of the Bishop of Rome.

Boner. Now you shew yourself to be a right Heretick.

Haukes. I pray you, what is Heresie.

Boner. All things that are contrary to Gods Word.

Haukes. If I stand in any thing contrary hereto, then am I worthy to be called.

Boner. Thou art one, and thou shalt be burned, if thou stand and continue in this Opinion. Ye think we are afraid to put one of you to death: yes, yes, there is a Brotherhood of you, but I will break it; I warrant you.

Haukes. Where prove you that Christ or his Apostles did kill any Man for his Faith?

Boner. Did not Paul Excommunicate?

Haukes. Yes my Lord, but there is a great difference between Excommunicating and Burning.

Boner. Have ye not read of the Man and the Woman in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Peter destroyed.

Haukes. Yes forsooth, I have read of one Ananias, and Sapphira his Wife, which were destroyed for lying against the Holy Ghost, which serveth nothing to your purpose.

Boner. Well you will grant one yet.

Haukes. Well, if you will have us to grant you be of God, then shew mercy, for that God requirith.

Boner. We will shew such mercy unto you, as ye shewed unto us: for my Benefice or Bishoprick was taken away from me, so that I had not one penny to live upon.

Haukes. I pray ye my Lord what do you give him now that was in the Bishoprick or Benefice before that ye came again to it? whereunto he answered me never a word: for he turned his Back unto me, and talked with other Men, saying that he was very sorry for me, but he trusted that I would turn with S. Paul, because I was so earnest, and so he departed and went to Dinner, and I to the Porters Lodge again.

After Dinner I was called into the Hall again and the Bishop desired the Old Bishop to take me into his Chamber: for I would be glad (said he) if ye could convert him. So he took me into his Chamber, and sate him down in a Chair, and said to me; I would to God I could do you some good. Ye are a young Man, and I would not with you to go too far, but learn of your elders to bear some what.

Haukes. I will bear with nothing that is contrary to the Word of God. And I looked that the Old Bishop should have made me an Answer, and he was fast a sleep.

Then I departed out of the Chamber alone, and went to the Porters Lodge again, and there saw I the Old Bishop last: I suppose he is not yet awake.

Talk between Fecknam and Haukes.

The next day came Fecknam unto me and said; Are ye he that will have no Ceremonies?

Haukes. What mean you by that?

Fecknam. Ye will not have your Child Christened, but in English, and you will have no Ceremonies.

Haukes. Whatsoever the Scripture commandeth to be done I refuse not.

Fecknam. Ceremonies are to be used by the Scriptures.

Haukes. Which be those?

Fecknam. How say you by Pauls Breches?

Haukes. I have read no such thing.

Fecknam. Have ye not read in the Acts of the Apostles, how

How converted Christ should speak with Tongues.

R. Boner did Heretick by his own doctrine.

The Papists do besides Gods Book in burning men for their Faith.

This Bishop here forgetteth his lesson, Beside the perfecting his own.

The Haukes after wards called for a glass to talk with the Old Bishop.

The next day talk with Fecknam.

Fecknam recited by Pauls Breches.

how things went from Paul's Body, and they received health thereby?

A. 23. 19.

Haukes. I have read in the xix. of the Acts, how there went Partlets and Napkins from Paul's Body, is it that you mean?

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Fecknam. Yea the same is it: what say you to those Ceremonies?

Haukes. I say nothing to the Ceremonies. For the Text saith, that God did so work by the hands of Paul, that there went Partlets and Napkins from him, &c. So that it seemed by the Text, that it was God that wrought, and not the Ceremonies.

Fecknam. How say ye to the Woman that came behind Christ, and touched the hem of his vesture? did not her disease depart from her by that Ceremony?

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Haukes. No forsooth: for Christ turned back, and said to Peter, *Who is it that toucheth me?* And Peter said, *Thou seest the People thrust thee; and askest thou, Who touched me? Some Body hath touched me (saith Christ) for verily hath gone out of me. I pray you, whether was it the vertue that healed this Woman, or his vesture?*

Fecknam. Both.

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Anno 1555. I Haukes. Yea, I have been taught another Gospel since I came into this House.

Other doctrine taught in the Church of Rome than ever Paul taught. Chad. What Gospel have ye been taught?

Haukes. Praying to Saints, and to our Lady, and trust in the Mass, holy Bread, holy Water, and in Idols.

Idols. Chad. He that teaches you so, teaches you not a mass.

Haukes. Cursed be he that teacheth me so: for I will not trust him nor believe him.

Boner. You speak of Idols, and you know not what they mean.

Haukes. God hath taught us what they be: for whatsoever is made, graven, or devised by mans hand, contrary to Gods Word, the same is an Idol. What say you to that?

The Cross. Chad. What be those that ye are so offended withal?

Haukes. The Cross of Wood, Silver, Copper, or Gold, &c.

Boner. What say ye to that?

Haukes. I say it is an Idol. What say you to it?

Images. Boner. I say every Idol is an Image, but every Image is not an Idol.

Haukes. I say, what difference is there between an Idol and Image?

Note here Boner's definition of an Idol. Boner. If it be a false God, and an Image made of him, that is an Idol: but if an Image be made of God himself, it is no Idol, but an Image, because he is a true God.

Haukes. Lay your Image of your true God and of your false God together, and ye shall see the difference.

Note here how grossly Chad's understanding the words of St. Paul. Have not your Images feet and go not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hands and feel not, mouths and speak not? and even so have your Idols.

Chad. God forbid, saith St. Paul, that I should rejoice in any thing else, but in the Cross of Christ Jesus.

Haukes. Do ye understand Paul so? Do ye understand Paul? Unto the which he answered me never a word.

Boner. Where can we have a godlier remembrance when we ride by the way, than to see the Cross?

Haukes. If the Cross were such a profit unto us, why did not Christs Disciples take it up and set it on a Pole, and carry it in procession, with *Salve, Jesu dicitur*?

Chad. It was taken up.

Haukes. Who took it up? *Helene*, as ye say; for she sent a piece of it to a place of Religion, where I was with the Visitors when that House was suppressed, and the piece of the holy Cross (which the Religious had in such estimation, and had robbed many a Soul, committing Idolatry to it) was called for, and when it was proved, and all come to all, it was but a piece of a Lath covered over with Copper, double gilded as it had been clean Gold.

The People seduced by false pieces of the holy Cross. Boner. Fie, fie, I dare say thou slanderest it.

Haukes. I know it to be true, and do not believe the contrary. And thus did the Bishop and the Doctor depart in a great fume: and Chadsey said unto me, as he was about to depart, It is pity that thou shouldst live, or any such as thou art. I answered, In this case I desire not to live, but rather to dye.

Chad. Ye dye boldly, because ye would glory in your death, as *Joan Butcher* did.

Haukes. What *Joan Butcher* did, I have nothing to do withal: but I would my part might be to Morrow. God make you in a better mind, I said they both, and so they departed, and I went to the Porters Lodge with my Keeper.

The next day Dr. Chadsey preached in the Bishops Chappel, and did not begin his Sermon until all the Service was done: and then came the Porter for me, and said, My Lord would have you come to the Sermon, and so I went to the Chappel Door, and stood without the Door.

Boner. Is not this Fellow come?

Haukes. Yes I am here.

Boner. Come in man.

Haukes. No, that I will not. He called again, and I answered, I will come no nearer, and so I stood at the Door. Then said the Bishop go to your Sermon.

Then Dr. Chadsey put the stole about his Neck, and carried the holy Water-Sprinkle unto the Bishop, who blessed him and gave him holy Water, and so he went to his Sermon.

The Text that he treated on was the 16. of Matthew, *Whom do men say that I the Son of man am?*

Another Sermon. Petet said, *Some say that thou art Helias, some say that thou art John Baptist, some say thou art one of the Prophets. But whom say ye that I am?* Then said Peter, *Thou art Christ the Son of the ever-living God.* Then left he the Text there, and said, *Whose Sins forever ye bind, are bound: which Authority (said he) is left to the Heads of the Church, as my Lord here is one, and so unto all the rest that be underneath him. But the Church hath been much kicked at since the beginning: yet kick the Hereticks, spurn the Hereticks never so much, the Church doth stand and flourish. And then he went straightway to the Sacrament, and said his mind on it, exalting it above Heaven (as the most of them do) and so returned to his place again, saying, *Whose Sins ye do remit, are remitted and forgiven: and so he applied it to the Bishops and the Priests to forgive Sins, and said, All that be of the Church will come and receive the same. And this he proved by St. John in the 11. Chap. saying, that Christ came to raise Lazarus, which when he was risen, was bound in bands: and then said Christ to them that were in Authority (who were his Disciples) go ye and loose him, loose him ye. And this was the effect of his Sermon, applying all to them, that they have the same Authority that Christ spake of to his Apostles, and so ended his Sermon, and they to Dinner.**

Another Communication between Tho Haukes and the Bishop.

And after Dinner I was called into the Chappel, where were certain of the Queens Servants, and other Strangers, whom I did not know.

Boner. Haukes, how like you the Sermon?

Haukes. As I like all the rest of his Doctrine.

Boner. What? are ye not edified thereby?

Haukes. No surely.

Boner. It was made only because of you.

Haukes. Why? then am I sorry that ye had no more Hereticks here, as ye call them: I am sorry that ye have bestowed so much labour on one, and so little regarded.

Boner. Well, I will leave you here, for I have business, I pray you talk with him: for if ye could do him good (said he) I would be glad.

This the Bishop spake to the Queens men, who said unto me, Alas, what mean you to trouble your self about such matters against the Queens proceedings?

Haukes. Those matters have I answered before them that be in Authority: and unless I see you have a farther Commission, I will answer you nothing at all. Then said the Bishops Men, (which were many) my Lord hath commanded you to talk with them.

Haukes. If my Lord will talk with me himself, I will answer him. They cried, Fagots, burn him, hang him, to Prison with him: it is pity that he liveth, lay Irons upon him, and with a great noise they spake these words. Then in the midst of all their rage I departed from them, and went to the Porters Lodge again.

The next days Talk.

The next day the Bishop called me into his Chamber, and said, Ye have been with me a great while, and ye are never the better, but worse and worse: and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but send you to Newgate.

Haukes. My Lord, you can do me no better pleasure.

Boner. Why? would you so fain go to Prison?

Haukes. Truly I did look for none other, when I came to your hands.

Boner. Come on your ways, ye shall see what I have written. Then did he shew me certain Articles, and these are the Contents of them:

Whether the Catholick Church do teach and believe, that Christs real Presence doth remain in the Sacrament, or no, after the words of Consecration, according to the words of Saint Paul, which are these; *Is not the Bread which we break the partaking of the Body of Christ,*

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Haukes. Why? then am I sorry that ye had no more Hereticks here, as ye call them: I am sorry that ye have bestowed so much labour on one, and so little regarded.

Boner. Well, I will leave you here, for I have business, I pray you talk with him: for if ye could do him good (said he) I would be glad.

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The next days Talk.

The next day the Bishop called me into his Chamber, and said, Ye have been with me a great while, and ye are never the better, but worse and worse: and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but send you to Newgate.

Haukes. My Lord, you can do me no better pleasure.

Boner. Why? would you so fain go to Prison?

Haukes. Truly I did look for none other, when I came to your hands.

Boner. Come on your ways, ye shall see what I have written. Then did he shew me certain Articles, and these are the Contents of them:

Whether the Catholick Church do teach and believe, that Christs real Presence doth remain in the Sacrament, or no, after the words of Consecration, according to the words of Saint Paul, which are these; *Is not the Bread which we break the partaking of the Body of Christ,*

Another Sermon. Petet said, *Some say that thou art Helias, some say that thou art John Baptist, some say thou art one of the Prophets. But whom say ye that I am?* Then said Peter, *Thou art Christ the Son of the ever-living God.* Then left he the Text there, and said, *Whose Sins forever ye bind, are bound: which Authority (said he) is left to the Heads of the Church, as my Lord here is one, and so unto all the rest that be underneath him. But the Church hath been much kicked at since the beginning: yet kick the Hereticks, spurn the Hereticks never so much, the Church doth stand and flourish. And then he went straightway to the Sacrament, and said his mind on it, exalting it above Heaven (as the most of them do) and so returned to his place again, saying, *Whose Sins ye do remit, are remitted and forgiven: and so he applied it to the Bishops and the Priests to forgive Sins, and said, All that be of the Church will come and receive the same. And this he proved by St. John in the 11. Chap. saying, that Christ came to raise Lazarus, which when he was risen, was bound in bands: and then said Christ to them that were in Authority (who were his Disciples) go ye and loose him, loose him ye. And this was the effect of his Sermon, applying all to them, that they have the same Authority that Christ spake of to his Apostles, and so ended his Sermon, and they to Dinner.**

Another Communication between Tho Haukes and the Bishop.

And after Dinner I was called into the Chappel, where were certain of the Queens Servants, and other Strangers, whom I did not know.

Boner. Haukes, how like you the Sermon?

Haukes. As I like all the rest of his Doctrine.

Boner. What? are ye not edified thereby?

Haukes. No surely.

Boner. It was made only because of you.

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Christ, and the Cup which we bleſſe, the partaking of the Blood of Chriſt? which if it were not ſo, Paul would never have ſaid it.

Haukes. What your Church doth, I cannot tell: but I am ſure that the holy Catholick Church doth never ſo take it, nor believe it.

Boner. Whether doth the Catholick Church teach and believe the Baptiſm that now is uſed in the Church, or no?

Answer of Haukes to the firſt Article.
Answer to the ſecond Article.

Talk between Haukes and Dr. Harpfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Haukes. I answered to it, as I did to the other queſtion before. Then did the Biſhop with much flattery counſel me to be perſwaded, and to keep me out of Priſon, which I utterly reſuſed, and ſo we departed. And I ſuppoſed that the next day I ſhould have gone to Priſon, and ſo I had, ſave for the Archdeacon of Canterbury, whoſe name is *Harpfield*, whom the Biſhop had deſired to talk with me, and began to perſwade me concerning the Sacrament, and the Ceremonies: and after much talk he ſaid, that the Sacrament of the Altar was the ſame Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, which did hang upon the Croſs.

Haukes. He was upon the Croſs both alive and dead: which of them was the Sacrament?

Harpf. The Archdeacon answered, alive.

Haukes. How do you prove that?

Harpf. You muſt believe. Doth not *S. John* ſay, *He is condemned already that believeth not?*

Haukes. *S. John* ſaith, *He that believeth not in the Son of God is already condemned*, but he ſaith not, *He that believeth not in the Sacrament is already condemned*.

Harpf. There is no talk with you: for ye are both without Faith and Learning, and therefore I will talk no more with you in Scripture.

Another queſtion put to Harpfield, why the Ponder is ſet between the Church and the Chancel.

Haukes. Then two that ſtood by bade me enter further in talk with him; and then ſaid I unto him, Why is the Roodloſt ſet betwixt the body of the Church and the Chancel?

Harpf. I cannot tell: for ye have asked a queſtion which you cannot aſſail your ſelf.

Haukes. Yes that I can: for this faith one of your own Doctōrs, That the body of the Church doth repreſent the Church Militant, and the Chancel the Church Triumphant: and ſo becauſe we cannot go from the Church Militant to the Church Triumphant, but that we muſt bear the Croſs of Chriſt; this is the cauſe of the Roodloſt, being between the body of the Church and the Chancel.

Harpf. This is well and Clerkly concluded.

Haukes. As all the reſt of your Doctrines; and ſo with many perſwaſions on his part we ended, and ſo departed: and I to the Porters Lodge again.

Another days Talk.

Haukes ſent to the Gate-houſe at Weſtminſter with the Biſhops Warrant.

The next day in the Morning, which was the firſt day of *July*, the Biſhop did call me himſelf from the Porters Lodge, commanding me to make me ready to go to Priſon, and to take ſuch things with me as I had of mine own. And I ſaid, I do neither intend to bribe, neither to ſteal, God willing. Then he did write my Warrant to the Keeper of the Gate-houſe at *Weſtminſter*, and delivered it to *Harpfield*, who with his own man and one of the Biſhops men brought me to Priſon, and delivered the Warrant and me both to the Keeper: and this was contained in the Warrant.

The Biſhops Warrant.

I will and command you, that you receive him who cometh named in this Warrant, and that he be kept as a ſafe Priſoner, and that no man ſpeak with him, and that ye deliver him to no man, except it be the Council, or to a Juſtice: for he is a Sacramentary, and one that ſpeaketh againſt Baptiſm, a ſeditious man, a perillous man to be abroad in theſe perillous days. And thus was I received, and they departed. And there I remained thirteen days, and then the Biſhop ſent two of his Men unto me, ſaying, My Lord would be glad to know how ye do. I answered them, I do like a poor Priſoner. They ſaid, My Lord would know, whether ye be the ſame man that ye were when ye departed. I ſaid, I am no Changing. They ſaid, My Lord would be glad that ye ſhould do well: I ſaid, if my Lord will me any

good, I pray you deſire him to ſuffer my Friends to come to me. So they ſaid they would ſpeak for me, but I heard no more of them.

This is the firſt Examination of me *Thomas Haukes*, being examined by *Edmund Boner*, then Biſhop of *London*, and by his Chaplains and Doctōrs at *Fulham*, four miles from *London*, where I lay, till I came to Priſon to *Weſtminſter*: and after his two Men had been with me, I heard no more of him till the third day of *September*.

Here followeth the ſecond time of mine Examination, the which was the third day of *September*, for the Biſhop did ſend his Men for me to come to his Palace of *London*; and ſo my Keeper and his Men brought me to his Palace the ſame day.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, then being Chancellor, Preached that day at *Pauls-Croſs*, and the Biſhop of *London* ſaid to my Keeper, I think your Man will not go to the Sermon to day.

Haukes. Yes my Lord, I pray you let me go: and that that is good I will receive, and the reſt I will leave behind me, and ſo I went. And when the Sermon was done, I and my Keeper came to the Biſhops Houſe, and there we remained till Dinner was done: and after Dinner the Biſhop called for me, and asked me, if I were the ſame Man that I was before.

Haukes. I am no Changing, nor none will be.

Boner. Ye ſhall find me no Changing neither. And ſo he returned into his Chamber, and there he did write the ſide of a ſheet of Paper, and all that while I ſtood in the great Chamber, and as many with me as might well ſtand in the Chamber. And as I ſtood there, *Dr. Smith* came unto me, (who once recanted, as it appeared in Print) ſaying, That he would be glad to talk Brotherly with me. I asked him what he was. Then ſaid they that ſtood by, he is *Dr. Smith*. Then ſaid I, Are you he that did recant? And he ſaid, it was no recantation, but a declaration.

Haukes. You were beſt to term it well for your own Honesty.

Dr. Smith. Shall I term it as it pleaſeth you? *Haukes.* To be ſhort with you, I will know whether ye will recant any more or no, before that I talk with you, credit you, or believe you: and ſo I departed from him to the other ſide of the Chamber. Then ſaid the Biſhops Men and his Chaplains, that my Lord commanded me to talk with him. Then they that ſtood by cried with a great noiſe, Hang him, burn him; it is pley that he liveth, that diſobeyeth my Lords commandment.

Then ſaid one *Miles Huggard*, Where prove you that Infants were baptized?

Haukes. Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son; and of the Holy Ghoſt. Sir, here is none excepted.

Mr. Huggard. What ſhall we go to teach Children?

Haukes. That word doth trouble you; it might be left out full well: it is too much for you to teach. Is not your name *Miles Huggard*?

Mr. Hug. So am I called.

Haukes. Be you not a Hoſier, and dwell in *Pudding-Lane*?

Mr. Hug. Yes that I am, and there I do dwell.

Haukes. It ſhould ſeem ſo, for ye can better ſkill to cat a Pudding, and make a Hoſe, than in Scripture either to answer or oppoſe. With that he was in great rage, and did chaſe up and down. Then I deſired that ſome man would take ſome pain to walk the Gentleman, he did fret ſo for anger. Then one that ſtood by me (who was Parſon of *Horn-Church* and *Rumford* in *Elſex*) ſaid, Alas, what do you mean? a young Man to be ſo ſtubborn? there ſeemeth too much Pride in you.

Haukes. Are ye not the Parſon of *Horn-Church*?

Parſon. Yes that I am.

Haukes. Did you not ſet ſuch a Priſt in your Beneſice?

Parſon. Yes for a Biſt.

Anno 1555.

The ſecond time of Haukes his Examination.

Dr. Smith cometh to Haukes, Dr. Smith's recantation.

Miles Huggard's words to T. Haukes.

Miles Huggard.

Huggard more meeke to cat a Pudding, than to diſpute of Scripture.

Haukes.

Anno

1555.

Parton of
Hew-Church
compared to the West-
Cock
of Tents.
Frivolous
Questions.
May 31.

Haukes. Like will to like; such Master, such Man. For I know the Priest to be a very vile man, as any could be. I asked the Parton, what kin he was to the Weather-Cock of Pauls; and he fell into a great Laughter with the rest of his Companions. He said, that I did Rail.

Then said another that stood by unto me; what Book have you here? I answered, the New Testament. May I look in it, said he? Yea, that ye may, said I. And so he looked in my Book, and said it was corrupt. I answered him, if the things contained in it be true, then are ye false Prophets. He said that he would oppose me in the first word of the Testament, saying, Here is a generation of Christ: and *Ej*ay faith, No man can tell his Generation.

Haukes. What meaneth *Ej*ay by that?

I would learn of you, said he.

Haukes. Ye would be angry if the Scholar should teach the Master: but if ye will have me to teach you; I will tell you *Ej*ay's meaning.

Then said he, No man can tell the Generation between the Father and the Son: but you (I dare say) did know it before.

Haukes. Why then *Ej*ay denieth not the Generation.

Then said he, Why is Christ called Christ?

Haukes. Because he is a Messias.

Then said he, Why is he called a Messias?

Haukes. Because he was so prophesied by the Prophets.

Then said he, Why is your Book called a Book?

Haukes. These words do breed more strife than godly edifying.

Beware, said he, that ye do not decline from the Church, for if you do, you will prove your self an Heretic.

Haukes. Even as ye do call us Hereticks, that do incline to Christ's Church from your Church: so are ye all false Prophets that do decline from Christ's Church to your own Church. And by this shall all men know you to be false Prophets: if ye say, This faith the Church: and will not say, This faith our Lord. And so he went his way, as though he had a Flea in his Ear.

Then came another and said unto me, He would talk with me, for he perceived (as he said) that I was angry, and out of patience.

Haukes. I will see your Commission, or ever I talk with you, or with any man more. For I wist not how to be rid of them, they came so thick about me. For I said, that I came to talk with my Lord, and not with any of them.

With that came the Bishop, bringing a Letter in his hand, the which he had written in my Name, and read it unto me after this manner: I Thomas Haukes do here confess and declare before my said Ordinary Edmund Bishop of London, that the Mass is abominable and detestable, and full of all Superstition; and also as concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ (commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar) that Christ is in no part thereof, but only in Heaven: this I have believed, and this I do believe, &c.

Haukes. Stop there my Lord: what I have believed, What have you to do withal? But what I do believe, to that stand I, and will. Then he took his Pen, and said that he would scrape it out for my pleasure, and so he did to my thinking.

Then he went further with his writing, and said, I Tho. Haukes have talked with my said Ordinary, and with certain good, godly and learned Men. Notwithstanding I stand still in mine Opinion.

Haukes. Shall I grant you to be good, godly and learned Men, and yet grant my self to stand in a contrary Opinion? No, I will not grant you to be good, godly and learned Men.

Boner. Ye will grant that ye have talked with us: The other I will put out for your pleasure. Then said all his Doctors, If your Lordship be ruled by him, he will cause you to put out all together: and then he read more to me. Here unto this Bill have I set my hand, and then he offered me the Bill and his Pen, and bade me set my hand to it.

Haukes. Ye get not my hand to any thing of your making or devising.

Boner. Wilt not thou set to thy hand? It shall be to thy shame for the denying of it.

And then he called all his Doctors, and said, he would have every mans hand to it that was in the Chamber; and so he had all their hands to it and said, He that will not set his hand to it, I would he were hanged, and so said all his Chaplains and Doctors with a great noise.

Then the Bishop thrust me on the Breast with great anger, and said he would be even with me, and with all such proud Knaves in *Essex*.

Haukes. Ye shall do no more than God shall give you leave.

Boner. This fear shall not be unpunished, trust to it.

Haukes. As for your Curfings, Railings and Blasphemings, I care not for them: for I know the Moths and Worms shall eat you, as they eat Cloth or Wool.

Bishop. I will be even with you, when time shall come.

Haukes. You may in your malice destroy a man: but when ye have done, ye cannot do so much as make a finger, and ye be meetly even with some of us already.

Boner. If I do thee any wrong, take the Law of me.

Haukes. Solomon saith, Go not to Law with a Judge; For he will judge according to his own honour.

Boner. Solomon saith, Give not a Fool an answer.

Haukes. What do you count me a Fool?

Boner. Yea, by my Troth do I; and so dost thou me too: but God forgive thee, and so do I.

Haukes. Thought is free, my Lord. Then took Boner the Bill and read it again; and when he saw that he could not have my hand to it; then he would have had me to take it into my hand; and to give it to him again.

Haukes. What needeth that Ceremony? Neither shall it come into my hand, heart or mind. Then he wrapt it up, and put it in his Bosom, and in a great anger went his way, and called for his Horse and went to Horse-back, for the same day he rode in Visitation into *Essex*: and so went I to Prison, from whence I came with my Keeper.

And this was the second time of my Examination. Written by me Tho. Haukes, who desireth all Faithful men and Brethren to pray unto God, to strengthen me in his Truth unto the end. Pray, pray, pray, gentle Brethren pray.

The public Examination of Tho. Haukes.

AFTER all these private Conferences, Perswasions and long Debatings had with T. Haukes in the Bishops House, as hitherto hath been declared, the Bishop seeing no hope to win him to his wicked ways, was fully set to proceed openly against him after the ordinary course of his Popish Law. Whereupon T. Haukes shortly after was cited with the rest of his other Fellows above-specified, to wit, T. Tomkins, S. Knight, W. Pygot, J. Lawrence, and W. Hunter, to appear in the Bishops Conistory, the 8 day of February, this present year, viz. 1555. Upon which appearance, was laid against him in like order as to the other, first the Bill of his Confession, written with Boners hand, to the which Bill ye heard before how the blessed Servant of God denied to subscribe.

After which Bill of Confession, being read; and be constantly standing to the said Confession, the Bishop then assigned him with the other five the next day following, which was the 9th of February, to appear before him again, to give a resolute Answer what they would stick unto. Which day being come, and these afore-said six Prisoners being severally called before the Bishop, at the coming of Thomas Haukes, the Bishop willed him to remember what was said to him yesterday; and now while he had time and space, to advise with himself what he would answer, for he stood upon Life and Death. Well quoth Mr. Haukes again, I will willingly receive whatsoever shall be put upon me. Then were certain other Interrogatories or Articles commenced against him by the said Bishop (in like manner as

The Haukes denied to set his hand to Boner's Writing.

Boner is a denier to Boner's Writing.

* And even now ye said, you would be even with him.

The Haukes cited to the Bishops Conistory.

Ex Registra. The first days Session against T. Haukes.

The second days Session against T. Haukes.

The Answer of T. Haukes.

to the other) to the number of four, with another till also which *honor* brought out of his Bosom, containing private matters against the said *Thomas Haukes*, which the Bishop called Heresies and Errors, but we may better call them Christian Verities. To the which matter being read, the said *Haukes* answered openly again, saying that it was true, and that he was glad it was so true as it was, with more words to the like effect. And this was in the forenoon, the ix. day of *February*. In the afternoon again the said *Haukes* appearing and hearing the fore-said bill of his Confession, with the Articles and Interrogatories read unto him, with like Constancy in answering again to the Bishop; My Lord (said he) as you being my Friend have caused these my sayings to be written; so do you cause them to be read: and yet I will never go from them. And then being exhorted by the Bishop, with many fair words, to return again to the Bosom of the Mother Church: No my Lord (said he) that will I not: for if I had an Hundred Bodies, I would suffer them all to be torn in pieces, rather than I will abjure or recant. And so continuing still in the same song, notwithstanding that the Doctors and Lawyers were ever calling upon him to come again to the Unity of the Church, he ever kept them off with this Answer, that he would never go from the belief he was in, so long as he believed. Whereupon *Boner* at the last read the Sentence of Death upon him, and so was he condemned the same day with the residue of his fellows, which was the ninth of *February*. Nevertheless his execution was prolonged, and he remained in prison till the 10. day of

The words of *Thomas Haukes* at his judgement. The invincible constancy of *Thomas Haukes*.

The *Haukes* condemned by Bishop *Boner*.

The death of *Haukes* deferred. *Thomas Haukes* brought down to *Effex* by the Lord *Rich*.

June. Then was he committed to the hands and charge of the Lord *Rich*, who, being assisted with power sufficient of the Worshipful of the Shire, had the fore-said *Thomas Haukes* down into *Effex*, with Six other fellow prisoners whose Stories hereafter follows, there to suffer Martyrdom, *Haukes* at *Cox-Hall*, the other severally in other several places.

Thomas Haukes by the way use much exhortation to his Friends, and whensoever opportunity served to talk with them he would familiarly Admonish them.

A little before his Death, certain there were of his familiar Acquaintance and Friends, who frequented his company more familiarly, which seemed not a little to be confirmed both by the example of his constancy, and by this talk; yet notwithstanding, the same again, being feared with the sharpness of the punishment which he was going to privily, desired that in the midst of the Flame he would shew them some token, if he could, whereby they might be more certain, whether the pain of such burning were so great that a man might not therein keep his mind quiet and patient. Which thing he promised them to do: and so secretly between them it was agreed, that if the rage of the pain were tolerable and might be suffered, then he should lift up his hands above his head toward Heaven, before he gave up the Ghost.

Not long after, when the hour was come, *T. Haukes* was led away to the place appointed for the slaughter, by the *L. Rich* and his Attendants who being now come unto the stake, there mildly and patiently addressed himself to the fire, having a strait chain cast about his middle, with

Agreed between *Thomas Haukes* and Friends to give them a token in the fire, whether the pain of burning were so great that a man might not therein keep his mind quiet or no?

The *Haukes* carried to the place of execution.

The Martyrdom of *Thomas Haukes* in *Effex*, at a Town called *Coxehall* Anno 1555 June 10.



The burning of *Thomas Haukes*, Martyr.



no small multitude of People on every side compassing him about. Unto whom after he had spoken many things, especially unto the *L. Rich* reasoning with him of the innocent Blood of Saints; at length after his fervent prayers first made, and poured our unto God, the fire was set unto him.

In the which when he continued long, and when his speech was taken away by Violence of the flame, his kin also drawn together, and his fingers consumed with the fire, so that now all men thought certainly he had been gone, suddenly and contrary to all expectation the blessed Servant of God, being mindful of his promise afore made, reached up his hands burning on a light fire, which was marvellous to behold, over his head to the living God, and with great rejoicing as seemed, strook or clapped theme three times together. At the sight whereof there followed such applause and outcry of the People, and espe-

cially of them which understood the matter, that the like hath not commonly been heard: and so the blessed Martyr of Christ; straightway sinking down into the fire, gave up his Spirit, An. 1555. June 10. And thus have you plainly and expelly described unto you the whole story, as well of the Life, as of the death of *Thomas Haukes*, a most constant and faithful witness of Christs Holy Gospel.

Letters.

An Epistle to the Congregation, by *Thomas Haukes*.

Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be always with you all (my dear Brethren and Sisters in the Lord Jesus Christ) for ever; and his Holy Spirit conduct and lead you

The end and Martyrdom of *Thomas Haukes* at *Coxehall*.

A letter of *Thomas Haukes* to the congregation.

The *Haukes* standing at the stake: reasoneth with the Lord *Rich*.

The *Haukes* standing at the stake: reasoneth with the Lord *Rich*.

Anno
1555.

ye shall in all your doings, that you may always direct
your eyes according to his Holy Word; that when he
shall appear to reward every man according to their
works, ye may as obedient Children, be found watch-
ing, ready to enter into his everlasting Kingdom, with
your lamps burning; and when the Bridegroom shall thew
himself, ye need not to be ashamed of this life which
God hath lent you, which is but transitory, vain, and
like unto a vapour, that for a season appeareth and vani-
sheth away: so soon passeth away all our terrestrial ho-
nour, glory and felicity. For all flesh (saith the Pro-
phet) is grass, and all his glory as the flower of the field,
which for a season sheweth her beauty, and as soon as the
Lord bloweth upon it, it withereth away, and departeth.
In this transitory and dangerous wilderness, we are
as Pilgrims and strangers following the footsteps of
Moses, among many unspeakable dangers, beholding
nothing with our outward man, but all vain vanities
and vexation of mind, subject to hunger, cold, nakedness,
sickness, loss, labour, banishment, in danger of
that dreadful Dragon, and his sinful seed, to be devoi-
red, tempted and tormented, who ceaseth not behind
every bush to lay a bait, when we walk away to have
his pleasure upon us, casting abroad his apples in all
places, times, and seasons, to see if Adam will beallured
and enticed to leave the living God and his most holy
commandments, whereby he is assured of everlasting
life, promising the World at will, to all that will fall
down in all ages, and for a mess of pottage sell and set
at nought the Everlasting Kingdom of Heaven. So frail is
Flesh and Blood; And in especial Israel is most ready to
walk away, when he is filled with all manner of Riches,
as saith the Prophet.

Therefore I am bold in bonds (as entirely desiring your
everlasting health and felicity) to warn you, and most
heartily desire you to watch and pray: For our estate
is dangerous, and requireth continual prayer. For
on the high Mountains, doth not grow most plenty
of grass, neither are the highest trees farthest from dan-
ger, but seldom sure, and always shaken of every wind
that bloweth. Such a deceitful thing (saith our Saviour)
is Honour and Riches, that without grace it choketh up
the good seed sown on his creatures, and blindeth so their
seeing, that they go groping at noon day in darkness:
it maketh a man think himself somewhat, that is
nothing at all. For though for our Honour we esteem
ourselves and stand in our own light, yet when we shall
stand before the living God, there shall be no respect of
persons. For riches helpeth not in the day of vengeance:
neither can we make the Lord partial for money. But
as ye have ministered unto the Saints, so shall ye receive
the reward, which I am fully persuaded and assured
shall be plentifully poured upon you all, for the great
goodness shewed unto the Servants of the Living God.
And I most heartily beseech Almighty God to pour forth
a plentiful reward upon you for the fame, and that he
will assist you with his Holy Spirit in all your doings, that
ye may grow, as ye have begun, unto such a perfection
as may be to Gods Honour, your own salvation, and
the strengthening of the weak members of Christ. For
though the World rage and blaspheme the elect of God,
ye know that it did so unto Christ, his Apostles, and to all
that were in the Primitive Church, and shall be unto the
Worlds End.

Therefore believe in the light while ye have it, lest it
be taken away from you; if you shall seem to neglect
the great Mercy of God that hath been opened unto you,
and your hearts consented unto it, that it is the very and
only truth pronounced by Gods only Son Jesus Christ,
by the good will of our Heavenly Father. Therefore I
say in the Bowels of my Lord Jesus Christ, stick fast un-
to it; let it never depart out of your hearts and conver-
sation, that you with us and we with you at the great day,
being one flock, as we have one Shepherd, may rise to
the life immortal, through Jesus Christ our only Savi-
our. Amen.

Tours in him that liveth for ever, Thomas Haukes.

Here followeth another letter of Thomas Haukes, sent
to his Wife after his condemnation, being prisoner in
Newgate: the copie whereof is this.

The copie of Thomas Haukes Letter to his Wife.

Grace be with you, and peace from God the Father,
and from our Lord Jesus Christ, which gave him-
self for our sins, to deliver us from this present Evil
World, through the good will of God our Father, to
whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen.

My dear yoke-fellow in the Lord, forasmuch as the
Lord hath not only called me to work in his vineyard,
but hath also fulfilled his good work in me (I trust to his
glory, and to the comfort of all those that look for his
coming) I thought it my duty, dear yoke-fellow, to
write unto you some lessons out of Gods Book; and if
you will direct your self thereafter, doubt not of it but
God, who refuseth none that will come to him with their
whole heart, will assist you with his Holy Spirit, and
direct you in all his ways, to his Honour and Glory,
who grant it for his mercy sake, Amen.

First, I exhort you to fear God, to serve and honour
his holy Name, to love him with all your heart, soul,
and mind, to believe faithfully all his promises, to lay
sure hold upon them, that in all your troubles whatsoever
they are, ye may run straight to the great mercy of God,
and he will bring you forth of them: Keep you within
his wings, then shall ye be sure that neither Devil, Flesh,
nor Hell shall be able to hurt you.

But take heed; If you will not keep his Holy Precepts
and Laws, and to the uttermost of your power call for
the help of God to walk in the same, but will leave them,
and run to all abominations with the wicked World,
and do as they do; then be sure to have your part with
the wicked World in the burning Lake that never shall
be quenched. Therefore beware of Idolatry, which doth
most of all stink before the face of Almighty God, and
was of all good men most detested from the beginning of
the World. For the which, what Kingdoms, Nations,
and Realmes God hath punished with most terrible plagues,
with fire, brimston, hunger, sword, and pestilence, &c.
to the utter subversion of them, it is manifestly to be
seen though the whole Bible. Yea, his own peculiar People,
whom he had done so much for, when they fell from him,
and went and served other gods, contrary to his com-
mandment, he utterly destroyed and rooted them out
from off the Earth: and as many as died in that damnable
state, not repenting their abominable evil, he threw them
into the Pit of Hell. Again, how he hath preserved those
that abhor Superstition and Idolatry, and that have on-
ly taken hold upon God with their whole heart, to serve
him, and to love him, to fear him, &c. it is most mani-
festly to be seen even from the beginning, out of what
great dangers he hath ever delivered them: yea when all
hope of deliverance was past as touching their expecta-
tion, even then in the sight of all his enemies would he
work his godly will and purpose, to the utter amazing
and destruction of all those that were his manifest ene-
mies.

Further, I exhort you in the bowels of Christ that you
will exercise and be steadfast in prayer; for prayer is the
only mean to pierce the Heavens, to obtain at the hand
of God whatsoever we desire, so that it be asked in
faith. Oh what notable things do we read in Scriptures
that have been obtained through fervent prayer? We are
commanded to call upon him for help, aid, and succour
in necessities and troubles, and he hath promised to help
us. Again, they that will not call upon him with their
whole heart, but upon other dead creatures, in whom
there is no help (for there was none found worthy to o-
pen the book, but only the Lamb Christ which was kil-
led for our sins) I say, who that will refuse his help,
must even by the terrible Judgments of God come ut-
terly to confusion: as it hath, and is daily manifest to be
seen. And whatsoever you desire of God in your prayer
ask it for Jesus Christs sake, for whom and in whom God,
hath promised to give us all things necessary. And though
that which we ask come not by and by at the first and
second calling, yet continue still knocking, and he will
at length open his Treasures of mercy, so that ye shall
be sure to obtain; for he hath so promised, if ye continue
in faith, hoping surely in him. These former lessons,
with all such instructions as I have told you by mouth,
I do

A letter of
his strange
condemnationI exhort you
to love him
with all your
heart, soul, and
mind.He exhort-
eth her to
beware
of Idolatry:
Idolatry
punished of
God.Exhortation
to prayer.Praying to
God, and
not to
creatures.To continue
in prayer,
and to pray
only in the
name of
Christ.

I do wish that you would most earnestly learn; and then I doubt not, but God who is the giver of all grace, will assist you in all your doings, that ye may be found worthy of his Kingdom, which is prepared through Christ.

Care for his Children.

He meaneth M. Clement Throgmorton, who desired to have the bringing up of his Child.

Further, where it hath pleased God to send us Children, my desire is, that they may be brought up in the fear of God, and in his Laws. And this is to certify you, that ye deliver in any wife my Eldest Son unto M. Throgmorton, who upon his good will hath promised me to bring him up according to my desire; and (I trust) as God hath put into his heart. See therefore that ye deliver him in any wife without delay: and as for the other, if ye shall seem to be burdened with him (which I think nature will not suffer) my desire is, that it be brought up in the fear of God to the uttermost of your endeavour, with some honest man that hath the fear of God before his eyes, and let us give thanks unto God which hath given them us beseeching him that they may be counted worthy to be of that flock that shall stand on the Right Hand of the Majesty of God, when he shall judge the World, Amen.

Keeping of good company.

Exhortation to take heed whom he meaneth, and that the misery in the Lord.

Yet once again I warn you, that ye continue in fervent prayer, as I said before; then shall ye be sure, that God even of his own mercy, according as he hath promised, will be an Husband unto you, and provide better for you than ever I was able to do: yea, he will cause all men that fear him to pity you, to help you, to succour you in all your necessities, so that if any will do you wrong, he will be avenged on him. Moreover, I wish you to keep company with those of whom ye may learn to come to a more perfect knowledge in God, and I doubt not but God will provide that such will be glad to receive you if you shall profess and go forward in his truth.

Finally, and to make an end, I desire you that ye take heed with whom ye couple your self. See that he be a man that feareth God, loveth his Laws, and will walk in the same to the uttermost of his power: such a one as can be content to love you, and to care for you. Take heed he be no brawler, no drunkard, no wicked person, not given to filthiness, no worldling, no dicer nor carder. In fine, no filthy person, but chuse you such a one as God may be glorified in both your lives. And again on your part, love him, serve him, obey him in all godliness, as long as God shall give you life in this World. Then shall ye both be sure to obtain that Kingdom which God the Father hath prepared, and Jesus Christ obtained for you, that never shall have end, where I trust to abide your coming, Amen.

By your Husband, Thomas Haukes.

Ye heard before in the Letter of *Tho. Haukes* written to his Wife, mention made concerning his Eldest Son to be sent to M. Throgmorton. Now what he writeth to the said M. Throgmorton touching the same matter, by this his Letter to the said party hereunder ensuing, may appear.

A Letter of Thomas Haukes to M. Clement Throgmorton.

Another letter of Thomas Haukes written to M. Clement Throgmorton.

Grace, mercy and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, and assist you in all your thoughts, words, and works, that be in all things, as most worthy, may be glorified, and that the blessing of Abraham may be poured plentifully on you and all your posterity.

Whereas the Love of God hath moved you to require my Son to be brought up before your eyes, and the self same love hath also moved me in like case to leave him in your hands, as unto a Father in mine Absence, I shall require you in Gods behalf according to your promises, that ye will see him brought up in the Fear of the Lord, and instructed in the knowledge of his Holy Word, that he may thereby learn to leave the evil, and know the good, and always be pricked forward with Fatherly Instructions to follow my Footsteps, that as Almighty God hath made me worthy through his special grace to work his will in Obedience, he may learn to follow me his Father in the like, to Gods Honour and Praise: And this I require you in Gods behalf to fulfill, or cause to be fulfilled, as ye before the living God will make Answer for the same. I have left for the Child certain Books which shall be delivered unto you,

wherein his Instruction and Salvation lieth, if he learn and practise the same. And thus most humbly beseeching you once again, to be as good to him, as your promise was unto me, that is, to be a Father, and a wall of defence unto him in all troubles, I leave him in your hand through the Lord Jesus, and desire him to bless both him and you according to his good promise: and all that good which ye shall do unto him, I shall most heartily desire the everlasting God to recompence unto you in his Kingdom, where I hope to meet both him and you among all Gods Elect. To which God be all Praise, Honour, and Glory, Amen.

Tours and all mens in Christ Jesus, Thomas Haukes.

The History of Thomas Wats, examined, tried, and burnt for the truth of the Gospel.

Thomas Wats of Billerica, within the County of Essex, of the Diocese of London, was by his occupation a Linen Draper: who before he was apprehended, had sold and made away his cloth in his shop, and disposed his things being set in order to his Wife and Children, and gave away much of his cloth unto the poor. For he looked always to be taken by Gods Adversaries and his, as shortly after came indeed to pass: so that upon the 26. day of April, he was apprehended and brought before the Lord Rich, and other Commissioners at Chelmsford, and there being accused for not coming to the Church, was upon the same examined before the Lord Rich, Henry Tyrell, Sir Anthony Brown, Edmund Tyrell, Thomas Mulman, John Wiseman, Roger Appleton, Richard Weston, Justice Gaudy, &c. The summe and principal effect of which examination, hereunder followeth briefly expressed.

The Examination of Thomas Wats before the Lord Rich, and others.

When this Thomas Wats came before the Lord Rich, and other the Justices, whose Names are specified in the letter following (which they sent unto the Bishop of London against him) at the Sessions at Chelmsford, the Lord Rich said these Words or the like in effect unto him.

Wats, ye be brought hither, as I understand, because of disobedience to the King and the Queens Laws. Ye will not come to the Church, ye will not hear Mass, &c. but have your Conventicles a sort of you in corners, contrary to the Kings and Queens proceedings. Unto which his words Wats answered and said.

My Lord, if I have offended a Law, I am subject here to the Law. Then Anthony Brown Justice said unto him; Wats, I pray thee tell me who hath been thy Schoolmaster to teach thee this gear, or where didst thou first learn this Religion? Forsooth, quoth Wats, even of you, Sir: you taught it me, and none more than you. For in King Edwards days in open Sessions you spake against this Religion now used, no Preacher more. You then said the Mass was abominable, and all their Trumpety besides, wishing and earnestly exhorting that none should believe therein, and that our belief should be only in Christ: and you said then, whosoever should bring in any strange Nation to rule here it were Treason, and not to be suffered. Then said Brown to my Lord Rich, he belies me my Lord. What a kuave is this? he will soon belie me behind my back, when he doth it before my face, and my Lord Rich said again, I dare say he doth so.

After these words, Wats took occasion to speak somewhat of King Philip and of his coming in, but what it was, I could not justly learn. But thus much was heard, that after those words spoken, the Bench among themselves stood up, and said one to another, Throgmorton, saving one good man called Justice Gaudy, who a little before was about to speak: but when he heard them cry Treason, he held down his head as one grieved and troubled at their doings.

In conclusion, the Commissioners being weary of him, or else not willing to meddle further in such matters, sent him up to the Bishop of London, with their letter withall, importing the cause of his sending up, as the contents thereof hereunder follow to be seen.

A Letter

Anno

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Anno
1555.*A Letter sent by certain Justices in Essex to Boner Bishop of London.*A letter of
the Lord
Rich, Henry
Tyrel, and
other Jus-
tices to
Boner.The Wats
sent up by
the Justices
of Essex to
Bishop
Boner.

After our most hearty commendation to your good Lordship, these shall be to advertise you, that at our Sessions of Oyer and Terminer holden at Chelmsford the 26. day of April last past, there came before us in open Court one Thomas Wats of Billerica within your Diocess, by ordinary process, and then and there being examined why he refused to come to his Parish Church, and there to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, and hear Divine Service, according to the institution of Holy Church, he openly there answered generally; that like as the Service of the Church set out in the days of late King Edward 6. was said by us now to be Abominable, Heretical, Schismatical, and all naught, so he said, that all that is now used and done in that Church, is Abominable, Heretical, Schismatical, and naught, with divers other erroneous, and arrogant words: and therefore we have thought good to send him to your Lordship, to be further examined by you of his particular opinions, as to your Pastoral Office shall seem convenient, certifying you further, that in our opinion he is one of the most arrogant Heretics that hath been heard speak, or ever came before you, and not meet to be kept here in any Goal, as well for fear of corrupting others, as for divers and sundry other special causes hereafter to be more declared. Thus leaving to molest your good Lordship, we commit you to the Holy Ghost. Given at Chelmsford the 27. of April, Anno 1555.

*Your good Lordships most assured,*The names
of the Jus-
tices.*R. Rich**Henry Tyrel**Anthony Browne.**Edmund Tyrel.**Thomas Mildman.**John Wylman.**Roger Appleton.**Richard Weston.*

Now when the Bishop had received him, how he used him is easie (by his common practices with others) to judge. What his private conferences were, I know not, but what was publicly done in the Consistory at Pauls (the common stage for these tragedies) you shall here see.

*The first appearance of Thomas Wats in the Bishops Consistory.*The first ap-
pearance of
Th. Wats
in the
Bishops Con-
sistory.

First upon Thursday, being the second day of May, Thomas Wats was brought thither before the Bishop of London, and there being examined upon his words had before the Lord Rich, and others (as is contained in their Letters) he did earnestly affirm the same to be true. Whereupon the Bishop objected, and examined him upon these Articles following, to the which he answered, as under may appear.

*Articles objected against Thomas Wats of Billerica in the County of Essex, within the Diocess of London, by Boner Bishop there, as enjuncts.*Articles as-
signed Th. Wats.The Sacra-
ments of
the Church
of Rome.The sub-
stance of
the Sacrament.

1 *Item*, that the said Thomas Wats was of Billerica, and so of the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of London.

2 *Item*, that he believed not in the Sacraments of the Holy and Catholick Church, as the Catholick Church of Rome, and all other Churches members of the same, ever hitherto have believed, and is taught of all good and faithful People, nor hath allowed the Sacraments, Rites, Usages, or Ceremonies of the said Church, but hath despised the same.

3 *Item*, that he believeth, and also hath taught others, that the substance of material Bread and Wine do remain in the Sacrament of the Altar after the consecration, and that the said material Bread and Wine are the signs and tokens of Christs Body hanged upon the Cross, and of his Blood there shed, and that in the said Sacrament there is only a memory or remembrance of Christs Body and Blood, and nothing else.

4 *Item*, that he believeth and doth precisely affirm, that the very true presence of Christs Body as Blood in substance, is not in the Sacrament of the Altar, but only in Heaven, and no where else.

5 *Item*, that he believeth, affirmeth, and saith, that the Mass now used in the Church of Rome, here in England, and others places, is full of Idolatry, abomination, and wickedness, and that Christ did never institute it, nor ordain it, nor yet allow it: is a good and laudable thing to be used in his Church.

6 *Item*, that he believeth and affirmeth, that Auricular Confession to be made unto the Priest is not necessary, but superfluous: and that it is enough for a man to believe only, and to confess himself unto God, without any Priest or Minister at any time, though he may have the Priest to confess him unto.

7 *Item*, that he believeth that Luther, Wickliffe, Doctor Barnes, and all other that have holden against the Sacrament of the Altar, and suffered death by fire or otherwise for the maintenance of the said opinion, were good men and faithful Servants and Martyrs of Christ in so believing and dying.

8 *Item*, that he hath and doth believe, that to fast, pray, or to do alms-deeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable; for if a man shall be saved, he shall be saved without doing of them; and if he shall be damned, they shall not help him, or do him any good at all.

9 *Item*, that the said Wats of late coming into open Court at the Sessions before the Lord Rich, Sir Henry Tyrel Knight, Anthony Brown Esquire, and others, and being then and there examined, did openly confess, that he had refused to come to the Church, and to hear there the Divine Service, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, according to the order of the Church: because that like as the Service of the Church set out in the days of the late King Edward the sixth, was said and alleged to be Abominable, Heretical, Schismatical, and all naught, so he the said Thomas Wats then and there said openly before the said Commissioners, that all that is now used and done in the Church, is Abominable, Heretical, Schismatical, and altogether naught: And that he did also then utter before the said Commissioners other Erroneous and Arrogant words, to the hurt of his Soul, and to the evil example of the People there present.

10 *Item*, that he the said Thomas by reason of the premises, was and is to be taken, had, reputed, and judged as a manifest and open Heretic, and for the same, by the order of Ecclesiastical Laws is to be declared accursed; and being obstinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the Secular Powers, there to be punished as an Heretic.

11 *Item*, that he over and besides all these offences and Trespases aforesaid, had also added this Trespas, that is to wit, that he had believed and deliberately spoken that the Church of Rome in her Rites, Ceremonies, Sacraments, Constitutions, and Traditions, is the Synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had consented and agreed in opinion and belief with one John Toole, of late hanged at Charing Cross, who at the time of his executing, desired the People to pray to be delivered from the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, with all his enormities; as who should say, that his Authority and doings were Tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

12 *Item*, that the premises and every part thereof be true, notorious, manifest, and openly spoken and talked of amongst the honest and credible persons in great multitude, and that of all and singular the same within Billerica aforesaid, and other places thereabout, being of the Diocess of London, there is a common voice and fame thereof.

The answer of the said Thomas Wats to the aforesaid Articles.

TO the first he said and confessed the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the second Article he answered, that he believeth in all the Sacraments according to Christs Institution, and the Catholick Church; but not according to the Bishop of Romes Church: and further said, that he doth

The presence
in the Sacra-
ment.The Mass
abominable.Confession
to God.Doctor
Martyr.Fasting,
praying,
and alms
deeds.The Meas-
ure re-
proved.Was requi-
red by the
Laws for an
Heretic.The Church
of Rome a
Synagogue
of Satans.His answers
to the
Articles.

the same that he had done in times past; for in the Church then believed, but not to believe, for the Church of Rome had taught him, that he did not believe as Christ hath taught him, but as the Church of Rome hath taught him, and other whose names he had heard of, which say he said did preach the Word of God, and since dy.

To the third he answered, that he hath and doth believe, that Christ's Body is in Heaven, and no where else: neither, that he will never believe that Christ's Body is in the Sacrament.

To the fourth he answered, confessing and firmly believing the same to be true.

To the fifth, that he did believe, that the Mass is abominable, and that he will not go once from that his belief.

To the sixth, that he neither did, nor yet doth believe, that the Priest can absolve him of his sins: howbeit, he doth not it is good to ask counsel at the Priests mouth.

To the seventh he said, that he knew not what the opinions of the said persons named in the said Article were; and in case the said persons did believe, that the Body, and Blood of Christ were really and in very deed in the Sacrament of the Altar, then that they were not good men. But in case they did believe that the Body and Blood of Christ was not in the Sacrament of the Altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good Christian men.

To the eighth, that he had not spoken as is contained in this Article, but said, that he hath and doth believe, that fasting, prayers, and almsdeeds be works of a lively faith.

To the ninth he confessed, that he did utter and speak, as in this Article is contained, and further he desired God that he might die in that faith and belief, wherein he now is.

To the tenth he answered and said, that he will submit himself herein to the order of the law: and further said, that he trusteth that with God he shall be blessed, although with men he be cursed.

The Bishop of Rome as enemy to Christ.

To the eleventh he said, the he believed that the Bishop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Christ and his Church. And as for *Tooly* he said, he did never see or know him: but in case the said *Tooly* did with and pray as is contained in the Article, then he did likewise with and consent with him therein.

To the twelfth he answered, that all which before he confessed to be true, is also true: and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth again to be true, and believeth the same to be according to such things as he hath confessed.

By me Thomas Wats.

Another appearance of Thomas Wats in the Consistory.

The Wats again appeareth in the Consistory. The Bishop words to The Wats.

These Articles thus propounded and answered, the Bishop commanded him to appear again in the same place at three of the Clock in the afternoon, upon the same day. At which hour being brought thither by his Keeper, the Bishop began with him in this wise; *Wats*, you know what I said unto you to day, and what I appointed unto you at this time. The time is now come: weigh and consider with your self, that you are but a Man, and albeit that you will willingly cast away your Body, yet canst not so away your Soul, but while ye have time, return and confess the truth.

The answer of Wats.

Whereunto *Thomas Wats* answered and said, I am weary to live in such Idolatry as ye would have me to live in. Upon which answer the Bishop caused his Articles again to be read. He thereto answered as before, and farther, subscribed the same with his own hand.

Another appearance before D. Harpsfield.

Another appearance before D. Harpsfield.

The Bishop after many persuasions to cause him to recant, would him to depart as then, and to come again on Saturday at eight of the clock in the morning. Where the Bishop being absent, D. Nicolas Harpsfield, as then being his Deputy, did sit, and earnestly exhorted

him to deny his opinions. To whom in the end he answered.

Well, ye have a law to condemn me, and I submit myself to the law; but not to the laws of the Church (as you call it:) And farther I doe affirm, and still stand to mine answers that I have made.

Whereupon Dr. Harpsfield would him to appear there again upon Friday, being the 10 day of the same Month of May. Upon which day the Bishop privately sent for the said *Thomas Wats* into his Chamber, and there with many fair promises tempted and tried him, whether he would revoke his errors (as he then termed them.) But *Wats* answered him in this sort; I will not believe your Church, neither the Romish Church, and therefore you do but labour in vain thus to travail with me. He was hereupon again dismissed for that time until Friday the 17. day of May, and then commanded to appear in the Consistory; which commandment he obeyed, and having the accustomed former Articles ministred unto him, made then such Answers as before.

Thomas Wats brought again to the Consistory.

This being toft and to fro from day to day, and hour to hour, he was at the last, the 18. day of the Month of May, brought into the Consistory, where first was made a brief recital of all the former procces: and there the said *Wats* being (by the Bishop and others) would to deny his profession, made this final Answer; God keep me from the Doctrine that ye would have me to come unto, which ye have now declared. And I beseech God that I may persevere in that, that I have done; for I will stand to mine Answers.

The Bishop perceiving his fair flattering promises nothing to prevail (and having no great store of other reasons to perwade with) put forth his last and strongest argument of Condemnation. Which being ended, he was delivered to the Sheriffs of London, and by them was sent to Newgate, where he remained until the 9. day of June, or (as some record) to the 22. of May: at what time he was carried unto Chelmsford, and there was brought to Scott's house, keeping then anline in Chelmsford, where, as they were eating meat with *Haukes* and the rest that came down to their burning; they prayed together both before and after their meat.

Then *Wats* went and prayed privately to himself, and afterward came to his wife and his six Children being there, and said these words in effect; Wife, and my good Children, I must now depart from you. Therefore henceforth know I you no more, but as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord, whom I charge you see you do obey, and fear him: and beware ye turn not to this abominable Papistry, against the which I shall anon, by Gods grace, give my Blood. Let not the murdering of Gods Saints cause you, to relent, but take occasion thereby to be the stronger in the Lords quarrel, and I doubt not but he will be a merciful Father unto you. All these and such like words spake he unto them, and they unto him: of whom two, as it is said, offered to be burnt with him. In the end he bade them farewell, and kissed them all and was carried to the fire.

At the stake, after he had kissed it, he spake to my Lord *Rich* these or the like words: My Lord, faith he. Beware, beware, for you do against your own Conscience Lord *Rich*, herein, and without you repent, the Lord will revenge it: For you are the cause of this my Death.

Concerning the Childbed of Queen Mary as it was rumoured among the People.

Long persuasion had been in England with great expectation for the space of half a year or more, that the Queen was conceived with Child. This report was made by the Queens Physicians, and other high about the Court: so that divers were punished for saying the contrary. And commandment was given, that in all Churches supplication and prayer should be made for the Queens good deliverance: the certifier whereof ye may read before in the letter of the Council sent to Bomer.

Anno

1555

Wats sub

mitted him

to the law,

and not to

the Popes

law.

The Wats

privately

appeareth

again before

the Bishop.

Wats answer

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ANNO 1555. And also the same moreover may appear by provision made before in Act of Parliament for the Child.

And now forasmuch as in the beginning of this month of June, about *Whitsonide*, the time was thought to be nigh that this young Matter should come into the World, and that Midwives, Rockers, Nurfs, with the Cradle and all, were prepared and in a readiness suddenly upon what cause or occasion it is uncertain, a certain vain Rumor was blown in London of the prosperous Deliverance of the Queen, and the Birth of the Child. Inasmuch that the Bells were rung, Bonfires and Processions made, not only in the City of London, and in most other parts of the Realm, but also in the Town of *Antwerp* Guns were shot off upon the River by the *English* Ships, and the Mariners thereof rewarded with an hundred Pi-
Processions and Bonfires in London for Joy of the young Prince, Triumph at Antwerp for the same.
 sfolets or *Italian* Crowns by the Lady Regent, who was the Queen of *Hungary*. Such great rejoicing and triumph was for the Quens Deliverie, and that there was a Prince born. Yea, divers Preachers, namely one the Parson of *S. Anne* within *Aldersgate*, after Procession and *T. Deum* sung took upon him to describe the proportion of the Child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a Prince it was, as the like had not been seen.

In the midst of this great ado, there was a simple man (this I speak but upon Information) dwelling within four miles of *Barwick*, that never had been before half way to London, which said concerning the Bonfires made for Queen Maries Child, Here is a joyful Triumph, but at length all will not prove worth a mess of Pottage, as indeed it came to pass: For in the end all proved clean contrary, and the joy and expectations of Men were much deceived. For the People were certified, that the Queen neither was as then delivered, nor after was in hope to have any Child.

At this time many talked diversly. Some said this Rumor of the Quens Conception was spread for a Policy; some other affirmed, that she was deceived by a Timpany or some other like device, to think her self with Child, and was not; some thought she was with Child, and that it did by some chance miscarry, or else that she was bewitched; but what, was the truth thereof the Lord knoweth, to whom nothing is secret. One thing of mine own hearing and seeing, I cannot pass over unwittingly.

There came to me, whom I did both hear and see, one *Isabel Malt*, a Woman dwelling in *Aldersgate-street* in *Horn-Alley*, not far from the House where this present Book was printed, who before wifely made this declaration unto us, That the being delivered of a Man-child upon *Whitunday* in the Morning, which was the 11. day of June, Anno 1555. there came to her the Lord North, and another Lord to her unknown, dwelling then about *Old Fish-street*, demanding of her if she would part with her Child, and would swear that she never knew nor had any such Child. Which, if she would, her Son (they said) should be well provided for, she should take no care for it, with many fair offers if she would part with the Child.

After that came other Women also, of whom one they said should have been the Rocker; but she in no wise would let go her Son, who at the writing hereof being alive, and called *Timothy Malt*, was of the Age of 13. years and upward.

Thus much, I say, I heard of the Woman her self. What credit is to be given to her relation, I deal not withal, but leave it to the liberty of the Reader, to believe it they that list; to them that list not, I have no further warrant to assure them.

Among many other great preparations made for the Quens deliverance of Child, there was a Cradle very sumptuously and gorgeously trimmed, upon the which Cradle for the Child appointed, thre Verses were written, both in Latin and English.

*Quam Maria sobolem, Deus optime, summe dedisti,
 Anglis incommensurabile, tuere, Rege.*

The Child which thou to Mary, O Lord of Might hast sent,
 To *Englands* Joy, in health preserve, keep and defend.

About this time there came over into England a certain English Book, giving warning to Englishmen of the *Spaniards*, and disclosing certain close practices for recovery of *Abby-Lands*, which Book was called *A Warning for England*. Whereof ye shall understand more, God willing, when we come to the *Spanish Inquisition*. So that by the occasion of this Book, upon the 13. day of this Month came out a certain Proclamation, set forth in the name of the King and Queen, repealing and dissualling all manner of Books written or printed, whatsoever should touch any thing the emprising of the Popes Dignity, whereby not only much godly Edification was hindered, but also great peril grew among the People. The Copy of which Proclamation here followeth.

A Proclamation set out by the King and Queen, for the refraining of all Books and Writings, tending against the Doctrine of the Pope and his Church.

Whereas by the Statute made in the second year of King Henry the Fourth concerning the repressing of Hereſie, there is ordained and provided a great punishment, not only for the Authors, Makers, and Writers of Books containing wicked Doctrine, and erroneous and Heretical Opinions, contrary to the Catholick Faith and Determination of the holy Church, and likewise for their Fautors and Supporters; but also for such as shall have or keep any such Books or Writings and not make delivery of them to the Ordinary of the Diocess or his Ministers within a certain time limited in the said Statute, which Act or Statute being by Authority of Parliament of late revived, was also openly proclaimed, to the intent the Subjects of the Realm upon such Proclamation should the rather eschew the danger and penalty of the said Statute, and as yet nevertheless in most parts of the Realm the same is neglected, and little regarded: The King and Queen our Sovereign Lord and Lady, therefore, &c. it traitly charge and command, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from henceforth presume to bring or convey, or cause to be brought or conveyed into this Realm, any Books, Writings or Works hereafter mentioned; that is to say, any Book or Books, Writings or Works made or set forth, by, or in the name of *Martin Luther*, or any Book or Books, Writings or Works made and set forth, by, or in the name of *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, *John Calvin*, *Pomerant*, *John Alasco*, *Bullinger*, *Bucer*, *Melancthon*, *Bernardinus Ochinus*, *Erasmus*, *Sacerius*, *Peter Martyr*, *Hugh Latimer*, *Robert Barnes*, otherwise called *Friar Barnes*, *John Bale*, otherwise called *Friar Bale*, *Justus Jonas*, *John Hooper*, *Miles Coverdale*, *William Tindal*, *Thomas Cranmer* late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William Turner*, *Theodore Basil*, otherwise called *Thomas Becon*, *John Frith*, *Roy*, and the Book commonly called *Halls Chronicle*, or any of them in the Latin Tongue, Dutch Tongue, English Tongue, Italian Tongue, or French Tongue, or any other like Book, Paper, Writing or Work, made, printed, or set forth, by any other person or persons, containing false Doctrine contrary and against the Catholick Faith, and the Doctrine of the Catholick Church. And also that no person or persons presume to write, print, utter, sell, read, or keep any, or cause to be written, printed, uttered, or kept any of the said Books, Papers, Works or Writings, or any Book or Books written or printed in the Latin or English Tongue, concerning the common Service and Administration set forth in English to be used in the Churches of this Realm, in the time of King Edward the Sixth, commonly called the Communion Book, or Book of Common Service and ordering of Ministers, otherwise called, The Book set forth by Authority of Parliament, for Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, or to be used in the Mother Tongue within the Church of England, but shall within the space of fifteen days next after the publication of this Proclamation, bring or deliver, or cause the said Books, Writings, and Works, and every of them remaining in their custody and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the Ordinary of the Diocess, where such Books, Works, or Writings be or remain, or to his Chancellor or Commissaries, with out fraud, colour or deceit, at the said Ordinaries.

Of this Act or Statute, read before

Altherne Reges terrarum Principes conventus in unum ad-versus Doctrinam Christianam Julianus. Good Books prohibited.

Against Hall's Chronicle.

What a do is here to keep downe Christ in his Supplere? and yet will he rise in spite of all his Execution.

Rockers and Nurfs provided for Queen Maries Child.

Processions and Bonfires in London for Joy of the young Prince, Triumph at Antwerp for the same.

Q. Maries Child would not come.

What became of Q. Maries Child, no man can tell.

Ex testimony of certain persons Londoners.

The young Princesses Cradle.

Verses upon the Cradle.

dinaries will and disposition to be burnt, or otherwise to be used or ordered by the said Ordinaries, as by the Canons or Spiritual Laws it is in that case limited and appointed, upon pain that every Offender contrary to this Proclamation, shall incur the danger and penalties contained in the said Statute, and as they will avoid their Majesties high indignation and displeasure, and further answer at their uttermost perils.

The power
of this
World for
synnib
Church.

And their Majesties by this Proclamation give full power and authority to all Bishops and Ordinaries, and all Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs of Cities and Towns Corporate, and other Head Officers within this Realm and the Dominions thereof, and expressly commandeth and willeth the same and every of them, that they and every of them, within their several Limits and Jurisdictions, shall in the default and negligence of the said Subjects, after the said fifteen days expired, enquire and search out the said Books, Writings and Works; and for this purpose enter into the House or Houses, Closets and Secret places of every Person, of whatsoever degree, being negligent in this behalf, and suspected to keep any such Book, Writing or Works, contrary to this Proclamation: And that the said Justices, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and other Head Officers above specified, and every of them within their said Limits and Jurisdictions finding any of the said Subjects negligent and faulty in this behalf, shall commit every such Offender to ward, there to remain without Bail or Mainprize, till the same Offender or Offenders have received such punishment as the said Statute doth limit and appoint in this behalf. Given under our Signs Manual at our Honour of Hampton Court, the 13 day of June, the first and second years of our Reigns.

Imprinted by John Cawood,
Anno 1555.

Articles to be enquired upon by the Wardens of every Company, touching Seditious Books, especially touching the Book called, *A Warning for England*.

This Book
called, *A
Warning
for England*,
look for
hereafter,
when we
come (God
willing) to
the Spanish
Inquisition.
Articles to
be enquired
up on.

1. Whether they have seen any of the foresaid Books.
2. Whether they have heard of any of the said Books.
3. Where they were, and in what place they have seen them.
4. Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the Sea, especially from Zurich, Strabrough, Frankfurt, Wetzell, Emden and Disburch.
5. Whom they know or vehemently suspect to be common Carriers of Letters, or Money, thither from hence.

6. That they bring to my Lord Mayor all such Seditious Books as they have, or shall have found hereafter. In this Proclamation thou hast heard, Christian Reader, the profound and learned Censure of the Catholick Church of England, what Books they mislike and reject as Heretical, Schismatical, and pernicious. Against the which Catholick Censure of these learned Fathers, I have not at this time to infer: neither doth any leisure now serve to write Apologies in defence of these Authors here condemned. Only so much leave it may please the Reader to grant me to set before him here a pair of Ballance, wherein to weigh the Books on the one side condemned, with the Books on the other side allowed, to the end that we weighing the one with the other, may discern the better between them, which part weigheth best with Gods holy Truth and true Catholick Church, against manifest Idolatry and palpable Abomination. And now therefore, as they have in this present Proclamation given their condemnation upon these Books above recited: so I desire thee to give thy censure upon their Books by them allowed, and upon the matter in them contained, and mark well what good stuff it is.

The Printer
for this is
Q. Mary
time, printed
by I. A. ap-
land.

And first to begin with the Primer in English, for Children after the use of *Salisbury*, Imprinted with a Privilege according to the King and Queens Majesties Letters Patents in the Reign of *Queen Mary*. Let us repeat and surveye first part of the said Primer (for to expels all it were too long) beginning with the first Lesson of our Lady, in these words:

Holy Mary; Mother most pure of Virgins all;
Mother and Daughter of the King Celestial,
So comfort us in our desolation,
That by thy Prayer and special Mediation.

We enjoy the reward of thy Heavenly Reign, &c.

Confer this with the Scriptures, good Reader, and judge uprightly whether this Doctrine be tolerable in the Church or not.

It followeth more in the second Lesson.

Holy Mary, of all godly the godliest,
Pray for us, all holy the holiest;
That be our Prayers accept may in good wise,
Which of thee was born, and reigneth above the Skies,
&c.

In the third Lesson.

Thy Son beseech with humble Intercession,
To purge us clean of our Transgression;
That so being redeemed we may the place ascend,
Where thou dwellest with him World without end.

The Versicle.

Pray for the People, inreat for the Clergy, make In- One Medita-
tercession for the devout Woman-kind; let all feel thy tion between
help, that worthily solemnizes thy memorial, &c. God and
men, the
Mass Jesus
Christ.

Another Versicle.

Holy Mother of God, make thy Petition, that we may
deserve Christs Promission, &c.

And in the Anthem after *Benedictus*, thus it followeth:

We beseech thee of thy pity to have us in remembrance, and to make means for us unto Christ; that we being supported by thy help, may deserve to attain the Kingdom of Heaven. False Meite.

Furthermore in the Collect after it followeth:

And grant, that through the gracious Intercession of the Virgin thy Mother, we may be delivered from this present heaviness, and have the fruition of eternal gladness. Wrong Me-
ditation.

It followeth moreover in the said Primer thus, concerning the material Crofs.

O God, which hast ascended thy most holy Crofs, and hast given lights to the darkness of the World, vouchsafe by the virtue of thy Crofs to illumine, visit and comfort both our Hearts and Bodies, &c. Idolatry to
the material
Crofs.

Moreover, in the name of St. John Baptist thus it prayeth:

O Lord, defend us always through the continual succours of St. John Baptist. For the more frail we be, the more need we have to be relieved with necessary Prayers, &c. Let no man
glory in any
man; for all
things are
yours, &c.
1 Cor. 3.

In which words note (good Reader) not only the absurdity of Doctrine, but also the solidity of the Reason. For where their Doctrine pretendeth that St. John Baptist should pray for us, here we pray to God for St. John Baptist, that he will hear his Prayer praying for us. It followeth furthermore in the name of Peter and Paul:

Hear us mercifully, and grant that through the merits of them both, we may obtain the glory everlasting, &c.

What is
Paul, what
is Apollo,
but the Ser-
vants of him
on whom
you believe?
1 Cor. 3.

Of St. Andrew.

So let him, O Lord, be a continual Petitioner for us to thee, &c.

Of St. Lawrence thus:

Saint Lawrence the Deacon did work a great work. For by the virtue of the Holy Crofs he gave sight to the blind, &c.

And how can this be true, when the Holy Crofs was not yet found in the time of St. Lawrence? For Helen which first found the Crofs, as they say, came after St. Lawrence more than forty years.

To Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury. By the Blood of Thomas, which be for thee did spend, Make us, Christs, to climb, as hither Thomas did ascend.

Heard Blaf-
phemy and
derogation
to Christs
Blood.

Of

Anno 1555. Of St. Nicholas.
O God, which hast glorified Nicholas, thy holy Bishop, with innumerable Miracles, grant we beseech thee, that by his Merits and Prayers we may be delivered from the fire of Hell.

Of Mary Magdalen.
Grant we beseech thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchase for us the Bliss everlasting, &c.

Another Prayer to our Lady.
The dolorous compassion of Gods sweet Mother, Bring us to the Bliss of Almighty God the Father, &c.

Another Prayer in the said Primer to our Lady.
Establish us in peace and tranquillity,
And change the name of sinful Eva:
Lose thy Prisoners from Captivity,
Unto the blind give sight again.
Deliver us from malignity,
To the end we may some Grace attain.
Shew thy self to be a Mother:
So that he accept our Petition.
Deliver us from bondage of Sin, &c.

Item,
Holy Mother succour the miserable, comfort the weak
Frighted, give courage to the desperate, pray for the People,
make Intercession for the Clergy, and be a mean for the
devout Woman-kind, &c.

Another blasphemous Prayer.
O thou meek Mother, have mercy therefore
On Wretches, for whom thou badst these pains all,
Seeing thy Son that Vine cluster pressed sore:
And from the pestilence of Death eternal,
Keep us by voiding the Fiend infernal,
And join us with them which rewarded be
With eternal Life, seeing the Deity.

Another blasphemy in the said Primer.
Hail Queen, Mother of Mercy, our life, our sweetness,
our hope. Unto thee do we cry and sigh, weeping and
wailing. Come off therefore our Patroness, cast upon us
thy pitiful eyes, and after this our banishment, shew to us
the blessed fruit of thy Womb. O Gate of glory be for us
a Reconciliation unto the Father and the Son. From the
wretches their faults expel: wipe the spots of sins unclean, &c.

Item, to our Lady.
The fruit of thy Womb everlasting,
We may behold through thy deserving, &c.

Item,
Grant we beseech thee, that by her Merits and Prayers
we may attain to that unspeakable Joy, whereas she being
assumpt, dost now rejoice with thee in Heaven for ever.

And thus much hitherto of this Catholic Primer, called
our Ladies Mattens. Whereunto, if it were not tedious
for the Reader, we would also adjoin our Ladies
Pfalter, to the intent that all indifferent Readers, as they
have seen what Books these Catholic Fathers have con-
demned and do condemn for Heretical; so the same also
may see and judge, what Books on the other side they
approve as lawful and Catholic. And forasmuch as it is
not known peradventure to all men, what our Ladies
Pfalter is, or what it meaneth; yea, and some peradventure
will deny any such Book of our Ladies Pfalter to be
written or approved, here therefore we will first produce
the name of the Author, who was Bonaventure, a Sera-
phical Doctor, Bishop also and Cardinal, Canonized
moreover by Pope Sixtus the Fourth, An. 1482. for a
Saint in the Kalender, who in his Book thus intitled in
Latin, Incipit Pfalterium beate Virginie, compilationem per
Seraaphicum Doctorem Sanctum Bonaventuram Episc-
pum Albanensem, necnon sancta Romanæ Ecclesiæ Pres-
biterum Cardinalem, in honorem generitricis, &c. Fol. 34.
In the second part of his whole works (which were im-
printed at Argentea, An. 1495.) to shew himself a de-
vout Servant to his Lady, hath taken every Psalm of
Davids Pfalter (which he peculiarly made and referred
to Almighty God) and hath in divers of the said Psalms
and Verses put out the name of the Lord, and hath

placed in the name of our Lady. This being done
through the whole Psalms and every one of them; it is
now called our Ladies Pfalter, used to be sung and said in
the praise and service of our Lady. A brief taste where-
of, for Examples sake (for, to shew all, it were too long)
we thought here to exhibit unto the Reader in order, as
followeth.

The Title in English of the Pfalter.

¶ Here beginneth the Pfalter of the blessed Virgin, The Title
made by the Seraphical Doctor St. Bonaventure, the called our
Bishop of Alban, and Cardinal of the holy Church of Ladies
Rome. Pfalter.

1. Beatus vir, qui intelligit nomen tuum, Maria Virgo, The Book
gratia tua animam ejus confortabit. Tangam called our
aquarum fontibus irrigatum uberrimum in eo fructum Ladies
justitie propagabis, &c. Universas enim feminas con- Pfalter.
cis pulchritudine carnis; superas Angelos & Archange- by a parte
los excellentia sanctitatis. Misericordia tua & gratia opem St.
ubique predicatur, &c. Gloria Patri. Bonaventuræ

That is to say,

Blessed is the man which understandeth thy Name, O
Virgin Mary, thy Grace shall comfort his Soul. Thou
shalt bring forth in him the most plentiful fruit of Ju-
stice, being watered as it were with fountains of water.
All Women thou shalt in the beauty of thy body; all
Angels and Archangels in the excellency of thy Hol-
iness. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified every where,
&c. Glory be to the Father, &c.

2. Quare fremuerunt inimici nostri, & adversum nos
meditati sunt inania? Protergat nos dextera tua, Mater
Dei, ut acies terribiliter confundens & destruens eos.
Venite ad eam, qui laboratis & tribulati estis, & dabit
refrigerium animabus vestris. Accedite ad eam in tenta-
tionibus vestris, & stabiliet vos serenitas vultus ejus.
Benedicite illam in toto corde vestro, misericordia enim
illius plena est terra, &c. Gloria Patri.

Why do our Enemies fret and imagine vain things a-
gainst us? Let thy right hand defend us, O Mother of
God, terribly confounding and destroying them as a
Sword. Come unto her all ye that labour and are trou-
bled, and she will give rest unto your Souls. Come unto
her in your temptations, and her loving Countenance
shall stablish and comfort you. Bless her with all your
heart; for the Earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to
the Father, &c.

3. Domina quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me?
In tempestate tua persequeris & dissipabis eos. Dissolve co-
llegationes impietatis nostræ; tolle fasciculos peccatorum
nostrorum. Misere mei Domina & sana infirmitatem
meam; tolle dolorem & angustiam cordis mei. Ne tra-
das me manibus inimicorum meorum, & in die mortis
meæ conforto animam meam. Deduc me ad portum sa-
lutis, & spiritum meum redde saltem meo.

Why are they so many, O Lady, that trouble me?
In thy fury thou shalt persecute and destroy them. Loose
the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of
our Sins. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, and heal my
infirmity. Take away my sorrow and the anguish of
my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine En-
emies, and in the day of my death comfort my Soul.
Bring me unto the haven of Salvation, and restore my
Spirit unto my Maker and Creator. Glory be to the Fa-
ther, &c.

4. Cum invocarem, exaudisti me Domina, & i sublimi
folio tuo mei dignata es recordari. A rugientibus prepa-
ratis ad eam & de manibus quærentium me liberabit
gratia tua. Quoniam benigna est misericordia & pietas
tua in omnes, qui invocant nomen sanctum tuum. Bene-
dictio sit Domina in æternum, & majestas tua in se-
culum. Glorificate eam omnes gentes, &c.

When I called to thee, thou heardest me, O my Lady, & in a high
place thou didst vouchsafe to think
upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare them-
selves to devour me, and out of the hands of such as seek
after my life, thy grace shall deliver me: Because thy
mercy and thy pity are great towards all them that
call upon thy holy Name. Blessed be thou, O Lady, for
ever, and thy majesty for ever and ever. Glorify her all
Nations of the Earth, &c.

The Book
called our
Ladies
Pfalter.

Our Ladies
Pfalter.

Treason &
Christi fer-
son and Dig-
nity.

Blasphemy
made idu-
lary.

The Office
of Christ
given to
our Lady.

Blasphemy.

Idolary.

St. Merit
Merits
might help
us, then
Christ died
in vain.
Like Primer
like Primer.

These verses
compiled of
our Ladies
Pfalter.

This Book
was printed
An. 1170.
and was
revised,
An. 1472.

5. Verba mea auribus percipe Domina, &c. Convertite luctum nostrum in gaudium, & tribulationem nostram in jubilationem. Corrumpite ante pedes nostros inimici nostri; virtute tua eorum capta conterantur, &c.

Hear my words, O Lady, &c. turn our mourning into gladness, and our trouble into rejoicing. Let our Enemies fall before our feet, and with thy power dash their heads in pieces.

6. Domina ne in furore Dei sinas corripi me, neque in ira ejus judicari, &c. De porta inferi, & de ventre abyssi sanctus precibus libera nos. Aperiantur nobis janua sempiterna, ut enarremus in aeternum mirabilia tua. Quia mei mortuique qui in inferno sunt, laudabunt te Domina, sed qui tua gratia vitam eternam obtinebunt.

O Lady, suffer me not to be rebuked in Gods anger, nor to be chastised in his heavy displeasure, &c. From the gate and deep pit of Hell, with thy holy Prayers deliver us. Let the everlasting gates be opened, that we may shew forth thy marvellous works for ever. Because the dead, nor they that be in Hell, shall not praise thee, O Lady, but they which shall obtain by thy grace life everlasting.

7. Domina mea in te speravi, de inimicis meis libera me Domina. Conclude ora Leonis, & labia persecutorum confringe. Non moris propter nomen tuum facere nobis misericordiam tuam. Splendor vultus tui fulgeat super nos, ut servetur conscientia nostra apud altissimum. Si persequitur inimicus animam meam, Domina, adjuvatio tuo conforter, ne vibret gladium suum contra me.

O my Lady, in thee will I put my trust; deliver me from mine Enemies, O Lady. Stop the mouth of the Lion, and bind the lips of the Persecutors. Make no tarrying for thy Names sake, to shew thy mercy upon me. Let the brightness of thy Countenance shine upon us, that our Conscience may be saved before the Most High. If the Enemy do persecute my Soul, O Lady, help me that he destroy me not.

8. Confitebor tibi Domina in toto corde meo, & narrabo in populo laudem & gloriam tuam, &c. Inveniet gratiam per te innocentem gratia & saluti; reserant ad iudicandum humiles penitentes; sana contritiones corda eorum, &c.

I will give thanks to thee, O Lady, with my whole heart, and will shew forth among the Nations thy praise and glory, &c. They shall find grace through thee, the Leader out of grace and salvation, the humble and penitent groan for pardon and forgiveness; heal thou the sores of their heart, &c.

9. In te Domina confido, &c. Exquirite illum a juventute vestra, & glorificabit vos, &c. Misericordia illius nostrorum auferat multitudinem peccatorum, & fecunditatem nobis conferat meritorum, &c.

In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust, &c. Seek her even from your youth, and she shall glorify you, &c. Her mercy take from us the multitude of our sins, and give unto us plenteousness of merits, &c.

10. Salvum me fac mater pulchra dilectionis, fons clementiae, &c. Gyrum terrae sola circuis, ut subvenias invocantibus te, &c.

Save me O Mother of Love, and Fountain of Mercy, &c. Thou thy self alone hast gone about the compass of the Earth, to help them that call upon thee.

11. Utique quo Domina oblocutis me, & non liberas me in die tribulationis? Utique quo exaltabitur inimicus meus super me? Potentia virtutis tuae contere ipsum, &c. Magnificamus te gratia innocentem, per quam secula reparantur, &c.

How long dost thou forget me O Lady, and dost not deliver me in the day of my trouble? How long shall mine Enemy triumph over me? With thy mighty power destroy him, &c. We magnify thee the finder and the author of Grace, by whom the world is repaired, &c.

12. Confitebor tibi Domina, quoniam tuam speravi in te, &c. Benedicite sicut voca tuas, quibus laude deifico Salvatore eorum, &c.

Praise me O Lady, for in thee have I put my trust, &c. Blessings be thy words, which with thy diffusing Milk didst nourish the Saviour, &c.

13. Diligam te Domina casti & terrae; in gentibus nomen tuum invocabo. Confringam illi tribulam corde, & vultus eius contra inimicos suos, &c. Religiosissime, honorate illam, quia ipsa est auctrix vestra & specialis

advocata. Ego refrigerium nostrum, gloriosa mater Christi, quia tu es totius religionis mirabile firmamentum.

I will love thee O Lady of Heaven and Earth; I will call upon thy name among the Nations. Confess thyself unto her, ye that are troubled in heart, and she shall strengthen you against your Enemies, &c. All ye Cloysters honour her, for she is your helper and special Advocate. Be thou our refreshing and rest, for thou art the marvellous foundation of all Religion.

20. Exaudi nos Domina in die tribulationis, &c. Ne projicias nos in tempore mortis nostrae, sed succurre animae, cum deseruerit corpus suum. Mitte Angelum in occursum ejus per quem ab hostibus defendatur, &c. Sentiat in penus refrigerium tuum, & concede ei locum inter electos Dei.

Hear us O Lady in the day of trouble, &c. Cast us not away in the time of our death, but succour our Soul when it forsaketh the Body. Send an Angel to meet it, that it may be defended from the Enemies, &c. In torments and pain let it feel thy comfort, and grant to it a place among the elects of God.

25. Ad te Domina levavi animam, &c. Non praevaleant adversum me laquei mortis, &c. Ductrix mea esto ad patriam, & me catus Angelorum dignetur aggregare.

To thee O Lady do I lift up my Soul, &c. Let not the snares of Death prevail against me, &c. Be thou my guide to the heavenly Rest, and to the company of Angels associate me.

26. Judica me Domina, quoniam ab innocentia mea digressus sum: sed quia speravi in te non infirmabor, &c.

Judge thou me O Lady, for I am fallen from mine Innocency: but because I put my trust in thee, therefore I shall not fall, &c.

27. Domina illuminatio mea sit splendor faciei tuae, &c. Serenitas gratiae tuae resurget menti meae, &c. O Lady, let the brightness of thy face be my sight, and let the clearness of thy grace shine upon my mind, &c.

28. Ad te Domina clamabo, &c. Miserere mei in die angustiae meae, & in luce veritatis tuae libera me.

To thee O Lady, &c. Have mercy upon me in the day of my trouble, and in the light of thy Truth deliver me, &c.

31. In te Domina speravi, non confundar in aeternum, in gloria tua suscipe me. Tu es fortitudo mea & refugium meum, consolatio mea & protectio mea, &c. Educas me laqueo quem absconderunt mihi, quoniam tu es adiutrix mea. In manus tuas Domina commendo spiritum meum.

In thee O Lady do I put my trust, let me not be confounded for ever, in thy glory receive me. Thou art my strength and my refuge, my consolation and protection, &c. Deliver me from the snare that they have laid for me, because thou art my helper. Into thy hands I commend my Spirit, &c.

34. Benedicam Dominam in omni tempore, &c. In periculis in rebus dubiis invocare eam, & in necessitatibus invenietis auxilium, &c. Sumite exemplum conversionis ejus & emulemini fuita humilitatis ejus. Quia ergo Domina humilima fuit, Verbum incarnatum & te carnem suscipere coegit.

I will always praise our Lady, &c. In perils, in adversity call upon her, and in time of need ye shall find succour. Let her conversation be an example unto you, and follow the virtue of her humility. Because therefore O Lady thou wast humble and lowly. Thou didst compel the Word incarnate to take flesh of thee.

36. Dixit injustus, &c. A malo proposito discedat; Mater Dei, inclina vultum Dei super nos: Coge illum peccatoribus misereri, &c. Benedicam tui imperium tuum super caelos, benedicam tui magnificentia tua super terram.

The wicked man said, &c. Let him depart from his evil purpose; O Mother of God, turn the countenance of God towards us: Compel him to be merciful unto Sinners. Blessed be thy Lupery and Dominion in Heaven, and blessed be thy Magnificence upon the Earth.

45. Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum Domina, &c. Per tuam sanctitatem peccata mea purgantur: per tuam integritatem mihi incorruptibilitatem condonatur, &c.

My heart is inditing a good matter, O Lady, &c. By thy Holiness let my sins be purged, by thy Integrity let me obtain incorruption, &c.

47. Omnes in vana.

Derogatio
of the Gods
of Chast.

Value trust.
Wrong
Invention.

Manifest
Idolary.

Thou shalt
lose thy
Lord thy
God with
thy wail
heav, with
all thy
strength and
power, &c.
Dread.

Derogation
of Christs
Passion.

Milk mea-
ning God.

Ye rather
shall be
they which
have the
Word of
God and
keep it.

Anno
1555.

Idolary of
the Cloy-
sters

All Jude-
ment is
given to
Christ
alone, & d
before h
the Virg
also he i
shall be
judged.

If our Lady
be all that
then God,
blessed, fit-
ten idle in
Heaven.

Horrible
blasphemy
against the
Lord.

O impious
blasphemy!

If Mary for-
give has the
Lord's Faith
in Christ
in vain.

Anno
1555.These
words stink
of blasphemous
idolatry.The Cross
of Christ
evangelized.

Blind trust.

Gods ho-
nour degra-
ded.

False trust.

Abominable
blasphemy.The Devil
and the
Pope say
for, and not
God.

Blasphemy.

Blasphemy.

47. Omnes gentes plaudite manibus, &c. Quoniam ipsa est porta vite, janua salutis, & vite nostre reconciliatrix: spes penitentium, salumen lugentium, pax beatorum, atque salus. Misere mei Domine, misere mei, quia in te lux & spes omnium confidentium in te, &c.

Clap your hands all ye People, &c. For she is the gate of Life, the door of Salvation, the reconciler of our Life; the hope of the Penitent, the comfort of the Sorrowful, the blessed peace of Hearts, and Salvation. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, have mercy upon me; for thou art the light and hope of all that put their trust in thee.

51. Misere mei Domine, quia mater misericordiae nuncuparis. Et secundum viscera miserationum tuarum munda me ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis, &c.

Have mercy upon me, O Lady, which art called the Mother of Mercy, and in the bowels of thy great Compassion cleanse me from mine Iniquities.

54. Domine, in nomine tuo saluum me fac, & ab iniquitatibus meis libera me, &c.

O Lady, in thy name save me, and from mine unrighteousness deliver me, &c.

70. Domine in adiutorium meum intende, &c. Misere seruum tuum, super quem invocatum est nomen tuum, &c.

Make hast O Lady to help me, &c. Have mercy on thy Servants, upon whom thy name is invoked, &c.

71. In te Domine speravi, non confundar in aeternum, in tua misericordia libera me, &c.

In the Lady have I put my trust: let me not be confounded for ever, in thy mercy deliver me, &c.

79. Domine, auferuntur Genes in hereditatem Dei, quas tu meritis tuis Christo confederasti, &c.

O Lady, the Gentiles are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou didst joyn unto Christ by thy merits, &c.

89. Qui regis Israel, &c. Odor vite de illa progreditur, & omnis laus deo illius scaturit.

Thou that rulest Israel, &c. The favour of life cometh from her, and all health floweth out of her heart, &c.

91. Qui habitat in adiutorio matris Dei, in protectione ipsius commorabitur, &c. Clamare ad illum in periculis vestris, et flagellum non appropinquabit Tabernaculo vestro. Frustris gratias inveniet qui speraverit in illa. Porta Paradisi reverbatur ei.

Who dwell in the help of the Mother of God, shall dwell in the shadow of her protection, &c. Cry unto him in your dangers, and the scourge shall not come near your Tabernacle. The fruit of grace shall be to him who trusteth in her, and the gate of Paradise shall be open unto him.

95. Venite exultemus Domine nostra, &c. Suscipe in fine animas nostras, & introduce nos in requiem aeternam, &c.

Come let us rejoice to our Lady, &c. Receive our Souls at our last end, and bring them into everlasting Rest, &c.

105. Confitemini Domine nostra, & invocate nomen ejus, &c. Salus sempiterna in manu tua, Domine, &c.

Praise our Lady, and call upon her name, &c. Everlasting salvation is in thy hand, O Lady, &c.

110. Dixit Dominus Domine nostra; Sede mater mea a dextris meis, &c.

The Lord said unto our Lady; Sit here my Mother on my right hand, &c.

114. In exitu anima mea ex hoc mundo occurre ei Domine, & suscipe eam, &c. Esto illi scala ad regnum caelorum, & iter rectum ad Paradisum Dei, &c.

In the passing of my Soul out of this World, come and meet it, O Lady, and receive it, &c. Be to it a Ladder to the Kingdom of Heaven, and a right way to the Paradise of God, &c.

119. Miserationibus tuis plena est terra, ideo viam justificationum tuarum exquisivi, &c. Concupiscam in aeternum laudare te Domine cum docueris me justificationes tuas, &c.

The whole Earth is full of thy Mercies, and therefore I will search out the way of thy Justifications, &c. I will cover for ever to praise thee O Lady, when thou shalt teach me thy Justifications, &c.

125. Qui confidunt in te, mater Dei, non timebunt faciem inimici, &c.

They that put their trust in thee, O Mother of God, shall not be afraid of the face of their Enemy, &c.

127. Nisi Domine adseveraverit domum cordis nostri, non permanebit aedificium ejus.

Except our Lady shall build the house of our Heart, the building thereof shall not continue.

128. Beati omnes qui timent Dominam nostram, & beati omnes qui sciunt facere voluntatem suam, &c.

Blessed is every one that feareth our Lady, and blessed be all they which know to do her will, &c.

130. De profundis clamavi ad te Domine, Domine exaudi vocem meam: Fiant aures tuae intendentes, &c.

Out of the deep I have called unto thee, O Lady, O Lady hear my voice, &c.

132. Memento Domine David, & omnium invocantium nomen tuum, &c.

O Lady, remember David, and all them that call upon thy name, &c.

134. Ecce nunc benedicite Dominam, omnes qui speratis in nomine sancto ejus, &c.

Behold and bless now our Lady, all ye that put your trust in her holy name.

136. Super flumina Babylonis, &c. Nos invenietur propitiatio sine illa.

At the floods of Babylon, &c. There is no propitiation to be found without her, &c.

140. Eripe me Domine ab omni malo, & ab hoste inferno defende me, &c.

Deliver me O Lady from all evil, and from the infernal Enemy defend me, &c.

145. Oculi nostri sperant in te Domine. Miste nobis cibum & escam delectantem. Laudationem tuam loquatur lingua mea, et benedicam te in seculum seculi.

Our eyes look up and trust in thee. Do thou send us meat and food convenient, &c. My tongue shall speak thy praise, and shall bless thee for ever.

148. Lauda, Jerusalem, Dominam, glorifica illam etiam O Sion. Ipsa enim construit muros tuos, & filios tuos benedicit. Gratia sua te impingat, pacemque donat terminis tuis.

Praise thou our Lady, O Jerusalem, and glorify her likewise O thou Sion: For she buildeth up thy Walls, and blesseth thy Children. Her grace maketh thee fat, and giveth peace unto thy coast, &c.

I could recite also other things more of like Blasphemy, following immediately after this Psalter of our Lady, in the Seraphical Doctor aforesaid, as these:

Ecce Domine Salvatrix mea, fiducialiter agam in te, & non timebo, &c. Quia fortitudo mea es tu. Et facta es mihi in salutem, i. Behold my Lady my Saviour, I will be bold in thee, and will not fear, &c. Because thou art my strength, &c. And art become my Salvation, &c.

Exalta totum genus humanum, quia talem dedit tibi Mediatricem Dominus Deus tuus, i. Rejoyce, O all Mankind, because the Lord thy God hath given unto thee such a Mediatrice, &c.

Confitebor tibi Domine, quia abscondisti haec a sapientibus, & revelasti ea parvulis, i. I will confess to thee, O Lady, because thou hast hid these things from the wise, and hast revealed them to the little Ones.

Generatio provera atque perversa agnosce Dominam nostram Salvatricem tuam. Numquid ipse est mater tua qua possedit te, & in fide generavit te? i. O thou wicked and peevish Generation, knowledge our Lady thy Saviour. Is not she the Mother that hath possessed thee, and in Faith hath begotten thee?

O benedicta, in manibus tuis reposita est nostra salus, i. O thou blessed, in thy hands is laid up our Salvation, &c.

In nomine tuo omne genu flectatur, caelestium, &c. In thy Name let every knee bend, in Heaven and Earth, and in Hell.

Quomodo infans sine Nutrice non potest vivere; ita nec sine Domina nostra posses habere salutem, i. Like as an Infant cannot live without the Nurse, so neither canst thou have Salvation without our Lady.

Quicumque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat de Maria firmam fidem. Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, ab ipso dubio in aeternum peribit, i. Who so will be saved, before all things he must needs hold

Blasphemy.

Idolatrous
invocation.

False trust.

Gods office
appointed
to our Lady.Horrible
blasphemy.

Blasphemy.

Corrupt blas-
phemy.

Blasphemy.

Blasphemy.

hold this Belief of our Lady: which Believe, unless every one shall hold perfect and found, he shall perish without doubt for ever.

Moreover, after these so horrible things and intollerable to be heard, consequently in the next tractation followeth the Rosary or Garland of our Lady, compiled by the said Bonaventure; wherein these words are to be read as followeth: O Mediatrix between God and Man, the Lord hath worthily magnified thee, but thou only shouldst conceive his Son. Wherefore, O good Mary our Mediatrix, Mother of Grace, and Mother of Mercy, &c. And moreover, within few lines it followeth in these words, Therefore, O our Emperess and Lady most bountiful, by the authority of a Mother command, command (I say) thy well-beloved Son, that he will stir up our minds from the love of worldly things, to heavenly desires, &c.

Item, O the Advocate of the miserable, the eyes of thy Servants be directed to thee, &c.

To these premises, I might also adjoin the horrible and most blasphemous words of the said Bonaventure in the said Book, Fol. 100, pag. 2, Col. 1. which I beseech thee to read and note. *Qua major bonitas quam quod Christus, i. What greater goodness can be, than that Christ is content to be captive upon the Altar?*

Whereupon he speaketh in the person of Jeremy, saying, Behold I am in your hands, do with me as you see good, &c. Where note (saith he) that when any Duke or Prince is taken Prisoner for his Subjects, he is not let go, before he pay some great sum of Money for his ransom. Even so neither we ought to let Christ go out of our hands being our Prisoner and Captive, except he grant to us remission of our Sins and his heavenly Kingdom. The Priest therefore lifteth up the Body of Christ upon the Altar, as though he said thus, Behold him whom the whole World is not able to comprehend, he is holden here our Captive, wherefore let us hold him fast, and not let him go before we obtain of him our requests, &c.

Notes.

The Church of Rome examined.

Is not here good Catholick stuff (Christian Reader) row your Counters I beseech you this Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Apostles, which teach us that we are fully complicit in Christkind I will refer me to no better Judge than to your own Conscience. And now therefore, if any man have been in doubt in times past of the Doctrine and proceeding of the Church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blind Errors, with Blasphemy intollerable, and Idolatry abominable or not, here now he may be fully certified and resolved. For where was ever Idolatry or Blasphemy to be found, if it be not here in this Martins and Psalter of our Lady? If Idolatry be to make an Idol to be worshipped as God, which is no god, what do we here but make an Idol of our Lady (as we call her) to be worshipped with, no less dignity, glory, authority, reverence and service, than is the Lord God himself? And as he is called our Lord, so she is called our Lady. And if he be King, yet she is the Queen of Heaven. And though he have the name of God, yet she beareth so the title of the Mother of God; that as Mothers have authority over their Children, so she is willed to shew her self to be his Mother, to cause him to grant our Petitions. Finally, if he be our Patron, yet she is our Patroness. The Commandment saith, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* And what worship or service can we give to God, more than we do ascribe unto her? And what benefit is to be asked at the hands of Christ our Saviour, which is not equally asked of her? To save our Souls, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the desperate, to loose our captivity, to release our sins, to deliver from the fiend, to bring to Heaven, &c. To her we pray, we cry, we weep, we sigh, we groan, we knock and kneel, to her we trust, and if we believe not also in our Lady, we be Heretics *ipso facto*.

The Church of Rome convicted of manifest Idolatry.

Furthermore, as Christ our only Lord and Saviour hath his Church and Congregation which profits his Name, of whom we are called Christians; so neither is the likewise without her Chappels, her Cloysters, her Chapters, Fraternities and Brotherhoods, which professing her name in like sort, are called our Ladies Brethren, or white Friars, besides an innumerable sort of other Pa-

Our Lady made equal with God in the Church of Rome. The Doctrine of the Roman Church directly against the first Commandment of God.

trons of Churches, of whom every one hath his peculiar Church and Religion by himself, yet all these together be included under the general devotion of our Lady their supreme Patroness and Governess.

To Trust and believe in our Lady.

Now to proceed further to the other part of the Commandment, which saith, *Him only shalt thou serve.* What service hath the Lord in all the Church, but our Lady also jointly with him hath the like? Her Mass, her Martins, her Even-song, her Hours and Complin, her Rosaries, her Anthems, her Collects, her Primer, her Psalter, her Holy-days likewise, yea five to one. Finally, as the Lord hath his Prayer called the Lords Prayer, so hath she her Ave Marias, yea ten Aves to one Pater noster; yea and read further in the said Bonaventure, and ye shall see he also to have her Te Deum, her Benedicamus, her Magnificat, and also her Quicumque vult.

If the Lord our God had not expressed unto us his own will by plain words, limiting unto us by express Injunction what to believe, what to follow, and how to worship and serve him, and how to receive from him our Salvation; but had left us to the imagination of our own Inventions, every man to shift for himself after his own policy, then peradventure this way taken by the Popes Church, to make friends and mediators between God and us, for reconciliation, remission, and salvation, might have some rhyme or reason; but now Gods Word doth bind us, doth prescribe and limit us precisely in every point touching Salvation, what to believe, and what to do, shewing us plainly that we cannot be saved, but by the Blood of his Son only, neither can be justified but by Faith only in the same Christ his Son: Wherefore not to believe that which he hath promised, is infidelity, and to follow any other belief than he hath set us, is plain Idolatry. The which two special Errors most commonly do follow the Doctrine of the Romish Church, as not only in this Primer and Psalter of our Lady aforesaid, but also in all their proceedings, teachings and preachings, besides may well appear. For where the Scripture doth perfectly promise and pronounce us, to be justified through our Faith in Christ, and willet us to seek our Salvation no where else, but only in the merits of Jesus: the Institution of the Church of Rome, neither will receive that God hath freely given, (wherein standeth Infidelity) neither yet will seek the same there where as they should, but in the merits and prayers of our Lady, of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and Paul, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and by the worthiness of the material Cross, and such other unlawful means, wherein standeth plain Idolatry. And yet such Books as these can be suffered among the Catholics to be currant, as good, wholesome and lawful Books; whereas the other, which lead us the true way from Infidelity and blind Idolatry to true Christianity, in no wise can be sufferable. But of this to complain it is vain. Wherefore to pass from this Proclamation, let us proceed (God willing) in the course of our History.

The Story of Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Thomas Osborne, Martyrs.

Mention was made before in the story of Thomas Hauker, of six Prisoners besides, which were sent down with him to Essex the same time as he went to Execution. Of which six Prisoners, three were sent to be burned, the other three to recant, and do penance: Of whom it followeth next in the story now to interest. The names of which fix were these, Thomas Osmond Fuller, William Bamford, alias Butler, Weaver, Thomas Osborne Fuller, Nicholas Chamberlain Weaver, Thomas Brodhill Weaver, Richard Webb Weaver, being all of the Town of Coxhall. All which fix Coxhall Men, next after the Examinations of Thomas Hauker, and Thomas Watts, were sent up to Boner to be examined, by the Earl of Oxford and Sir Philip Paris Knight, with a Letter also with them sent, the Copy whereof here followeth.

A Letter sent from the Earl of Oxford to Boner. Bishop of London.

After our hearty Commendations unto your good Lordship, this shall be to advertize the same, that the Constables of Coxhall within your Diocess, have brought before us this day six Persons dwelling in the Town of

Anno 1559.

Our Lady hath her Church as well as Christ.

Ten Aves to one Pater noster.

Infidelity, Idolatry.

The Church of Rome charged with Infidelity and Idolatry.

The Church of Rome convicted of Idolatry, that which God doth give, neither doth seek for that which they would have by lawless means.

T. Osmond, W. Bamford, T. Osborne, Martyrs. Read before.

A Letter from the Earl of Oxford to Bishop Boner.

Anno of Coxhall aforesaid, whose names hereafter do follow, *audelices*, Nicholas Chamberlain Weaver, John Walker Fuller, Thomas Brodehill Weaver, Richard Web Weaver, William Bamford, alias Butler, Weaver, and Thomas Osborne Fuller, for that they at the Feast of Easter now last, have not obeyed to the Order of the holy Catholick Church in receiving of the Sacraments; but obstinately refusing the same, besides of holding divers other Opinions, contrary to the Faith of the said Church. Wherefore we have thought it good to send the same Persons unto your good Lordship further to be ordered, as in such case shall appertain. Thus we commit your good Lordship to the keeping of Almighty God. From *Hedingham* the first of May, Anno 1555.

Your Lordship: assuredly, Oxford,
Philip Paris.

Thus the said Prisoners being sent up the first day of May, were brought before the said Bishop the 17. of the said Month to be examined upon divers and sundry Articles ministered and objected against them; wherunto they were compelled to answer, and to put their hands to the same: the Copie of which Articles and Answers, being all one in form and effect (if the Register say true) here followeth.

The Copy of the Articles objected against Thomas Oimond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlain of Coxhall.

1. Item, That thou Thomas Oimond Fuller, wast and art of the Parish of Coxhall, within the Diocesis of London, and thou hast not believed nor dost believe, that there is here in the Earth one Catholick and Universal whole Church, which doth hold and believe all the Faith and Religion of Christ, and all the necessary Articles and Sacraments of the same.

2. Item, That thou hast not believed nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounden under the pain of the damnation of thy Soul, to give full Faith and Credence unto the said Catholick and Universal Church, and to the Faith and Religion of the same in all necessary points of the said Faith and Religion, without doubting or wavering in the said Faith and Religion, or in any part thereof.

3. Item, That thou hast not believed that the Faith and Religion, which both the Church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other Churches in Europe, being true members and parts of the said Catholick and Universal Church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the Faith and Religion of Christ, and also is the very true Faith and Religion which all Christian People ought to believe, observe, follow and keep; but contrariwise, thou hast believed and dost believe, that that Faith and Religion, which the said Church of Rome, and all the other Churches aforesaid, have heretofore believed, and do believe, is false erroneous and naughty, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed of any Christian person.

4. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is in substance the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ under the forms of Bread and Wine; and albeit that it be so believed, taught and preached undoubtedly in the said Church of Rome, and all other Churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not so believed, nor dost so believe, but contrariwise thou hast believed, and dost believe firmly and steadfastly, that there is not in the said Sacrament of the Altar, under the said forms of Bread and Wine, the very substance of Christs Body and Blood, but that there is only the substance of material and common Bread and Wine, with the forms thereof; and that the said material and common Bread and Wine are only the signs and tokens of Christs Body and Blood, and are by Faith to be received only for a remembrance of Christs passion and death, without any such substance of Christs Body and Blood at all.

5. Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and hast openly spoke and defended, and so dost believe, think, maintain and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christs Body and Blood, is only to take material and common Bread, and to break it and distribute it among the People, remembering thereby the passion and death of Christ only.

6. Item, That thou hast likewise believed, though it and spoken, that the Mass, now used in the Realm of England, and other the Churches aforesaid, is abominable and naughty, and full of Idolatry, and is of the Ordinance of the Pope, and not of the Institution of Christ, and hath no goodness in it, saving the Gloria in Excelsis, the Epistle and Gospel, and therefore thou hast not, nor will not come and be present at Mass, nor receive the Sacrament of the Altar, nor any other Sacrament of the Church, as they are now used in the Realm of England, &c.

7. Item, That thou hast in times past believed, and yet dost now believe, that Auricular Confession is not necessary to be made unto the Priest, but is a thing superfluous, void and naughty, only to be made to God and to none other person. And likewise thou hast condemned as superfluous, vain and unprofitable, all the Ceremonies of the Church, and the Service of the same, and hast said that no Service in the Church ought to be said but in the English Tongue, and if it be otherwise, it is unlawful and naughty.

8. Item, That thou being notoriously and openly suspected for an Heretick, and a person culpable in the Premises, wast of late called and convened before the Earl of Oxford, and Master Philip Paris, and there wast charged with the said Heresies, especially against the Sacrament of the Altar. And because thou didst maintain and stand to thy said Heresies, and wouldst not come to the Church and be confessed, and receive the said Sacrament as other Christian People did, but utterly didst refuse to do the same, thou wast by the said Earl of Oxford, and Mr. Philip Paris sent up by a Constable unto the Bishop of London, and wast by them denounced, taught, and put up to me as an Heretick and misbeliever, &c.

9. Item, That thou hast known and believed, thou dost know and believe, or at least thou hast credibly heard reported, spoken and said, that all and all manner of persons, which do teach, preach, or hold any thing concerning the Sacraments of the Church, or any the Articles of the Faith, otherwise than is found already discussed and determined by our Mother the holy Church, or doth call into doubt or question that thing which is already decided or determined by the Church, or that willingly and wittingly do utter, openly or privily, any slanderous or blasphemous words concerning the said Sacraments or any of them, or that do preach, teach or keep any Sect or kind of Heresie against the wholesome Doctrine of the Church, and do wittingly, willingly, or obstinately defend the Sect or kind of Heresie, are by the Canons of the whole and Universal Catholick Church, and also by the Ecclesiastical Laws of this Church of England, by their so doing, accursed with that Curse, which doth separate them from the entry into the Church, from the receiving of the Sacraments, and from the company of faithful People, and are (in continuing in this said Sect and Heresie) to be pronounced, declared, and taken for Hereticks, and to be delivered to the Secular Power, and by the Laws Temporal of this Realm of England, and the custom of the same, to be by the said Secular Power put to death and burnt for this said Sect and Heresie.

10. Item, That thou by reason of the Premises wast and art to be pronounced, taken, had, reputed, and judged for a manifest and open, wilful and obstinate Heretick, for a wicked and cursed Person, and to be punished accordingly for the same, according to the said Canon Laws, usages and customs.

The Answers which the said Thomas Oimond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlain severally made unto these Articles.

To the first they answered and confessed the same to be true, except that they do believe that there is here in the Earth one Catholick and whole Church, and that the same Church doth hold and believe, as is contained in this Article.

To the second they answered, and believe the said Article not to be true; for they say that they have and do believe that they are necessarily bounden, under pain of damnation of their Soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said Catholick Church, and to the Faith and Religion of the same, in all necessary points of the same Faith and Religion, without wavering or doubting in any part thereof.

The Mass
not of
Christ's In-
stitution.

Against Au-
dicular Con-
fession, and
Other Cer-
emonies.

The Fall of
Oxford, &c.
The Fall of
Paris, &c.

Articles mi-
nistered unto
them by the
Bishop.

The Popes
Church
taught term-
ed by the
name of the
Universal
Church.

The Faith
of the Ro-
me & Church
not to be
believed.

Note how
this Gear is
perverted to
the worst.

This Article
not to put
down as
they meant
it.

The Answer
of the three
Prisoners, to
the Articles,
agreeing th-
in one.

The Church
of Rome not
to be be-
lieved.

To the third they answer, that the Church of Rome, and other Churches mentioned in this Article, be not true Members and Parts (as they be used in Faith and Religion) of the Catholick Church of Christ, and that the Faith and Religion used in the said Churches, is not agreeable with the Church of Christ, but are false and erroneous.

To the fourth they answer and say, That howsoever the said Churches of Rome and others of Christendom have and do believe touching the Sacrament of the Altar, yet they do believe that in the Sacrament under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is not the very substance of Christs Body and Blood, but that there is only the substance of material Bread and Wine, and that the same material Bread and Wine be only the signs and tokens of Christs Body and Blood, and are to be received only for a remembrance of Christs passion and death, without any substance of Christs Body and Blood at all.

The true
eating of
Christs
Body.

To the fifth Article they answer, That the true receiving and eating of Christs Body, according to Christs Institution, is to take, distribute, and eat material Bread, and thereby to remember the passion and death of Christ, and so receive by Faith (as they believe) Christs Body and Blood, and not otherwise.

To the sixth they answer, The same to be true in every part thereof, except that over and besides the *Gloria in excelsis*, the Epistle and Gospel, which they believe to be good, they believe the *Enter noster* and Creed used in the Mass, be also good.

A singular
Confession
not necessa-
ry.
Ceremonies
idle in the
Church.

To the seventh they answer and confess, That Auricular Confession is not necessary to be made to the Priest; nevertheless they think that it is necessary to go to such a Priest as is able to give good counsel: And that for counsel only, and not otherwise. And as concerning the Ceremonies of the Church, they answer the same to be vain and unprofitable. No Service in the Church ought to be said, but only in the English Tongue.

To the eighth, they answer and believe the same to be true in every part thereof, except they do not believe that they be Hereticks, or suspected of Heresie.

To the ninth *Osmund* and *Bamford* answered, That they referred themselves to the said Laws mentioned in that Article; but *Chamberlain* made no answer at all to this Article.

To the tenth, the said *Osmund* and *Bamford* answered and said, That by reason of their Belief before by them confessed, they are not to be reputed, taken or adjudged for wilful and obdurate Hereticks, nor to be punished therefore, as is declared in that Article. The other answered nothing.

Scholies upon the foresaid Articles.

Notes of
Scholies
upon the
Articles
used to be
ministered
to the poor
Christians
by the
Popes
Church.

These Articles in the same form and manner of words are commonly objected to all other that follow after, with the same Answers also thereunto annexed. In which Articles thou must note (Reader) the crafty and subtle handling of these Lawyers and Register, who so deceitfully frame their Articles and Positions, that unless a man do advisedly consider them, it is hard for a simple man to answer to them, but he shall be snared and entangled. So they paint their Church with such a visage of Universal, whole, holy, Catholick, as who should say: He that denieth Rome, denieth the holy Church of Christ here in Earth. Likewise in examining them, and specially the simple sort in the matter of the Sacrament, to the material Bread in the Sacrament they put their word (only) very capriciously and fraudulently, so take them at the worst advantage, making the People believe that they take the holy Sacrament to be no better than only common Bread: when they do not so, but make a difference between the same, both in the use, honour and name thereof.

The crafty
and capricious
dealing of
the Popes
inpropound-
ing their
Articles.

Again, as in the Examinations bold but only against the erroneous reports of Romish Religion, these Bishops in their Interrogatories give out the matter so generally, as though the said Examiners in general shake against all the Articles of Faith taught in Rome, Spain, England, France, Scotland, &c.

Moreover, concerning Latin Service, in such crafty form of words they propound their Article, that it might

appear to the People, these Men do deny any Service to be lawful in any Place, Country or Language, but only in English.

And as these Articles are craftily, capriciously and deceitfully in form of words devised by the Bishops and their Notaries: so the Answers again to the same, be no less subtilly framed, and after the most odious manner put down in the name of the Examiners, which being read unto them, thus without further advice they were constrained upon a sudden, to subscribe the same with their hands. Whereby, if any word escaped their hand, peradventure not considerably subscribed; there the Popes take their advantage against them, to defame them, and to bring them into hatred with the People.

These Articles thus propounded and answered, they were until the Afternoon dismissed. At what time they did again appear, and there were examined and travelled with by fair and flattering Speeches, as well of the Bishops as of others his Assistants, to recant and revoke their Opinions, who notwithstanding remained constant and firm, and therefore, after the common usage of their Ecclesiastical Laws, were sent away again until the next day, being Saturday, and the 18 day of May. Then in the Fore-noon the Bishop using his accustomed manner of proceeding, which he had used before as well with them as with others, did likewise dismiss them, and at last in the Afternoon condemned them as Hereticks, and so delivered them to the Sheriffs, in whose custody they remained until they were delivered to the Sheriff of Essex, and by him were executed, *Chamberlain* at Colchester, the 14 of June; *Thomas Osmund* at Manningtree, the 15 of June; and *William Bamford* alias Butler, at Harwich, the same 15 day in the Month of June.

Anno
1555.

Sentence
Against Of-
fenders, trans-
ferred
June 14.
The martyr-
dom of
W. Osmund,
Chamberlain
and W.
Bamford.

The History of the worthy Martyr and Servant of God, Mr. John Bradford, with his Life, Acts, and sundry Conflicts with his Adversaries, and Martyrdom at length most constantly suffered for the Testimony of Christ and his Truth.

As touching the first Country and Education of *John Bradford*, he was born at *Mancheffer* in *Lancashire*. His Parents did bring him up in Learning from his Infancy, until he attained such knowledge in the Latin Tongue, and skill in Writing, that he was able to gain his own living in some honest condition. Then he became Servant to Sir *John Harrington*, Knight, who in the great Affairs of King *Henry the Eighth*, and King *Edward the Sixth*, which he had in hand when he was Treasurer of the Kings Camps and Buildings, at divers times in *Bulleois*, had such experience of *Bradford* activity in Writing, his expertness in the Art of Auditors, as also of his faithful Trustfulness, that not only in those Affairs, but in many other of his private business he trusted *Bradford* in such fort, that above all other he used his faithful Service.

Thus continued *Bradford* certain years in a right honest and good trade of life, after the course of this World, like to come forward (as they say) if his mind could have so liked, or had been given to the World as many other be. But the Lord which had elected him unto a better function, and pre-ordained him to preach the Gospel of Christ in that hour of grace, which in his secret counsel he had appointed, called this his chosen Child to the understanding and partaking of the same Gospel of Life. In which Call he was so truly taught, that forthwith his effectual Call was perceived by the fruits. For then *Bradford* did forsake his worldly Affairs and forwardness in worldly Wealth, and, after the just Account given to his Master of all his doings, he departed from him, and with marvellous favour to further the Kingdom of God by the Ministry of his holy Word, he gave himself wholly to the study of the holy Scriptures. The which his purpose to accomplish the better, he departed from the Temple at London, where the Temporal Law is studied, and went to the University of Cambridge, to learn by Gods Law how to further the building of the Lords Temple. In Cambridge his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge and godly Conversation pleased all men, that within one whole year after that he had been there, the University did give him a degree of a Master of Art.

July 1.
The history
of Sir John
Bradford
Martyr.

Sir John
Harrington
Knight.

The crafty
Service of
John Brad-
ford under
Harrington.

Bradford
called to
the Gospel.

Bradford
gave him-
self to the
study of
Scripture.

Anno 1555
Bradford
M. of Art.
and fellow
of Pembroke
Hall.
M. Bucer.
laying.

Immediately after the Master and Fellows of *Pembroke* Hall did give him a Fellowship in their College with them: yet that man of God *Martin Bucer*, so liked him, that he had him not only most dear unto him, but also oftentimes exhorted him to bestow his talent in Preaching. Unto which *Br.* answered always, that he was unable to serve in that office, through want of Learning; To the which *Bucer* was wont to reply, saying; If thou have not fine *Manchet Bread*, yet give the poor People *Barly Bread*, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee. And whiles *Bradford* was thus persuaded to enter into the Ministry, *Doctor Ridley* that worthy Bishop of *London*, and glorious Martyr of *Christ*, according to the order that then was in the Church of *England*, called him to take the degree of a Deacon. Which Order, because it was not without some such abuse, as to the which *Bradford* would not consent, the Bishop yet perceiving that *Bradford* was willing to enter into the Ministry, was content to order him Deacon without any abuse, even as he desired. This being done, he obtained for him a Licence to preach, and did give him a Prebend in his Cathedral Church of *Saint Pauls*.

In this preaching office by the space of three years, how faithfully *Bradford* walked, how diligently he laboured, many parts of *England* can testify. Sharply he opened & reprov'd, in woe by he preached *Christ* crucified, pitifully he impugned Heresies and Errors, earnestly he persuaded to godly life. After the Death of blessed young King *Ed.* the sixth, when Queen *Mary* had gotten the Crown, till continued *Bradford* diligent in preaching, until he was unjustly deprived both of his office and liberty by the Queen and her Council. To the doing whereof, because they had no just cause, they took occasion to do this injury for such an act, as among *Turks* and Infidels would have been with thankfulness rewarded, and with great favour accepted, as indeed it did no less deserve.

The fact was this. The 13. of *August*, in the first year of the reign of *Q. Mary*, Master *Bourn*, then Bishop of *Bath*, made a Seditious Sermon at *Pauls Crois* in *London*, as partly is declared before, to set *Pope* abroad, in such sort that it moved the People to no small indignation, being almost ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the presence of *Bish. Boser*, who then was his Master, nor yet the commandment of the Major of *London*, whom the people ought to have obeyed, stay their rage: but the more they spake, the more the People were incited. At length *Bourn* seeing the People in such a mood, and himself in such peril (whereof he was sufficiently warned by the hurling of a drawn Dagger at him as he stood in the Pulpit) and that he was put from ending his Sermon, fearing lest (against his will) he should there end his wretched life, desired *Bradford*, who stood in the Pulpit behind him, to come forth, and to stand in his place and speak to the People. Good *Bradford* at his request was content, and there spake to the People of godly and quiet obedience. Whom as soon as the People saw to begin to speak unto them, so glad they were to hear him, that they cried with a great shout; *Bradford, Bradford*, God save thy life *Bradford*: well declaring not only what affection they bare unto him, but also what regard they gave unto his words. For after that he had entred a little to preach unto them, & to exhort them to quiet and patience, chiscons all the raging ceased, and in the end quietly departed each man to his house. Yet in the mean season (for it was a long time before that so great a multitude could all depart) *Bourn* thought (and truly) himself not yet full sure of his life till he were safely housed, notwithstanding that the Major and Sheriffs of *London* were there at hand to help them. Wherefore he desired *Bradford* not to depart from him till he were in safety: which *Bradford* according to his promise, performed. For while the Major and Sheriffs did lead *Bourn* to the School Masters House, which is next to the Pulpit, *Bradford* went at his back, shadowing him from the People with his gown, and so to set him safe.

Let the Reader now consider the peril of *Bourn*, the charity of *Bradford*, and the headyness of the multitude, and also the grudging minds of certain, which yet still there remained behind; grieved not a little in their minds, to see that so good a man should save the life of such a Popish Priest, so impudently and openly railing against *K. Edward*. Among whom one Gentleman said these words: Ah *Bradford*, *Bradford*! thou dost save him that will

to burn thee. I give thee his life: if it were not for thee, I would (I assure thee) run him through with my sword. Thus *Bourn* for that time, through *Bradford's* means, escaped Bodily Death: but God hath his Judgment to be shewed in the time appointed.

The same Sunday in the afternoon *Bradford* preached at the Bow Church in *Cheapside*, and reprov'd the People sharply for their Seditious Misdemeanour. After this he did abide still in *London* with an innocent Conscience, to try what should become of his just doing.

Within three days after, he was sent for to the Tower of *London*, where the Queen then was, to appear there before the Council. There was he charged with this act of saving of *Bourn*, which act they there called Seditious: & also objected against him for preaching, & so by them he was committed first to the Tower, then unto other prisons, out of which neither his innocence, godliness, nor charitable dealing could purchase to him liberty of Body, till by Death (which he suffered for *Christ's* cause) he obtained the Heavenly liberty, of which neither *Pope* nor *Papist* shall ever deprive him. From the Tower he came to the Kings Bench in *Southwark*: and after his condemnation, he was sent to the Counter in the *Pauley* in *London*: in which two places, for the time he did remain prisoner, he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him: where also the Sacrament was often ministered and through his means (the Keepers so well did bear with him) such reform of good folks was daily to his comfort, and to the ministration of the Sacrament, that commonly his chamber was well nigh filled therewith. Preaching, reading and praying was all his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day; which was but very little when he took it: and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he used often to mule with himself, having his hat over his eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of tears dropping on his trencher. Very gentle he was to man and child, and in so good credit with his Keeper, that at his desire in an evening (being prisoner in the Kings Bench in *Southwark*) he had licence upon his promise to return again that night, to go into *London* without any Keeper to visit one that was sick, lying by the Still-yard. Neither did he fail his promise, but returned to his prison again, without preventing his hour, than breaking his fidelity: so constant was he in word and in deed.

Of personage he was somewhat tall and slender, spare of Body, of a faint Sanguine colour, which an Awburn became. He slept not commonly above four hours in the night, and in his bed, till sleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was in no gaming or other pastime, but only in honest company, and comely talk, wherein he would spend a little time after Dinner at the board, and so to prayer and his Book again. He counted that hour not well spent, wherein he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others, &c. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally participate that he had to his fellow prisoners. And commonly once a week he visited the thieves, pick-purses, and such others that were with him in prison where he lay on the other side, unto whom he would give godly exhortation, to learn the amendment of their lives by their trouble; and after that so done, distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort.

By the way, this I thought not to conceal. While he was in the Kings Bench, and Mr. *Saunders* in the *Marshalsea* both prisoners, on the Backside of those two prisons they met many times, and conferred together when they would: so mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midst of their troubles: and the said *Bradford* was so trusted with his Keeper, & had such liberty in the Backside, that there was no day, but that he might have easily escaped away, if he would, but that the Lord had another work to do for him. In the Summer time, while he was in the said Kings Bench, he had liberty of his Keeper to ride into *Oxfordshire*, to a Merchants House of his acquaintance, and horse and all things prepared for him for that Journey; and the party in readiness that should ride with him: but God prevented him by sickness that he went not at all.

One of his old Friends and Acquaintance came unto him while he was prisoner, and asked him, if he sued to get him out, what then he would do, or whether he would go? Unto whom he made answer, as not caring whether

Bradford charged the People for the tumult at *Pauls Crois*.

Bradford charged with Sedition, for saving the *Pope*.

Bradford in the Kings Bench, Bradford in the Counter.

Bradford preached and ministered the Sacrament in prison.

Bradford came into *London* without a Keeper, as I termed that rage to visit one that was sick.

Bradford visited the Thieves, pick-purses, &c.

Bradford visited the Thieves, pick-purses, &c.

The mercy of God and his grace to *Bradford* and *Saunders* in the Backside of the prisons.

Bradford's liberty to ride into *Oxfordshire*.

Bradford
was
by
order
of
the
Court

Bradford
believed

Bradford
testified

Bishop Ferrar
as
the
truth,
by
the
Court

Bradford
dreamed
of
his
burning
according
to
the
Court

Bradford
had
word
of
his
burning

Bradford
made
his
prayer,
taking
his
farewell
of
the
Court

he went out or no: but if he did, he said he would marry, and abide still in England secretly, teaching the People as the time would suffer him, and occupy himself that way. He was had in for great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a Multitude, which never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his Death: yet, and a number also of the Papists themselves withed heartily his life. There were few days in which he was thought not to spend some tears before he went to bed, neither was there every a prisoner with him, but by his company he greatly profited, as all they will yet witness, and have testified of him no less, to the glory of God, whose society he frequented, as among many, one special thing I thought to note, which is this.

Bishop Ferrar being in the Kings Bench prisoner, as before you have heard, was travelled withal of the Papists in the end of Lent, to receive the Sacrament at Easter in one kind, who after much perswading yielded to them, and promised so to do. Then (so it happened by Gods providence) the Easter Even, the day before he should have done it, was Bradford brought to the Kings Bench prisoner, where the Lord making him his Instrument, Bradford only was the mean that the said Bishop Ferrar revoked his promise and word, and would never after yield to be spotted with that Papistical pitch; so effectually the Lord wrought by this worthy Servant of his. Such an instrument was he in Gods Church, that few or none there were that knew him, but esteemed him as a precious Jewel and Gods true messenger.

The night before he was had to Newgate, which was the Saturday night, he was fore troubled divers times in his sleep by dreams, how the chain for his burning was brought to the Counter-gate, and how the next day being Sunday, he should be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield, as in deed it came to pass accordingly, which hereafter shall be shewed. Now he being vexed so oftentimes in this sort with these dreams, about three of the clock in the morning he waked him that lay with him and told him his unquiet sleep and what he was troubled withal. Then after a little talk, Master Bradford rose out of the bed, and gave himself to his old exercise of reading and prayer, as always he had used before: and at dinner according to his accustomed manner he did eat his meat, and was very merry, no Body being with him from morning to night, but he that lay with him, with whom he had many times on that day communication of Death, of the Kingdom of Heaven, and of the ripeness of sin in that time.

In the afternoon they two walking together in the Keepers chamber, suddenly the Keepers wife came up, as one half amazed, and seeming much troubled, being almost windless, said: Oh Master Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news. What is that said he? Marry, quoth she, to morrow you must be burned; and your chain is now a buying, and soon you must go to Newgate. With that Mr. Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, said; I thank God for it; I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour, the Lord make me worthy thereof: and so thanking her for her gentleness, departed up into his chamber, and called his Friend with him, who when he came thither, he went secretly himself alone a long time, and prayed; Which done, he came again to him that was in his chamber, and took him divers Writings and Papers, and shewed him his mind in those things what he would have done, and after they had spent the afternoon till night in many and sundry such things, at last came to him half a dozen of his Friends more, with whom all the evening he spent the time in prayer and other good exercise, so wonderfully, that it was marvellous to hear and see his doings.

A little before he went out of the Counters, he made a notable prayer of his farewell, with such plenty of tears, and abundant Spirit of prayer, that it ravished the minds of the hearers. Also when he shifted himself with a clean shirt that was made for his burning (by one Mr. Walter Marlers Wife, who was a good nurse unto him, and his very good Friend) he made such a prayer of the wedding garment, that some of those that were present were in such great admiration, that their eyes were as thoroughly occupied in looking on him, as their ears gave place to hear his pray-

er. At his departing out of the chamber, he made like wife a prayer, and gave money to every Servant and Officer of the House, with exhortation to them to fear and serve God, continually labouring to eschew all manner of Evil. That done, he turned him to the wall and prayed vehemently, that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would work the same in them effectually, for his Christs sake. Then being beneath in the Court, all the prisoners cried out to him and bid him farewell, as the rest of the House had done before with weeping tears.

The time they carried him to Newgate, was about xi. or xii. a clock in the night, when it was thought none would be stirring abroad: and yet, contrary to their expectation in that behalf, was there in Cheapside and other places (between the Counters and Newgate) a great multitude of People that came to see him, which most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable and pitiful tears, and he again as gently bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them and their welfare. Now whether it were a commandment from the Queen and her Councillor from Boser and his adherents, or whether it were merily devised of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of London, or no, I cannot tell; but a great noise there was over night about the City by divers, that Bradford should be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by four of the clock in the morning, before it should be greatly known to any. In which rumor, many heads had divers minds; some thought the way to the People to be the cause thereof: other thought nay, that it was rather because the Papists judged his Death would convert many to the truth, and give a great overthrow to their Kingdom. So some thought one thing, and some another, that no just conjecture of the cause could be known that ever I heard yet. But this was certain, the People prevented the device suspected; for the next day, at the said hour of four a clock in the morning, there was in Smithfield such a multitude of men and women, that many being in admiration thereof, thought it was not possible that they could have warning of his Death, being so great a number in such short time, unless it were by the singular providence of Almighty God.

Well, this took not effect as the People thought; for that morning it was nine a clock of the day, before Master Bradford was brought into Smithfield: which, in going through Newgate thitherwards, spied a Friend of his whom he loved, standing on the one side the way to the Keepers housewards, unto whom he reached his hand over the People, and plucked him to him, and delivered to him from his head his velvet night-cap, and also his handkerchief, with other things besides. And after a little discourse with him, and each of them parting from other, immediately came to him a Brother in law of his, called Roger Bejwick, which as soon as he had taken the said Bradford by the hand, one of the Sheriffs of London called Woodroffe, came with his staff, and brake the said Rogers Head, that the Blood ran about his shoulders. Which sight Bradford beholding with grief, bade his Brother farewell, willing him to commend him to his Mother, and the rest of his friends, and to get him to some Surgeon sometimes; so they departing, had little or no talk at all together. Then was he led forth to Smithfield with a great company of weaponed men, to conduct him thither, as the like was not seen at any mans burning: for in every corner of Smithfield there were some, besides those that stood about the Stake. Bradford then being come to the place fell flat to the ground, secretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then rising again, and putting off his cloths unto his shirt, he went to the stake, and there suffered with a young of twenty years of age, joyfully and constantly, whose name was John Leaf. Touching the order and manner of whole burning, more shall be said (God willing) hereafter. In the mean time, we will now shew forth the sundry examinations, conflicts, and conferences between him and other his Adversaries during the time of his imprisonment, which was in all two years lacking one month and a half. Which Examinations here follow to be declared.

It was before a little above declared, that John Bradford, within three days after the Sermon of Master Bourn, was by the Councill committed to the Tower, where he remained from the month of August, Anno 1553 to the 22. day of January, Anno 1555, upon which day he was called

Anno
1555.

Bradford
going
from
the
Court

The prisoners
take
their
leave
of
Bradford
with
tears.
Bradford
carried
to
Newgate
at
midnight.
The People
in
Cheapside
bade
Bradford
farewell.

A notice
of
Bradford
early
burning.

A multitude
in
Smithfield
by
4
a
clock

Bradford
going
to
Smithfield.

Bradford
gave
his
night-cap
away.

Woodroffe
breaketh
the
head
of
Bradford.
Brother
in
law.

M. Bradford
two
years
lacking
a
month
and
a
half
in
prison.

Anno called out to examination before *Steven Hinchey* and other of the Commissioners. The effect of which examination and communication which passed between him and them, proceeded in manner as followeth.

The effect of the communication between John Bradford and the Lord Chancellor and others in Communion with him, the two and twenty day of January, Anno 1555.

After the Lord Chancellor, and the residue of the Queens Councill in Communion with him, had ended their talk with *Master Farrar* late Bishop of Saint David's, the Under-marshal of the Kings Bench was commanded to bring in *John Bradford*: who, being come into the presence of the Councill sitting at a Table, kneeled down on his knee, but immediately by the Lord Chancellor was bidden stand up, and so he did.

When he was risen, the Lord Chancellor earnestly looked upon him, to have (belike) overfaced him: but he gave no place, that is, he ceased not in like manner to look on the Lord Chancellor still continually, save that once he cast up his eyes to Heaven-ward, sighed for Gods grace, and so over faced him.

L.Chan. Then the Lord Chancellor as it were amazed, and something troubled, spake thus to him in effect; That of long time he had been imprisoned justly for his seditious behaviour at *Pauls Crofs*, the thirteenth of August, in the year One thousand five hundred fifty three, for his false preaching and arrogancie, taking upon him to preach without Authority. But now (quoth he) the time of mercy is come, and therefore the Queens Highness, minding to offer unto you mercy, hath by us sent for you, to declare and give the fame, if so be ye will with us return: and if you will do as we have done, you shall find as we have found, I warrant you. This was the sum of his words, and in manner the same words which he spake.

Brad. To these words *John Bradford* spake (after reverent obedience made) in this manner: My Lord and Lords all, I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and (with humble reverence be it spoken) unjustly, for that I did nothing Seditiously, Falsely, or Arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwise, but rather sought truth, peace, and all goodly quietness, an obedient and faithful Subject both in going about to save the Bishop of *Bathe* now, then *Mr. Bower*, the Preacher at the Crofs, and in preaching for quietness accordingly.

L.Chan. At these words, or rather before he had fully finished, the said Lord Chancellor something snuffed, and spake with an Admiration, that there was a loud lye: for (quoth he) the fact was Seditious, as you my Lord of London can bear witness.

Bower. You say true my Lord; I saw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and lead the People malepertly, thereby declaring that he was the Author of the Sedition.

Brad. My Lords, notwithstanding my Lord Bishops seeing and saying, yet the truth I have told, as one day my Lord God Almighty shall reveal to all the World, when we shall all come and appear before him: In the mean season, because I cannot be believed of you, I must and am ready to suffer, as now your sayings be, whatsoever God shall license you to do unto me.

L.Chan. I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and goodly shew thou makest: but all is lyes thou speakest. And again, have not forgot how stubborn thou wast when thou wast before us in the Tower, whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning Religion: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talks, wherethrough worthily thou hast been kept in prison, as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of.

Brad. My Lord, as I said I say again, that I stand as before you, so before God, and one day we shall all stand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now ye will not so take it. Yea my Lord, I dare say, that my Lord of *Bathe*, *Mr. Bower* will witness with me, that I fought his safeguard with the perill of mine own life, I thank God therefore.

Bower. That is not true: for I my self did see thee take upon thee too much.

Brad. No, I took nothing upon me undefined, and that of *Master Bower* himself, as if he were here present, I dare

say he would affirm. For he desired me both to help him to pacifie the People, and also not to leave him till he was in safety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your Honours, if I did or said any thing that did not beset me, if your Lordships would tell me wherein it was, I should and would shortly make you answer.

Chan. Well, to leave this matter: how sayest thou now? Wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou shalt receive the Queens mercy and pardon?

Brad. My Lord, I desire mercy with Gods mercy, but mercy with Gods wrath, God keep me from: Although (I thank God therefore) my conscience doth not accuse me, that I did speak any thing wherefore I should need to receive the Queens mercy or pardon. For all that ever I did or spake, was both agreeable to Gods Laws, and the Laws of the Realm at that present, and did make much to quietness.

Chan. Well, if thou make this babbling rolling in thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy offered to thee, know for truth, that the Queen is minded to make a "purgation of all such as thou art."

Brad. The Lord before whom I stand, as well as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have sought, and seek in this behalf: his mercy I desire, and also would be glad of the Queens favour, to live as a subject without a clog of conscience. But otherwise the Lords mercy is better to me than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even into his hands which will keep it, so that no man may take it away before it be his pleasure. There are twelve hours in the day, and as long as they last, so long shall no man have power thereon. Therefore his good will be done; life in his displeasure is worse than Death, and Death with his true favour, is true life.

Chan. I know well enough, that we shall have glorious talk enough of thee: be sure therefore that as thou hast deceived the People with false and devilish Doctrin, so shalt thou receive.

Brad. I have not deceived the People, nor taught any other Doctrin, than by Gods grace I am, and hope shall be ready to confirm with my life. And as for the devilishness and fallencies in the Doctrin, I would be sorry you could so prove it.

Duresm. Why, tell me, what say you by the Ministration of the Communion, as now you know it is?

Brad. My Lord, here I must desire of your Lordship and of all your Honours a question, before I dare make you an answer to any Interrogatory or Question, wherewith you now begin: I have been six times sworn that I shall in no case consent to the practicing of any Jurisdiction, or any Authority on the Bishop of *Rome*: behalf within this Realm of *England*. Now, before God, I humbly pray your Honors to tell me whether you ask me this question by his Authority, or not? If you do, I dare not, nor may answer you any thing in his Authority, which you shall demand of me, except I would be forsworn, which God forbid.

Ser. Bower. Hast thou been sworn six times what office hast thou born?

Brad. Forsooth I wasthree sworn in Cambridge, when I was admitted Master of Art, when I was admitted Fellow of *Pembroke Hall*, and when I was there, the Visitors came thither, and swore the University. Again, I was sworn when I entered into the Ministry, when I had a Prebend given me, and when I was sworn to serve the King a little before his Death.

Chan. Tush, Herods Oath is a man should make no conscience at.

Brad. But my Lord, these were no Herods Oaths, no unlawfull Oaths, but Oaths according to Gods Word, as you your self have well affirmed in your book *De vera obedientia*.

M. Roch. My Lords (quoth another of the Councill) that stood by the table, *Master Rochester* I ween I never speaketh. I knew wherefore this man was in prison before now: but I fee well that it had not been good that this man had been abroad: what the cause was that he was put in prison, I know not; but I now well know that not without a cause he was and is to be kept in prison.

Bower. Yea, it was reported this Parliament time by the Earl of *Derby*, that he hath done more hurt by Letters, and exhorting those that have come to him, in *Refuge*, Ligon,

Mens mercy with Gods wrath refused.

That is the worst you and your Pope can do, argument you have. The Lords mercy is better than life to Bradford.

Bradford reply to confirm his doctrine with his life.

Secretary Bower speaks: Bradford six times sworn against the Pope.

Herod Oath; quoth Wineslifer.

Wineslifer de Bowers obedientia.

M. Rochester that stood by the table, Master Rochester I ween I never speaketh.

The Earl of Derby commends public spirit to Brad-pinch Brad-pinch.

This letter
was written
to Mr. Ma-
rter, Sec-
retary, and
others, and
told forth
hereafter.

in Religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curieth all that teach any false Doctrine (for so he calleth that which is not according to that he taught) and most heartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth to continue still in that they have received by him, and such like as he is. All which words divers of the Council affirmed. Whereunto the said M. Bourn added, saying; How say you Sir, have you not thus Seditiously written and exhorted the People?

M. Bradford
is fully charg-
ed with
Sedition.

Brad. I have not written, nor spoken any thing Seditiously, neither (I thank God therefore) have I admitted any Seditious Cogitation, nor I trust ever shall do.

Bourn. Yea, thou hast written Letters.

Chan. Why speakest thou not? Hast thou not written as he saith?

Brad. That I have written, I have written.

Rob. South-
well speak-
eth.

South. Lord God, what an Arrogant and Stubborn Boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly behaveth himself before the Queens Council? Whereat one looked upon another with disdainful Countenances.

Brad. My Lords and Masters, the Lord God which is, and will be Judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am certain I stand now before his Majesty; so with reverence in his fight I stand before you, and unto you accordingly in words and gesture I desire to behave my self. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it. In the mean season, I shall suffer with all due obedience your sayings and doings too, I hope.

All is lye
shamefully
not Winc-
chester.

Chan. These be gay and glorious words of reverence but as in all other things, so herein also thou doest nothing but lye.

Brad. Well, I would God the Author of truth, and abhorer of lyes, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and shew a terrible Judgment on me here present, if I have purposed or do purpose to lye before you, whatsoever you shall ask me.

Winc-
chester
hides as a
boy.

Chan. Why then dost thou not answer? Hast thou written such Letters as here is objected against thee?

Brad. As I said, my Lord, that I have written, I have written, I stand now before you, which either can lay my Letters to my charge, or no; if you lay any thing to my charge that I have written, if I deny it, I am than a liar.

Chan. We shall never have done with thee, I perceive now: be short, be short, Wilt thou have mercy?

Brad. I pray God give me his mercy, and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuse it, but otherwise I will none.

Here now was much ado, one speaking this, and another that of his Arrogance, in refusing the Queens pardon, which he so lovingly did offer unto him; whereto Bradford answered thus:

M. Bradford
desireth to
live that he
may have
life without
clog of con-
science.

Brad. My Lords, if I may live as a quiet subject without clog of conscience, I shall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwise I behave my self, than I am in danger of the Law in the mean season I ask no more, but the benefit of a Subject, till I be convinced of transgression, if I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, Gods good will be done.

Winc-
chester
speareth &
guilteth the
Doctrines
taught in
King Ed-
wards time.

Chan. Upon these words my Lord Chancellor began a long process of the false Doctrine wherewith the People were deceived in the days of King Edward, and so turned the end of his talk to Bradford, saying: How sayest thou?

M. Bradford
standeth in
deniall
of the Do-
ctrine taught
in King Ed-
wards time.

Brad. My Lord, the Doctrine taught in K. Edwards days was Gods pure Religion: the which as I then believed, so do I now more believe it than ever I did, and therein I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it by Gods grace even as he will to the World, than I was when I first came into prison.

Durel. What Religion mean you in K. Edwards days? What year of his reign?

Brad. Forsooth even the same year my Lord, that the King died, and I was a Preacher. Here wrote Secretary Bourn I wrote not what.

The reason
of winc-
chester
wherewith
he dispro-
veth the
Doctrine of
K. Edwards
days.

Chan. Now after a little pausing, my Lord Chancellor beginneth again to declare, that the Doctrine taught in King Edwards days was Heresie, using for probation and demonstration thereof, no Scripture nor Reason, but this: that it ended with Treason and Rebellion, so that (quoth he) the very end were enough to prove that Doctrine to be naughty,

Brad. Ah my Lord, that you could enter in Gods Sanctuary, and mark the end of this present Doctrine that you now fo magnifie.

Chan. What meanest thou by that? I ween we shall have a snatch of Rebellion even now.

Brad. My Lord, I mean no such end as you would gather: I mean an end which no man feeth, but such as enter into Gods Sanctuary. If a man look on present things, he will soon deceive himself.

Here now did my L. Chancellor offer again mercy, and Bradford answered, as before: Mercy with Gods mercy should be welcom, but otherwise he would none. Whereupon the L. Chancellor did ring a little Bell, belike to call in some Body: for there was present none in manner, but only those before named, and the Bishop of Worcester. Now when one was come in; it is best, quoth Mr. Secretary Bourn, that you give the Keeper a charge of this fellow. So was the Undermarshall called in.

The Queens
mercy again
offered to
M. Bradford.

Chan. Ye shall take this man to you, and keep him close without conference with any man, but by your knowledge, and suffer him not to write any Letters, &c. for he is of another manner of charge unto you now, than he was before. And so they departed, Bradford looking as cheerfully as any man could do, declaring thereby even a desire to give his life for confirmation of that he had taught and written.

M. Bradford
secured &
gained into
prison.

The effect of the second examination of John Bradford in S. Mary Overies Church, before the L. Chancellor, and divers other Bishops, the 29. of January. Anno 1555.

After the Excommunication of John Rogers, John Bradford was called in, and standing before the L. Chancellor and other Bishops set with him, the said L. Chancellor speake thus in effect.

The second
examination
of M. Bradford
before the
Bishop of
Winc-
chester
and others.

L. Chan. Where before the 22. of January, the said Bradford was called before them (said he) and they offered unto him the Queens pardon, although he had condemned the same, and further said, that he would flitely and stoutly maintain, and defend the Erroneous Doctrine taught in the days of K. Edwards the 6. yet in consideration that the Queens Highness was wonderful merciful, they thought good oftentimes to offer the same mercy again, before it were too late: therefore advise you well, said he, there is yet space and grace before we proceed, that you be committed to the Secular Power, as we must do and will do, if you will not follow the example of Mr. Barlowe, and Mr. Cardmaker, whom he there commended, adding oratoriously amplifications to move the said Bradford to yield to the Religion presently set forth.

Example of
M. Barlowe
and Cardmaker
laid a-
gainst Brad-
ford.

Brad. After the L. Chancellors long talk, Bradford began on this sort to speak; My Lord, and my Lords all, as now I stand in your sight before you, so I humbly beseech your Honours to consider, that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who (as David doth witness) is in the congregation of Judges, and sitteth in the midst of them judging; and as you would your place to be now of us taken as Gods place, so demonstrate your selves to follow him in your sitting, that is, seek no guileless Blood, nor hunt not by questions to bring into the snare, them which are out of the same. At this present I stand before you guilty or guileless, then proceed and give sentence accordingly: if guileless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which hitherto I could not have.

Si illum ob-
jurgas, vice
qui auctoritas
talis, quid
scias illi
qui desiderit
dammum sui
malum?

Chan. Here the L. Chancellor replied, and said, that the said Bradford began with a true sentence, Deus stetit Synagoga, &c. But quoth he, this and all thy gesture declareth but Hypocrisie and vain-glory. And further he made much ado to purge himself, that he fought not guileless Blood, and so began a long process how that Bradfords fact at Pauls Cross, was presumptuous, arrogant, and declared a taking upon him to lead the People, which could not but turn to much disquietnes, in that thou (speaking to Bradford) was so refract & stout in Religion at that present. For the which, as thou wast then committed to prison, so hitherto thou hast been kept in prison, where thou hast written Letters to no little hurt to the Queens people, as by report of the Earl of Derby in the Parliament House was credibly declared. And to this he added, that the said Bradford did stubbornly behave himself the last time he laid against him before them, and therefore not for any other thing now I demand of thee, quoth he, but of and for thy Doctrine and Religion.

The witness
of the Earl
of Derby
he laid against
M. Bradford.

Brad.

Anno 1555. *Brad.* My Lord, where you accuse me of Hypocrite and Vain-glory, I must and will leave it to the Lords Declaration, which one day will open yours and my Truth and hearty meanings: in the mean season, I will content my self with the testimony of mine own Conscience, which if it yield to Hypocrite, could not but have God to be my foe also; and so both God and Man were against me. And as for my fact at *Pauls-Cross*, and behaviour before you at the *Tower*, I doubt not but God will reveal it to my comfort. For if ever I did things, which God used to publick benefit, I think that my deed was one, and yet for it I have been and am kept of long time in Prison. And as for Letters and Religion, I answer, as I did the last time I was before you.

M. Bradford defendeth his Fact at *Pauls-Cross*.

The words of *M. Bradford* mis-reported.

M. Bradford more confirmed in his Doctrine since his imprisonment than before.

Wickliffe maketh but a small matter of an Oath.

Bradford standeth still to his Oath.

The cause why *Bradford* answereth not to *Wickliffe*, by his interrogatories.

Chan. There didst thou say stubbornly and malepertly, that thou wouldest manly maintain the erroneous Doctrine in King *Edwards* days.

Brad. My Lord, I said the last time I was before you, that I had fix times taken an Oath, that I should never consent to the practising of any Jurisdiction on the Bishop of *Rome* behalf, and therefore durst I not answer to any thing that should be demanded fo, left I should be forsworn, which God forbid. Howbeit, saving mine Oath, I said that I was more confirmed in the Doctrine set forth publickly in the days of King *Edward*, than ever I was before I was put in Prison: and so I thought I should be, & think yet still I shall be found more ready to give my life as God will, for the confirmation of the same.

Chan. I remember well that thou madest much ado about needles matter, as though the Oath against the Bishop of *Rome* were so great a matter. So others have done before thee, but yet not in such sort as thou hast done: for thou pretendest a Conscience in it, which is nothing else but meer hypocrite.

Brad. My Conscience is known to the Lord: and whether I deal herein hypocritically or no, he knoweth. As I said therefore then my Lord, so I say again now, That for fear left I should be perjured, I dare not make answer to any thing you shall demand of me, if my answering should consent to the confirming or practising of any Jurisdiction for the Bishop of *Rome* here in *England*.

L. Chan. Why didst thou begin to tell that we are *Dii*, and sit in Gods place, and now wilt thou not make us an answer?

Brad. My Lord, I said, you would have your place taken of us now as Gods place: and therefore I brought forth that piece of Scripture, that ye might the more be admonished to follow God and his ways at this present, who seeth us all, and well perceiveth whether of Conscience I pretend this matter of the Oath, or no.

L. Chan. No, all men may well see thine hypocrite: for if for thine Oaths sake thou didst not answer, then wouldest thou not have spoken as thou didst, and have answered me at the first: but now men well perceive, that this is but a starting-hole to hide thy self in, because thou darrest not answer, and so wouldest escape, binding the simple Peoples eyes, as though of Conscience you did all you do.

Brad. That which I spake at the first, was not a replication or an answer to that you spake to me: and therefore I needed not to lay for me mine Oath. For I thought you would have more weighed what I did speak, than you did: but I perceived you did not consider it, but came to ask matter, whereto by answering I should consent to the practising of Jurisdiction on the Bishop of *Rome* behalf here in *England*, and so be forsworn; then of Conscience and simplicity I spake as I do yet again speak, that I dare not for Conscience sake answer you. And therefore I seek no starting-holes, nor go about to blind the People, as God knoweth. For if you of your Honours shall tell me, that you do not ask me any thing whereby mine answering should consent to the practising of the Bishop of *Rome* Jurisdiction, ask me wherein you will, and you shall hear that I will answer you as fairly as ever any did that came before you. I am not afraid of death, I thank God: for I look, and have looked for nothing else at your hands of long time: but I am afraid, when Death cometh, I should have matter to trouble my Conscience, by the guiltiness of Perjury, and therefore do I answer as I do.

L. Chan. Thine be gay glorious words, full of hypo-

crise and vain-glory, and yet dost thou not know that I sit here as Bishop of *Winchester* in mine own Diocess, and therefore may do this which I do and more too?

Brad. My Lord, give me leave to ask you this question, that my Conscience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here *Coram Deo*, before God, all this Audience being witness, that you demand of me nothing whereby mine answering should consent to and confirm the practice of Jurisdiction for the Bishop of *Rome* here in *England*, and yet your Honour shall hear me give you as flat and as plain answers briefly, to whatsoever you shall demand me, as ever any did.

L. Chan. Here the L. Chancellor was wonderfully offended, and spake much how the Bishop of *Rome* Authority needed no confirmation of *Bradford*s answering, nor no such as he was; and turned his talk to the People, how that *Bradford* followed crafty covetous Merchants, which because they would lend no money to their Neighbours when they were in need, would say that they had sworn off, that they would never lend any more money, because there Debtors had so oft deceived them. Even to thou, quoth he to *Bradford*, dost at this present, to cast a mist in the Peoples eyes, to blear them with an Heresie (which is greater, and more hurtful to the Commonwealth than the other is) pretend thine Oath, whereby the People might make a Conscience, whereas they should not. Why speakest thou not?

Brad. My Lord as I said, I say again, I dare not answer you for fear of Perjury, from which God defend me, or else I could tell you that there is a difference between Oaths. Some be according to Faith and Charity, as the Oath against the Bishop of *Rome*: some be against Faith and Charity; as this, to deny by Oath, my help to my Brother in his need.

L. Chan. Here my L. Chancellor again was much offended, still saying that *Bradford* durst not answer, and further made much ado to prove, that the Oath against the Bishop of *Rome* was against Charity.

Brad. But *Bradford* answered, that howsoever his Honour took him, yet he was assured of his meaning, that no fear but the fear of Perjury made him unwilling to answer: For, as for death, my Lord (quoth he) as I know there are 12. hours in the day, so with the Lord my time is appointed. And when it shall be his good time, then I shall depart hence: but in the mean season I am safe enough, though all the People had sworn my death. Into his hands have I committed it, and do, his good will be done. And saving mine Oath, I will answer you in this behalf, that the Oath against the Bishop of *Rome* was not, nor is against Charity.

L. Chan. How prove you that?

Brad. Forsooth I prove it thus:

Argument.
Fe- Nothing is against Charity, which is with Gods Word, and not against it.
fi- The Oath against the Bishop of *Romes* Authority in *England*, is with Gods Word, and is not against it.
no. Ergo, The Oath against the Bishop of *Romes* Authority in *England*, is not against Charity.

L. Chan. Is it against Gods Word, that a man should take a King to be Supream Head of the Church in this Realm?

Brad. No, saving still mine Oath, it is not against Gods Word, but with it, being taken in such sense as it may well be taken: that is, attributing to the Kings power, the Sovereignty in all his Dominion.

L. Chan. I pray you where find you that?

Brad. I find it in many places, but specially in the 13. *Rom* 13. to the *Romans*, where *S. Paul* writeth, Every soul to be subject to the superiour Power: but what Power? *Quæ* *gladium gestat*. The Power verily which beareth the Sword; which is not the Spiritual, but the Temporal Power. As *Chrysostom* full well noteth upon the same place, which your Honour knoweth better than I. He (*Chrysostom* I mean) there plainly sheweth that Bishops, Prophets, and Apostles, are obedient to the Temporal Magistrates.

L. Chan. Here yet more the Lord Chancellor was stirred, and said, how that *Bradford* went about to deny all

Bradford ready to answer under precession.

Difference of Oath: some with Faith and Charity, some against it.

The Oath against the Bishop of *Rome*, is not against Charity.

A King how he may be taken for Supream Head of the Church in his own Dominion.

Rom 13. Bishops, Prophets and Apostles subject to Temporal Magistrates.

all obedience to the Queen for his Oath: and so (quoth he) this man would make Gods word a warrant of disobedience: for he will answer the Queen on this fort, that when the faith, Now swear to the Bishop of Rome, or obey his Authority: No (will he say) for I should be forsworn, and so he makes the Queen no Queen.

Refusing of the Popes obedience being sworn against him is no denying of a due obedience to the Queen.

Brad. No, I go not a about to deny all obedience to the Queens Highness, but denying obedience in this part, if he should demand it. For I was sworn to K. Edward, not simply, that is, not only concerning his own person, but also concerning his Successors, and therefore in denying to do the Queens request herein, I deny not her Authority, nor become disobedient.

The pre-ference judgment of a Minister, as to the Oath of God, and so much in his Vow to the Pope.

L. Chan. Yes that thou dost: and so he began to tell a long tale, how if a man should make an Oath to pay to me an hundred pounds by such a day, and the man to whom it was due would forget the debt, the debtor should say, No, you cannot do it: for I am forsworn then.

Brad. Here Bradford desired my L. Chancellor not to trifle it, saying, that he wondered his Honour would make Solemn Oaths made to God, trifles in that fort; and make so great a matter concerning Vows (as they call it) made to the Bishop for Marriage of Priests.

Argument. A Speech of a negative non valde.

Chan. At these words the L. Chancellor was much offended, and said he did not trifle: but quoth he, thou goest about to deny obedience to the Queen, which now requirith obedience to the Bishop of Rome.

Brad. No my Lord, I do not deny obedience to the Queen, if you would discern between Genus and Species. Because I may not obey in this; Ergo, I may not obey in the other, is no good reason. As if a man let or sell a piece of his Inheritance, yet this notwithstanding, all his Inheritance is not let or sold: and so in this case, all obedience I deny not, because I deny obedience in this Branch.

Chan. I will none of these similitudes.

Brad. I would not use them, if that you went not about to perfwade the People, that I meant that which I never meant: for I my self not only mean obedience, but will give example of all most humble obedience to the Queens Highness, so long as the requirith not obedience against God.

Chan. No, no, all men may see your meaning well enough. There is no man, though he be sworn to the King, that doth therefore break his Oath, if he afterwards be sworn to the French King and to the Emperor.

Brad. It is true my Lord, but the cases be not like. For here is an exception; I Thou shalt not swear to the Bishop of Rome at any time. If we in like manner were sworn; I Thou shalt not serve the Emperor, &c. you see there were some alteration and more doubt. But I beseech your Honour remember what ye your self have written, answering the Objections heretofore in your Book *De vera obedientia*. Vincat modo deum verbi venias. i. Let Gods Word; and the reason thereof, bear the bell away.

Winchester, preterea per hunc Bradford non est auct.

Chan. Here the L. Chancellor was thoroughly moved, and said still, how that Bradford hath written seditious Letters, and perverted the People thereby, and did stoutly stand, as though he would defend the Erroneous Doctrine in King Edwards time, against all men: and now, quoth he, he saith, he dare not answer.

Bradford ready to render reason of his faith.

Brad. I have written no seditious Letters, I have not perverted the People: but that which I have written and spoken, that will I never deny, by Gods grace. And where your Lordship saith, that I dare not answer you: that all men may know that I am not afraid, saving mine Oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly make you answer, by Gods grace, although I now see my life lieth thereon. But O Lord, into thy hands I commit it, come what come will: only sanctifie thy Name in me, as in an instrument of thy grace, Amen. Now ask what you will, and you shall see I am not afraid, by Gods grace, fairly to answer.

Christ present only as the Sacrament to faith.

L. Chan. Well then, how say you to the blessed Sacrament? Do you not believe there Christ to be present concerning his Natural Body?

Brad. My Lord, I do not believe that Christ is corporally present at and in the due Administration of the Sacrament. By this word, corporally I mean that Christ is there present corporally into faith.

L. Chan. Unto faith? we must have many more words to make it plain.

Brad. You shall so: but first give me leave to speak two words.

L. Chan. Speak on.

Brad. I have been now a year and almost three quarters in prison, and of all this time you never questioned with me hereabout, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without peril: but now have you a Law to hang up and put to death, if a man answer freely, and not to your appetite, and so now you come to demand this question. Ah my Lord, Christ used not this way to bring men to faith. No more did the Prophets or the Apostles. Remember what Bern. writeth to Eugenius the Pope; *Apostolos lego stetisse iudicandos, sedisse iudicantes non lego. Hoc erit, illud fuit, &c.* That is, I read, that the Apostles stood to be judged, but I read not, that they sate to judge. This shall be, that was, &c.

Note well the Popes way to bring men to faith. The Popes judging and condemning men for their faith, reproved by Bern.

Chan. Here the L. Chancellor was appalled, as it seemed, and said most gently that he used not this means. It was not my doing, quoth he, although some there be that think this to be the best way: For I, for my part have been challenged for being too gentle oftentimes. Which thing the Bishop of London confirmed, and so hath did almost all the audience, that he had been ever too milde and too gentle.

Winchester blamed without a cause, as he saith.

Brad. At which words Bradford spake thus: My Lord, I pray you stretch out your gentleness, that I may feel it, for hitherto I never felt it.

Chan. As soon as ever he had spoken thus: the Lord, Chancellor, belike thinking that Bradford would have had mercy and pardon, faith, that with all his heart, not only he, but the Queens Highness would stretch out mercy if with them he would return.

Brad. Return, my Lord? God save me from that going back! I mean it not so, but I meant that I was three quarters of a year in the Tower; you forbid me paper, pen and ink, and never in all that time, nor thence did I feel any gentleness from you: rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremity. And I thank God that I perceive now ye have kept me in prison thus long, not for any matter ye had, but for matter ye would have; Gods good will be done.

Bradford three quarters of a year in the Tower kept from pen and ink.

Here now were divers telling my Lord it was dinner time. And so he rose up, leaving Bradford speaking, and saying that in the afternoon they would speak more with him. And so was he had into the Veltrey, and was there all that day till dark night, and so was conveyed again to prison.

Bradford kept in the Veltrey till dark night.

In the mean time, about four of the clock the same afternoon, a Gentleman called Master Thomas Haffey of Lincolnshire, which was once an Officer in the Duke of Northfolks House, did come into the Veltrey to inquire for one Stronking, and when it was answered him by the Undermarshals Officers of the Kings Bench, that there was none such, he entered into the house, and took acquaintance of John Bradford, saying, that he would commune and speak with him the next morning for old acquaintance.

T. Haffey came to Bradford.

The next morning about seven of the clock, this Gentleman came into the Chamber wherein John Bradford did lye, and being with him, he began a long Oration, how that of love and old acquaintance he came unto him to speak that which he would further utter. You did (said he) so wonderfully behave your self before the L. Chancellor, and other Bishops yester day, that even the veriest enemies you have, did see that they have no matter against you: & therefore advise you (speaking as though it came of his own good will, without making any other man privie, or any other procuring him, as he said) this day (for anon you shall be called before them again) desire a time, and men to confer withall, so shall all men think a wonderful Wisdom, gravity, and godliness in you: and by this means you shall escape present danger, which else is nearer than you are ware of. To this John Bradford answered, I neither can nor will make such request. For then shall I give occasion to the people and to all other to think that I doubt of the Doctrine which I confess: the which thing I do not, for I am most assured, & therefore will give no such offence.

Counsell of M. Haffey given to M. Bradford.

As they were thus talking, the Chamber Door was unlocked & Dr. Seton came in, who when he saw M. Haffey, What Sir, quoth Bradford in his heart to God, goeth the matter thus? This man told me, no man knew of his coming. Lord give me grace to remember thy lesson, with a 13.

M. Bradford's refusal to require respit.

Dr. Seton came in to M. Bradford, who took a 13.

Anno 1555. *Caveat ab hominibus illis, Beware of those men, &c. Cast not your Pearls before Dogs: for I see these men be come to hunt for matter, that the one may bear witness with the other.*

Concert of D. Seton given to M. Bradford. *Seton. Dr. Seton, after some by-talk of Bradford's Age; of his Country and such like, began a gay and long Sermon of my Lord of Canterbury, Mr. Latimer, and Mr. Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to answer any thing at all; and that therefore my Lord of Canterbury desired to confer with the Bishop of Durham and others: all which Talk tended to this end, that John Bradford should make the like suit, being in nothing to be compared in Learning to my Lord of Canterbury.*

Brad. To this John Bradford briefly answered as he did before to Mr. Hussey.

Seton. With this Answer neither the Doctor nor Gentleman being contented, after many persuasions, Mr. Doctor said, I have heard much good talk of you, and even yesterday a Gentleman made report of you at the Lord Chancellors Table, that ye were able to persuade as much as any that he knew. And I (though I never heard you preach, and to my knowledge did never see you before yesterday,) yet methought your modesty was such, your behaviour and talk so without malice and impatience, that I would be sorry you should do worse than my self. And I tell you further, I do perceive my Lord Chancellor hath a fantasie towards you: wherefore be not so obdurate, but desire respite and some Learned man to confer withal, &c.

Brad. But John Bradford kept still one answer: I cannot nor I will not so offend the People. I doubt not, but I am most certain of the Doctrine I have taught.

Seton. Here Mr. Doctor waxed hot, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, vain-glorious, and spake like a Prelate.

Brad. But Bradford answered, Beware of judging, lest you condemn your self. But still Mr. Doctor Seton urged him, shewing him how merciful my L. Chancellor was, and how charitably they entertained him.

Brad. I never saw any Justice, much less Love, if I speak for my part, quoth Bradford, in my Lord Chancellor. Long have I been unjustly imprisoned, and handled in the same uncharitably: and now my Lord hath no just matter against me.

This talk served not the Doctors purpose: wherefore he went from matter to matter, from this point to that point. Bradford still gave him the hearing, and answered not: for he perceived that they both did come but to fish for some things which might make a shew that my L. Chancellor had justly kept him in Prison.

When all their talk took no such effect as they would or looked for, Mr. Hussey asked Bradford, will ye not admit conference, if my L. Chancellor should offer it publickly?

Brad. Conference, if it had been offered before the Law had been made, or if it were offered so that I might be at liberty to confer, and as sure as he with whom I should confer, then it were something: but else I savor to what other purpose Conference should be offered, but to defer that which will come at the length, and the lingring may give more offence than do good. Howbeit, if my Lord shall make such an offer of his own motion, I will not refuse to confer with whomsoever he shall appoint.

Mr. Doctor hearing this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and whatsoever it pleased him.

Then Bradford perceiving by them that he should shortly be called for, besought them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wisdom and grace of him: for, quoth he, otherwise I am helpless: and so they with much ado departed. Then Bradford went to God and made his Prayers, which the Lord of his goodness did graciously accept in his need, praised therefore be his holy Name. Shortly after they were gone, Bradford was led to the fore said Church, and there tarried uncalled for till Eleven of the Clock, that is, till M. Sanders was Excommunicated.

The effect and sum of the last Examination of John Bradford, in the Church of St. Mary Overies.

After the Excommunication of Lawrence Sanders, John Bradford was called in, and being brought

in before the L. Chancellor and other the Bishops there sitting, the L. Chancellor began to speak thus in effect: that if Bradford, being now citizens come before them, would answer with modesty and humility, and conform himself to the Catholick Church with them, he yet might find mercy, because they would be loath to use extremity. Therefore he concluded with an Exhortation, that Bradford would recant his Doctrine.

After the Lord Chancellor had ended his long Oration, Bradford began to speak thus: As yesterday I besought your Honours to set in your fight the Majesty and presence of God to follow him, which seeketh not to subvert the simple by subtle questions: so I humbly beseech every one of you to do this day; for that you know well enough, that guiltless Blood will cry for Vengeance. And this I pray not your Lordships to do, as one that taketh upon me to condemn you utterly herein, but that ye might be more admonished to do that, which none doth so much as he should do: For our Nature is so much corrupt, that we are very oblivious and forgetful of God. Again, as yesterday I pretended mine Oath and Oaths against the Bishop of Rome, that I should never consent to the practising of any Jurisdiction for him, or on his behalf in the Realm of England: so do I again at this day, lest I should be perjured. And last of all, as yesterday the Answers I made, were by protestation and saving mine Oath, so I would your Honours should know that mine Answers shall be this day: and this I do, when Death (which I look for at your hands) shall come, I may not be troubled with the guiltiness of Perjury.

L. Chan. At which words the L. Chancellor was wroth, and said, that they had given him respite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his Errors of the blessed Sacrament, which yesterday (quoth he) before us you uttered.

Brad. My Lord, you gave me no time of any such deliberation, neither did I speak any thing of the Sacrament which you did disallow. For when I had declared a presence of Christ to be there to Faith, you went from that matter to purge your self, that you were not cruel, and so went to Dinner.

L. Chan. What? I perceive we must begin all again with thee. Did I not yesterday tell thee plainly, that thou madest a Confession where none should be? Did I not make it plain, that the Oath against the Bishop of Rome was an unlawful Oath?

Brad. No indeed my Lord: You said so, but you proved it not yet, nor ever can do.

L. Chan. O Lord God, what a Fellow art thou? Thou wouldest go about to bring into the Peoples heads, that we, all the Lords of the Parliament House, the Knights and Burgeses, and all the whole Realm be perjured. O what an Heretick is this? here good People, you may see what a senseless Heretick this Fellow is. If I should make an Oath I would never help my Brother, nor lend him Money in his need; were this a good answer to tell my Neighbour desiring my help, that I had made an Oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?

Brad. O my Lord, discern betwixt Oaths that be against Charity and Faith, and Oaths that be according to Faith and Charity, as this is against the Bishop of Rome.

Chan. Here the Lord Chancellor made much ado, and a long time was spent about Oaths, which were good and which were evil, he captiously asking often of Bradford a direct answer concerning Oaths: which Bradford would not give simply, but with a distinction. Whereat the Chancellor was much offended: but Bradford still kept him at the bay, that the Oath against the Bishop of Rome, was a lawful Oath, using thereto the Lord Chancellors own Book, de vera Obedientia, for confirmation.

At the length they came to this issue, who should be judge of the lawfulness of the Oath; and Bradford said the Word of God, according to Christs Word, John 12. My Word shall judge; and according to the testimony of Esay and Micah, That Gods Word coming out of Jerusalem, shall give sentence among the Gentiles. By this Word, quoth Bradford, my Lord, I will prove the Oath against the Bishop of Romes Authority, to be a good, a godly and a lawful Oath. So that the Lord Chancellor left his hold, and as the other day he pretended a denial of the Queens Authority and Obedience to her Highness, so did he now.

The effect of Bradfords talk with M. Bradford.

M. Bradford Answer to Winchester.

Winchester replyeth against Bradford with a lyce.

The Oath against the Bishop of Rome whether it be lawful or unlawful.

Winchester similitude in respect here.

Winchester finallye resumed.

Gods Word judge only o. oaths, whether they be the lawfullly agent the majesty of the Pope or no. Winchester leaveth his head.

The flatterer commendation of D. Seton to M. Bradford.

M. Bradford refused to confer upon his Doctrine.

Little justice lets love appeared in the Bishop of Winchester.

M. Bradford refused to admit conference but upon conditions.

D. Seton rebelleth against M. Bradford.

The last examination of M. Bradford.

One special
cause of
obedience
denied by
Confidence
maketh no
general de-
nial of obe-
dience in
partes law-
ful.

Winchester
flumbling
at Vows
made to
Man, and
leaping over
solemn
Oaths made
to God.

Winchester
in speaking
chafe.

M. Bradford
imprisoned
without a
cause.

M. Bradford
never slain
in the pulpit,
with a dag-
ger, thrown
against
M. Beane.

M. Bradford
regarded
his life for
M. Beane.

Winchester
proves I
double
in his own
words.

Winchester
drives to
eat his own
words.

But *Bradford*, as the day before, proved, that obedience in this point to the Queens Highness, if he should demand an Oath to the Bishop of *Rome*, being denied, was not a general denial of her Authority, and of Obedience to her; no more, quoth he, than the sale gift or lease of a piece of a mans Inheritance, proveth it a sale, gift, or lease of the whole Inheritance.

And thus much ado was made about this matter: the Lord Chancellor talking much, and using many examples of Debt, of going out of Town to morrow by Oath, and yet tarrying till Friday, and such like. Which trifling Talk *Bradford* did touch, saying, That it was a wonder his Honour weighed Confidence no more in this, and would be so earnest in Vows of Priests Marriages made to Bishops, and be careless for solemn Oaths made to God and to Princes. *Summe*, this was the end. The Lord Chancellor said, the Queen might dispense with it, and did so to all the whole Realm. But *Bradford* said, that the Queens Highness could do no more but remit right; as for the Oath made to God, he could never remit, for as much as it was made unto God.

L.Chan. At which words the L.Chancellor chafed wonderfully, and said, that in plain sense I slandered the Realm of Perjury; and therefore (quoth he to the People) you may see how this Fellow taketh upon him to have more knowledge and confidence than all the wise Men of *England*, and yet he hath no Confidence at all.

Brad. Well, my Lord, let all the standers-by see who hath Confidence: I have been a year and a half in Prison: Now before all this People, declare wherefore I was imprisoned, or what cause you had to punish me. You said the other day in your own house, my Lord of *London* witnessing with you, that I took upon me to speak to the People undefeared. There he sitteth by you, I mean my Lord of *Bathe*, which desired me himself for the Passion of Christ, I would speak to the People. Upon whose words I coming into the Pulpit, had like to have been slain with a Dagger (which was hurled at him, I think) for it touched my Sleeve. He then prayed me I would not leave him, and I promised him, as long as I lived, I would take hurt before him that day, and so went out of the Pulpit and intreated with the People, and at length brought him my self into an house.

Besides this, in the Afternoon I preached at *Bow-Church*, and there going up into the Pulpit, one willed me not to reprove the People; for, quoth he, you shall never come down alive, if you do it. And yet notwithstanding I did in that Sermon reprove their fact, and called it Sedition at the least twenty times. For all which my doings, I have received this recompence, Prison for a year and a half, and more, and Death now, which you go about. Let all men be judge where Confidence is.

In speaking of these words, there was endeavour to have letted it: but *Bradford* still spake on, and gave no place till he had made an end, speak what they would. And then the Lord Chancellor said, that for all that fair Tale, his fact at the Cross was naught.

Brad. No, my fact was good, as your your self did bear witness with me. For when I was at the first before you in the Tower, you your self did say, that my fact was good, but (quoth you) thy mind was evil. Well, quoth I, then my Lord, in that you allow the fact, and condemn my mind; for so much as otherwise I cannot declare my mind to man but by saying and doing. God one day, I trust, will open it to my comfort, what my mind was, and yours is.

L.Chan. Here the L.Chancellor was offended, and said, that he never said so. I, quoth he, had not so little wit I trow, as not to discern betwixt meaning and doing: and so brought forth, little to the purpose, many Examples to prove that men construe things by the meaning of men, and not by their doings. But when this would not serve, then cometh he to another matter, and said, that *Bradford* was put in Prison at the first because he would not yield, nor be conformable to the Queens Religion.

Brad. Why my Lord? your Honour knoweth that you would not reason with me in Religion, but said a time should afterwards be found out, when I should be talked withal. But if it were as your Lordship saith, that I was put in Prison for Religion, in that my Religion was then authorized by publick Laws of the Realm, could Confi-

ence punish me, or cast me in Prison therefore? Wherefore let all men be Judges, in whom Confidence wanteth.

M.Chamb. Here came forth *M.Chamberlain* of *Woodstock*, and spake to my L.Chancellor, how that *Bradford* had been a Serving-man, and was with *M.Harrington*.

L.Chan. True, and did deceive his Master of Seven score l. and because of this, he went to a Gospeller and a Preacher (good People) and yet you see how he pretendeth Confidence.

Brad. My Lord, I set my foot by his, whosoever he be, that can come forth and justly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my Master. And as you are Chief Justicer by Office in *England*, I desire Justice upon them that so slander me, because they cannot prove it.

L.Chan. Here my Lord Chancellor and *Mr.Chamberlain* were smitten blank, and said they heard it. But quoth my Lord Chancellor, we have another manner of matter hold than this against you: for you are an Heretic.

Lord. Yea, quoth the Bishop of *London*, he did write Letters to *M.Pendleton*, which knoweth his hand as well as his own, your Honour did see the Letters.

Brad. This is not true, I never did write to *Pendleton* since I came to Prison, and therefore I am not justly spoken of.

Lord. Yea, but you ended it.

Brad. I did not, nor know not what you mean, and this I offer to prove.

Here came in another, I trow they call him *Mr.Allen*, one of the Clerks of the Council, putting the Lord Chancellor in remembrance of Letters written into *Lancashire*.

L.Chan. You say true: for we have his hand to shew.

Brad. I deny that we have my hand to shew of Letters sent into *Lancashire*, otherwise than before you all I will stand to, and prove them to be good and lawful.

Here was all answered, and then the L.Chancellor began a new matter. Sir (quoth he) in my house the other day you did most contemptuously condemn the Queens mercy, and further said, that you would maintain the erroneous Doctrine in *K.Edwards* days against all men, and this you do most stoutly.

Brad. Well, I am glad that all men see now you have had no matter to imprison me afore that day justly. Now say I, that I did not contemptuously condemn the Queens

mercy, but would have had it (though if Justice might take place, I need it not) so that I might have had it with Gods mercy, that is, without doing or saying any thing against God and his Truth. And as for maintenance of Doctrine, because I cannot tell how you will stretch this word Maintenance, I will repeat again that which I spake. I said I was more confirmed in the Religion set forth in *King Edwards* days, than ever I was; and if God so would, I trust I should declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and reedification thereof. So I said then, and so I say now. As for otherwise to maintain it, than pertaining to a private person by Confession, I thought not, nor think not.

L.Chan. Well, yesterday thou didst maintain false Heresie concerning the blessed Sacrament, and therefore we gave thee respite till this day to deliberate.

Brad. My Lord, as I said at the first, I spake nothing of the Sacrament, but that which you allowed, and therefore reproveth it not, nor gave me any thing to deliberate.

L.Chan. Why? didst thou not deny Christs presence in the Sacrament?

Brad. No, I never denied nor taught, but that to Faith, whole Christ, Body and Blood was as present as the Bread and Wine to the due receiver.

L.Chan. Yea, but dost thou not believe that Christs Body naturally and really is there, under the forms of Bread and Wine?

Brad. My Lord, I believe Christ is present there to the Faith of the due Receiver: as for Transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I believe it not.

Here was *Bradford* called *Diabolus*, a Slanderer: for they we ask no question (quoth my L.Chancellor) of Transubstantiation, but of Christs presence.

Brad. I deny not his presence to the Faith of the Receiver, but deny that he is included in the Bread, or that the Bread was transubstantiated.

B.Wrecch. If he be not included, how is he then present?

Brad.

1555.

At Chamberlain of Woodstock against M. Bradford.

Winchester again drives from his

Beane again cometh in with another usurruth.

A Clerk of the Council thought to back Allen.

Winchester capricious quarrel answered.

Another usurruth in Winchester.

Blasphemy are you when they shall revile you, and speak all that is ought against you for my names sake, Amen y.

ADMO 1555 Brad. Forsooth, though my Faith can tell how, yet my Tongue cannot express it, nor you otherwise than by Faith hear it, or understand it.

Here was much ado, now one Doctor standing up and speaking thus, and others speaking that, and the L. Chancellor talking much of Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, but still Bradford kept him at that point, that Christ is present to Faith, and that there is no Transubstantiation nor including of Christ in the Bread: but all this would not serve them.

Therefore another Bishop asked this Question, Whether the wicked man received Christs very Body or no? And Bradford answered plainly, No. Whereat the L. Chancellor made a long Oracion, how that it could not be that Christ was present, except that the evil man received it.

But Bradford put away all his Oracion in few words, that Grace was at that time offered to his Lordship, although he received it not: so that (quoth he) the receiving maketh not the Presence, as your Lordship would infer: but Gods Grace, Truth, and Power is the cause of the Presence, which Grace the wicked that lack Faith, cannot receive. And here Bradford prayed my Lord, not to divorce that which God had coupled together. He hath coupled all these together; Take, eat, this is my Body: He saith not, See, peep, this is my Body; but, Take, eat. So that it appeareth this is a Promise depending upon Condition, if we take and eat.

L. Chan. Here the L. Chancellor and other Bishops made a great ado, that Bradford had found out a toy that no man else ever did, of the Condition, and the L. Chancellor made many words to the People thereabout.

Brad. But Bradford said thus, My Lord, are not these words, Take, eat, a Commandment? And are not these words, This is my Body, a Promise? If you will challenge the Promise, and do not the Commandment, may you not deceive your self?

L. Chan. Here the L. Chancellor denied Christ to have commanded the Sacrament, and the use of it.

Brad. Why my Lord, I pray you tell the People what Mood Accipitis, Manducatis, is; Is it not plain to Children, that Christ in so saying, commandeth?

L. Chan. At these words the L. Chancellor made a great toying and trifling at the Imperative Mood, and fell to parsing or examining, as he should teach a Child, and so concluded that it was no Commandment, but such a Phrase as this, I pray you give me drink, which quoth he, is no Commandment, I trow.

Brad. But Bradford prayed him to leave toying and trifling, and said thus; My Lord, if it be not a Commandment of Christ to take and eat the Sacrament, why dare any take upon them to command and make that of necessity, which God leaveth free? as you do in making it a necessary Commandment, once a year for all that be of discretion, to receive the Sacrament.

L. Chan. Here the L. Chancellor called him again * Diabolus, bolus or Calumniator, and began out of these words, Let a man prove himself, and you eat of the Bread (yea Bread, quoth Bradford) and drink of the Cup, to prove that it was no Commandment to receive the Sacrament: for then (quoth he) if it were a Commandment, it should bind all men, in all places, and at all times.

Brad. O my Lord, discern between Commandments: some be general, as the Ten Commandments, that they bind always, in all places, and all persons: some be not so general, as this of the Supper, the Sacrament of Baptism, of the thrice appearing before the Lord yearly at Jerusalem, of Abraham offering of Isaac, &c.

Here my L. Chancellor denied the Cup to be commanded of Christ: for then, quoth he, we should have eleven Commandments.

Brad. Indeed I think you think as you speak: for else would you not take the Cup from the People, in that Christ saith, Drink ye all of it. But how say you my Lords? Christ saith to you Bishops especially, Ie, predicate Evangelium: Go, and preach the Gospel: Feed Christs Flock, &c. Is this a Commandment, or no?

L. Chan. Here was my Lord Chancellor in a chafe, and said as pleased him.

Duref. Another, the Bp. of Durefme I ween, asked Bradford, when Christ began to be present in the Sacrament? whether before the Receiver received it, or no?

Brad. Bradford answered, that the question was curious, and not necessary, and further said, that as the Cup was the New Testament, so the Bread was Christs Body to him that received it duly, but yet so that the Bread is Bread. For as much as, in all the Scripture ye shall not find this Proposition, *Non est panis*, There is no Bread. And so I brought forth *Christum, Si in corpore est enim, Hominem*. 82. *Mich. 34. Summa*. Much ado was hereabout, they calling Bradford Hereticke, and he desiring them to proceed on in Gods Name, he looked for that which God appointed for them to do.

L. Chan. This Fellow is now in another Hereticke of fatal necessity, as though all things were so tied together, that of meer necessity all must come to pass.

Brad. But Bradford prayed him to take things as they be spoken, and not wrest them into a contrary sense. Your Lordship, quoth he, doth discern betwixt God and Man. Things are not by fortune to God at any time, though to Man they seem so sometimes. I speak but as the Apostles be, said, Lord (quoth he) see how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Prelats, are gathered together against thy Christ, to do that which thy hand and counsel hath before ordained for them to do.

L. Chan. Here began the Lord Chancellor to read the Excommunication. And in the Excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford, Laicus, Lay-man: Why (quoth he) art thou no Priest?

Brad. No, nor never was either Priest, either Beneficed, either Married, either any Preacher, afore Publick Authority had established Religion, or Preacher after Publick Authority had altered Religion, and yet I am thus handled at your hand: but God I doubt not will give his Blessing where you Curse. And so he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he counted him worthy to suffer for his Names sake. And so praying God to give him repentance, and a good mind, after the Excommunication was read, he was delivered to the Sheriff of London, and so had to the Clink, and afterwards to the Compter in the County, in the same City of London, this being purposed of his Murderers, that he should be delivered from thence to the Earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancashire, and there to be burned in the Town of Manchester, where he was born: but their purpose concerning the place was afterward altered; for they burned him in London.

After the Condemnation of Mr. Bradford, which was the last day of January, Mr. Bradford being sent into Prison, did there remain until the first day of July, during all which time, divers other Conferences and Conflicts he sustained with sundry Adversaries, which repaired unto him in the Prison. Of whom first Bishop Boser, coming to the Compter to degrade Dr. Taylor the fourth day of February, entred talk with the said Mr. Bradford; the effect whereof here ensueth.

Private talk had with John Bradford, by such as the Prelats sent unto him, after the time of Condemnation, by his own writing.

UPON the fourth of February, that is, the same day Mr. Rogers was burned, Boser Bishop of London, came to the Compter in the Poultry, to degrade Dr. Taylor, about one of the Clock at Afternoon. But before he spake to Mr. Taylor, he called for John Bradford which was Prisoner there, whom when he saw, he put off his Cap, and gave him his hand, saying, Because I perceive that ye are desirous to confer with some learned men, therefore I have brought Mr. Archdeacon Harpsfield to you. And I tell you, you do like a wife man. But I pray you go roundly to work, for the time is but short.

Brad. My Lord, as roundly as I can I will go to work with you: I never desired to confer with any man, nor yet do. Howbeit if ye will have one to talk with me, I am ready.

Boser. What (quoth the Bishop in a fume to the Keeper) did you not tell me that this man desired conference?

Keeper. No my Lord, I told you that he would not refuse to confer with any; but I did not say that it is his desire.

Boser. Well, Mr. Bradford, you are well beloved, I pray you consider your self, and refuse not Charity when it is offered.

Christs body present to him? Transubstantiation denied.

The wicked receive not the body of Christ. Receiving maketh not the presence of the body, but grace. The L. Chan. Church divorceth that which God hath coupled together.

The Sacrament hath both a commandment and a promise, and both.

Mr. Bradford teacheth Wisemen his Grammar. Wisemen denieth these words, Take, eat, to be a commandment.

* Diabolus, bolus or Calumniator, is as much as to say in Greek, a slanderer, or a calviler.

Distinction between commandments.

Winefester in a chafe. B. Tompkins galleth.

At the Cap as the fellow said, that as the Cup was the New Testament, so the Bread was Christs Body to him that received it duly, but yet so that the Bread is Bread. For as much as, in all the Scripture ye shall not find this Proposition, *Non est panis*, There is no Bread. And so I brought forth *Christum, Si in corpore est enim, Hominem*. 82. *Mich. 34. Summa*.

To Gods: thing is by fortune: to Man it may sometimes so seem to be. Ads 4.

Winefester readeth the Sentence of the Curie against Mr. Bradford.

Mr. Bradford delivered to the Sheriff. Mr. Bradford sent to the Compter in the County.

Bp. Boser talk with Bradford.

Bradford doth confer with some, and yet is ready to talk with any.

Brad. Indeed, my Lord, this is small Charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, which never brake your Laws. In Turkey a man may have Charity, but in England I could not yet find it. I was condemned for my Faith, so soon as I uttered it at your requests, before I had committed any thing against the Laws. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom ye will. But to say that I desire to confer, that do I not.

Boner. Well, well. And so he called for Mr. Taylor, and Bradford went his way.

Another private matter of talk between Mr. Bradford and Willerton, Crefwell, Harding, Harpsfield, and others more.

U Pon another day of February, one Mr. Willerton, Chaplain of the Bishop of London, did come to confer with Bradford, but when he perceived that Bradford desired not his coming, and therefore wished rather his departing then abiding: Well, Mr. Bradford quoth he, yet I pray you let us confer a little, perchance you may do me good, if I can do you none. Upon which words Bradford was content, and so they began to talk. Willerton spake much of the Doctors, the Fathers, of the Bread in the fifth of John, &c. labouring to prove Transubstantiation, and that wicked men do receive Christ.

But Bradford on the contrary part improved his Authorities, so that they came to this issue, that Willerton should draw out of the Scriptures and Doctors his Reasons, and Bradford would peruse them; and if he could not answer them, then he would give place. Likewise also should Bradford draw out his Reasons out of the Scriptures and Doctors, to which Willerton should answer if he could: and so for that day they departed.

The next day following in the Morning, Willerton sent half a sheet of Paper written on both sides, containing no Reasons how he gathered his Doctrine, but only bare Sentences; *Pania quem ego dabo, &c. The Bread which I will give is my flesh*; And the places in the 26. of Matthew, the 14. of Mark, the 22. of Luke, and the 10. and 11. of the Corinthians, with some Sentences of the Doctors, all which made as much against him as with him.

In the afternoon he came himself, and there they had a long talk to little effect. At the length Willerton began to talk of the Church, saying that Bradford swerved from the Church.

Brad. No that I do not, but ye do. For the Church is Christs Spouse, and Christs obedient Spouse, which your Church is not, which robbeth the People of the Lords Cup, and of Service in the English Tongue.

Willer. Why? It is not profitable to have the Service in English; for it is written, *Labia Sacerdotum custodiant legem*; The lips of the Priest should keep the Law, and out of his mouth man must look for knowledge.

Brad. Should not the People then have the Scriptures? Wherefore sterveth this saying of Christs, *Search the Scriptures*.

Willer. This was not spoken to the People, but to the Scribes and Learned men.

Brad. Then the People must not have the Scriptures. Willer. No, for it is written, *Erunt docti a Deo*; They shall be all taught of God.

Brad. And must we learn all at the Priests?

Willer. Ya.

Brad. Then I see you would bring the People to hang up Christ, and let Barabbas go, as the Priests did then perfwade the People. At which words Mr. Willerton was so offended, that he had no lust to talk any more.

In the end Bradford gave him the Reasons which he had gathered against Transubstantiation, and prayed him to frame his into the form of Reasons, and then quoth Bradford, I will answer them.

Willer. Well, I will do so. But first I will answer yours. The which thing until this day he hath not done.

Upon the 12. of February, there came one of the Earl of Derby's Servants to Bradford, saying, My Lord hath sent me to you, he willeth you to tender your self, and he will be a good Lord to you.

Brad. I thank his Lordship for his good will towards me: but in this case I cannot tender my self more than Gods Honour.

Servant. Ah Mr. Bradford, consider your Mother, Sisters, Friends, Kinsfolk, and Country, what a great discomfort will it be unto them to see you dye as an Heretic?

Brad. I have learned to forsake Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, Friend, and all that ever I have, yea, even mine own self, for else I cannot be Christs Disciple.

Servant. If my Lord should obtain for you that ye might depart the Realm, would you not be content to be at the Queens appointment, where she would appoint you beyond the Sea.

Brad. No, I had rather be burned in England, then be burned beyond the Seas. For I know that if she should send me to Paris, Lovain, or some such place, forthwith they would burn me.

Talk between Mr. Bradford and one Percival Crefwell, and after that with Dr. Harding.

U Pon the fourteenth of February, Percival Crefwell, an old Acquaintance of Bradford's, came to him, bringing with him a Kinsman of Mr. Feckenham, who after many words, said;

Cref. I pray you let me make labour for you.

Brad. You may do what ye will.

Cref. But tell me what suit I should make for you.

Brad. Forsooth that ye will do, do it not at my request, for I desire nothing at your hands. If the Queen will give me life, I will thank her. If she will banish me, I will thank her. If she will burn me, I will thank her. If she will condemn me to perpetual Prisonment, I will thank her.

Hereupon Crefwell went away, and about eleven of the Clock he and the other men came again, and brought a Book of Mores making, desiring Bradford to read it over.

Bradford taking the Book, said, Good Percival, I am felled for being moved in this Article.

Cref. Oh if ever ye loved me, do one thing for me.

Brad. What is it?

Cref. Desire and name what My Learned man or men ye will have to come unto you. My Lord of York, my Lord of Lincoln, my Lord of Bath, and others will gladly come unto you.

Brad. No, never will I desire them, or any other, to come to confer with me; for I am as certain of my Doctrine as I am of any thing. But for your pleasure, and also that all men may know I am not allahed to have my Faith sifted and tried, bring whom ye will, and I will talk with them. So they went their way.

About three of the Clock in the Afternoon, Master Dr. Harding, who was then the Bp. of Lincolns Chaplain, came to Bradford, and after a great and solemn Protestation, shewing how that he had prayed to God before he came, to turn his talk to Bradford's good, he began to tell of the good opinion he had of Bradford, and spent the time in such tatling, so that their talk was to little purpose, save that Bradford prayed him to consider from whence he was fain, and not to follow the World, nor to love it: For the Love of God is not where the World is.

Harding. But Harding counted Bradford in a damnable estate, as one being out of the Church, and therefore willed him to take heed of his Soul, and not to dye in such an Opinion.

Brad. What Master Harding, quoth Bradford? I have heard you with these ears maintain this that I stand in.

Harding. I grant that I have taught that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation was a subtle Doctrine, but otherwise I never taught it. And so he inveighing against Mariages of Priests, and namely against Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Luther, and such, which for breaking their Vows were justly given up into Heresies (as he said.) Bradford seeing him altogether given up to Popery, after admonishment thereof, bade him farewell.

Talk between Dr. Harpsfield Archdeacon, and Mr. Bradford.

U Pon the 25. of February, Percival Crefwell came with Mr. Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, and a Servant waiting upon him. After formal Salutations

More charity amongst the Turks, than amongst the persecuting Papists.

Talk between Mr. Bradford and Willerton, Chaplain to Bp. Boner.

Willerton seeketh his writing to Bradford to prove Transubstantiation.

Willerton cometh again to Bradford.

Argument. Erunt docti a Deo: Ergo, The people must not have the Scriptures.

Mr. Bradford's Reason against Transubstantiation not answered.

The Earl of Derby's Servant.

Annos 1555.

Mr. Bradford professeth Christ because all his Kins and kindred.

Percival Crefwell talketh with Bradford.

Crefwell offereth to make suit for Bradford.

Master Book brought to Bradford.

Dr. Harding cometh to Mr. Bradford.

Dr. Harding inveigheth against Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Luther, and such.

...which this is a short
the Jews, Turks, Jews, Ar-
Christianity, as well as the Chri-
one thinketh they shall attain
to it by this Reli- To which Bradford answered
brilliantly, that he did not far a mile.

Harpsf. Then said Harpsfield, But the way thither is
not all alike: For the Infidels by Jupiter, Juno, the Turk
by his *Alcoran*, the Jew by his *Talmud*, do believe to come
to Heaven. For so may I speak of such as believe the Im-
mortality of the Soul.

Brad. You speak truly.

Harpsf. Well, then here is the matter, to know the way
to this Heaven:

Brad. We may not invent any manner of ways. There
is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself doth
witness; *I am the way.*

Harpsf. It is true that you say, and false also. I suppose
that you mean by Christ, believing in Christ.

Brad. I have learned to discern betwixt Faith and
Christ. Albeit I confess, that who so believeth in Christ,
the same shall be saved.

Harpsf. No, not all that believe in Christ; for some
shall say, *Lord, Lord, have we not cast out Devils &c.*
But Christ will answer in the day of Judgment to these,
Depart from me, I know you not.

Brad. You must make difference betwixt believing,
and saying I believe: As for example, If one should say
and (wear he loveth you, for all his sayings, ye will not
believe him when you see he goeth about to utter and do
all the evil against you that he can.

Harpsf. Well, this is not much material. There is but
one way, Christ. How come we to know him? Where
shall we seek to find him?

Brad. Forsooth, we must seek him by his Word, and
in his Word, and after his Word.

Harpsf. Very good: but tell me now how first we came
into the company of them that could tell us this, but by
word cometh Baptism.

Brad. Baptism is the Sacrament, by the which outward-
ly we are ingrafted into Christ: If say outwardly, because
I dare not exclude from Christ all that dye without Bap-
tism. I will not say God, where he is not bound. Some
infants dye, whose Parents desire Baptism for them, and
cannot have it.

Harpsf. To these we may think perchance that God
will shew Mercy.

Brad. Yea, the Children whose Parents do condemn
Baptism will not I condemn, because the Child shall not
bear the Fathers offense.

Harpsf. Well, we agree, that by Baptism then we are
brought, and (as a man would say) begotten to Christ.
For Christ is our Father, and the Church his Spouse is
our Mother. As all men naturally have *Adam* for their
Father, and *Eve* for their Mother; so all spiritual men
have Christ for their Father, and the Church for their
Mother: and as *Eve* was taken out of *Adam*'s side, so was
the Church taken out of Christ's side; whereout flowed
blood for the satisfaction and purgation of our sins.

Brad. All this is truly spoken.

Harpsf. Now then tell me whether this Church of
Christ hath not been always?

Brad. Yea, since the creation of man, and shall be for
ever.

Harpsf. Very good. But yet tell me whether this Church
is a visible Church, or no?

Brad. It is no otherwise visible, then Christ was here
on Earth; that is, by no exterior pomp or shew that
setteth her forth commonly, and therefore to see her we
must put on such eyes, as good men put on to see and
know Christ when he walked here on Earth: for as *Eve*
was of the same Substance that *Adam* was of, so was the
Church of the same Substance that Christ was of, *Flesh*
of his flesh, and bone of his bone; as *Paul* saith, *Ephes. 5.*
Look therefore how Christ was visibly known to be
Christ when he was on Earth, that is, by considering him
after the Word of God, so is the Church known.

Harpsf. I do not come to reason at this present, and
therefore I will go on forward. Is not this Church a
multitude?

Brad. Yes that it is. Howbeit, *Latet angui in herba,*

as the Proverb is. For in your Question is a subtilty.
What visible multitude was there in *Helias* time; or when
Moses was on the Mount, *Aaron* and all *Israel* worship-
ping the Calf?

Harpsf. Ye divert from the matter.

Brad. No, nothing at all. For I do prevent you know-
ing well where about you go. And therefore fewer words
might well serve if that you so would.

Harpsf. Well, I perceive you have knowledge, and by
a little perceive I the more. Tell me yet more, whether
this multitude have not the ministry or preaching of
Gods Word?

Brad. Sir, ye go about the bush. If ye understand
preaching for the confessing of the Gospel, I will go
with you: for else if you will, you may know that per-
fection often letteth preaching.

Harpsf. Well, I mean it so. Tell me yet more: hath
it not the Sacraments administered?

Brad. It hath the Sacraments, howbeit the adminis-
tration of them is often letted. But I will put you from
your purpose, because I see where about you go. If He-
reticks have Baptism, and do baptize, as they did in *S.*
Cyprians time, you know this Baptism is Baptism, and not
to be reiterate. This Bradford did speak, that the stan-
dards by might see, that though the Papists Church have
Baptism which we have received of them, yet therefore
it is not the true Church, neither need we to be baptized
again.

Harpsf. You go far from the matter, and I perceive
you have more Errors than one.

Brad. So you say, but that is not enough till you prove
them.

Harpsf. Well, this Church is a multitude. Hath it not
the preaching of the Gospel, and the ministration of the
Sacraments? And yet more, hath it not the power of Ju-
risdiction?

Brad. What Jurisdiction is exercised in Perfection and
Affliction.

Harpsf. I mean by Jurisdiction admonishing one ano-
ther, and so forth.

Brad. Well, go to; what then?

Harpsf. It hath also Succession of Bishops. And here
he made much ado to prove that this was an essential
point.

Brad. You say as you would have it; for if this part
fall you, all the Church that you go about to set up will
fall down. You shall not find in all the Scripture this your
essential part of Succession of Bishops. In Christ's Church
Antichrist will sit. And Peter telleth us, as it went in
the Old Church afore Christ's coming, so will it be in the
New Church since Christ's coming: that is, as there were
false Prophets, and such as bear rule were Adversaries to
the true Prophets, so shall there be (saith he) false Tea-
chers, even of such as are Bishops, and bear rule amongst
the People.

Harpsf. You go always out of the matter: but I will
prove further the Succession of Bishops.

Brad. Do so.

Harpsf. Tell me, were not the Apostles Bishops?

Brad. No, except you will make a new definition of a
Bishop: that is, give him no certain place.

Harpsf. Indeed, the Apostles Office was not the Bishops
Office: for it was universal, but yet Christ instituted Bi-
shops in his Church, as *Paul* saith, he hath given Pastors,
Prophets, &c. So that I trow it be proved by the Scrip-
tures the Succession of Bishops to be an essential point.

Brad. The ministry of Gods Word and Ministers, be
an essential point. But to translate this to the Bishops
and their Succession, is a plain subtilty: And therefore
that it may be plain, I will ask you a Question. Tell me
whether that the Scripture knew any difference between
Bishops and Ministers, which ye called Priests?

Harpsf. No.

Brad. Well, then go on forwards, and let us see what
ye shall get now by the Succession of Bishops: that is, of
Ministers which can be understood of such Bishops as
minister not, but Lord it.

Harpsf. I perceive that you are far out of the way. By
your Doctrine you can never shew in your Church, a mul-
titude which ministrerth Gods Word and his Sacraments,
which hath Jurisdiction and Succession of Bishops; which

is Harpsf.

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...time believed as you believe, beginning at the bottom, and going upwards, as I will do of our Lord's, and therefore are ye out of the Church, and cannot be saved. Perchance you will bring me some words a flew to bleed Peoples eyes; but to go upwards, that you can never do, and this is the true Word.

Brad. Ye must and will, I am assured, give me leave to follow the Scriptures and Examples of good men.

Harpsf. Yes.

Brad. Well then, Stephen was accused and condemned as I am, that he had taught new and false Doctrine, before the Fathers of the Church then as they were taken. Stephen for his Purgation improveth their Accusation. But how? doth he it by going upwards? no; but by coming downwards, beginning at Abraham, and continuing still to the present time, and the Peoples Captivity. From whence he maketh a great leap until the time he was in, which was (I think) upon 400. years, and called them by their right names, Hell-hounds, rather than Heaven-hounds. On this foil will I prove my Faith, and that can you never do yours.

The Papists challenge to this, the true Church, even as the Brother of the dead Child challenged the living Child from the true Mother. See Reg. 3.

Bradford's Prayer.

Harpsf. Yea Sir, if we did know that you had the Holy Ghost, then could we believe you. Here Bradford would have answered, that Stephens Enemies would not believe he had the Holy Ghost, and therefore they did as they did: but as he was in speaking, Mr. Harpsfield rose up, and the Keeper and others that stood by began to talk gently, praying Bradford to take heed to that Mr. Archdeacon spake, who still said that Bradford was out of the Church.

Brad. Sir, I am most certain that I am in Christs Church, and I can have a demonstration of my Religion from time to time continually.

God our Father, for the name and blood of his Christ be merciful unto us, and unto all his people, and deliver them from false Teachers, and blind Guides, through whom (alas) I fear me, much hurt will come to this Realm of England. God our Father bless us, and keep us in his Truth and poor Church for ever. Amen.

Then the Archdeacon departed, saying, that he would come again the next Morning.

The next days talk between Dr. Harpsfield and Mr. Bradford.

Upon the 16. of February in the Morning, the Archdeacon, and the other two with him, came again, and after a few by-words spoken, they sat down.

Archdeacon Harpsfield saith again to Mr. Bradford. At Harpsfield again proveth his Church by Succession of high Priests.

Harpsf. Mr. Archdeacon began a very long Oration, first repeating what they had said, and how far they had gone overnight, and therewith did begin to prove upwards Succession of Bishops here in England for 800 years: in France at Lyons for 1200 years: in Spain at Hispalen for 800 years: in Italy at Millam for 1200 years, labouring by this to prove his Church. He used all Succession of Bishops in the East Church for the more confirmation of his words, and so concluded with an Exhortation and an Interrogation: The Exhortation, that Bradford would obey this Church; the Interrogation, whether Bradford could shew any such Succession for the demonstration of his Church (for so he called it) which followed.

Bradford answers to Mr. Harpsfield.

Brad. Unto this his long Oration, Bradford made this short Answer; My memory is evil, so that I cannot answer particularly your Oration.

Outward defects of Multitudes maketh not the true Church; but the truth of Gods Word maketh true Ministers. The true Church not tied to Succession, but to Gods Word.

Therefore I will generally do it, thinking because your Oration is rather to persuade than to prove, that a small Answer will serve. If Christ or his Apostles, being here on Earth, had been required by the Prelates of the Church, then; to have made a demonstration of that Church by Succession of such high Priests as had approved the Doctrine which he taught, I think that Christ would have done as I do: that is, have alledged that which upholdeth the Church, even the Verity, the Word of God taught and believed, not by the high Priests, which of long time had persecuted it, but by the Prophets and other good simple men which perchance were counted for Heretics of the Church: which Church was not tied to Succession, but to the Word of God. And this to think S. Peter giveth me occasion, when he saith that as it went in the Church before Christs coming, so shall it go in the Church after his coming: but then the Pillars of the Church were Persecutors of the Church; therefore the like we must look for now.

Harpsf. I can gather and prove Succession in Jerusalem Anno of the high Priests from Aarons time.

Brad. I grant, but not such Succession as allowed the Truth.

Harpsf. Why, did they not allow Moses's Law.

Brad. Yes, and keep it, as touching the Books thereof, as you do the Bible, and holy Scriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it they did corrupt, as you have done and do, and therefore the Persecution which they stirred up against the Prophets and Christ, was not for the Law, but for the interpretation of it. For they taught as you do now, that we must fetch the interpretation of the Scriptures at your hands. But to make an end, death I look daily for, yea hourly, and I think my time be but very short. Therefore I had need to spend as much time with God as I can whilst I have it, for his help and comfort, and therefore I pray you bear with me, that I do not now particularly and in more words answer your long talk. If I saw death not so near me as it is, I would then weigh every piece of your Oration, if you would give me the sum of it, and I would answer accordingly: but because I dare not, nor I will not leave off looking and preparing for that which is at hand, I shall desire you to hold me excused, though I do as I do, and heartily thank you for your gentle good will: I shall heartily pray God our Father to give you the same light and life I do wish to my self; and so Bradford began to rise up.

Harpsf. But then began Mr. Archdeacon to tell him he was in very perilous case, and that he was sorry to see him so fettered. As for death, whether it be nigh or far off, I know not, neither forceth it, so that you did dye well.

Brad. I doubt not in this case but that I shall dye well: for as I hope and am certain my death shall please the Lord, so I trust I shall dye cheerfully to the comfort of his Children.

Harpsf. But what if you be deceived?

Brad. What if you should say the Sun did not shine now? (and the Sun did shine through the window where they fate.)

Harpsf. Well, I am sorry to see you so secure and careless.

Brad. Indeed I am more carnally secure and careless than I should be: God make me more vigilant. But in this case I cannot be so secure, for I am most assured I am in the Truth.

Harpsf. That ye are not; for you are out of the Catholic Church.

Brad. No, though you have Excommunicated me out of your Church, yet am I in the Catholic Church of Christ, and am, and by Gods Grace shall be a Child, and an obedient Child of it for ever. I hope Christ will have no less care for me, than he had for the blind man Excommunicated of the Synagogue: And further, I am sure that the necessary Articles of the Faith, I mean the twelve Articles of the Creed, I confess and believe with that which you call the holy Church, so that even your Church hath taken too much upon her to Excommunicate me for that, which by the testimony of my Lord of Durham, in the Book of the Sacrament lately put forth, was free many an hundred year after Christ, to believe or not believe.

Harpsf. What is that?

Brad. Transubstantiation.

Harpsf. Why: ye are not condemned therefore only.

Brad. For that, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christs Body.

Harpsf. You agree not with us in the Presence, nor in any thing else.

Brad. How you believe you know: for my part I confess a Presence of whole Christ, God and Man, to the Faith of the Receiver.

Harpsf. Nay, you must believe a Real Presence in the Sacrament.

Brad. In the Sacrament? Nay, I will not shut him in, nor tye him to it otherwise than Faith seeth and perceiveth. If I should include Christ really present in the Sacrament, or tye him to it otherwise than to the Faith of the Receiver, then the wicked men should receive him, which I do not, nor will by Gods Grace believe.

Harpsf. More pity: But a man may easily perceive, you make no Presence at all, and therefore you agree not therewith us.

Brad.

1555.

The true Succession of Priests, and the Succession of the Jews. The Jew's corrupt the Law, as the Papists do the Scriptures. A comparison between the old Pharisees & our new Papists.

Bold confidence and hope of Gods Word and Promise, seemeth strange among them which are not exercised in meditation.

Free to believe or not to believe Transubstantiation many hundred years after Christ.

Christ not included really in the Sacrament.

Christ's Body not tye him to the Faith of the Receiver.

Anno 1555. *Brad.* I confesse a preſence, and a true preſence but to the Faith of the receiver.
What? quoth one that flood by) of Chriſts very Body which died for us?

Brad. Yea, even of whole Chriſt God and Man; to feed the Faith of him that receiveth it:

Harps. Why? this is nothing elſe but to exclude the Omnipotency of God, and all kind of miracle in the Sacrament.

Brad. I do not exclude his Omnipotency, but you do it rather: for I believe that Chriſt can accompliſh his promiſe, the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine being there, as well as the accidents, which you believe not. When we come to the Sacrament, we come not to feed our Bodies, and therefore we have but a little piece of Bread; but we come to feed our Souls with Chriſt by Faith, which the wicked do want, and therefore they receive nothing but *panem Domini*, as *Judas* did, and not *panem Dominum*, as the other Apoſtles did.

Harps. The wicked do receive the very Body of Chriſt, but not the Grace of his Body.

Brad. They receive not the Body. For Chriſts Body is no dead Carcaſs: he that receiveth it, receiveth the Spirit, which is not without Grace I throw.

Harps. Well, you have many errors. You count the Maſs for abomination, and yet Saint *Ambroſe* ſaid Maſs, and ſo he read out of a Book written a Sentence of S. *Ambroſe* to prove it.

Brad. Why Sir? the Maſs as it is now, was nothing ſo in S. *Ambroſe* time. Was not the moſt part of the Canon made ſince by *Gregory* and *Scholasticus*?

Harps. Indeed a great piece of it was made (as ye ſay) by *Gregory*: but *Scholasticus* was before S. *Ambroſe* time.

Brad. I ween not: howbeit I will not contend. Saint *Gregory* ſaith, that the Apoſtles ſaid Maſs without the Canon, only with the Lords Prayer.

Harps. You ſay true: for the Canon is not the greateſt part of the Maſs, the greateſt part is the Sacrifice,

Elevation, Transubſtantiation, and Adoration.

Brad. I can away with none of thoſe.

Harps. No, I think the ſame: but yet *Hoc facit*, ſpeaketh plainly the Sacrifice of the Church.

Brad. You confound Sacrifices, not diſcerning betwixt the Sacrifice of the Church; and for the Church. The Sacrifice of the Church is no propitiatory Sacrifice, but a gratulatory Sacrifice. And as for *Hoc facit*, is not referred to any Sacrificing, but to the whole action of taking, eating, &c.

Harps. You ſpeak not learnedly now: for Chriſt made his Supper only to the twelve Apoſtles, not admitting his Mother or any of the ſeventy Diſciples to it. Now the Apoſtles do ſignifie the Priests.

Brad. I think that you ſpeak as you would Men ſhould underſtand it: for elſe you would not keep the Cup away from the Laity. We have great cauſe to thank you, that you will give us of your Bread. For I perceive you order the matter ſo, as though Chriſt had not commanded it to his whole Church.

Harps. Then *Harpsfield* would have proved Elevation by a place of *Baſilius*.

Brad. I have read the place; which ſeemeth to make nothing for elevation: but be it as it is, this is no time for me to ſcan the doubtful places of the Doctors with you. I have been in Priſon long without Books and all neceſſaries for ſtudy, and now death draweth nigh, and I by your leave muſt now leave off, to prepare for him.

Harps. If I could do you good, I would be right glad, either in Soul or Body. For you are in a perilous caſe both ways.

Brad. Sir, I thank you for your good will. My caſe is as it is. I thank God it was never ſo well with me; for Death to me ſhall be Life.

Crefwell. It were beſt for you to deſire Maſter Archdeacon that he would make ſute for you, that you might have a time to confer.

Harps. I will do the beſt I can: for I pity his caſe.
Brad. Sir, I will not deſire any Body to ſue for time

Christian Bishops talking with M^r. Bradford in Priſon.



Two Spaniſh Friers, talking with M^r. Bradford?



for me. I am not wavering, neither would I that any Body ſhould think I were ſo. But if you have the Charity and love you pretend towards me, and thereto do think that I am in an error, I think the ſame ſhould move you to do as you would be done to. As ye think of me, ſo do I of you, that you are far out of the way, and I do not only think it, but alſo am thereof moſt aſſured. And in this and ſuch like gentle talk they departed.

The talk of Doctor Heath Archbiſhop of York, and Day Biſhop of Chicheſter, with Maſter Bradford.

The three and twentieth of the ſame Month, the talk between the Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhop of Chicheſter, came to the Counter to ſpeak with Bradford. When he was

Anno 1555. Chib. Ah Mr. Bradford, you were but a Child when this matter began. I was a young man, and then coming from the University, I went with the World, but I tell you it was always against my Conscience.

Brad. I was but a Child then, howbeit as I told you, I think you have done evil. For ye are come, and have brought others to that wicked man which sitteth in the Temple of God, that is, in the Church: for it cannot be understood of Mahomet, or any out of the Church, but of such as bear rule in the Church.

Tork. See how you build your Faith upon such places of Scripture as are most obscure, to deceive your self, as though ye were in the Church where you are not.

Brad. Well, my Lord, though I might by fruits judge of you and others, yet will I not utterly exclude you out of the Church. And if I were in your case, I would not condemn him utterly that is of my Faith in the Sacrament; knowing as you know, that at the least eight hundred years after Christ, as my Lord of Duresm writeth, it was free to believe or not to believe Transubstantiation.

Tork. This is a toy that you have found out of your own brain; as though a man not believing as the Church doth, that is, Transubstantiation, were of the Church.

Chib. He is an Heretic, and so none of the Church, that doth hold any Doctrine against the definition of the Church, as a man to hold against Transubstantiation. Cyprian was no Heretic, though he believed rebaptizing of them which were baptized of Heretics, whereas if he held it before the Church had defined it, whereas if he held it after, then had he been an Heretic.

Brad. Oh my Lord, will ye condemn to the Devil a man that believeth truly the twelve Articles of the Faith (wherein I take the Unity of Christs Church to consist) although in some points he believe not the definition of that which ye call the Church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the Articles of our Belief, though in other things he differ from your definitions, yet he shall be saved.

Tork. Chib. Yes, said both the Bishops? this is your Divinity.

Brad. No, it is Paul's; which faith, that if they hold the Foundation, Christ, though they build upon him straw and stubble, yet they shall be saved.

Tork. Lord God, how you delight to lean to so hard and dark places of the Scriptures.

Chib. I will shew you how that Luther did Excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter, and so he read a place of Luther making for his purpose.

Brad. My Lord, what Luther writeth, as you much pass not, no more do I in this case. My Faith is not builded on Luther, Zuinglius, or Oecolampadius in this point; and indeed to tell you truly, I never read any of their Works in this matter. As for them, I do think assuredly that they were, and are Gods Children, and Saints with him.

Tork. Well, you are out of the Communion of the Church.

Brad. I am not, for it consisteth, and is in Faith.

Tork. Lo, how you make your Church invisible; for you would have the Communion of it to consist in Faith.

Brad. For to have Communion with the Church needeth no visibility of it; for Communion consisteth, as I said, in Faith, and not in exterior Ceremonies. Disagreement in Rates breaketh not agreement in Faith.

Chib. The same place hath often even wounded my Conscience, because we differed our selves from the See of Rome.

Brad. Well, God forgive you; for you have done evil to bring England thither again.

Tork. Here my Lord of York took a Book of Papers of Common Places, and read a piece of S. Augustine contra Epistolam Fundamenti, how that there were many things that did hold S. Austin in the bosom of the Church; consent of People and Nations, Authority confirmed with Miracles, nourished with Hope, increased with Charity, established with Antiquity: besides this, there

holdeth me in the Church, said S. Augustine, the consent of Priests from Peters Seat until this present Bishop. Last of all, the very name of Catholic did hold me, &c. Lo (quoth he) how say you to this of S. Augustines Point me out your Church thus.

Brad. My Lord, these words of St. Augustine make as much for me as for you: although I might answer, that all this if they had been so firm as you make them, might have been alleged against Christ and his Apostles. For there was the Law and the Ceremonies consented on by the whole People, confirmed with Miracles, Antiquity, and continual Succession of Bishops from Aarons time until that present.

Chib. In good faith, Mr. Bradford, you make too much of the state of the Church before Christs coming.

Brad. Therein I do but as Peter teacheth, 2 Pet. 2. and Paul very often. You would gladly have your Church here very glorious, and as a most pleasant Lady. But as Christ faith, Beatus est qui cruciatur, non furit offensus per me; so may his Church say, Blessed are they that are not offended at me.

Tork. Yea, you think that none is of the Church, but such as suffer Persecution.

Brad. What I think, God knoweth: I pray your Grace judge me by my words and speaking, and mark what Paul faith, Omnes qui, &c. All that will live godly in this world, but specially in Christs Church, must suffer Persecution. Sometimes Christs Church hath rest here; but commonly it is not so, and specially towards the end her form will be more uniformly.

Tork. But what say you to S. Austin? where is your Church that hath the consent of People and Nations?

Brad. Even all People and Nations that be Gods People have consented with me, and I with them in the Doctrine of Faith.

Tork. Lo, ye go about to shift off all things.

Brad. No, my Lord; I mean simply, and so speak, God knoweth.

Tork. S. Augustine doth here talk of Succession, even Succession from Peters Seat.

Brad. Yea, that Seat then was nothing so much corrupt as it is now.

Tork. Well, you always judge the Church.

Brad. No, my Lord, Christs sheep discern Christs voice, but they judge it not; so they discern the Church, but judge her not.

Tork. Yes, that they do.

Brad. No, and it like your Grace: and yet full well may one not only doubt, but judge also of the Romish Church; for the obeyeth not Christs voice, as Christs true Church doth.

Tork. Wherein?

Brad. In Latin Service, and robbing the Laity of Christs Cup in the Sacrament, and in many other things, in which it committeth most horrible Sacrilege.

Chib. Why? Latin Service was in England when the Pope was gone.

Brad. True; the time was in England when the Pope was away, but not all Popery; as in K. Henry's days.

Tork. Latin Service was appointed to be sung and had in the Quire, where only were Clergy, that is, such as understood Latin, the People sitting in the Body of the Church praying their own private Prayers; and this may well be yet seen by making of the Chancel and Quire, so as the People could not come in, or hear them.

Brad. Yea, but in Chrysostoms time, and also in the Latin Church in S. Jeroms time, all the Church (with he) reboate, Amen: that is, answereth again mightily, Amen. Whereby we may see that the Prayers were made, so that both the People heard them and understood them.

Chib. Ye are too blame, to say that the Church rob both the People of the Cup.

Brad. Well, my Lord, term it as it please you: all men know that the Laity hath none of it.

Chib. Indeed I would wish the Church would define again, that they might have it, for my part.

Brad. If God make it free, who can leave to make it bond?

Tork. Well, Mr. Bradford, we need our labour; for ye seek to put away all things which are told you to your good: your Church no man can know.

Brad. Yes, that ye may well.

Tork.

What B. Transubstantiation.

None how these Bishops themselves do grant that this was when Transubstantiation was not defined by the Church, Tork faith that it was more then too years after Christ.

Mr. Bradford saith that he is not builded on Luther, &c. and yet he accounteth them good men.

Communion of the Church consisteth in Faith, and not in visible Ceremonies. Disagreement in Rates breaketh not agreement in Faith. Tork. Yea, but in Chrysostoms time, and also in the Latin Church in S. Jeroms time, all the Church (with he) reboate, Amen: that is, answereth again mightily, Amen. Whereby we may see that the Prayers were made, so that both the People heard them and understood them.

effect of Christs name. All this might be objected against the Scriptures and Tradition.

The Church commonly non gloriosus world, but perfect.

Consent of the godly.

Christs people who may discern the Church, though they judge not the Church.

Latin Service, where only were Clergy, that is, such as understood Latin, the People sitting in the Body of the Church praying their own private Prayers; and this may well be yet seen by making of the Chancel and Quire, so as the People could not come in, or hear them.

Against the Sermon.

The People robbed of the Cup.

The Church known only by the Scriptures. Chrysostom in opere imperfecta.

Lyra Supra Mat.

Hilarius ad Augustinum

The coming of two Spanish Friars to Master Bradford.

The talk between certain Friars and M. Bradford.

This Alphonsus had written a Book before in Latin against Heretics.

Bradford would pray, and teach his prayer.

No Man ought to be in doubt of his Religion.

York. I pray you whereby?

Brad. Forsooth Chrysostom saith, *Tantummodo per Scripturas*, alone by the Scriptures; and this speaketh he very oftentimes, as ye well know.

York. Indeed that is of Chrysostom in opere imperfecta, which may be doubted of. The thing whereby the Church may be known best, is succession of Bishops.

Bradford No, my Lord, Lyra full well writeth upon Matthew, that *Ecclesia non consistit in hominibus ratione possitatis Secularis aut Ecclesiastica, sed in hominibus in quibus est notitia vera, & confessio fidei & veritatis*: that is, The Church consisteth not in Men by reason either of Secular or Temporal Power, but in Men induced with true knowledge, and confession of Faith, and of verity.

And in Hilarius time, you know he writeth to Augustinus, that the Church did rather *desistere in cavernis*, then *emittere in primariis sedibus*: that is, was hidden rather in Caves and Holes, then did glitter and shine in Thrones of preminence.

Then came one of the Servants and told them, that my Lord of Duresm tarried for them at Master Yorks Houise; and this was after that they had tarried three hours with Bradford. And after that their Man was come they put up their written Books of common places, and said that they lamented his case: they willed him to read over a Book which did D. Cromme good; and so withing him good in words, they went their way, and poor Bradford to his Prison.

After this Communication with the Bishops ended, within two days following came into the Counter two Spanish Friars to talk with Master Bradford, sent (as they said) by the Earl of Derby; of whom the one was the Kings Confessor, the other was Alphonsus, who had before written a Popish Book against Heretics, the effect of which their reasoning here likewise followeth.

Talk between Master Bradford and two Spanish Friars.

U Pon the five and twentieth day of February, about eight of the Clock in the Morning, two Spanish Friars came to the Counter where Bradford was Prisoner; to whom Bradford was called. Then the one Friar, which was the Kings Confessor, asked in Latin (for all their talk was in Latin) of Bradford, whether he had not seen or heard of one Alphonsus that had written against Heretics?

Brad. I do not know him.

Confes. Well, this Man (pointing to Alphonsus) is he, We are come to you of Love and Charity, by the means of the Earl of Derby, because you desire to confer with us.

Brad. I never desired your coming, nor to confer with you, or any other. But seeing you are come of Charity, as you say, I cannot but thank you: and as touching conference, though I desire it not, yet I will not refuse to talk with you if you will.

Alphon. It were requisite that you did pray unto God, that ye might follow the direction of Gods Spirit, that he would inspire you, so that ye be not addit to your own self-will or wit.

Brad. Whereupon Bradford made a prayer, and besought God to direct all their wills, words, and works, as the wills, words, and works of his Children for ever.

Alph. Ye, you must pray with your Heart. For if you speak but with Tongue only, God will not give you his grace.

Brad. Sir, do not judge, lest ye be judged. You have heard my words, now Charity would have you leave the Judgment of the Heart to God.

Alph. You must be as it were a neuter, and not wedded to your self, but as one standing in doubt: pray and be ready to receive what God shall inspire; for in vain labour we our Tongue to speak etc.

Brad. Sir, my Sentence, if you mean it for Religion, must not be in a doubting or uncertain, as I thank God I am certain in that for which I am Condemned: I have no cause to doubt of it, but rather to be more certain of it; and therefore I pray God to confirm me more in it. For it is his truth, and because it is so certain and true

that it may abide the light, I dare be bold to have it Anno looked on, and confer it with you, or any Man; in respect whereof I am both glad of your coming, and thank you for it.

Alph. What is the matter whereof you were condemned? we know not.

Brad. Sir, I have been in Prison almost two years: I never transgressed any of their Laws wherefore I might justly be Prisoned, and now am I Condemned, only because I frankly confessed, whereof I repent not, my Faith concerning the Sacrament, when I was demanded in these two points: one, that there is no Transubstantiation, the other, that the wicked do not receive Christs Body.

Alph. Let us look a little on the first. Do you not believe that Christ is present really, and corporally in the form of Bread?

Brad. No, I do believe that Christ is present to the Faith of the worthy receiver, as there is present Bread and Wine to the senses and outward Man: as for any such preference of including and placing Christ, I believe not, nor dare believe.

Alph. I am sure you believe Christs Natural Body is circumscribable. And here he made much ado of the two Natures of Christ, how that the one is every where, and the other is in his proper place, demanding such questions as no wise Man would have spent any time about. At length because the Friar had forgotten to conclude, Bradford put him in mind of it, and thus then at length he concluded. How that because Christs Body was circumscribable, concerning the Humane Nature in Heaven, therefore it was so in the Bread.

Brad. How hangeth this together? Even as if you should say; because you are here, Ergo, it must needs follow that you are at Rome. For thus you reason; Because Christs Body is in Heaven: Ergo, it is in the Sacrament under the form of Bread: which no wise Man will grant.

Alph. Why? will you believe nothing but that which is expressly spoken in the Scriptures?

Brad. Yes Sir, I will believe whatsoever you shall by demonstration out of the Scriptures declare unto me.

Alph. He is obinate, quoth Alphonsus to his fellow: and then turning to Bradford, said, Is not God able to do it?

Brad. Yes, but here the question is of Gods will, and not of his power.

Alph. Why? doth he not say plainly, This is my Body?

Brad. Yes, and I deny not but that it is so, to the Faith of the worthy receiver.

Alph. To the Faith? how is that?

Brad. Forsooth Sir, as I have no Tongue to express it: so I know ye have no ears to hear and understand it. For Faith is more than Man can utter.

Alph. But I can tell all that I believe.

Brad. You believe not much then. For if you believe the joyes of Heaven, and believe no more thereof then you can tell, you will not yet desire to come thither. For as the mind is more capable and receivable then the mouth, so it conceiveth more then Tongue can express.

Alph. Christ saith it is his Body.

Brad. And so say I, after a certain manner.

Alph. After a certain manner? that is, after another manner then it is in Heaven.

Brad. Saint Augustine telleth it more plainly, that it is Quodammodo ad Augustinum Episcopum ad Bonifacium. Christs Body after the same manner as Circumcision was the Covenant of God, and the Sacrament of Faith is Faith; or to make it more plain, as Baptism and the Water of Baptism is Regeneration.

Alph. Very well said, Baptism and the Water thereof is a Sacrament of Gods Grace and Spirit in the Water cleaning the Baptized.

Brad. No Sir, away with your enclosing: but this I grant, that after the same sort Christs Body is in the Bread, on which sort the Grace and Spirit of God is in the Water.

Alph. In Water is Gods Grace by signification.

Brad. So is the Body in the Bread in the Sacrament.

Alph. You are much deceived, in that you make no difference between the Sacraments that be standers, and the Sacraments that are transitory and passers by. As for

1555.

The cause why M. Bradford was Condemned.

Christ is present to the Faith of the worthy receiver.

A Spanish Argument. Christs Body is circumscribable in Heaven. Ergo, Christs body is circumscribable in Bread.

Christ is able to do he doth it.

How can corporeus mensura.

Argument. As Grace is in the Water of Baptism: so is the Body in the Sacrament.

Ergo, so is the Body in the Sacrament.

A Popish distinction of Sacraments.

Ex.

Example, the Sacrament of Orders, which you deny, though S. Augustine affirm it, it is a slander, although the Ceremony be past. But in Baptism so soon as the Body is washed, the Water ceaseth to be a Sacrament.

Brad. Very good, and so it is in the Supper of the Lord: no longer then it is in use, is it Christs Sacrament.

Here was the Frier in a wonderful rage, and spake so high (as often he had done before) that the whole House rang again, chafing with *em* and *cho*. He hath a great name of learning, but surely he hath little patience. For if Bradford had been any thing hot, one House could not have held them. At the length he cometh to this point, that Bradford could not find in the Scripture Baptism and the Lords Supper to bear any similitude together. And here he triumphed before the conquest, saying, that these Men would receive nothing but Scripture, and yet were able to prove nothing by the Scripture.

Brad. Be patient, and you shall see that by the Scripture I will find Baptism and the Lords Supper coupled together.

Alph. No, that canst thou never do. Let me see a text of it.

Brad. Paul saith; *That as we are Baptized into one Body, so were we potati in uno spiritu, i. we have drunk of one Spirit*, meaning the Cup in the Lords Supper.

Alph. Paul hath no such words.

Brad. Yes that he hath.

Confes. I trow he hath not.

Brad. Give me a Testament, and I will shew you.

So a Priest that fate by them gave him his Testament, and he shewed them the plain Text. Then they looked one upon another. In fine the Frier found this simple shift, that Paul spake not of the Sacrament.

Brad. Well, the Text is plain enough, and there are of the Fathers which do so understand the place: For *Chrysostom* doth expound it so.

Alph. *Alphonsus* which had the Testament in his hand, desirous to suppress this foil, turned the Leaves of the Book from Leaf to Leaf, till he came to the place, 1 Cor. 11 and there he read how that he was guilty, which made no difference of the Lords Body.

Brad. Yea, but therewith he saith, *He that eateth of the Bread*: calling it Bread still, and that after Consecration (as ye call it) as in the tenth of the *Corinthians* he saith; *The Bread which we break*, &c.

Alph. Oh how ignorant are ye, which know not that things after their Conversion do retain the same Names which they had before, as *Moses* Rod: and calling for a Bible, after he had found the place, he began to triumph: But Bradford cooled him quickly, saying,

Brad. Sir, there is mention made of the Conversion, as well as that the same appeared to the sense. But here ye cannot find it so. Find me one word how the Bread is converted, and I will then say, ye bring some matter that maketh for you.

Alph. At these words the Frier was troubled, and at length he said, how that Bradford hanged on his own sense.

Brad. No that do I not; for I will bring you forth the Fathers of the Church 800. years after Christ, to confirm this which I speak.

Alph. No, you have the Church against you.

Brad. I have not Christs Church against me.

Alph. Yes that you have. What is the Church?

Brad. Christs Wife, the Chair and Seat of verity.

Alph. Is the visible?

Brad. Yea that she is to them that will put on the Spectacles of Gods Word to look on her.

Alph. This Church hath defined the contrary, and that I will prove by all the good Fathers from Christs Ascension, even for 800. years at the least continually.

Brad. What will you so prove? Transubstantiation?

Alph. Yea, that the Bread is turned into Christs Body.

Brad. You speak more then you can do.

Alph. That do I not.

Brad. Then will I give place.

Alph. Will you believe?

Brad. Belief is Gods gift; therefore cannot I promise: but I tell you that I will give place; and I hope I shall believe his truth always, so good is he to me in Christ my Saviour.

Alph. Here the Frier found a great fault with Bradford, that he made no difference betwixt *Habitus* and *Actus*; as though *Actus*, which he called credulity, had been in our power. But this he let pass, and came again asking Bradford, if he could prove it as he said, whether he would give place?

Brad. Yea that I will. Then called he for Paper, Pen, and Ink, to write; and then said I, What and if that I prove by the Testimony of the Fathers, that continually for 800. years after Christ, at the least, they did believe that the substance of Bread doth remain in the Sacrament? what will ye do?

Alph. I will give place.

Brad. Then write you here that you will give place if I so prove, and I will write that I will give place if you so prove: because ye are the ancient, ye shall have the Preheminency.

Here the Frier fumed marvellously, and said; I came not to learn at thee: Are not here witnesses? (meaning the Priests) be not they sufficient? But the Man was so chafed, that if Bradford had not passed over this matter of writing, the Frier would have slain to plain folding.

Confes. At the length the Kings Confessor asked Bradford what the second question was?

Brad. That wicked Men receive not Christs Body in the Sacrament, as S. Augustine speaketh of Judas, that he received *Panem Domini*, but not *Panem Dominum*.

Alph. Saint Augustine saith not so.

Brad. Yes that doth he. So they arose and talked no more of the matter. Thus went they away, without bidding Bradford farewell.

A Priest. After they were gone one of the Priests came, and willed Bradford not to be so obstinate.

Brad. Sir be not you so wavering; in all the Scripture cannot you find me, *non est panis*.

Priest. Yes that I can in five places.

Brad. Then I will eat your Book. So the Book was opened, but no place found; and he went his way smiling. God help us.

Talk between Master Bradford and Doctor Weston, and others.

IT followed after this, upon the twenty one of the Month of March, that by means of one of the Earl of Derby's Men, there came to the Counter to dinner one M. Collier, once Warden of Manchester, and the said Servant of the Earl of Derby, of whom M. Bradford learned that Doctor Weston Dean of Westminster would be with him in the afternoon about Two of the Clock. At Dinner time, when the said Warden did commend King Edward, and went about to set forth the Authority of the Pope, which Bradford withstood, defending the Kings Faith, that it was Catholic, and that the Authority of the Bishop of Rome Supremacy was usurped, bringing forth the Testimony of Gregory, which affirmed the name of supreme head, to be a Title of the forerunner to Antichrist. A Woman Prisoner was brought in, whereupon the said Bradford took occasion to rise from the Table, and so went to his Prison-Chamber to beg of God Grace, and help therein, continuing there still untill he was called down to speak with Master Weston, which was then come in.

Mr. Bradford then being called down, so soon as he was entered into the Hall, Master Weston very gently took him by the hand, and asked how he did, with such other talk. At length he willed avoidance of the Chamber: So they all went out, save Master Weston himself, Master Collier, the Earl of Derby's Servant, the Subden of Westminster, the Keeper, Mr. Claydon, and the Parson of the Church where the Counter is.

Now when he began with Master Bradford, to tell how that he was often minded to have come unto him, being thereto desired of the Earl of Derby: and (quoth he) after that I perceived by this Man, that you could be contented rather to speak with me, than any other: I could not but come to do you good, if I cannot hurt you be sure I will not.

Brad. Sir, quoth Mr. Bradford, when I perceived by the report of my Lords Servant, that you did bear me good will: more (as he said) then any other of your fort,

The Priests hold that the Act of believing is in Mans Power.

The Frier saith to him to abide Tryal with Bradford.

The Friers depart in a huff from M. Bradford.

A Priest put to a foil.

The name of the Supreme head is the forerunner to antichrist, Gregory.

D. Weston cometh to M. Bradford.

Conference between M. Bradford and D. Weston.

1555.

The Frier in a Chafe.

The Sacrament of the Lords Table compared with Baptism in the Scripture. 1 Cor. 12.

The Frier showed a Year in his own Testament.

1 Cor. 11.

1 Cor. 10.

Conversion is mentioned in turning. Moses Rod, so it is not in the Sacrament. Moses Rod was seen to be turned, so is not the Sacrament.

The Church is visible, but to them that have Spiritual Eyes.

I told him then, that therefore I could be better content and more willing to talk with you, if you should come unto me. This did I say, quoth he, otherwise I desired not your coming.

West. Well, quoth he; now I am come to talk with you: but before we shall enter into any talk, certain principles we must agree upon, which shall be this days work.

First, quoth he, I shall desire you to put away all vain glory, and not hold any thing for the praise of the World.

Brad. Sir, *S. Augustine* maketh that indeed a piece of the definition of an Heretick; which if I cannot put away clean (for I think there will a spice of it remain in us, as long as this flesh liveth) yet I promise you by the Grace of God, that I purpose not to yield to it. God I hope will never suffer it to bear rule in them that strive there against, and desire all the dregs of it utterly to be driven out of us.

West. I am glad to hear you say so although indeed I think you do not so much esteem it as others do.

Singularity.

Secondly, I would desire you that you will put away singularity in your Judgment and Opinions.

Brad. Sir, God forbid that I should stick to my singularity or private Judgment in Gods Religion. Hitherto I have not desired it, neither do, nor mind at any time to hold any other Doctrine than is publick and Catholick, understanding Catholick as good Men do; according to Gods Word.

West. Very well, this is a good days work, I hope to do you good; and therefore now thirdly I shall pray you to write me *Capita* of those things whereupon you stand in the Sacrament, and to send them to me betwixt this and *Wednesday* next: untill which time, yes, untill I come to you again, be assured that you are without all peril of death. Of my fidelity, I warrant you, therefore away with all dubitations, &c.

Weston will-
instruct *Brad-*
ford to put
down in
writing the
chief
grounds of
his Faith.

Brad. Sir, I will write to you the grounds I lean to in this matter. As for death, if it come, welcome be it; this which you require of me, shall be no great let to me therein.

West. You know that *Saint Augustine* was a *Manichean*, yet was he converted at the length; so have I good hope of you.

Brad. Sir, because I will not flatter you, I would you should flatly know, that I am even settled in the Religion, wherefore I am condemned.

West. Yea, but if it be not the truth, and you see evident matter to the contrary, will you not then give place?

Brad. God forbid, but that I should always give place to the Truth.

West. I would have you to pray so.

Brad. So I do, and that he will more and more confirm me in it, as I thank God he hath done and doth.

West. Yea but pray with a Condition, if you be in it.

Brad. No Sir, I cannot pray so, because I am settled and assured of his truth.

West. Well, quoth *Weston*, as the learned Bishop answered *S. Augustine* Mother, that though he was obstinate, yet the Tears of such a Mother could not but win her Son: so, quoth he, I hope your Prayers (for then *Bradford* eyes did show that he had wept in Prayer) cannot but be heard of God, though not as you would, yet as best shall please God. Do ye not, quoth he, remember the History thereof?

Brad. Yea Sir, quoth *Bradford*, I think it be of *St. Ambrose*.

West. No, that it is not. And here *Weston* would have laid a wager, and began to triumph, saying to *Bradford*, as you are overseen herein, so are you in other things.

Brad. Well, Sir, I will not contend with you for the name. This (I remember) *S. Augustine* writeth in his Confessions.

After this talk *Weston* began to tell Master *Bradford*, how the People were by him procured to withstand the Queen.

M. Bradford
wrongfully
charged
with Sediti-
on.

Whereunto *Bradford* answering again, bade him hang him up as a Traytor and a Thief, if ever he encouraged any to Rebellion: which thing his Keeper, and others that were there of the Priests, affirmed on his behalf. So much talk there was to little purpose at that time. *D. Weston*

declared moreover how he had saved Men going in the Anno Cart to be hanged, and such like.

The end was this, that *Bradford* should send unto him, *Capita doctrine* of the Supper, and after *Wednesday* he would come unto him again, and thus departed he, after that he had drunk to him in Beer and Wine. I omit here talk of *Oxford*, of Books of *Germany* writers, of the fear of death, and such other talk, which are to no purpose.

1555

Another disputation or talk between Master *Bradford* and Doctor *Pendleton*.

In the mean time, when Master *Bradford* had written his Reasons and Arguments, and had sent them to Doctor *Weston*, in short space after, about the 28. of *March*, there came to the Countess Doctor *Pendleton*, and with him the forefard Mr. *Collier*, sometime Warden of *Manchester*, and *Stephen Bach*. After salutations Master *Pendleton* began to speak to *Bradford*, that he was sorry for his trouble. And further (quoth he) after that I did know you could be content to talk with me, I made the more speed, being as ready to do you good, and pleasure you what I can, as ye would wish.

Brad. Sir, the manner how I was content to speak with you, was on this sort: Master *Bach* was often in hand with me whom he should bring unto me, and named you amongst other: and I said that I had rather speak with you then with any of all the other. Now the cause why I so would, I will briefly tell you. I remember that once you were (as far as a Man might judge) of the Religion that I am of at this present, and I remember that you have set forth the same earnestly. Gladly therefore would I learn of you what thing it was that moved your Confidence to alter, and gladly would see what thing it is that you have seen since, which you saw not before.

Pendleton. Master *Bradford*, I do not know wherefore you are condemned.

Brad. Transubstantiation is the cause wherefore I am Condemned, and because I deny that wicked Men do receive Christs Body: wherein I would desire you to shew me what reasons, which before you knew not, did move your Confidence now to alter. For once (as I said) you were as I am in Religion.

Here Master *Pendleton* half amazed, began to excuse himself, if it would have been, as though he had not denied fully Transubstantiation indeed, although I said, quoth he, that the word was not in Scripture, and so he made an endless tale of the thing that moved him to alter: but (said he) I will gather to you the places which moved me, and send you them. And here he desired *Bradford* that he might have a Copy of that which he had sent to Mr. *Weston*, the which *Bradford* did promise him.

Some reasoning also they had, whether evil Men did receive Christs Body, *Bradford* denying, and *Pendleton* affirming. *Bradford* said that they received not the Spirit: Ergo, not the Body; for it is no dead Carcass. Hereto *Bradford* brought also *Saint Augustine*, how *Judas* received *Panem Domini*, and not *Panem Dominum*, and how that he must be in Christs Body, which must receive the Body of Christ. But *Pendleton* went about to put it away with *idem*, and not *ad idem*, and how that in *Corpore Christi* was to be understood of all that be in the visible Church with Gods elect. *Bradford* denied this to be *Saint Augustine* meaning, and said also that the allegation of *idem*, and not *ad idem*, could not make for that purpose. They talked more of Transubstantiation, *Pendleton* bringing forth *Cyprian*; *Panis natura minatur*, &c. And *Bradford* said, that in that place *natura* did not signifie substance. As the nature of an Herb is not the substance of it; so the Bread changed in nature is not to be taken for changed in substance: For now it is ordained not for the food of the Body simply, but rather for the Soul. Here also *Bradford* alleged the Sentence of *Gelasius*. *Pendleton* said, that he was a Pope. Yea, said *Bradford*, but his Faith is my Faith in the Sacrament, if ye would receive it.

They reasoned also whether *accidentia* were Res, or no. If they be properly Res, said *Bradford*, then are they substances; & if they be substances, they are earthly, and then are there earthly Substances in the Sacrament, as *Irenaeus* saith, which must needs be Bread. But *Pendleton* saith that the

Another dis-
putation or
talk be-
tween M.
Bradford
and D. Pen-
dleton.

Pendleton
once of the
same Religi-
on with M.
Bradford.

Pendleton
be like
would that
die out of
reason that
moved him
to alter: for
he had
none ready
to shew.
Evill men
receive not
Christs
body.
He must be
in Christs
body, that
must re-
ceive
Christs body

The place
of *S.*
Cyprian
expounded
how the
nature of
bread is
changed.
Cyprian
expounded
by *ye*
Gelasius.

Pendleton
driven to
say that
accidentia be
substances.

Anno the colour was the earthly thing, and called it an accidental substance.

1555.

I omit the talk they had of my Lord of Canterbury, of Peter Martyr's Book, of Pendleton's Letter laid to Bradford's charge when he was Condemned, with other talk more of the Church; whether *Dic Ecclesie* was spoken of the Universal Church, or of a particular (which Pendleton at the length granted to be spoken of a particular Church) also of vain glory, which he willed Bradford to beware of, and such like talk. A little before his departing Bradford said thus, Master Doctor, as I said to Master Weston the last day, so say I unto you again, that I am the same Man in Religion against Transubstantiation still, which I was when I came into Prison; for hitherto I have seen nothing in any point to inform me: At which words Pendleton was something moved, and said that it was no Catholic Doctrine. Yes, quoth Bradford, and that will I prove even by the Testimony of the Catholic Fathers until *Councilum Lateranense*, or thereabout. Thus Pendleton went his way, saying, that he would come often to Bradford, God our Father be with us all, and give us the Spirit of his Truth for ever. Amen.

The same day in the afternoon, about five of the Clock, came M. Weston to Bradford; and after gentle Salutations, he desired the company every Man to depart, and for they two sat down. And after that he had thanked Bradford for his writing unto him, he pulled out of his Bosom the same writing which Bradford had sent him. The writing is this that followeth.

Certain reasons against Transubstantiation, gathered by John Bradford, and given to D. Weston and others.

That which is former (saith Tertullian) is true; that which is later is false. But the Doctrine of Transubstantiation is a late Doctrine: for it was not defined generally afore the Council of Lateran, about 1215 years after Christ's coming, under Pope Innocentius the third of that name. For before that time it was free for all Men to believe it, or not believe it as the Bishop of Durham doth the witness in his Book of Presence of Christ in his Supper lately put forth: Ergo, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation is false.

2. That the Words of Christ's Supper be figurative the Circumstances of the Scripture, the Analogy or proportion of the Sacraments, and the Sentences of all the Holy Fathers, which were and did write for the space of 1000 years after Christ's Ascension, do teach: whereupon it followeth, that there was no Transubstantiation.

3. That the Lord gave to his Disciples Bread, and called it his Body, the Scriptures do witness. For he gave that, and called it his Body, which he took in his hands, whereon he gave thanks, which also he brake, and gave to his Disciples, that is to say, Bread, as the Fathers Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Augustine, and all the residue which are of Antiquity, do affirm: but in as much as the Substance of Bread and Wine is another thing than the Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ, it plainly appeareth that there is no Transubstantiation.

4. The Bread is no more Transubstantiated than the Wine: but that the Wine is not Transubstantiated, Saint Matthew and Saint Mark do teach us: for they witness, that Christ said that he would drink no more of the fruit of the Vine, which was not Blood, but Wine: and therefore it followeth, that there is no Transubstantiation. Chrysostom upon Matthew, and Saint Cyprian, do affirm this reason.

5. As the Bread in the Lords Supper is Christ's Natural Body, so is his Mystical Body: for the same Spirit that spake of it, This is my Body, did say also, For we many are one Bread, one Body, &c. but now it is not the Mystical Body by Transubstantiation, and therefore it is, not his Natural Body by Transubstantiation.

6. The words spoken over the Cup in Saints Luke and Paul, are not so mighty and effectual, as to Transubstantiate it: for then it, or that which is in it, should be Transubstantiated into the New Testament: therefore the words spoken over the Bread, are not so mighty as to make Transubstantiation.

7. All that Doctrine which agreeth with those Churches which be Apostolic Mother Churches, or Original Churches, is to be counted for truth, in that is holdeth that which

these Churches received of the Apostles, the Apostles of Christ, Christ of GOD. But it is manifest, that the Doctrine taught at this present of the Church of Rome, concerning Transubstantiation, doth not agree with the Apostolic and Mother Churches in Greece, of Corinth, of Philippos, Colossia, Thellalonica, Ephesus, which never taught Transubstantiation; yet it agreeth not with the Doctrine of the Church of Rome taught in time past. For Gelasius the Pope, sitting forth the Doctrine which that See did then hold, doth manifestly confute the error of Transubstantiation, and reproveth them of Sacrilege, which divided the Mystery, and keep from the Laity the Cup, therefore the Doctrine of Transubstantiation agreeth not with the Truth.

This was the writing which Weston pulled out of his Bosom: and yet before he began to read it, he shewed Bradford that he asked of his Conversation at Cambridge since his last being with him, and, quoth he, M. Bradford, because you are a Man not given to the glory of the World, I will speak it before your face: Your Life I have learned was such there always as all men, even the greatest enemies you have, cannot but praise it, and therefore I love you much better than ever I did: but now I will read over your Arguments, and so we will confer them. Such they are, that a Man may well perceive you stand on Conscience, and therefore I am the more ready and glad to pity you. So he began to read the first; to the which he said, that though the word Transubstantiation began but lately, yet the thing always was, and hath been since Christ's Institution.

Brad. I do not contend, or hang upon the word only, but upon the thing which is as new as the word.

West. Then went he to the second, and there brought out Saint Augustine, how that if an evil Man going to the Devil, did make his Will, his Son and Heir would not say his Father did lye in it, or speak tropically: much more Christ, going to God, did never lye, or use any figurative speech in his last Will and Testament. Do you not remember this place of Saint Augustine, said he?

Brad. Yea Sir, but I remember not that S. Augustine hath those words tropic or figurative, as you rehearse them: for any Man may speak a thing figuratively, and not lye: and so Christ did in his last supper.

West. After this he went to the third, and brought forth Cyprian, how that the Nature of Bread is turned into Flesh. Here (saith he) of my Lord Canterbury expounded Nature for Quality, by Gelasius. The which interpretation serveth for the answer of your Argument, that Christ called Bread his Body: that is, the quality, form, and appearance of Bread. And further the Scripture is wont to call things by the same Names which they had before, as Symon the Leper, he was not so presently, but because he had been so.

Brad. Cyprian wrote before Gelasius: therefore Cyprian must not expound Gelasius, but Gelasius Cyprian: and so they both teach, that Bread remaineth still. As for things having still the Names they had, is no answer, except you could shew that this now were not Bread, as easily as a Man might have known and seen then Symon to have been healed and clear from his Leprosie.

West. After this he went to the fourth, of the Cup, the which he did not fully read, but digressed into a long talk of Cyprian's Epistle De Agnitione, also of S. Augustine, expounding the breaking of Bread by Christ to his two Disciples going to Emmaus, to be the Sacrament, with such other talk to no certain purpose: and therefore Bradford prayed him, that in as much as he had written the reasons that stablished his Faith against Transubstantiation, so he would likewise do to him, that is, answer him by writing, and shew him more reasons in writing to confirm his Transubstantiation. Which Doctor Weston, promised to do, and said that he would send or bring it to Master Bradford again within three days.

Thus when he had over-read the Arguments, and here and there spoken little to the purpose for the avoiding of them, and Bradford had prayed him to give him in writing his answer: then he began to tell Bradford how and what he had done for Grimoald, and how that Bradford needed not to fear any reproach or slander he should suffer, meaning belike to have Bradford secretly to come to them, as Grimoald did, for he subsidized.

Brad.

Bradford could hear no reason of the Papists to inform his Opinion against Transubstantiation.

Transubstantiation not brought into the Church before the year 1215, by Pope Innocentius.

The reason proving the words of the Lords Supper to be figurative. 1. Circumstances of Scripture. 2. Proportion of Sacraments. 3. Testimony of Old Doctors.

The Wine is not Transubstantiated: Ergo, neither the Bread.

The same Spirit which said This is my body, said also, We many are one bread, one body, &c. The words concerning transubstantiation do say, into the new testament: Ergo neither the wine, nor the body.

The doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning transubstantiation agreeth not with the Greek Churches, nor with the old Roman Church.

The words of Augustin gothicly wrested by Weston.

Symon though he were called the Leper, yet he was seen to be no Leper. But bread is seen still to be bread: and therefore hath his name out of that it was, but of that it is. Cyprian expounded by Gelasius.

Weston required to write his reasons.

Grimoald subsidized.

M. Bradford
plain and
firm in con-
fession of
the Truth.

Brad. Mr. Dean, I would not gladly that you should conceive of me that I pass of shame of Men simply in this matter: I rather would have you to think of me, as the very truth is, that hitherto as I have not heard nor seen any thing to inform my Faith against Transubstantiation, so I am no less settled in it, than I was at my first coming hither. I love to be plain with you, and to tell you at the first, as you shall find at the last.

West. In good Faith, M. Bradford, I love you the better for your plainness: and do not think otherwise of me, but that you shall find me plain in all my talk with you.

Here **Weston** began to ask **Bradford** of his Imprisonment and Condemnation; and so **Bradford** told him altogether, how he had been handled. Whereat **Weston** seemed to wonder: yea in plain words he said, that **Bradford** had been handled otherwise than he had given cause; and so shewed **Bradford** how that my Lord of **Bath** reported that he had deserved a benefit at the Queens hand, and at all the Councils.

In this kind of talk they spent an hour almost, and so, as one weary, **Bradford** rose up, and **Weston** called to the Keeper, and before him he bade **Bradford** be of good comfort, and said that he was out of all peril of death.

Keeper. Sir, quoth the Keeper, but it is in every Mans Mouth, that he shall dye to morrow.

The vain
promises of
Weston.

Weston. Whereat **Weston** seemed half amazed, and said, he would goe say Evening before the Queen, and speak to Her in his behalf. But it is to be thought that the Queen had almost supped at that present: for it was past six of the Clock.

Brad. Before the Keeper, **Bradford** told **Weston** again that still he was one Man, and even as he was at the first; and till he should see matter to reach his Conscience the contrary, he said he must needs so continue.

Keep. The Keeper desired **Bradford** to hearken to M. Doctors Council, and prayed M. Doctor to be good unto him: and so after they had drunk together, M. Doctor with most gentle words took his leave for three days.

Now when he was gone, the Keeper told **Bradford**, that M. Doctor spake openly, how that he saw no cause why they should burn him. Which Sentence, for the Ambiguity of the meaning, made him somewhat sorry, lest he had behaved himself in any thing, wherein he had gathered any conformableness to them in their Doctrine, which God knoweth, faith **Bradford**, I never as yet did. God our Father bless us, as his Children, and keep us from all evil for ever, Amen.

Another talk or Conference between Master Bradford and Doctor Weston.

Another
talk or con-
ference be-
tween M.
Bradford and
Dr. Weston.

Upon the fifth day of April came Mr. Doctor **Weston** to the Counter about two of the Clock in the afternoon, who excused himself for being so long absent; partly by sickness, partly for that Doctor **Pendleton** told him that he would come unto him; and partly for that, quoth he, I withstood certain Monks which would have come again into **Westminster**; telling him moreover, how that the Pope was dead, and also declared unto him, how he had spoken to the Queen in his behalf, and how that death was not near to him.

Weston. Last of all, he excused himself for not answering his Arguments against Transubstantiation; because my coming to day, quoth he, was more by fortune, than of purpose.

Brad. I would gladly, Mr. Doctor, if it please you, see your Answers to my Arguments.

Weston. Why? you have remembered something that I spake to you, when I was last with you.

Brad. No Sir, I never call them in manner to mind, since that time, as well because I hoped you would have written them; as also for that they seemed not to be so material.

West. In good Faith I cannot see any other or better way for you, than to submit your self to the Judgment of the Church.

Brad. Marry so will I, Sir, if so be by the Church you understand Christs Church.

West. Lo, you take upon you to judge the Church.

Brad. No, Sir, that I do not in taking upon me to discern, I do not judge the Church.

West. Yes that you do; and make it invisible.

The Papists
will not
have the
Church
judged.

Brad. I do neither.

West. Why, who can see your Church?

Brad. Those Sir, that have Spiritual Eyes, wherewith they might have discerned Christs visible conversation here upon Earth.

West. Nay, Christs Church hath three tokens, that all Men may look well upon: namely, Unity, Antiquity, and Consuet.

Brad. These three may be as well in evil as in good, as well in Sin as in Vertue, as well in the Devils Church, as in Gods Church: As for an Example, Idolatry amongst the Istaics had all those three. **Chrysostom** telleth plainly, as you well know, that the Church is well known, *Tantummodo per Scripturas, Alonely by the Scriptures.*

West. In good Faith, you make your Church invisible, when you will have it known alonely by the Scriptures.

Brad. No Sir, the Scriptures do plainly set forth to us the Church, that all Men may well enough thereby know her, if they list to look.

West. The Church is like a Tower or Town that all Men may see.

Brad. True Sir, all Men that be not blind. Visible enough is the Church, but Mens blindness is great. Impute not therefore to the Church, that which is to be imputed to Mens blindness.

West. Where was your Church forty years ago? or where is it now? except in a corner of Germany?

Brad. Forsooth Sir, the Church of God is dispersed, and not tyed to this or that place, but to the Word of God; so that where it is, there is Gods Church, if it be truly taught.

West. Lo, is not this to make the Church invisible? point me out a Realm a hundred years past, which maintained your Doctrine.

Brad. Sir, if you will, or would well mark the state of the Church before Christs coming, with it now (as **Saint Paul** and **Peter** willett us) I think you would not look for such shews of the Church to be made, as to point it by Realms. You know that in **Helias** time, both in **Israel**, and elsewhere, Gods Church was not pointable; and therefore cried he out, that he was left alone.

West. No marry, did not God say that there was 7000, which had not bowed their Knees to **Baal**? Lo then 7000, shew me 7000, a hundred years ago of your Religion.

Brad. Sir, these 7000, were not known to Men: for then **Helias** would not have said, that he had been left alone. And it is plain enough by that which the Text hath, namely that God faith, *Reliqui mihi*, I have reserved to me seven thousand. Mark that it faith, God hath reserved to himself, to his own knowledge; as I doubt not but a hundred years ago, God had his seven thousand in his proper places, though Men knew not thereof.

Weston. Well, M. Bradford, I will not make your cause worse, than for Transubstantiation: although I know that we agree not in other matters. And I pray you make you it your self not worse. If I can do you good, I will hurt you I will not. I am no Prince, and therefore I cannot promise you Life, except you will submit your self to the definition of the Church.

Brad. Sir, so that you will define me your Church, that under it you bring not in a false Church, you shall not see but that we shall soon be at a point.

West. In good Faith Mr. Bradford, I see no good will be done, and therefore I will with you as much good as I can, and hereafter I will perchance come or send to you again: and so he sent for Mr. **Wash**, and departed.

Now after his departing, came the Keeper, M. **Claydon**, and **Stephen Beech**, and they were very hot with **Bradford**, and spake with him in such sort that he should not look but to have them utter enemies unto him, notwithstanding the friendship they both had hitherto pretended. God be with us, and what matter is it who be against them.

Among divers which came to M. Bradford in Prison, some to dispute and confer, some to give Counsell, some to take comfort, and some to visit him, there was a certain Gentlewoman Servant, which Gentlewoman had been cruelly afflicted, and miserably handled by her Father & Mother & all her kindred, in her Fathers House, for

Anno
1555.

The Church
invisible but
only to Spi-
ritual Eyes.
Unity, Anti-
quity, Con-
suetude, as
well known to
the Devils
Church, as to
Christs.

Why the
Church is
not seen.

Weston com-
eth in again
with his
Antiquity.
The Church
is tied to no
place but to
the word.

The Church
is not al-
ways to be
pointed out
by Realms
and Coun-
tries. The
Church in
Helias time
was not
pointable.

God saved
the Church
in Helias
time, al-
though **Helias**
himself
did not see
that it was
so known.

This Gen-
tlewoman is
yet alive, to
whom M.
Bradford
wrote a Let-
ter which
hereafter
followeth.
not

Anno 1555. not coming to the Mass, and like at length to have been purged to death, had not the Lord delivered her out of her Fathers house, being put from all that ever she had. This Gentlewomans Servant therefore, being sent to Mr. Bradford with Commendations, had this talk with him, which I thought here not to over-slip.

A Colloquy between Mr. Bradford, and a Gentlewomans Servant, being sent to visit him in Prison.

Talk between Bradford and a certain Gentlewomans servant.

His Servant or Messenger of the foresaid Gentlewoman coming to Mr. Bradford, and taking him by the hand, said, God be thanked for you. How do you?

Brad. Mr. Bradford answered, Well, I thank God. For as men in saying, which be near to the Shore or Haven where they would be, would be nearer; even so the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be.

Serv. Sir, I have never seen you so strong and healthsome of body, as me think you be now, God be thanked for it.

Brad. Why, quoth he, I have given over all care and study, and only do I covey to be talking with him, whom I have always studied to be withal.

Serv. Well, God hath done much for you since the time that I first knew you, and hath wrought wonderfully in you to his glory.

Brad. Truth it is, for he hath dealt favourably with me, in that he hath not punished me according to my sins, but hath suffered me to live, that I might seek Repentance.

Serv. Truly, we hear say, there is a Rod made so grievous, out of the which I think no man shall pluck his head.

Brad. Well, let all that be of Christs flock, arm themselves to suffer: For I think verily, God will not have one of his to escape untouched, if he love him, let them seek what means or ways they can.

Serv. Well Sir, there goeth talk of a Friar that should preach before the Kings, and should tell him, that he should be guilty of the innocent blood that hath been shed of late.

Brad. Verily, quoth Bradford, I had a Book within these two days of his writings, and therein he saith, that it is not meet nor convenient that the Hereticks should live: and therefore I do marvel how that talk should rise: for I have heard of it also, and I have also talked with this Friar (he is named Friar Fosfo) and with divers other, and I praise God they have confirmed me: for they have nothing to say but that which is most vain.

Serv. Sir, Father Cardmaker hath him commended unto you.

Brad. How doth he, how doth he?

Serv. Well, God be thanked.

Brad. I am very glad thereof: for indeed my Lord Chancellor did cast him in my teeth; but as David saith, God hath disappointed him.

Serv. Forsooth, Gods Name be praised, he is very strong.

Brad. And I trust, so are we. What else? our quarrel is most just: therefore let us not be afraid.

Serv. My Mistress hath her recommended unto you.

Brad. How doth she?

Serv. Well, God, be praised, but she hath been sore afflicted with her own Father and Mother, than ever you were with your Imprisonment, and yet God hath preserved her, I trust, to his glory.

Brad. I pray you tell her, I read this day a godly History, written by *Basilus Magnus*, of a virtuous woman which was a widow, and was named *Juledda*. She had great Lands and many Children, and nigh her dwelled a Cormorant, which for her virtuousness and godly living, had great indignation at her, and of very malice he took away her Lands, so that she was constrained to go to the Law with him: and in conclusion, the matter came to the trial before the Judge, who demanded of this Tyrant why he wrongfully withheld these Lands from this woman? He made answer and said, he might so do: for (saith he) this woman is disobedient to the Kings proceedings; for she will in no wise worship his gods

nor offer Sacrifice unto them. Then the Judge hearing that, said unto her, Woman, if this be true, in what art not only like to lose thy Land, but also thy Life, unless that thou worship our gods, and do sacrifice unto them. This godly woman hearing that, slept forth to the Judge, and said, Is there no remedy but either to worship your false gods, or else to lose my Lands and Life? Then farewell Suit, farewell Lands, farewell Children, farewell Friends; yea, and farewell Life too: and in respect of the true honour of the everliving God, farewell all. And with that saying did the Judge commit her to Prison, and afterward she suffered most cruel death: and being brought to the place of Execution, the exhorted all women to be strong and constant. For, saith she, ye were redeemed with as dear a price as men: For although ye were made of the rib of the man, yet be you all of his flesh: so that also, in the case and trial of your faith towards God, ye ought to be as strong. And thus died she constantly, not fearing death. I pray you tell your Mistress of this History.

Serv. That shall I, Sir, by Gods grace: for she told me that she was with you and Mr. Sanders, and received your gentle counsel.

Brad. We never gave her other counsel but the truth, and in witness thereof, we have and will seal it with our bloods. For I thought this night that I had been sent for, because at eleven of the Clock there was such rapping at the door.

Then answered a Maid, and said, Why then I perceive you were afraid.

Brad. Ye shall hear how fearful I was. For I considered that I had not slept, and I thought to take a nap before I went: and after I was asleep, these men came into the next Chamber, and sang, as it was told me, and yet for all my fearfulness, I heard them not: therefore belike I was not afraid, that slept so fast.

Serv. Do you lack any thing towards your necessity?

Brad. Nothing but your prayers, and I trust I have them, and you mine.

Serv. I saw a Priest come to you to day in the morning.

Brad. Yea, he brought me a Letter from a Friar, and I am writing an answer.

Serv. Then we let you, therefore the living God be with you.

Brad. And with you also, and bless you.

Serv. Amen, said we, and gave him thanks and departed.

Thus still in Prison continued Bradford, until the month of July, in such labours and sufferings as he before always had sustained in Prison. But when the time of his determined death was come, he was suddenly conveyed out of the Compter where he was Prisoner, in the night season to Newgate, as afore is declared, and from thence he was carried the next morning to Smithfield, where he constantly abiding in the same truth of God, which before he had confessed, earnestly exhorting the People to repent, and to return to Christ, and sweetly comforting the godly young springal of nineteen or twenty years old, which was burned with him, cheerfully he ended his painful life, to live with Christ.

John Leaf burnt with Bradford.

With whom was burnt one John Leaf an Apprentice to *Humphrey Gawdy*, Tallow-Chandler, of the Parish of *Christ Church* in London, of the age of nineteen years and above, born at *Kirkly Morefield*, in the County of *York*: who upon the Friday next before *Palm Sunday*, was committed to the Compter in *Breadstreet* by an Alderman of London, who had rule and charge of that Ward, or part of the City, where the said Leaf did dwell. After he coming to examination before *Boner*, gave a firm and christian testimony of his Doctrine and Profession, answering to such Articles as were objected to him by the said Bishop.

First, As touching his Belief and Faith in the said Sacrament of the Altar, he answered, that after the words of Consecration, spoken by the Priest over the Bread

Example of
Justice,
cruelty.

M. Bradford
nothing so
faint or
death.

By this Friar
he meaneth
Apollonius
mentioned
before.

Apollonius,
otherwise
called in the
vulgar
speech Friar
Fosfo.

A story of
a faithful
woman and
marry in
the primitive
Church
called
Juledda.
Ex Basilus.

M. Bradford
had from
the Compter
by night.

John Leaf
of the parish of
Christ
Church, by
the Alderman
of that
ward committed
to prison.

John Leaf
examined
before Bp.
Bour.
The answer
of John Leaf
concerning
his Faith in
the Sacra-
ment.

* Only as
touching the
substance,
but not as
concerning
the effect
thereof
* Articular
Confession.
He meaneth
after the Pop-
ish manner
of remitting
&c.

and Wine, there was not the very true and natural Body and Blood of Christ in Substance: and further did hold and believe, that the said Sacrament of the Altar, as it is now called, used, and believed in this Realm of England, is idolatrous and abominable; and also said further, that he believed, that after the words of Consecration spoken by the Priest over the material Bread and Wine, there is not the self same Substance of Christs Body and Blood there contained; but Bread and Wine, as it was before: and further said, that he believed, that when the Priest delivereth the said material Bread and Wine to the Communicants, he delivereth but only * material Bread and Wine; and the Communicants do receive the same in remembrance of Christs Death and Passion, and spiritually in Faith they receive Christs Body and Blood, but not under the Forms of Bread and Wine; and also affirmed that he believed Articular Confession not to be necessary to be made unto a Priest: for it is no point of Soul health, neither that the Priest hath any Authority given him by the Scripture to absolve and remit any sin.

Upon these his Answers, and testimony of his Faith, he at that time being dismissed, was bid the Monday next, being the tenth of June, to appear again in the said place, there and then to hear the Sentence of his Condemnation; who so did. At what time the foresaid Bishop propounding the said Articles again to him, as before, assaying by all manner of ways to revoke him to his own Trade, that is, from Truth to Error, notwithstanding all his persuasions, threats, and promises, found him the same man still, so planted upon the sure Rock of Truth, that no words nor deeds of men could remove him.

John Leaf
Mr. Rogers's
Scholar.

Then the Bishop, after many words to and fro, at last asked him, if he had been Mr. Rogers Scholar? To whom the foresaid John Leaf answered again, granting him so to be, and that he the same John did believe in the Doctrine of the said Rogers, and in the Doctrine of Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their Opinion, which of late were burned for the testimony of Christ,

and that he would dye in that Doctrine that they died for: And after other replications again of the Bishop, moving him to return to the Unity of the Church, he with a great courage of spirit, answered again in these words: My Lord, quoth he, you call mine opinion Herefie, it is the true light of the Word of God: And again repeating the same, he professed that he would never forsake his said and well grounded opinion, while the breath should be in his body. Whereupon the Bishop being too weak, either to refuse his sentence, or to remove his constancy, proceeded consequently to read the Popish Sentence of eternal Condemnation; whereby this godly and constant young man, being committed to the Secular Power of the Sheriffs there present, was then adjudged, and not long after suffered the same day with Mr. Bradford, confirming with his death, that which he had spoken and professed in his life.

It is reported of the said John Leaf, by one that was in the Compter the same time, and saw the thing, that after his Examinations before the Bishop, when two Bills were sent unto him in the Compter in Breadstreet, the one containing a Recantation, the other his Confessions, to know to which of them he would put his hand, first hearing the Bill of Recantation read unto him (because he could not read nor write himself) that he refused. And when the other was read unto him, which he well liked of, in stead of a Pen he took a Pin, and so pricking his hand, sprinkled the blood upon the said Bill, willing the Reader thereof to shew the Bishop, that he had sealed the same Bill with his Blood already.

Sentence against John Leaf.

John Leaf sealed the Bill of his Confessions with his blood.

The behaviour of Mr. Bradford Preacher, and the young man that suffered with him in Smithfield, named John Leaf, a Prentice, which both suffered for the testimony of Christ.

First, when they came to the Stake in Smithfield to be burned, Mr. Bradford lying prostrate on the one side of the Stake, and the young man John Leaf on the other side.

Bradford and John Leaf at the Stake, how they behaved themselves.

The description of the burning of M^r. John Bradford Preacher, and John Leaf a Prentice



other side, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themselves the space of a minute of an hour. Then one of the Sheriffs said to Mr. Bradford, Arise, and make an end; for the press of the People is great.

At that word they both stood upon their feet, and then Mr. Bradford took a Ragot in his hand, and kissed it, and so likewise the Stake. And when he had so done, he desired of the Sheriffs, that his Servant might have his Rai-

ment. For (said he) I have nothing else to give him: and besides that, he is a poor man. And the Sheriff said he should have it. And so forthwith Mr. Bradford did put off his Raiment, and went to the Stake: and holding up his hands, and casting his countenance to Heaven, he said thus, O England, England, repent thee of thy sins, and repent thee of thy sins. Beware of Idolatry, beware of false Antichrists, take heed they do not deceive you. And

The words of Mr. Bradford to England.

Anno 1555. as he was speaking these words; the Sheriff bid. rye his hands, if he would not be quiet. O Master Sheriff (said Mr. Bradford) I am quiet: God forgive you this Master Sheriff. And one of the Officers which made the fire, hearing Mr. Bradford to speaking to the Sheriff, said, If you have no better learning then that, you are but a fool, and were best hold your peace. To the which words Mr. Bradford gave no answer; but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, and prayed the people to pray for him, and turned his head unto the young man that suffered with him, and said, Be of good comfort Brother; for we shall have a merry Supper with the Lord this night: And so spake no more words that any man did hear, but embracing the Reeds, said thus; *Spiritus est via, et narrow is the gate that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it.*

The firing of M. Bradford at his death.

And thus they both ended their mortal lives, most like two Lambs, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the price of the Game that they had long run at to the which I beseech Almighty God happily to conduct us, through the Merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, Amen.

Touching Mr. Woodrofe the Sheriff, mention is made a little before how churlishly he answered Mr. Bradford at the Stake, not suffering him to speak, but commanding his hands to be tied, &c. The like extremity or worse, he used also before to Mr. Rogers, whereof ye have heard before.

Difference between two Sheriffs, M. Chesser and M. Woodrofe.

The said Woodrofe Sheriff, above mentioned, was joyned in Office with another, called Sir William Chesser, for the year 1555. Between these two Sheriffs such difference there was of Judgment and Religion, that the one, that is, Mr. Woodrofe, was wont commonly to laugh, and other to shed tears at the death of Christs People. And whereas the other was wont to restrain, and to beat the People, which were desirous to take them by the hands that should be burned: the other Sheriff contrariwise again with much sorrow and mildness behaved himself, which I wish here to be spoken and known to the commendation of him, although I do not greatly know the party.

Sir W. Chesser commended.

Furthermore, here by the way to note the severe punishment of Gods hand against the said Woodrofe, as against all such cruel Persecutors, so it hapned, that within half a year after the burning of this blessed Martyr, the said Sheriff was so stricken on the right side with such a fallie, or stroke of Gods hand whatsoever it was, that for the space of eight years after, till his dying day, he was not able to turn himself in his Bed, but as two men with a sheet were fain to stir him; and withal such an insatiable devouring came upon him, that it was monstrous to see. And thus continued he the space of eight years together.

A notable example of Gods hand upon Mr. Woodrofe.

In mortem Johannis Bradfordi constantissimi Martyris.

*Discipulo nulli supra licet esse magistrum;
Quique Deo servit, tristitia mulier foret.
Corripit omnipotens natum quem diligit omnem;
Ad celum stricta est discipuli que via.
Hic, Bradforde, tuo dum condit pectoris roces,
Non hominum rigidas terribile que minas,
Sed nec blanditias, non vim, nec vincula curas,
Tradidit & accense membra cremenda pyræ.*

Here follow the Letters of Mr. Bradford.

His godly Bradford and heavenly Martyr, during the time of his Imprisonment, wrote sundry comfortable Treatises, and many godly Letters, of which, some he wrote to the City of London, Cambridge, Walden, to Lancashire and Cheshire, and divers to his other private Friends. By the which foresaid Letters his time tent it may appear how godly this man occupied his time being Prisoner, what special zeal he bear to the state of Christs Church, what care he had to perform his Office, how earnestly he admonished all men, how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted, how faithfully he confirmed them whom he had taught, I thought here good to place the same and although to exhibit here all the Letters that he wrote (being in number so many, that they

are able to fill a Book) it cannot well be compared, yet nevertheless we mind to excerpt the principall of them, referring the Reader for the residue to the Book of Letters of the Martyrs, where they may be found.

And first, forasmuch as ye have heard in the story before, how the Earl of Derby complained in the Parliament House, of certain Letters written of John Bradford out of Prison, to Lancashire, and also he was charged both of the Bishop of Winchester, and of Mr. Allen with some Letters; to the intent the Reader more perfectly may understand what Letters they were, being written indeed to his Mother, Brethren, and Sisters, out of the Tower, before his Condemnation, we will begin first with the same Letters; the Copy, with the Contents whereof, is this, as followeth.

A comfortable Letter of Mr. Bradford to his Mother, a godly Matron, dwelling in Manchester, and to his Brethren and Sisters, and other of his Friends there.

Our dear and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, whose Prisoner at this present (praised be his Name therefore) I am, preserve and keep you my good Mother, with my Brethren and Sisters, my Father John Tinsley, Thomas Sorrecoild, Laurence and James Bradshaw, with their Wives and Families, &c. now and for ever, Amen.

I am at this present in Prison, sure enough for starting, to confirm that I have preached unto you: as I am ready (I thank God) with my life and blood to seal the same, if God vouchsafe me worthy of that honour. For, good Mother and Brethren, it is a most special benefit of God, to suffer for his Names sake and Gospel, as now I do: I heartily thank God for it, and am sure that with him I shall be partaker of his glory, as Paul saith, *If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him.* Therefore be not faint-hearted, but rather rejoyce, at the least for my sake which now am in the right and high way to Heaven: for by many Afflictions we must enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Now will God make known his Children. When the wind doth not blow, then cannot a man know the Wheat from the Chaff; but when the blast cometh, then flieeth away the Chaff, but the Wheat remaineth; and is so far from being hurt, that by the wind it is more cleanted from the Chaff, and known to be Wheat. Gold when it is cast into the fire, is the more precious; so are Gods Children by the Crois of Affliction. Always God beginneth his Judgment at his Houle. Christ and the Apostles were in most misery in the Land of Jewry, but yet the whole Land flinarted for it after: so now Gods Children are first chastised in this world, that they should not be damned with the world: for surely, great Plagues of God hang over this Realm.

A letter of M. Bradford to his mother, his brethren, &c. sisters.

Tim. 2.

Acts 14.

God beginneth his judgment with his own house.

Ye all know there was never more knowledge of God, and less godly living, and true serving of God. It was counted a foolish thing to serve God truly, and earnest Prayer was not past upon. Preaching was but a pastime. The Communion was counted too common. Fastings to subdue the flesh, was far out of use. Alms was almost nothing. Malice, Covetousness, and Uncleanness was common every where, with Swearing, Drunkenness, and Idleness. God therefore now is come, and you have heard me preach, and because he will not damn us with the world, he beginneth to punish us: as me for carnal living. For, as for my preaching, I am most certain it is and was Gods Truth, and I trust to give my life for it by Gods grace: but because I loved not the Gospel truly, but outwardly, therefore doth he thus punish me; nay rather in punishing blesteth me. And indeed I thank him more of this Prison, than of any Parlor, yea, than of any pleasure that ever I had: for in it I find God my most sweet good God always. The flesh is punished, first to admonish us now heartily to live as we profess; secondly to certify the wicked of their just damnation, if they repent not.

Complains of the carnal and wicked life among Gospelers.

The cause why God first punisheth his in this world.

Perchance you are weakened in that which I have preached, because God doth not defend it, as you think, but suffereth the Popish Doctrine to come again and prevail: but you must know, good Mother, that God by this doth prove and try his Children and People, whether they will unfeignedly and simply hang on him and his Word. So did he with the Israelites, bringing them into a Desert,

John 19.

Of this
place the
Earl of Dow-
ty seemeth
to take
hold, com-
plaining
that he cut-
teth them
that teach
christ any
false doc-
trine, &c.
The Maf's
rebutteth
no
far, nor ha-
meth con-
ferences, as
preaching
doth.

The best
death of all
death, is to
die for
Gods sake.

The Maf's
is a payson
to the
Church.

Comparison
between
the Lords
Supper and
the Maf's.

Protest
and
Objections
answered.
March 19.

Desert, after their coming out of Egypt, where (I mean the Wildernesse) was want of all things, in comparison of that which they had in Egypt. Christ, when he came into this World, brought no worldly Wealth, nor quietness with him, but rather war, *The World* (saith he) *shall rejoyce, but ye shall mourn and weep, but your weeping shall be turned into joy: and therefore happy are they that mourn and weep, for they shall be comforted.* They are marked then with Gods mark in their forehead, and not with the Beasts mark, I mean the Popes shaven Crown, who now with his shavelings rejoyce: but woe unto them; for they shall be cast down, they shall weep and mourn. The rich Glutton had here his joy, and Lazarus sorrows, but afterwards the time was changed. The end of carnal joy is sorrow. Now let the Whoremonger joy with the Drunkard, Swearer, Covetous, Malicious, and blind buzzard Sir *John*: for the Maf's will not bite them, neither make them to blush, as preaching would. Now may they do what they will, come Devils to the Church, and go Devils home, for no man must find fault. And they are glad of this; now they have their hearts desire, as the *Sodomites* had when *Lai* was gone, but what followed? Forsooth when they had peace, all shall be well, then came Gods vengeance, fire and brimstone from Heaven, and burnt up every Mothers Child; even so (dear Mother) will it do to our Papists.

Wherefore fear God; stick to his Word though all the World swerve from it. Dye you must once, and when, or how, can you not tell. Dye therefore with Christ, suffer for serving him truly and after his Word: for sure may we be that of all deaths it is most to be desired to dye for Gods sake. This is the most safe kind of dying, we cannot doubt but that we shall go to Heaven, if we dye for his Names sake. And that you shall dye for his Names sake, Gods Word will warrant you, if you stick to that which God by me hath taught you. You shall see that I speak as I think; for by Gods grace I will drink before you of this Cup, if I be put to it.

I doubt not but God will give me his grace, and strengthen me thereunto: pray that he would, and that I refuse it not. I am at a point, even when my Lord God will, to come to him. Death nor Life, Prison nor Pleasure, I trust in God, shall be able to separate me from my Lord God and his Gospel. In Peace, when no Persecution was, then were you content and glad to hear me, then did you believe me, and will ye not do so now, seeing I speak that which I trust by Gods grace, if need be, to varifie with my life? Good Mother, I write before God to you, as I have preached before him.

It is Gods Truth I have taught: It is that same infallible Word wherof he said, *Heaven and Earth shall pass, but my word shall not pass.* The Maf's and such Baggage as the false worshippers of God, and enemies of Christs Cross (the Papists I say) have brought in again, to payson the Church of God withal, displeaseth God highly, and is abominable in his sight. Happy may be he which of Confidence suffereth loss of Life or Goods in disallowing it. Come not at it. If God be God, follow him: If the Maf's be God, let them that will see it, hear, or be present at it, and go to the Devil with it. What is there as God ordained? His Supper was ordained to be received of us in the memorial of his Death, for the confirmation of our Faith, that his Body was broken for us, and his Blood shed for pardon of our sins; but in the Maf's there is no receiving, but the Priest keepeth all to himself alone. Christ saith, *Take, eat*: No, saith the Priest, Gape, peep. There is a sacrificing, yea killing of Christ again as much as they may. There is Idolatry in worshipping the outward sign of Bread and Wine; there is all in Latin, you cannot tell what he saith. To conclude, there is nothing as God ordained. Wherefore (my good Mother) come not at it.

Oh, will some say, it will hinder you, if you refuse to come to Maf's, and to do as other do. But God will further you (be you assured) as you shall one day find: who hath promised to them that suffer hindrance or loss of any thing in this world, his great blessing here, and in the way to come life everlasting.

You shall be counted an Heretic: but not of others then of Heretics, whose praise is a dispraise.

You are not able to reason against the Priests, but

God will, that all they shall not be able to withstand you. No body will do so but you only. Indeed no matter, for few enter into the narrow Gate which bringeth to salvation. Howbeit, you shall have with you (I doubt not) Father *Traves*, and other my Brothers and Sisters, to go with you therein: but if they will not, I your son in God, I trust, shall not leave you an inch, but go before you: pray that I may, and give thanks for me. Rejoyce in my suffering, for it is for your sakes to confirm the truth I have taught. Howsoever you do, beware this Letter come not abroad, but into Father *Traves* his hands: for if it should be known that I have Pen and Ink in the Prison, then would it be worse with me. Therefore to your selves keep this Letter, commending me to God and his Mercy in Christ Jesus, who make me worthy for his Names sake, to give my life for his Gospel and Church sake. Out of the Tower of London, the sixth day of October, 1553.

My Name I write not for causes, you know it well enough: Like the Letter never the worse. Commend me to all our good Brethren and Sisters in the Lord. Howsoever you do, be obedient to the higher Powers, that is, in no point either in hand or tongue rebel, but rather if they command that which with good Conscience you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and suffer whatsoever they shall do or say. By patience possesse your souls.

After the time that Mr. Bradford was condemned, and sent to the Compter, it was purposed of his Adversaries (as ye heard before) that he should be had to Manchester where he was born, and there be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the City of London, thinking to take his last Vile of them in this Letter.

To the City of London.

To all that profess the Gospel and true Doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the City of London, *John Bradford* a most unworthy Servant of the Lord, now not only in Prison, but also excommunicated and condemned to be burned for the same true Doctrine, witheth Mercy, Grace, and Peace, with increase of all godly knowledge and piety from God the Father of Mercy, through the Merits of our alone and omniscient Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the operation of the Holy Spirit for ever, Amen.

My dearly beloved Brethren in our Saviour Christ, although the time I have to live is very little (for hourly I look when I should be had hence to be conveyed into Lancashire, there to be burned, and to render my life by the Providence of God, where I first received it by the same Providence) and although the charge is great to keep me from all things whereby I might signifie any thing to the world of my state: yet having, as now I have, Pen and Ink, through Gods working, maugre the Head of Satan and his Souldiers, I thought good to write a short Confession of my Faith, and thereto joyn a little Exhortation unto you all, to live according to your Profession.

First, For my Faith, I do confesse and pray all the whole Congregation of Christ to bear witness with me of the same, that I believe constantly, through the gift and goodness of GOD, (for Faith is Gods only gift) all the twelve Articles of the Symbol and Creed, commonly attributed to the Collection of the Apostles. This my Faith I would gladly particularly declare and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the simple; but alas! by starts and stealth I write in manner that I write, and therefore I shall desire you all to take this brevity in good part. And this Faith I hold, not because of the Creed it self, but because of the Word of God, the which teacheth and confirmeth every Article accordingly. This Word of God written by the Prophets and Apostles, left and contained in the Canonical Books of the whole Bible, I do believe to contain plentifully all things necessary to Salvation, so that nothing (as necessary to Salvation) ought to be added thereto, and therefore the Church of Christ, nor none of his Congregation ought to be burdened with any other Doctrine, then which heretofore hath his foundation and ground. In testimony of this Faith, I render and give my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the Antichrist of Rome to be Christs Vicar general and supreme Head of his Catholick and Universal Church here or elsewhere.

Anno
1555.

For all this
Cause, yet
this Letter
came to the
Earl of
Dorset
knowledge.

A finished
Letter of Mr.
Bradford to
the City of
London.

Antichrist
of Rome
not to be
Christs
general
Vicar.

where upon Earth; as for denying the horrible and idolatrous Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and Christs real corporall, and carnall Presence in his Supper, under the forme and accidents of Bread and Wine.

To believe Christ our Saviour to be the Head of his Church, and Kings, in these Realmes to be the Supream Powers, to whom ever, Soul oweth Obedience, and to believe that in the Supper of Christ (which the Sacrament of the Altar, as the Papists call it, and use it, doth utterly overthrow) is a true and a very Presence of whole Christ, God and Man, to the faith of the Receiuer, but not to the slander by and looke upon, as it is a true and very Presence of Bread and Wine to the Sences of men: to believe this (I say) will not erre, and therefore as an Heretick I am condemned, and shall be punished; whereof I ask God heartily mercy that I do no more, because than I do, having so great cause, as to be an Instrument wherein it may please my dear Lord God and Saviour to suffer.

For albeit my manifold sins, even since I came into Prison, have deferred at the hands of God, not only this Temporal, but also Eternal fire in Hell, much more than my former unkind life, which the Lord pardon for his Christs sake, as I know he of his mercy hath done, and never will lay mine Iniquities to my charge, to condemnation, so great is his goodness, (praised therefore be his Holy Name) although (I say) my manifold and grievous late sins have deferred most justly all the tyranny that Man or Devil can do unto me; and therefore I confess that the Lord is just, and that his Judgments be true and deferred on my behalf: yet the Bishops and Prelates do not persecute them in me, but Christ himself, his Word, his Truth, and Religion. And therefore I have great cause, yea most great cause to rejoyce that ever I was born, and hitherto kept of the Lord; that by my death, which is deferred for my sins, it please the heavenly Father to glorifie his Name, to testify his Truth, to confirm his Verity, to repugn his Adversaries. O good God and merciful Father, forgive my great unthankfulness, especially herein.

And you, my dearly Beloved, for the Lord Jesus Christs sake, I humbly and heartily in his Bowels and Blood do now, for my last Vale and Farewell in this present life, beseech you, and every of you, that you will consider this word of the Lord accordingly: First by me be admonished to beware of Hypocritie and Carnal Security; profess not the Gospel with tongue and lips only, but in heart and verity; frame and fashion your lives accordingly; beware Gods Name be not evil spoken of, and the Gospel less regarded by your Conversation. God forgive me that I have not so heartily professed it as I should have done, but have sought much my self therein. The Gospel is a new Doctrine to the old man; it is new wine; and therefore cannot be put in old bottles, without more great hurt, than good to the bottles. If we will talk with the Lord, we must put off our shoes and carnal affections; if we will hear the voice of the Lord, we must wash our garments and be holy; if we will be Christs Disciples, we must deny our selves, take up our Crosse and follow Christ; we cannot serve two Masters. If we seek Christs Kingdom, we must seek for the righteousness thereof. To this Petition (*Let thy Kingdom come*) we must joyn, *Thy will be done, done on Earth as it is in Heaven*. If we will not be doers of the word, but hearers of it only, we sore deceive our selves. If we hear the Gospel, and love it not, we declare our selves to be but fools, and builders upon the sand. The Lords Spirit hateth feigning; deceitfulness the Lord abhorreth; if we come to him, we must beware that we come not with a double heart; for then may chance that God will answer us according to the block which is in our heart, and so we shall deceive our selves and others.

To Faith see that we couple a good Conscience, lest we make a shipwrack. To the Lord we must come with fear and reverence. If we will be Gospellers, we must be Christs; if we be Christs, we must crucifie our flesh with the lusts and concupiscences thereof; if we will be under grace, sin must not beare rule in us. We may not come to the Lord, and draw night to him with our lips, and leave our hearts elsewhere, lest the Lords wrath wax hot, and he take from us the good remaining. In no case can the Kingdom of Christ approach to them that repent not. Therefore, my dearly Beloved, let us re-

pent and be heartily sorry that we have so earnestly, so hypocritically, so covetously, so vain-gloriously professed the Gospel. For all these I confess my self, to the glory of God, that he may cover mine offences in the day of Judgment. Let the anger and plague of God most justly fall upon us, be applied to every one of our defects, that from the bottom of our hearts, every of us may say, It is I, Lord, that have sinned against thee. I am my hypocritie, my vain-glory, my carnal security, my cleanness, carnality, security, idleness, unthankfulness, self-love, and such like, which have deferred the taking away of our good King, of thy Word and true Religion, of thy good Ministers by exile, imprisonment, and death; it is my wickedness that causeth this state of authority and peace to thine Enemy. Obtemperate, be merciful unto us. Turn to us, O Lord, our Hosts, and turn us unto thee; correct us, but not in thy fury, lest we be consumed in thine anger; chastise us not in thy wrathful displeasure; reprove us not, but in the midst of thine anger remember thy mercy. For if thou mark what is done amiss, who shall be able to abide it? But wilt thou be merciful, that thou mightest be worshipped. Oh then be merciful unto us, that we might truly worship thee. Help us, for the glory of thy Name: be merciful unto our sins, for they are great. O heal us, and help us for thine honour. Let not the wicked people say, Where is thine God, O Lord?

On this sort, my right dearly Beloved, let us heartily bewail our sins, repent us of our former evil life, humbly and earnestly purpose to amend our lives, continually watch in prayer, diligently and earnestly attend, hear, and read the holy Scriptures, to better our Vocation to amend our Brethren. Let us improve the works of darkness. Let us fly from all iniquity. Let us abhor the Anichristian and Romish service, detest the Popish Mass, abrenounce their Romish god, prepare our selves to the Crosse, be obedient to all that are in Authority in all things that be not against God and his Word, for then Answer with the Apostles, *It is more meet to obey God than man*. Howbeit never for any thing resist or rise against the Magistrates. Avenge not your selves, but commit your cause to the Lord, to whom vengeance pertaineth, and he in his time will reward it. If you feel in your selves an hope and trust in God, that he will never tempt you above that he will make you able to bear, be assured the Lord will be true to you; and you shall be able to bear all brunts. But if you want this hope, fly and get you hence, rather than by your carrying Gods Name should be dishonoured.

In sum, cast your care on the Lord, knowing for most certain, that he is careful for you; with him all the hairs of your head are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish without his good pleasure and will: much more then, nothing shall happen to our bodies, which shall not be profitable, howsoever for a time it seem otherwise to your senses. Hang on the Providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but also when you have no means, yea when all means be against you. Give him this honour, which of all other things he most chiefly requireth at your hands: namely, believe that you are his Children through Christ, that he is your Father and God through him, that he loveth you, pardoneth you all your offences, that he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for ever. When you fall, he will put under his hand, you shall not lye still: before you call upon him he heareth you, out of the evil he will finally bring you, and deliver you to his eternal joy. Doubt not, my dearly beloved, herein, doubt not (I say) this will God your Father do for you, not in respect of your selves, but in respect of Christ your Captain, your Pastor, your Keeper, out of whose hands none shall be able to catch you, in him be quiet, and often consider your dignity: namely, how that ye be Gods Children, the Saints of God, Citizens of Heaven, Temples of the Holy Ghost, the Thrones of God, Members of Christ, and Lords over all.

Therefore be ashamed to think, speak, or do any thing that should be unseemly for Gods Children, Gods Saints, Christs Members, &c. Marvel not though the Devil and the World hate you, though ye be persecuted here, for the Servant is not above his Master. Covet not earthly kindnesses, fear not the power of man, love not this world, nor

nor things that be in this world; but long for the Lord Jesus his coming, at which time your Bodies shall be made like unto his glorious Body, when he appeareth you shall be like unto him; when your life shall thus be revealed, then shall ye appear with him in glory.

We must
live in the
Name of
Christ
The proper-
ty of faith.

In the mean season live in hope thereof. Let the life you lead be in the faith of the Son of God: For the just doth live by faith: which faith flieth from all evil, and followeth the Word of God as a Lanthorn to her feet, and a Light to her steps; her eyes be above where Christ is, the beheldeth not the things present, but rather things to come; she glorieth in Affliction; she knoweth that the Afflictions of this life are not like to be compared to the Glory which God will reveal to us, and in us. Of this Glory God grant us here a lively taste; then shall we run after the scent it fendeth forth. It will make us valiant men to take to us the Kingdom of God; whether the Lord of Mercy bring us in his good time through Christ our Lord, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given here my Body to have been burned for the confirmation of the true Doctrine I have taught here unto you. But that my Country must have. Therefore I pray you take in good part this signification of my good will towards every of you. Impute the want herein to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offensive and negligent behaviour when I was amongst you. With me repent, and labour to amend. Continue in the Truth which I have truly taught unto you by preaching in all places where I have come; Gods Name therefore be praised. Confess Christ when you be called, whatsoever cometh thereof, and the God of Peace be with us all, Amen. This 11. of February, 1555.

Your Brother in bonds for the Lords sake,
John Bradford.

To the University and Town of Cambridge.

Another let-
ter of Mr.
Bradford
to the Uni-
versity of
Cambridge.

To all that love the Lord Jesus and his true Doctrine, being in the University and Town of Cambridge, John Bradford a most unworthy Servant of the Lord, now not only prisoned, but also condemned for the same true Doctrine, witheth grace, peace, and mercy, with increase of all godliness from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody Passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the lively working of the holy Spirit for ever, Amen.

Although I look hourly when I should be had to the Stake (my right dearly beloved in the Lord) and although the charge over me is great and freight, yet having by the Providence of God secretly Pen and Ink, I could not but something signify unto you my solicitude which I have for you and every of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You have often and openly heard the truth (specially in this matter wherein I am condemned) disputed and preached, that it is needles to do any more but only to put you in remembrance of the same: but hitherto have you not heard it confirmed, and as it were sealed up, as now you do and shall hear by me, that is, by my death and burning. For albeit I have deserved (through my uncleanness, hypocritie, avarice, vain-glory, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnality, whereof I accuse my self, to my confusion before the world, that before God through Christ I might, as my assured hope is I shall, find mercy) eternal death, and hell fire, much more than this affliction and fire prepared for me: yet, my dearly beloved, it is not theft, or any of these things, wherefore the Prelates

The Martyrs
persecuted
of the Pre-
lates not for
their sins,
but only for
Christ
The cause
of his con-
demnation
declared.

do persecute me, but Gods verity and truth; yea, even Christ himself is the only cause and thing wherefore I am now condemned, and shall be burned as an Heretick, because I will not grant the Antichrist of Rome to be Christs Vicar general and supreme Head of his Church here, and every where upon earth, by Gods Ordinance, and because I will not grant such corporal, real, and carnal Presence of Christs Body and Blood in the Sacrament, as doth transubstantiate the substance of Bread and Wine, and is received of the wicked, yea of Dogs and Mice. Also I am excommunicated, & counted as a dead Member of Christs Church, as a rotten Branch, and therefore shall be cast into the fire.

Therefore ye ought heartily to rejoyce with me, and to give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father hath vouchsafed our Mother to bring up any Child in whom it would please him to magnifie his holy Name as he doth, and I hope for his mercies and truths sake, will do in me, and by me. Oh, what such benefit upon earth can it be, as that I, which deserved death by reason of my sins, should be delivered to a demonstration, a testification, and confirmation of Gods verity and truth? Thou my Mother the University hast not only had the truth of Gods Word plainly manifested unto thee by reading, disputing and preaching publickly and privately; but now to make these altogether excusable, and as it were, almost to sin against the Holy Ghost, if thou put to thy helping hand with the Romish rout to suppress the verity, and set out the contrary, thou hast my life and blood as a Seal to confirm thee, if thou wilt be confirmed, or else to confound thee, and bear witness against thee, if thou wilt take part with the Prelates and Clergy, which now fill up the measure of their Fathers which slew the Prophets and Apostles, that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, shed upon earth, may be required at their hands.

Oh this therefore I thought good before my death, as time and liberty would suffer me (for love and duty I bear unto thee) to admonish thee good Mother, and my Sister the Town, that you would call to mind from whence you are fallen, and study to do the first works. You know (if you will) these matters of the Romish Supremacy, and the Antichristian Transubstantiation, whereby Christs Supper is overthrowen, his Priesthood evacuate, his Sacrifice frustrate, the Ministry of his Word unplaced, Repentance repelled, Faith fainted, Godliness extinguished, the Mass maintained, idolatry supported, and all impiety cherished: you know I say (if you will) that these Opinions are not only besides Gods Word, but even directly against it, and therefore to take part with them, is to take part against God, against whom you cannot prevail.

Therefore for the tender mercy of Christ, in his bowels and blood I beseech you, to take Christs Collyrium and Eye-salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see what you do and have done in admitting (as I hear you have admitted, yea alas, authorized, and by consent confirmed) the Romish rotten rags, which once you utterly expelled. O be not *Canis reversus ad vomitum*. Be not *Sus loto reversus ad volutabrum cæni*. Beware lest the Satan enter in with seven other Spirits, and then *postrema* shall be worse then the first. It had been better ye had never known the truth, then after knowledge to run from it. Ah, who to this world and the things therein, which hath now so wrought with you. Oh that ever this dirt of the Devil should daub up the eye of the Realm. For thou, O Mother, art as the eye of the Realm. If thou be light and give shine, all the Body shall fare the better: But if thou the light be darkness, alas how great will the darkness be? What is man whose breath is in his nostrils, that thou should thus be afraid of him?

Oh what is honour and life here? Bubbles. What is the glory of this world, but shame? Why art thou afraid to carry Christs Cross? Wilt thou come into his Kingdom, and not drink of his Cup? Dost thou not know Rome to be Babylon? Dost thou not know that as the old Babylon had the Children of Judah in Captivity, so hath this Rome the true Judah, that is, the Confessors of Christ? Dost thou not know that as destruction hapned unto it, so shall it do unto this? And crowdst thou that God will not deliver his People now when the time is come, as he did then? Hath not God commanded his People to come out from her? and wilt thou give ensample to the whole Realm to run unto her? Hast thou forgotten the wo that Christ threatneth to offence givers? Wilt thou not remember that it were better that a Millstone were hanged about thy neck, and thou thrown into the Sea, then that thou shouldst offend the little ones?

And alas, how hast thou offended? Yea, and how dost thou still offend? Wilt thou consider things according to the outward shew? Was not the Synagogue more seemly and like to be the true Church, then the simple Flock of Christs Disciples? Hath not the Whore of Babylon more costly Arrays, and rich Apparel externally to set forth her self, then the homely Housewife of Christ? Where

1555.

Agrees mercy
of God to
earn the
death of his
Sons justly
delivered to
serve for a
confirmation
of his own
glory.

Cambridge
cases bene
mooni.

Read be-
the let-
ter of
Cambridge
to King
Henry 8.

The dog
returned to
his own
vomit:
The Sow
that was
washed re-
turned to
her wallow-
ing in the
mire.
2 Pet. 2: 22

The glory
of this
world is a
vain thing.
Babylon
hath Judah
in captivity

The Church
standeth not
in the con-
fession shew.

Anno 1555. where is the beauty of the Kings Daughter the Church of Christ? Without or within? Doth not David say, within? O remember that as they are happy which are not offended at Christ, so are they happy which are not offended at his poor Church. Can the Pope and his Prelates mean honestly, which make so much of the Wife and so little of the Husband? The Church they magnifie, but Christ they contemn. If this Church were an honest Woman (that is, Christs Wife) except they would make much of her Husband, Christ and his Word, the would not be made much of them.

Custom, Unity, Antiquity, Consistency or Multitude are marks discernible.

When Christ and his Apostles were upon earth, who was more like to be the true Church, they or the Prelates, Bishops, and Synagogue? If a Man should have followed custom, unity, antiquity, or the more part, should not Christ and his company have been cast out of the doors? Therefore bade Christ, Search the Scriptures. And good Mother, shall the Servant be above his Master? Shall we look for other entertainment at the hands of the World, then Christ and his dear Disciples found? Who was taken in *Noah's* time for the Church? Poor *Noah* and his Family, or others? Who was taken for Gods Church in *Sodom*? *Lot*, or others? and doth not Christ say; As it was then, so shall it go now towards the coming of the Son of Man? What meaneth Christ when he saith; Iniquity shall have the upper hand? Doth not he tell, that Charity shall wax cold? And who seeth not a wonderful great lack of Charity in those, which would now be taken for Christs Church? All that fear God in this Realm truly can tell more of this then I can write.

Mr. Thomas Darcy Preaching True Religion, Grindal, Haddon, Rogers, Sanders, Taylor.

Therefore, dear Mother, receive some admonition of one of thy poor Children, now going to be burned for the testimony of Jesus. Come again to Gods Truth; come out of *Babylon*; confess Christ and his true Doctrine; repent that which is past; make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the Readings and Preachings of Gods Prophet the true Preacher *Martin Bucer*. Call to mind the threatenings of God, now something seen by thy Children *Leaver* and others. Let the exile of *Leaver*, *Pilkington*, *Grindal*, *Haddon*, *Horn*, *Scorie*, *Ponts*, &c. something awake thee. Let the Imprisonment of thy dear Sons, *Crammer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer* move thee. Consider the Martyrdom of thy Chickens, *Rogers*, *Sanders*, *Taylor*. And now cast not away the poor admonition of me going to be burned also, and to receive the like Crown of Glory with my fellows. Take to heart Gods calling by us. Be not as *Pharaoh* was: for then will it happen unto thee as it did unto him. What is that? Hardness of heart. And what then? Destruction eternally both of Body and Soul. Ah therefore, good Mother, awake, awake, repent, repent, humble thy self, and make hast to turn to the Lord. For else it shall be more easie for *Sodom* and *Gomorrab* in the day of Judgment than for thee. O harden not your hearts; O stop not your ears to day in hearing Gods voyce; though it be by a most unworthy Messenger. O fear the Lord: for his anger is begun to kindle. Even now the Axe is laid to the root of the Tree.

Bradford prophesies before the time what would follow of carnall Gospeling, if repentance did not ensue.

You know I prophesied truly to you before the Sweat came, what would come, if you repented not your carnal Gospeling. And now I tell you before I depart hence, that the ears of Men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon you all, both Town and University, if you repent not; if you leave not your Idolatry, if you turn not speedily to the Lord, if you still be ashamed of Christs truth which you know.

Thorne, Thome, his teaching & moving to pray.

O *Perne* repent, O *Thompson* repent, O you Doctors, Bachelors, and Masters repent: O Major, Aldermen, and Town-dwellers repent, repent, that you may escape the near vengeance of the Lord. Rent your hearts, and come apace, calling on the Lord. Let us all say, *Peccavimus*, we have all sinned, we have done wickedly, we have not hearkened to thy voice, O Lord. Deal not with us after our deserts, but be merciful to our iniquities, for they are great. O pardon our offences. In thine anger remember thy mercy. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of hosts, for the glory of thy names sake. Spare us and be merciful unto us. Let not the wicked People say, Where is now their God? for thine own sake, for thy names sake, deal mercifully with us. Turn thy servants unto thee, and unto thee, and we shall praise thy name for ever.

If in this sort (my dearly beloved) in Heart and Mouth we come unto our Father and prostrate our selves before the throne of his grace, then surely, surely we shall find mercy. Then shall the Lord look mercifully upon us, for his mercy sake in Christ: then shall we hear him speak peace unto his People. For he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion: he cannot be chiding for ever; his anger cannot last long to the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we shall have our sorrow to cease. For he is exorable, and hath no pleasure in the death of a Sinner: he rather would our conversion and turning.

Gods mercy promised to be repented.

Oh turn ye now and convert yet once again, I humbly beseech you, and then the Kingdom of Heaven shall draw nigh. The eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the Heart of Man is able to conceive, the joys prepared for us if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if ye repent not, but be as you were, and go on forwards with the wicked, following the fashion of the World, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers, you shall perish in your wickedness, your Blood will be upon your own heads; your parts shall be with Hypocrites, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; ye shall be cast from the face of the Lord for ever and ever: eternal shame, sorrow, woe, and misery; shall be born in Body and Soul to you. Would without end. Oh therefore, right dear to me in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, amend your lives, depart from evil, do good, follow peace and pursue it. Come out from *Babylon*, cast off the work of darkness, put on Christ, confess his truth, be not ashamed of his Gospel, prepare your selves to the Cross, drink of Gods Cup before it come to the dregs, and then shall I with you and for you, rejoyce in the day of Judgment, which is at hand, and therefore prepare your selves thereto, I heartily beseech you. And thus I take my *Vale in aeternum*, with you in this present life, mine own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and sure meeting in his Kingdom, Amen, Amen. Out of Prison the eleventh of February, Anno 1555.

Cambridge thought it is repeated.

Your own in the Lord for ever
John Bradford.

To Lancashire and Cheshire.

To all those that profess the Name and true Religion of our Saviour Christ in Lancashire and Cheshire, and specially abiding in Manchester and thereabout, *John Bradford* a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in bonds, but also condemned for the same true Religion, witheth mercy and grace, peace, and increase of all godliness from God the Father of all pity, through the deserts of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the working of the most mighty and lively Spirit the Comforter for ever, Amen.

Another Letter of Mr. Bradford to Lancashire, Cheshire and specially to Manchester.

I heard it reported credibly, my dearly beloved in the Lord, that my Heavenly Father hath thought it good to provide, that as I have Preached his true Doctrine and Gospel amongst you by word, so I shall testify and confirm the same by deed; that is, I shall with you leave my life, which by his providence I first received there (for in Manchester was I born) for a seal to the Doctrine I have taught with you, and amongst you: so that if from henceforth you waver in the same, you have none excuse at all. I know the enemies of Christ, which exercise this cruelty upon me (I speak in respect of mine offence which is none to themwards) think by killing of me amongst you to affray you and others, lest they should attempt to teach Christ truly, or believe his Doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my Heavenly Father will by my death, more confirm you in his Truth for ever. And therefore I greatly rejoyce to see Satan and his Souldiers supplanted in their own sapience, which is plain foolishness amongst the wise indeed, that is, amongst such as have heard Gods Word, and do follow it: for they only are counted wise of the Wisdom of God our Saviour.

Indeed if I should simply consider my life with that which it ought to have been, and as God in his Law requireth, then could I not but cry as I do, *Justus es Domine, & omnia judicia tua veras*. Righteous art thou, O Lord, and

He cometh to fetch his sins before God.

The Papists
condemn not
Bradford but
Christ.

and all thy judgments, are true. For I have much grieved thee, and transgressed thy holy precepts, not only before my praising the gospel, but thence also: yea, thence my coming into prison I do not excuse, but accuse myself before God and all his Church that I have grievously offended my Lord God, I have loved his Gospel as I should have done, I have fought my self, and not simply and only his glory and my Brethrens commodity, I have been too unthankfull, secure, carnal, Hypocritical, vain-glorious, &c. All which my evils, the Lord of mercy pardon me for his Christs sake, as I hope and certainly believe he hath done for his great mercy in Christ our Redeemer.

But when I consider the cause of my condemnation, I cannot but lament, that I do no more rejoice then I do. For it is Gods verity and Truth; So that the condemnation is not a condemnation of Bradford simply, but rather a condemnation of Christ and of his Truth. Bradford is nothing else but an Instrument in whom Christ and his Doctrine is condemned. And therefore my dearly beloved, rejoice, joyce and give thanks with me and for me, that ever God did vouchsafe so great a benefit to our Country, as to choose the most unworthy (I mean my self) to be one, in whom it would please him to suffer any kind of affliction: much more this violent kind of death, which I perceive is prepared for me with you for his sake. All glory and praise be given unto God our Father, for his great and exceeding mercy towards me through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

But perchance you will say unto me, what is the cause for the which you are condemned? We hear say, that ye deny all presence of Christ in his holy Supper, and so make it a bare sign and common Bread, and nothing else. My dearly beloved, what is said of me, and what will be, I cannot tell. It is told me that *Pendleton* is gone down to preach with you, not as he once recanted (for you all know he hath Preached contrary to that he was wont to Preach afore I came amongst you) but to recant that which he hath recanted. How he will speak of me, and report before I come, when I am come, and when I am turned, I much pass not: for he that is so uncertain, and will speak so often against himself, I cannot think he will speak well of me, except it make for his purpose and profit: but of this enough.

Indeed the chief thing which I am condemned for, as an Heretick, is because I deny in the Sacrament of the Altar (which is not Christs Supper, but a plain perverting of it, being used as the Papists now use it) to be a real, natural, and corporal presence of Christs Body and Blood, under the forms and accidents of Bread and Wine, that is, because I deny Transubstantiation, which is the darling of the Devil, and daughter and heir to Antichrists Religion, whereby the Mass is maintained, Christs Supper perverted, his Sacrifice and Cross imperfect, his Priesthood destroyed, the Ministry taken away, Repentance repelled, and all true Godliness abandoned. In the Supper of our Lord, or Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, I confess and believe that there is a true, and very presence of the whole Christ, God and Man, to the Faith of the receiver (but not of the stander by and looker on) as there is a very true presence of Bread and Wine to the senses of him that is partaker thereof: This Faith, this Doctrine, which consenteth with the Word of God, and with the true testimony of Christs Church, which the Popish Church doth persecute, will I not forsake, and therefore I am condemned as an Heretick, and shall be burned. But, my dearly beloved, this Truth (which I have taught, and you have received, I believed, and do believe, and therein give my life) I hope in God shall never be burned, bound, nor overcome: but shall triumph, have Victory, and be at liberty, maugre the head of all Gods adversaries. For there is no counsel against the Lord, nor can any device of Man be able to defeat the verity in any other then such as be Children of unbelief, which have no love to the Truth, and therefore are given up to believe lies. From which plague the Lord of mercy deliver you and all the Realm, my dear hearts in the Lord, I humbly beseech his mercy, Amen.

M. Bradford
travelled to
the County
of Lancaster
June.

And to the end you might be delivered from this plague, right dear to me in the Lord, I shall for my farewell with you for ever in this present life, heartily desire

you all in the Bowels and Blood of our most merciful Anno Saviour Jesus Christ, to attend unto these things which I now shall shortly write unto you out of the Holy Scriptures of the Lord.

You know an heavy plague (or rather plagues) of Gods manifold plagues upon England in Q. Marys days. God is slain upon us, in taking away our good King, and true Religion, Gods true Prophets and Ministers, &c. And setting over us, such as seek not the Lord after knowledge: whose endeavours God prospereth wonderfully to the trial of many, that his People may both better know themselves, and be known. Now the cause hereof is our iniquities and grievous Sins. We did not know the time of our visitation: we were unthankfull unto God: we contemned the Gospel, and carnally abused it, to serve our Hypocritie, our vain-glory, our viciousness, avarice, idleness, security, &c. Long did the Lord linger, and tarry to have shewed mercy upon us, but we were ever the longer the worse. Therefore most justly hath God dealt with us, and dealt with us: yea, yet we may see that his justice is tempered with much mercy, wherefore let us attribute that we are not utterly consumed. For if the Lord should deal with us after our deserts, alas, how could we abide it? In his anger therefore, seeing he doth remember his mercy undeserved (yea undidest on our behalf) let us take occasion the more frequently to go out to meet him, not with force of arm, (for we are not so able to withstand him, much less to prevail against him) but to beseech him to be merciful unto us, and according to his wonted mercy to deal with us.

Let us arise with David, and say, *Ne intres in iudicium cum servo tuo, &c. i. e.* Enter not into judgment with thy Servant O Lord; for in thy sight no flesh living shall be justified. Let us send Embassadors with the Centurion, and say, Lord, we are not worthy to come ourselves unto thee: speak the word, and we shall have peace. Let us penitently with the Publican look down on the earth, knock our hard hearts to burst them, and cry out, O God be merciful unto us wretched Sinners: Let us with the lost Son return and say, O Father, we have sinned against Heaven and Earth, and before thee, we are unworthy to be called thy Children. Let us flay on this our fort, that is, heartily repent us of our former evil life, and unthankful Gospelling past, convert and turn to God with our whole hearts, hoping in his great mercy through Christ, and heartily calling upon his holy Name, and then undoubtedly we shall find and feel otherwise then yet we feel, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we shall feel peace of Conscience between God and us, which peace passeth all understanding, and outwardly we shall feel much mitigation of these miseries, if not an utter taking of them away.

Therefore my dearly beloved in the Lord, I your poorest Brother now departing to the Lord, for my Vale in eternum for this present life, pray you, beseech you, and even from the very bottom of my heart, for all the mercies of God in Christ shewed unto you, most earnestly beg and crave of you out of Prison (as often out of your Pulpits I have done) that you will repent you, leave your wicked and evil life, be sorry for your offences, and turn to the Lord, whose arms are wide open to receive and embrace you, whose stretched out hand to strike to death stayeth that he may show mercy upon you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comfort, he will not the death of a Sinner, but rather that ye should return, convert, and amend. He hath no pleasure in the destruction of Men; his long suffering draweth to repentance before the time of vengeance, and the day of wrath which is at hand, doth come.

Now is the Ax laid to the Root of the Tree utterly to destroy the impatient. Now is the fire gone out before the face of the Lord, and who is able to quench it? Oh therefore repent you, repent you. It is enough to have lived as we have done. It is enough to have played the wanton Gospellers, the proud protestants, Hypocritical and false Christians, as alas, we have done. Now the Lord speaketh to us in mercy and grace: Oh turn before he speaketh in wrath. Yet is there mercy with the Lord, and plentiful redemption: yet he hath not forgotten to shew mercy to them that call upon him. Oh then call upon him while he may be found. For he is rich in mercy, and plentiful to all them that call upon him.

1555.

Gods manifold plagues upon England in Q. Marys days.

The cause of Gods Plagues is our iniquities, and not knowing the time of Gods visitation.

Widening with David.

Suing with the Centurion.

Expecting with the Publican.

Reverting with the lost Son.

Bradford's Vale in eternum.

The day of Gods wrath at hand.

Wanton Gospellers. Proud Protestants. False Christians.

Anno 1555. So that he that calleth on the Name of the Lord, shall be saved. If your Sins be as red as scarlet, the Lord saith, he will make them as white as snow. He hath sworn, and never will repent him thereof, that he will never remember our iniquities: but as he is good, faithful, and true, so will he be our God, and we shall be his People; his Law will he write in our Hearts, and ingraft in our minds and never will he have in mind our unrighteousness.

Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, turn you, turn you to the Lord your Father, to the Lord your Saviour, to the Lord your Comforter. Oh why do you stop your ears, and harden your hearts to day, when you hear his Voice by me your poorest Brother? Oh forget not how that the Lord hath shewed himself true, and me his true Preacher, by bringing to pass these plagues which at my Mouth you oft heard before they came to pass, specially when I intreated of Noahs flood, and when I Preached of the twenty two Chapter of S. Matthews Gospel, on S. Stevens day the last time that I was with you. And now by me the Lord sendeth you word (dear Countrymen) that if you will go on forward in your Impenitency, Carnality, Hypocritie, Idolatry, Covetousness, Swearing, Gluttony, Drunkenness, Whoredom, &c. (where with, alas, alas, our Country floweth:) if I say you will not turn and leave off, seeing me now burned amongst you, to assure you of all sides how God seeketh you, and is sorry to do you hurt, to plague you, to destroy you, to take vengeance upon you, Oh your Blood will be upon your own heads: you have been warned, and warned again, by mein Preaching, by me in Burning.

As I said therefore, I say again, my dear hearts and dearlings in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, cease from doing evil, study to do well, away with Idolatry, flye the Romish God and Service, leave off from Swearing, cut off Carnality, abandon Avarice, drive away Drunkenness, fly from Fornication and Flattery, Murder and Malice, destroy Deceitfulness, and cast away all the works of Darkness. Put on Piety and Godliness, serve God after his Word, and not after Custom, use your Tongues to glorifie God by Prayer, Thanksgiving, and Confession of his Truth, &c. be spiritual, and by the Spirit mortifie carnal affections, be Sober, Holy, True, Loving, Gentle, Merciful, and then shall the Lords wrath cease, not for this our doings sake, but for his mercies sake. Go to therefore (good Countrymen) take this Counsel of the Lord, by me now sent unto you, as the Lords Counsel, and not as mine, that in the day of Judgment I may rejoyce with you, and for you, the which thing I heartily desire, and not to be a witness against you. My Blood will cry for vengeance, as against the Papists Gods enemies (whom I beseech God, if it be his will, heartily to forgive, yes, even them which put me to death, and are the causes thereof, for they know not what they do) so will my Blood cry for vengeance against you (my dearly beloved in the Lord) if ye repent not, amend not, and turn unto the Lord.

Turn unto the Lord yet once more, I heartily beseech thee thou *Manchester*, thou *Ashen-underline*, thou *Bolton*, *Bury*, *Wigmore*, *Liverpool*, *Morvins*, *Steppor*, *Winsley*, *Eccles*, *Priestwich*, *Middleton*, *Radelief*, and thou City of *Weschefer*, where I have truly taught and Preached the Word of God. Turn, I say unto you all, and to all the Inhabitants thereof, unto the Lord our God, and he will turn unto you, he will say unto his Angel, it is enough, put up the Sword. The which thing that he will do, I humbly beseech his goodness, for the precious Bloods sake of his dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Ah good Brethren, take in good part these my last words unto every one of you. Pardon me mine offences and negligences in behaviour amongst you. The Lord of Mercy pardon us all our offences, for our Saviour Jesus Christs sake, Amen. Out of Prison ready to come to you, the eleventh of February, Anno 1555.

To the Town of Walden.

TO the Faithfull, and such as profess the true Doctrine of our Saviour Jesus Christ, dwelling at Walden, and thereabouts, *John Bradford* a most unworthy Servant of the Lord, now in bands and condemned for the same true Doctrine, witheth Grace, Mercy, and Peace, with the increase of all godliness in knowledge and living, from

God the Father of all comfort, through the deserts of our alone and full Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the mighty working of the most Holy Spirit, the Comforter for ever, Amen.

When I remember, how that by the providence and Grace of God I have been a Man, by whom it hath pleased him through my Ministry to call you to Repentance and Amendment of Life, something effectually, as it seemed, and to sow amongst you his True Doctrine and Religion, lest that by my affliction, and storms now arisen to try the Faithful, and to conform them like to the Image of the Son of God, into whose company we are called, you might be faint-hearted; I could not but out of Prison secretly (for my Keepers may not know that I have Pen and Ink) write unto you a signification of the desire I have, that you should not only be more confirmed in the Doctrine I have taught amongst you, which I take on my death, as I shall answer at the day of doom, I am persuaded to be Gods assured, infallible, and plain Truth; but also should after your vocation avow the same by confession, profession, and living. I have not taught you (my dearly beloved in the Lord) fables, tales, or untruths, but I have taught you the verity, as now by my Blood, gladly (praised be God therefore) I do seal the same.

Indeed to confess the truth unto you, and to all the Church of Christ, I do not think of my self, but that I have most justly deserved, not only this kind, but also all kinds of death, and that eternally, for mine Hypocritie, Vain-glory, Uncleaness, Self-love, Covetousness, Idleness, Unthankfulness, and Carnal professing of God sholy Gospel, living therein not to purely, lovingly, and painfully as I should have done. The Lord of mercy for the Bloods sake of Christ pardon me, as I hope, yea, I certainly believe he hath done for his holy Names sake through Christ. But my dearly beloved, you and all the whole World may see, and easily perceive, that the Prelates persecute in me another thing then mine iniquities, even Christ himself. Christ Verity and Truth, because I cannot, dare not, nor will not confess Transubstantiation, and how that wicked Men, yea Mice and Dogs eating the Sacrament, which they term, of the Altar, thereby overthrowing Christs Holy Supper utterly, do eat Christs Natural and Real Body born of the Virgin Mary.

To believe and confess as Gods Word teacheth, the Primitive Church believed, and all the Catholick and good holy Fathers taught 900. years at the least after Christ, that in the Supper of the Lord (which the Mass overthroweth, as it doth Christs Priesthood, Sacrifice, Death, and Passion, the Ministry of his Word, true Faith, Repentance, and all Godliness) whole Christ, God and Man, is present by grace to the Faith of the receivers, but not of the standers by and lookers on, as Bread and Wine is to their senses, will not serve: and therefore I am condemned and shall be burned out of hand as an Heretic. Wherefore I heartily thank my Lord God, that will and doth vouch me worthy to be an Instrument, in whom he himself doth suffer. For you see my affliction and death is not simply, because I have deserved no less, but much more at his hands and justice: but rather because I confess his Verity and Truth, and am not afraid through his gift that to do, that you also might be confirmed in his Truth. Therefore my dearly beloved, I heartily do pray you, and so many as unfainedly love me in God, to give with me and for me most hearty thanks to our Heavenly Father, through our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, for this his exceeding great mercy towards me and you also, that your Faith waver not from the Doctrine I have taught, and ye have received. For what can you desire more, to assure your Consciences of the Verity taught by your Preachers, than their own Lives?

Go to therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, waver not in Christs Religion truly taught you, and sit fast in King Edwards days. Never shall the enemies be able to burn it, and Prison it, and keep it in bonds. Us they may Prison, they may bind and burn as they do, and will do, so long as shall please the Lord: but our Cause, Religion, and Doctrine which we confess, they shall never overcome, be able to vanquish and put away. Their Idolatry and Popish Religion shall never be built in the Consciences of Men that love Gods Truth. As for those that love not Gods truth, that have no pleasure to walk in the ways of the Lord, those

Bradford prophesied of these plagues before.

Deflection sheweth to them that repent not.

Precepts of law.

Good counsel given.

Bradford blood will cry against the rulers of his Country.

M. Bradford accused with his blood for his doctrine.

M. Bradford accused against his own life.

Christ himself persecuted in his Martyrdom.

M. Bradford persecuted for confessing the truth.

Gods truth can never be kept under by the adversaries.

Another letter of Mr. Bradford to the town of Walden.

He exhorteth them to love their sister.

those I say the Devil shall prevail. For God will give them strong illusion to believe lyes. Therefore dear Brethren, and Sisters in the Lord, I humbly beseech you and pray you in the Bowels and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, now going to the death, for the Testimony of Jesus, as oftentimes I have done before this present out of your Pulpit, that you would love the Lords truth; love (I say) to love it, and frame your lives thereafter. Alas, you know the cause of all these plagues fallen upon us, and of the success which Gods adversaries have daily, is for our not loving Gods Word.

Gods Gospel should.

You know how that we were but Gospellers in lips, and not in life. We were carnal, concupiscentious, idle, unthankful, unclean, covetous, arrogant, dissemblers, crafty, subtle, malicious, false, backbiters, &c. and even ghighted with Gods Word, yea, we loathed it, as did the Israelites the Manna in the Wilderness; and therefore as to them the Lords wrath waxed hot, so doth it unto us. So that there is no remedy, but that (for it is better late to turn, than never to turn) we confess our faults even from the bottom of our Hearts, and with hearty repentance (which God work in us all for his mercies sake) we run unto the Lord our God, which is exorable, merciful, and sorry for the evil poured out upon us, and cry out unto him with *Daniel*, saying, We have Sinned, we have Sinned grievously, O Lord God, against thy Majesty, we have heaped Iniquity upon Iniquity; the measure of our Transgressions floweth over, so that justly is thy Vengeance and Wrath fallen upon us. For we are very miserable, we have contemned thy long suffering, we have not hearkened to thy Voice. When thou hast called us by Preachers, we hardened our Hearts, and therefore now deserve that thou send thy curse hereupon to harden our Hearts also that we should henceforth have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hearts and understand not, left we should convert and be saved. Oh be merciful unto us, spare us good Lord, and all thy People, whom thou hast dearly bought. Let not thine enemies triumph altogether, and always against thee, for then will they be puffed up. Look down and behold the pitiful complaint of the poorlees the sorrowful fighting of the simple come in thy light, and be not angry with us for ever. Turn us O Lord God of hosts unto thee, and turn thee unto us, that thou mayst be justified in thy sweet Sentences, and overcome when thou art judged, as now thou art of our adversaries. For they say, Where is their God? Can God deliver them now? Can their Gospel serve them? O Lord how long? for the glory of thy name, and for thy honours sake, in the Bowels and Blood of Jesus Christ, we humbly beseech thee, come and help us, for we are very miserable.

He exhorteth to repentance and prayer, and to beware of sin before the Lord our God.

On this sort I say, dearly beloved, let us publicly and privately bewail our Sins; but so that hereto we joyn ceasing from wilfulness and Sin of purpose, for else the Lord heareth not our Prayer, as *David* saith. And in *S. Johns* it is written; The impenitent Sinners God heareth not. Now, impenitent are they which purpose not to amend their lives: As for example, not only, such which follow still their pleasures, uncleanness, carnality; but those also which for fear or favour of Men, do against their Consciences consent to the Romish Rags, and resort to the rotten Religion, communicating in Service and Ceremonies with the Papists, thereby declaring themselves to love more the World than God, to fear Man more than Christ; to dread more the loss of Temporal things than Spiritual; in whom it is evident that the love of God abideth not. For he that loveth the World, hath not Gods Word abiding in him, saith *S. John*: therefore my dear Hearts, and dear again in the Lord, remember what you have professed, Christs Religion and name, and the renouncing of the Devil, Sin, and the World.

He prays for sinners be not heard. Romish Rags and rotten Religion.

The A.B.C. of the Christian was Christs Cross. Forget not that Christ will have no Disciples, but such as will promise to deny themselves, and take up their Cross (mark, take it up) and follow him, and not the multitude, custom, &c. Consider for Gods sake, that if we gather not with Christ, we scatter abroad. What should it profit a Man to win the whole World, and lose his own Soul? We must not forget that this life is a Wilderness, and not a Paradise: here is not our home, we are now in warfare: we

mult needs fight, or else be taken Prisoners. Of all things we have in this life, we shall carry nothing with us. If Christ be our Captain, we must follow him as Souldiers. If we keep company with him in affliction we shall be sure of his society in glory. If we forsake not him, he will never forsake us. If we confess him, he will confess us; but if we deny him, he will deny us. If we be ashamed of him, he will be ashamed of us. Wherefore, as he forsook his Father, and Heaven, and all things to come to us, so let us forsake all things and come to him, being sure and most certain that we shall not lose thereby. Your Children shall find, and feel it double, yea treble, whatsoever you lose for the Lords sake; and you shall find and feel peace of Conscience and friendship with God which is more worth than all the Goods of the World.

My dearly beloved, therefore for the Lords sake, consider these things which I now write unto you of love, for my vale, and last farewell for ever in this present life. Turn to the Lord, repent you of your evil and unthankful life, declare repentance by the fruits; take time while ye have it, come to the Lord while he calleth you; run into his lap, while his arms be open to embrace you; seek him while he may be found; call upon him while time is convenient; forsake and flye from all evil, Both in Religion, and in the rest of your life and Conversation. Let your light shine before Men, that they may see your good works, and praise God in the day of his visitation. Oh come again, come again you strange Children, and I will receive you, faith the Lord. Convert and turn to me, and I will turn unto you. Why, will ye needs perish? As sure as I live (sweareth the Lord) I will not your death; turn therefore unto me. Can a Woman forget the Child of her Womb? if she should, yet I will not forget you, faith the Lord your God. I am he, I am he which put away your Sins for mine own sake.

Oh then dear friends, turn I say unto your dearest Father. Cast not these sweet and loving words to the ground, and at your tail; for the Lord watcheth on his word to perform it: which is in two sorts; to them that lay it up in their hearts, and believe it, will he pay all, and eternal joy and comfort. But to them that call it at their backs, and will forget it, to them (I say) will he pour out Indignation and eternal flame. Wherefore I heartily yet once more beseech and pray you, and every of you, not to contemn this poor and simple exhortation, which now out of Prison I make unto you, or rather the Lord by me. Loath would I be a witness against you in the last day; as of truth I must be if ye repent not, if ye love not Gods Gospel, yea, if ye love it not.

Therefore (to conclude) repent, love Gods Gospel, live in it all your conversation, so shall Gods name be praised, his plagues be mitigated, his People comforted, and his enemies ashamed. Grant all this, thou gracious Lord God, to every one of us for thy dear Sons sake, our Saviour Jesus Christ: To whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be eternal glory for ever and ever. Amen. The 12. of February, Anno 1555

By the Bondman of our Lord, and your afflicted poor Brother, John Bradford.

To my loving Brethren, B.C. &c. their Wives and whole Families, J. Bradford.

I beseech the everliving God to grant you all, my good Brethren and Sisters, the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and the continual sense of his Mercy in Christ our Lord, now and for ever, Amen.

The World (my Brethren) seemeth to have the upper hand, Iniquity overfloweth, the truth and verity seemeth to be oppressed, and they which take part therewith, are unjustly intricated: they which love the truth, lament to see and hear, as they do. The cause of all this is Gods anger, and mercy: his anger, because we have grievously Sinned against him; his mercy, because he here punisheth us, and as a Father murreth us. We have been unthankful for his Word; We have contemned his kindness; We have been negligent in Prayer; We have been so carnal, covetous, licentious, &c. We have not hastened to Heaven.

Anno 1555.

They never lose that follow Christ.

He exhorteth to amendment in Religion and conversation.

The Lord watcheth to perform his word double write.

Bradford must be a witness in the last day to them that reject his counsel.

Another letter of Mr. Bradford to certain friends of his, whom for danger of conscience he would not name. Gods anger and mercy both together upon his Church.

Aono

1555

The con-
tempt of
God and
his Gospel
punished.

Heaven-ward, but rather to Hell-ward. We were fallen almost into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinances; so that of his justice he could no longer forbear, but make us feel his anger, as now he hath done, in taking his word and true service from us, and permitting Satan to serve us with Antichristian Religion, and that in such sort, that if we will not yield to it, and seem to allow it indeed and outward fact, our Bodies are like to be laid in prison, and our goods given we cannot tell to whom.

Exhortation
to repent-
ance and
amendment.

This should we look upon as a sign of Gods anger procured by our sins; which my good Brethren, every of us should now call to our Memories oftentimes, so particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent them, hate them, ask earnestly mercy for them, and submit our selves to bear in this Life any kind of punishment, which God will lay upon us for them. This should we do in consideration of Gods anger in this time. Now his mercy in this time of wrath is seen, and should be seen in us, my dearly beloved, in this, that God doth vouchsafe to punish us in this present Life if he should not have punished us, do you not think that we would have continued in the evils we were in? Yes verily, we would have been worse, and have gone forwards in hardening our hearts by impenitence, and negligence of God and true godliness. And then if death had come, should not we have perished both Soul and Body in eternal fire in perdition? Alas, what misery should we have fallen into, if God should have suffered us to have gone on forward in our evils? No greater sign of Damnation there is, than to live in evil and sin unpunished of God, as now the Papists (my dearly beloved) are cast into *Jehabab's* Bed of security, which of all plagues is the most grievous that can be. They are Balgars and not Sons, they are not under Gods Rod of Correction.

Gods mercy
the cause
why we are
punished
here.Great's bed
of security.

A great mercy it is therefore, that God doth punish us: For if he loved us not, he would not punish us. Now doth he chastise us, that we should not be damned with the world. Now doth he nurture us, because he favoureth us. Now may we think our selves Gods House and Children, because he beginneth his chastising at us: Now calleth he us to remember our sins past. Wherefore? That we might repent, and ask mercy. And why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, justify us, and make us his Children, and so begin to make us here like unto Christ, that we might be like unto him elsewhere, even in Heaven, where already we are set by Faith with Christ; and at his coming in very deed we shall then most joyfully enjoy, when our sinful and vile Bodies shall be made like to Christs glorious Body, according to the power whereby he is able to make all things subject to himself.

Phil. 3.

Therefore my Brethren, let us in respect hereof not lament, but laud God, not be sorry, but be merry, not weep, but rejoice and be glad, that God doth vouchsafe to offer us his Cross, thereby to come to him to endless joys and comforts. For if we suffer, we shall reign, if we confess him before Men, he will confess us before his Father in Heaven; if we be not ashamed of his Gospel now, he will not be ashamed of us in the last day, but will be glorified in us, crowning us with Crowns of Glory and endless felicity: For, blessed are they that suffer Persecution for Righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven: Be glad (saith Peter) for the spirit of God resteth upon you. After that you are a little afflicted, God will comfort, strengthen and confirm you. And therefore, my good Brethren, be not discouraged for Cross, for Prison, or loss of Goods for confession of Christs Gospel and Truth which ye have believed, and lively taught amongst you in the days of our late good King, and most holy Prince, King Edward. This is most certain, if you lose any thing for Christs sake, and for condemning the Antichristian service, fear up again amongst us: as you for your parts even in prison shall find Gods great and rich mercy, far passing all Worldly wealth; so shall your Wives and Children in this present Life, find and feel Gods Providence, more plentifully than Tongue can tell. For he will show mercifull kindness on thousands of them that love him. The good Mans seed shall not go a begging his Bread. You are good Men, so many as suffer for Christs sake.

Rom. 8.
2 Tim. 1.
Math. 10.Math. 5.
1 Pet. 4.1 Pet. 5.
He exhorteth
them to take
comfort in the cross.
Math. 19.

Eph. 3. 1.

gear with your selves, and in the Cross see Gods mercy, which is more sweet, and to be set by, than Life it self, much more than any muck or pelf of this World. This mercy of God should make you merry and cheerful for the afflictions of this Life, are not to be compared to the joys of the Life prepared for you. You know the way to Heaven is not the wide way of the World, which windeth to the Devil, but it is a straight way, which few walk in. For few live godly in Christ Jesus, few regard the Life to come, few remember the day of Judgment, few remember how Christ will deny them before his Father, that do deny him here, few consider that Christ will be ashamed of them in the last day, which are ashamed of his Truth and true service, few cast their accounts, what will be laid to their charge in the day of vengeance, few regard the Condemnation of their own Consciences, in doing that which inwardly they disallow, few love God better than their Goods.

Gods mercy
seen in the
cross.
Rom. 8.
1 Cor. 1.
March 16.
Adrian way.Math. 7.
1 Cor. 1.
March 16.
Adrian way.

But I trust you are of this few, my dearly beloved, I trust you be of that little flock, which shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, I trust you are the mourners and lamenters which shall be comforted with comfort, which never shall be taken from you, if now you repent your former evils, if now you strive against the evils that are in you, if now you continue to call upon God, if now you defile not your Bodies with any Idolatrous service used in the Antichristian Churches, if you molest not the good Spirit of God, which is given you as a gage of eternal Redemption, a counsellor and Master to lead you into all Truth, which good Spirit I beseech the Father of mercy to give to us all, for his dear Sons sake Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom I commend you all, and to the word of his grace, which is able to help you all, and save you all that believe it, follow it, and serve God thereafter.

1 Alliance.
Luk. 14.
Rom. 14.

Eph. 4.

Ad. 10.

And of this I would ye were all certain, that all the hairs of your heads are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish, neither shall any Man or Devil be able to attempt any thing, much less to do any thing to you, or any of you, before your Heavenly Father, which loveth you most tenderly, shall give them leave; and when he hath given them leave, they shall go no further than he will, nor keep you in trouble any longer than he will. Therefore cast on him all your care, for he is careful for you. Only study to please him, and to keep your Consciences clean, and your Bodies pure from the Idolatrous service, which now every where is used, and God will marvellously and mercifully defend and comfort you; which thing he do for his holy names sake in Christ our Lord, Amen.

Math. 10.
Mark. 16.
John 1.
Phil. 104.
1 Pet. 1.
1 Pet. 1.

To his dearly beloved in Christ, Erkinale Rawlins, and his Wife.

GOD our dear and most Merciful Father through Christ, be with you my good Brother and Sister, as with his Children for ever, and in all things so guide you with his holy Spirit, the leader of his People, as may be to his glory, and your own everlasting joy and comfort in him, Amen. Because I have oftentimes received from either of you comfort corporal (for the which I beseech the Lord, as to make me thankful, so to recompence you both now and eternally) I cannot but go about Lord help hereto for thy mercies sake) to write something for your comfort spiritually.

Another
letter of
Mr. Bradford
unto agodly
couple, to
the same
effect as
the other
before.

My dearly beloved, look not upon these days and the afflictions of the same here with us, simply as they seem unto you, that is, as dismal days, and days of Gods vengeance, but rather as lucky days, and days of Gods Fatherly kindness towards you, and such as you be, that is, towards such as repent their Sins and evil Life past, and earnestly purpose to amend, walking not after the will of the World, and most part of Men, for the preservation of their pelf, which, will they, nill they, they shall leave sooner or later, and to whom or how it shall be used, they know not. Indeed to such as walk in their wickedness, and wind on with the World, this time is a time of wrath and vengeance, and their beginning of sorrow is but new, because they contain the phylack of their Father, which by this purging time, and cleansing days would work their weal, which they will not; and because they

Dain of
affliction to
the godly
are joyful;
to the law-
repenting
sinners be
doleful days.Cleansing
days.

Gods shy-
ness is to
be feared.

Gods chast-
isement to
be received
with com-
fort.

God punish-
eth not
twice for
one thing.

Difference
between
bastards and
Children.

Trouble tri-
eth who be
Gods and
was be not.

A true lover
of the
world, is
declared by
his life.

The Devil
never en-
ters into
his own
hogs.

The Lord's
wrath power
to turn some-
times over
his servants,
and to what
end God us-
eth to try
his.

they will not have Gods blessing, which both ways he hath offered unto them by prosperity and adversity, therefore it shall be kept far enough from them. As when the sick Man will no kind of Physick at the hands of the Physician, he is left alone, and so the malady increaseth, and doth overtaken him at the length. To such Men indeed these days are and should be doleful days, and days of woe and weeping, because their Damnation draweth nigh.

But unto such as be penitent, and are desirous to live after the Lords will (among whom I do not only count you, but as far as a Man may judge, I know ye are) unto such I say this time is and should be comfortable. For first, now your Father chastiseth you as I me for our Sins, for the which if he would have destroyed us, then would he have letten us alone, and left us to our selves, in nothing to take to heart his Fatherly visitation, which here it pleaseth him to work presently, because elsewhere he will not remember our Transgressions, as Paul writeth he chastiseth us in this World, left with the World we should perish. Therefore (my dear hearts) call to mind your Sins to lament them, and to ask mercy for them in his sight, and withal undoubtedly believe to obtain pardon and assured forgiveness of the same, for twice the Lord punisheth not for one thing.

So that, I say, first we have cause to rejoyce for these days, because our Father suffereth us not to lye in *Jehabes* Beds, sleeping in our own Sins and Security, but as mindful of us, doth correct us as his Children. Whereby we may be certain, that we be no Bastards, but Children; for he chastiseth every Child whom he receiveth. So that they which are not partakers of his chastising, or that contemn it, declare themselves to be Bastards, and not Children, as I know you are, which, as ye are chastised, so do ye take it to heart accordingly. And therefore be glad my dear hearts and folks, knowing certainly even by these visitations of the Lord, that ye are his dear elect Children, whose faults your Father doth visit with the Rod of Correction, but his mercy will he never take away from us, Amen.

Secondly, ye have cause to rejoyce for these days, because they are days of trial, wherein not only ye your selves, but also the World shall know that ye be none of his, but the Lords Dealings. Before these days came, Lord God, how many thought of themselves, they had been in Gods Bosom, and so were taken, and would be taken of the World? But now we see whose they are. For to whom we obey, his servants we are. If we obey the World (which God forbid) and hitherto ye have not done it; then are we the Worlds; but if we obey God, then are we Gods. Which thing (I mean that ye are Gods) these days have declared both to you, to me, and to all other that know you, better than ever we knew it. Therefore ye have no cause to sorrow, but rather to sing, in ticing your selves to be Gods Babels, and in seeing that all Gods Children do so count you.

What though the World repine thereat? What though he kick? What though he seek to trouble and molest you? My dear hearts, he doth but his kind: he cannot love the Lord, which liveth not in the Lord: he cannot brook the Child, that hateth the Father; he cannot mind the fervent, that careth not for the Master. If ye were of the World, the World would love you, ye should dwell quietly, there would be no grief, no molestation. If the Devil dwelt in you (which the Lord forbid) he would not stir up his Knights to besiege your house, to snatch your goods, or suffer his Fiends to enter into your Hogs. But because Christ dwelleth in you (as he doth by Faith) therefore stirreth he up his first-born Son, the World, to seek how to disquiet you, to rob you, to spoil you, to destroy you; and perchance your dear Father, to try and to make known unto you, and to the World, that ye are destinate to another dwelling then here on Earth, to another City than Mans eyes have seen at any time; hath given or will give power to Satan, and to the World, to take from you the things which he hath lent you, and by taking them away, to try your fidelity, obedience, and love towards him (for ye may not love them above him) as by giving that ye have, and keeping it, he hath declared his love towards you.

Satan perchance telleth God (as he did of *Job*) that ye love God for your goods sake. What now then, if

the Lord to try you with *Job*, shall give him power on your Goods and Body accordingly, should ye be dismayed? Should ye despair? Should ye be faint-hearted? Should ye not rather rejoyce, as did the Apostles, that they were counted worthy to suffer any thing for the Lords sake? Oh forget not the end that happened to *Job*: for as it hapned to him, so shall it happen unto you. For God is the same God, and cannot long forget to shew mercy to them that look and long for it, as I know ye do, and I pray you so to do still. For the Lord loveth you, and never can nor will forget to shew and pour out his mercy upon you. After a little while that he hath afflicted and tried you (saith *Peter*) he will visit, comfort, and confirm you. As to *Jacob* wrestling with the Angel, at the length morning came, and the Sun arose; so, dear hearts, doubtless it will happen unto you. Howbeit, do ye as *Job* and *Jacob* did, that is, order and dispose your things that God hath lent you, as ye may, and whiles ye have time. Who knoweth whether God hath given you power thus long, even to that end?

Go to therefore, dispose your goods, prepare your selves to trial, that either ye may stand to it like Gods Champions, or else if you feel such infirmity in your selves that ye be not able, give place to violence, and go where you may with free and safe Conscience serve the Lord. Think not this counsel to come by chance, or fortune, but to come from the Lord. Other Oracles we may not look for now. As God told *Joseph* in a dream by an Angel, that he should flye, so if you feel such infirmity in your selves, as should turn to Gods dishonour, and your own destruction withal, know that at this present I am as Gods Angel, to admonish you to take time whiles ye have it, and to see that in no case Gods name by you might be dishonoured. *Joseph* might have objected the omission of his vocation, as perchance ye will do. But (dear hearts) let vocations and all things else give place to Gods name, and the sanctifying thereof.

This I speak, not as though I would not have you rather to tarry, and to stand to it: but I spake it in respect of your infirmity, which if you feel to be so great in you, that you are not certain of this hope, that God will never tempt you above your ability, flye and get you hence, and know that thereby God will have you tried to your selves and to others. For by it you shall know how to take this World, and that your home here is no home, but that ye look for another, and so give occasion to others less to love this World, and perchance to some to doubt of their Religion. Wherein though they be earnest, yet would they not looke so much as ye do for your Religion, which ye do confirm to me and others, by your giving place to violence.

Last of all, ye have cause to rejoyce over these tribulation days, because they be the days of Confirmation, in the which, and by which, God our Heavenly Father maketh us like unto Christs Image here, that we may be like unto of Christ. Reign also with him; if we be buried with him, then we shall rise with him again: if that we company with him in all troubles and afflictions, then we shall rejoyce with him in glory: if we now sow with him in tears, we shall reap with him in gladness: if we confess him before Men, he will confess us before his Father in Heaven: if we take his part, he will take ours: if we leave ought for his names sake, he will give us all things for his truths sake. So that we ought to rejoyce and be glad; for it is not given to every one to suffer loss of country, life, goods, house, &c. for the Lords sake. What can God the Father do more unto us, than to call us into the Camp with his Son? What may Christ our Saviour do more for us, than to make us his Warriours? What can the holy Ghost do to us above this, to mark us with the cognizance of the Lord of hosts?

This cognizance of the Lord, standeth not in forked caps, tippets, shaven crowns, or such other baggage and Antichristian pells, but in suffering for the Lords sake. The World shall hate you, faith Christ. *La*, there is the cognizance and badge of Gods Children: The World shall hate you. Rejoyce therefore (my dearly beloved) rejoyce that God doth thus vouchsafe to begin to conform you, and to make you like to Christ. By the trial of these days ye are occasioned more to repent, more to pray, more to contemn this

Anno

1558.

Jacob wrest-
led each us to
wrestle.

This *Job*,
said and his
wife follow-
ing this
counsel, did
file both be-
yond sea.

The Tribulation
days, because they be the days of Confirmation, in the which, and by which, God our Heavenly Father maketh us like unto Christs Image here, that we may be like unto of Christ.

The Lords
cognizance
standeth not
in forked
caps, &c. but
in suffering
for the
Lords sake.

Anno 1555. this World, more to desire life everlasting, more to be holy (for holy is the end wherefore God doth afflict us) and so to come to Gods company. Which thing becaus we cannot do, as long as this Body is as it is, therefore by the door of Death we mult enter with Christ into eternal life, and immortality of Soul and Body; which God of his mercy feed shortly for our Saviour Jesus Christs sake, Amen.

To Mistris A. Warcup.

The everlasting Peace of Christ be more and more lively felt in our hearts, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, Amen.

Although I know it to be more than needles to write any thing unto you (good Sister,) being, as I doubt not but you be, diligently exercised in reading of the Scriptures, in meditating of the same, and in hearty prayer to God for the help of his Holy Spirit, to have the sense and feeling, especially of the comforts you read in Gods sweet Book: yet having such opportunity, and knowing not whether hereafter I shall ever have the like, as this bringer can declare, I thought good in few words to take up my farewell in writing, because otherwise I cannot. And now methinks I have done it. For what else can I, or should I say unto you (my dearly Beloved in the Lord) but farewell? Farewell, dear Sister, farewell; howbeit in the Lord, our Lord (I say) farewell. In him shall you farewell, and so much the better, by how much in your self you fare evil, and shall fare evil.

When I speak of your self, I mean also this world, this life, and all things properly pertaining to this life. In them as you look not for your welfare, so be not dismayed, when accordingly you shall not feed it. To the Lord our God, to the Lamb our Christ, which hath born our sins on his back, and is our Mediator for ever, do I send you. In him look for welfare, and that without all wavering, because of his own goodness and truth, which our evils and untruth cannot take away: Not that therefore I would have you to flatter your self in any evil or unbeliev, but that I would comfort you, that they should not dismay you. Yours is our Christ wholly, yours I say he is, with all that ever he hath. Is not this welfare, now you? Mountains shall move, and the Earth shall fall, before you find it otherwise, say that I say Satan what he list.

Therefore, good Sister, farewell, and be merry in the Lord, be merry I say, for you have good cause. If your welfare, joy, and salvation hanged upon any other thing than only Gods mercy and truth, then might you well be sad, heavy, and stand in a doubt, but in that it hangeeth only upon these two, tell Satan he lyeth, when he would have you to stand in a mammering, by causing you to cast your eyes (which only in this case should be set on Christ your sweet Saviour) on your self. In some part indeed look on your self, on your Faith, on your Love, Obedience, &c. to wake you up from security, to stir you up to diligence, in doing the things appertaining to your vocation: but when you would be at peace with God, and have true consolation in your Confidence, altogether look upon the goodness of God in Christ. Think on this Commandment which precedeth all other, That you must have no other Gods but the Lord *Jehovah*, which is your Lord and God: the which he could not be, if that he did not pardon your sins in very deed. Remember that Christ commandeth you to call him Father for the same intent. And hereto call to mind all the benefits of God, hitherto shewed upon you: and so shall you feel in very deed, that which I wish unto you now, and pray you to with unto me. Farewell, or welfare in the Lord Jesus, with whom he grant us shortly to meet as his Children, for his name and mercies sake, to our eternal welfare, Amen.

To mine own dear Brother, Mr. Lawrence Sanders, Prisoner in the Marshalsea.

A Letter of Mr. Bradford to Mr. Sanders. MY good Brother, I beseech our good and gracious Father always to continue his gracious favour and love towards us, and by us, as by Instruments of his grace, to work his glory and the confusion of his Adversaries. *Ex ore Infantium & lactentium fundet laudem ad destrucendum inimicum.* &c. id est, Out of the mouth of Infants and Babies, he will shew forth his praise to destroy the Enemy, &c.

I have perused your Letters to my self, and have read them to others. For answer whereof, if I should write what Dr. Taylor and Mr. Philpote do think, then must I say, that they think, the Salt sent unto us by your * Friend, is unseasonable. And I think they both will declare it heartily, if they should come before men. As for me, if you would know what I think (my good and most dear Brother Lawrence) because I am so sinful and so corrupture (the Lord knoweth I lye not) with many grievous sins which I hope are washed away *Sanguine Christi nostris*, I neither can nor would be consulted withal, but as a Cypher in *Agrime*. Howbeit, to tell you how and what I mind, take this for a sum: I pray God in no case I may seek my self, and indeed (I thank God therefore) I purpose it not.

*Quod reliquum est Domino Deo meo committo, & spero in illum, quod ipse faciet juxta hoc; Jalsa in Dominum curam, &c. Omnis cura vestra conjeta sit in illum, &c. Revela Domino viam tuam, & spera, &c. Sperantem in Domino misericordia circumdabit: id est, That which remaineth, I commit to my Lord God; and I trust in him, that he will do according to this; Cast thy care on the Lord, &c. Cast all your care upon him, &c. Revel unto the Lord thy way, and trust, &c. Who that trusteth in the Lord, mercy shall compass him about. I did not, nor do not know, but by your Letters, quod *cras* we shall come *coram nobis*. Mine own heart, still stick to *dabitur vobis*.*

Fidelis enim est Dominus, dabit in tentatione eventum quo possumus sustinere. Novus Dominus pius & tentatione eripere, &c. O utinam pius ego essem. Novus Dominus in die tribulationis sperantes in se, &c. id est, It shall be given you, &c. for the Lord is faithful. He will in temptation make a way that ye may be able to bear it. The Lord knoweth how to rid out of temptation the godly, &c. O would God I were godly. The Lord knoweth how to deliver out of temptation such as trust in him, &c. I cannot think that they will offer any kind of indifferent or mean conditions: for if we will not adore *Besham*, we never shall be delivered, but against their will, think I, God our Father and gracious Lord make perfect the good he hath begun in us.

Faciet mi frater, charissime frater, quem in intimis visceribus habeo ad convivendum & commorandum. O si tecum essem. He will do so my Brother, my dear Brother, whom I have in my inward bowels to live and dye with. O if I were with you. Pray for me my own heart ropt in the Lord.

For ever your own, John Bradford.

Another Letter to Mr. Lawrence Sanders.

Gods Sweet Peace in Christ be with you, my good Brother in the Lord Jesus, and with all your Captives, Amen.

I was letted this morning from musing on that which I was purposed to have thought on by reason of you, against whom I saw my self guilty of negligence, even in this point that I would not write, I should say, that I had not written unto you as yet: therefore out of hand in manner I prepared my self to purge my self hereof, not that I will go about to excuse my fault (for that were more to load me) but by asking both God and you pardon, to get it no more laid to my charge. Now when I was thus purposing, and partly doing, cometh there one with a Letter from you: for the which as I have cause to thank God and you (howbeit not so that you should think, I give not the whole to God) so I see my self more blame-worthy, for this long holding my peace. Howbeit (good Brother) in this I have given a demonstration to you, to behold my negligence in all other things, and especially in praying for you, and for the Church of God, which for my sins and hypocrite (hypocrite indeed even in this writing, God deliver me from it) have deserved to be punished. Just is God, for we have deserved all kind of plagues at his hands: but yet merciful is he that will on this wise chastise us with this World, *Ne cum mundo condemnemur*. i. That we should not be condemned in this World. He might otherwise have punished us, I mean, he might have for other causes cast us in Prison, as especially, then for his Gospel and Words sake. Praised therefore be his Name, which voucheth us worthy this honour. Ah good

This Friend moved them to subscribe to the Puffs Articles, with this condition: as far as they were not against Gods Word being indeed clean contrary to it and yet scarcely after he valiantly suffered death nor caring the least.

Gal. 5. 22. 23. Math. 11. 28. 29. 1. Pet. 1. 1. Nahum 1.

Another Letter of Mr. Bradford to Mr. Sanders.

good God forgive us our sins, and work by this thy Fatherly correction on us, on me especially, effectually to love thee and thy Christ; and with joyfulness unto the end to carry thy Cross through thick and thin. Always let before our eyes, not this Gallows on Earth, if we will stick to thee; but the Gallows in Hell, if we deny thee, and swerve from that we have professed.

Psal. 22.

Ah good Brother, if I could always have God, his Majesty, Mercy, Heaven, Hell, &c. before mine eyes, then should I Obdurate, as Paul writeth of *Meles*, Hebr. 1. 1. Obduravit, inquit, perinde quasi vidisset eum qui est invisibilis. He endured, faith he, as he that saw him which is invisible. Pray for me, as I know you do, and give thanks also: for, *In Domino spero, non mutabo.* Si amine *Lavero per vallem umbrae mortis, non timebo, quia tu Domine mecum es, &c.* Amen. In the Lord I trust, I shall not waver. If I walk by the valley of the shadow of death, I will not fear, for thou art with me, O Lord. I think we shall best shortly call forth; for now legem habent, & secundum legem, &c. otherwise will they not reason with us; And I think their shoot-Anchor will be, to have us to subscribe. The which thing if we do, though with this condition (so far as the thing subscribed to, repugneth not against Gods Word) yet this will be offensive. Therefore let us *vadere plant,* and so *sane,* I mean, let us all confess that we are no changelings, but *reipa*, are the same we were in Religion, and therefore cannot subscribe except we will dissemble both with God, our selves, and the world. *Hæc tibi scribo, frater mi charissime in Domino.*

John. 2. 1.

Jam legam tuam Epistolam. i. These things I write to you, dear Brother in the Lord. Now I will read your Epistle. Ah Brother, that I had *Prædicam tecum scientiam in vite illa quam pones; roga Dominum ut ita verentiam,* Amen. i. The practical understanding with you in that Vine which you describe; Pray the Lord that I may think so indeed. God make me thankful for you. *Salviant te omnes Captivi & gratias Domino pro te agunt. Idem tu facias pro nobis, & ores ut, &c.* i. All our fellow-Prisoners salute you, and give thanks to God for you. The same do you for us, and pray that, &c.

Your Brother in the Lord Jesus, to live and dye with you, J. Bradford.

To my dear Fathers, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Dr. Latimer.

Another Letter of M. Bradford to Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Dr. Latimer.

Jesus Emmanuel. My dear Fathers in the Lord, I beseech God our sweet Father through Christ, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all, Amen.

I had thought that every of your staves had stood next the door, but now it is otherwise perceived. Our dear Brother Rogers hath broken the Ice valiantly, as this day (I think) or to-morrow at the uttermost, hearty Hosper, sincere Sander, and trusty Taylor end their course, and receive their Crown. The next am I, which hourly look for the Porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the desired rest. God forgive me mine unthankfulness for this exceeding great mercy, that amongst so many thousands it pleaseth his Mercy to chuse me to be one, in whom he will suffer. For although it be most true, that *juste pator, i. iustly suffer,* for I have been a great hypocrite, and a grievous sinner, the Lord pardon me, yea, he hath done it, he hath done it indeed! yet *hic auctori quid mali fecit?* i. What evil hath he done? Christ, whom the Prelates persecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no evil, nor deserveth death. Therefore ought I most heartily to rejoice of this dignation and tender kindness of the Lords towards me, which useth remedy for my sin as a testimonial of his Testament, to his glory, to my everlasting comfort, to the edifying of his Church, and to the overthrowing of Antichrist and his Kingdom. Oh what am I, Lord, that thou shouldst thus magnify me so vile a Man and Miser, as always I have been? Is this thy wont, to fend for such a wretch and an hypocrite as I have been, in a fiery Chariot, as thou didst for Helias? Oh dear Fathers, be thankful for me, that I still might be found worthy in whom the Lord would sanctify his holy Name. And for your part, make you ready: for we are but your Gentlemen-Ussers. *Nuptiæ agni paratæ sunt, venite ad nuptias.* i. The marriage of the Lamb is prepared, come unto the marriage. I now go to leave my flesh there, where I received it. I shall be conveyed thither,

This is a figurative mercy of God to have death, which is a due punishment for sin, turned into a demonstration of the Lords truth. Reg. 4.

as *Ignatius* was at *Rome*, *Leopardus*; by whose evil I hope to be made better. God grant, if it be his will that I ask, it may make them better by me, Amen.

For my farewell therefore, I write and send this unto you, trusting shortly to see you where we shall never be separated. In the mean season I will not cease, as I have done, to commend you to our Father of Heaven; and that you would so do by me, I most heartily pray every one of you: you know now I have most need. But

Fidelis Deus, qui nunquam finis nos tentari supra id quod possumus. i. Faithful is God, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength. He never did it hitherto, not now, and I am assured he will never, Amen. *A dextris est mihi, non movebor.* Prepter hoc letabitur cor meum, quia non derelinquet animam meam in inferno, nec dabit me, sanctum suum per gratiam in Christo, videre corruptionem. E carcere rapiti, expectamus omni momento carnis liberationem. i. He is on my right hand, therefore I shall not fall. Wherefore my heart shall rejoice, for he shall not leave my Soul in Hell, neither shall suffer me his holy One, by his grace in Christ, to see corruption. Out of Prison in half, looking for the Tormentor, the 8th of February, 1555.

John Bradford.

To the Right Honourable Lord Russell, now Earl of Bedford, being then in trouble for the verity of Gods Gospel.

The everlasting and most gracious God and Father of our Saviour Jesus Christ, bless your good Lordship with all manner of heavenly blessings in the same Christ our only comfort and hope, Amen.

Praised be God our Father, which hath vouch'd you worthy, as of Faith in his Christ, so of his Cross for the same. Magnified be his holy Name, who as he hath delivered you from one Cross, so he hath made you willing (I trust) and ready to bear another when he shall see his time to lay it upon you: for these are the most singular gifts of God, given as to few, so to none else but to those few which are most dear to his sight. Faith is reckoned, and worthily, among the greatest gifts of God, yea, it is the greatest gift itself that we may enjoy. For by it, as we be justified and made Gods Children, so are we Temples and workshouses of the Holy Spirit, yea of Christ also. Ephes. 4. And of the Father himself, John 14. By Faith we drive the Devil away, Pet. 5. We overcome the world, 1 John 5. And are already Citizens of Heaven, and Fellow with Gods dear Saints. But who is able to reckon the riches that this Faith bringeth with her unto the Soul the stretch upon? No man nor Angel. And therefore (as I said) of all Gods gifts she may be set in the top, and have the upmost seat. The which thing if men considered, in that she cometh alone from Gods own Mercy (scilicet by the hearing, not of Man or Martins, Dirges, or such doleful words of God in such a Tongue as we can and do understand) as they would be diligent and take great heed for doing or seeing any thing which might cast her down (for then they fall also) so would they with no less care read and hear Gods holy Word, joyning therein most earnest and often Prayer, as well for the more and better understanding, as for the loving, living, and confessing of the same, maugre the head of the Devil, the World, our Flesh, Reason, Goods, Possessions, carnal Friends, Wife, Children, and very life here; if they should pull us back to hearken to their voice and counsel, for more quiet, sure, and longer use of them.

Now notwithstanding this excellency of Faith, in that whilst we read the Apostle to match therewith, yea, as it were) to prefer, suffering persecution for Christs sake, I trow no man will be so fond as to think otherwise, but that I and all Gods Children have cause to glorify and praise God, which hath vouch'd you worthy so great a blessing. For though the reason or wisdom of the world, think of the Cross according to their reach, and according to their present sense, and therefore flieeth from it as from a most great ignominy and shame: Yet Gods Scholars have learned otherwise to think of the Cross, that is like frame-house in the which God frameth his Children like to his Son Christ; the furnace that smelt Gods gold; the high-way to Heaven; the use and Livory that Gods servants are served withal; the

Anno 1555.

He meant that he should be conveyed by the Queens Guard unto Langshere to be burnt, as the Advertiser had once described, like as Ignatius was by a company of Soldiers conveyed to Rome, and cast to the Lepa di.

Psal. 16.

A Letter of M. Bradford to the Lord Russell now Earl of Bedford.

The excellency of the faith, and what worketh.

Faith cometh by hearing the word, and not by hearing Math.

The efficacy of the Cross, and what it worketh in Gods children.

ANNO
1555.
Feb. 22.

the eastward and beginning of all consolation and glory.
For they (I mean Gods Scholars, as your Lordship is, I
trust) do not desire Gods Sanctuaries, nor their feet slip.
They look not for Riches, nor for things present only, but
for things to come, and so have they their respect to Gods
judgement and glorious coming of Christ Jesus, as the
swelled have now their worldly wealth wherein they
willow and will wallow, till they tumble halder into
Hell, where are torments too terrible and endless. Now
they follow the Fiend as the Bear does the train of Honey,
and the Sow the Swalling, till they be brought into the
Slaughter-house, and then they know that their prosperity
hath brought them to perdition. Then cry they, *Woe*, we
went the wrong way: we counted these men (I mean
such as you be that suffer for Gods sake, loss of goods,
friends and life, whom they shall see endued with rich
robes of Righteousness, Crowns of most precious gold,
and Palms of conquest in the goodly glorious Palace of the
Lamb, where is eternal joy, felicity, &c.) We counted
they they then say these Men but fools and mad-men,
we took their conditions to be but curiosity. But then
will it be too late, then the time will be turned, laughing
shall be turned into weeping, and weeping into rejoicing.
Read Sapient. 2. 34, 45.

The end of
prosperity.

Sapient. 2.

*Thou (as before I have said) great cause have I
to thank God, which hath vouch'd you worthy of his most
bountifull blessing: much more then have you cause (my
good Lord) to be, I mean thankful. For look upon your
vocation I pray you, tell me how many Noblemen, Earls,
Sons, Lords, Knights, and Men of Emination, both God in
this Realm of England deals thus vithal? I dare say you
think not that you have deserved this. Only Gods mercy
in his Christ hath wrought this on you, as he did in Jeremi-
nahs time on Abimelech, in Achabs time on Abdias, in
Christs time on Ioseph of Arimathea, in the Apostles
time on Sergius Paulus, and the Queen of Candaces Cham-
berlain. Only now be thankful and continue, continue,
continue (my good Lord) continue to confesse Christ. Be not
ashamed of him before men: for then will not be a-
shamed of you. Now will be try you; stick fast unto him;
and he will stick fast by you; he will be with you in
trouble, and deliver you. But then must you cry unto him:
for so it proceedeth. He cried unto me and I heard him,
I was with him in trouble &c.*

Remember Lots Wife, which looked back. Remember Francis Spira. Remember that none is crowned, but he that striveth lawfully. Remember that all you have is at Christs commandment. Remember be loth more for you, than you can lofe for him. Remember you lofe not that which is lost for his sake: for you shall find much more here and elsewhere. Remember if you shall dye, and when, where, and how, ye cannot tell. Remember the death of Sinners is most terrible. Remember the death of Gods Saints is most precious in his sight. Remember the multitude goeth the wide way which windeth to wo. Remember that the fruit-gate which leadeth to Glory, hath but few Travellers. Remember Christ biddeth you to strive to enter in therat. Remember be that traffeth in the Lord, shall receive strength to stand against all the assaults of his Enemies. Be certain all the hairs of your head are numbered. Be certain your good Father hath appointed bounds, over the which the Devil dares not look. Commit your self to him; be it, both been, and will be your Keeper. Cast your care on him, and he will care for you. Let Christ be your scope, and mark to prick at; let him be your pattern to work by; let him be your example to follow; give him at your heart so your banet, as your mind lo your tongue, as your Eare lo your feet, and let his Word be your Candle, to go before you in all matters of Religion. Blessed is that walketh not to these Popish Prayers, nor standeth at them, nor sticher at them; glorifie God both in Soul and Body. He that gathereth not with Christ, scattereth abroad. Use Prayer, loke for Gods help, which is at hand to them that ask and love therefore assidually. In which Prayers I heartily desire your Lordship to remember us, who as we are going with you right gladly (God therefore be praised) so we looke to go before you, hoping that you will follow as God so will, according to your daily Prayer, Thy will be done on Earth, &c. The good Spirit of God always guide your Lordships into the end. Amen. Your Lordships own for ever,

*To Mr. Warcup and his Wife, Mrs. Wilkenfon, and others
of his godly Friends, with their Families.*

The same Peace our Saviour Christ left with his People, which is not without war with the World, Almighty God work plentifully in your hearts now and for ever. Amen.

A pithy and effectual Letter of M^r. Bradford to M^r. Warcup.

The time I receive is come wherein the Lords ground will be known, I mean, it will now shortly appear who have received Gods Gospel into their hearts indeed, to the taking of good root therein : for such will not for a little heat or Sun-burning wither, but stiffly will stand and grow on; mauge the malice of all burning flowers and tempests. And forasmuch as (my Beloved in the Lord) I am periwaded of you, that ye be indeed the Children of God, Gods good ground, which groweth and will grow on (by Gods grace) bringing forth fruit to Gods glory after your vocations , as occasions shall be offered, (burn the Sun never so hot) therefore I cannot but so signify unto you, and heartily pray you and every one of you, accordingly to go on forwards after your Master Christ, not sticking at the foul way and stormy weather, which you are to come into, and are like so to do : of this being most certain, that the end of your Journey shall be pleasant and joyful in such a perpetual rest and blissfulness, as cannot but swallow up the shoures that ye now keel and are souled in; if ye often sit it before your eyes, after *Pauls* counsel in the latter end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth Chapter of the second Epistle to the *Cerinthians*. Read it I pray you, and remember it often as a restorative to refresh you, left ye faint in the way.

And befidds this fet before ye also, that though the weather be foul, and florms grow apace, yet go not ye alone, but with your Brothers and Sisters tread the flame-path, as S. Peter telleth us: and therefore company should cause ye to be the more courageous and cheerful. But if ye had no company at all to go freely with you, I pray you tell me, if even from the beginning, the best of God-friends have found any fairer weather and way to the place whither ye are going (I mean Heaven) than ye now are, and are like to do, except ye will with the worldlings, which have their portion in this life, tarry till by the way till the florms be overpast, and then either night will fo approach that ye cannot travel, either the doors will be barred before ye come, and fo ye then lodge within in wonderful and evil lodgings. Read *Apocalyp.* 22. Begin at *Abel* and come from him to *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, the Patriarchs, *Moses*, *David*, *Daniel*, and all the Saints of the Old Testament, and tell me whether ever any of them found any fairer way than ye now find.

If the Old Testament will not serve, I pray you come to the New, and begin with *Mary and Joseph*, and come from them to *Zachary and Elizabeth*, *John Baptist* and every one of the Apostles and Evangelists, and search whether they all found any other way into the City we travel towards, than by many tribulations.

Besides thereof, if ye should call to remembrance the Primitive Church, Lord God, ye should see many to have given cheerfully their Bodies to most grievous torments, rather than they would be stopped in their Journey, that there is no day in the year, but I dare say a thousand was the fewest that with great joy left their homes here, but in the City they went unto, have found other manner of homes than Mans mind is able to conceive. But if none of these were, if ye had no company now to go with you, as you have me your poor Brother and Bondman of the Lord who may be called a King, and yet am no other of the Fathers, Patriarchs, Kings, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, and other holy Saints and Children of God, that in their Journey to Heavenward, found as ye now find, and are like to find if ye go on forward, as I trust ye will, yet ye have your Master and your Captain Jesu Christ, the dear darling and only begotten and beloved Son of God, in whom was all the Fathers pleasure, joy and delectation, ye have him to go before you, no fairer way, but much fouler into this our City of *Jerusalem*. I need not (I trust) to rehearse what

A pithy and
effectual
Letter of M.
Bradford to
M. Warcup,
and Mrs.
Wickenfen.

Foul way
and foul
weather to
the king-
dom of hea-
ven.

The passage
of all Gods
Saints both
in the old
and new
Testament
hath been
through
Affliction.
Read the sto-
ry of the
Primitive
Church
above de-
scribed.

Christ Jesus
the King-
leader of
Gods Chil-
dren.

manner of way he found. Begin at his birth, and till ye come at his burial, ye shall find that every foot and stride of his Journey was no better, but much worse than yours is now.

We must
not be so
dainty, to
look for
faster ones,
than
Christ him-
self went
thorow.

Wherefore (my dearly beloved in the Lord) be not so dainty, as to look for that at Gods hands, your dear Father, which the Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Saints, and his own Son Jesus Christ did not find. Hitherto we have had fair way (I trow) and fair weather also: now because we have loitered by the way, and not made the speed we should have done, our loving Lord and sweet Father hath overcast the weather, and stirred up the storms and tempests, that we might with more haste run out our race before night come, and the doors be barred. The Devil standeth now at every Inn door in his City and Country of this World, crying unto us to tarry and lodge in this or that place till the storms be overpast; not that he would not have us wet to the skin, but that the time might overpass us to our utter destruction. Therefore beware of his enticements. Cast not your eyes on things that be present, how this man doth, and how that man doth: but cast your eyes on the gleeve ye run at, or else ye will lose the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the gleeve, doth not look on others that stand by, and go this way or that way, but altogether he looketh on the gleeve, and on them that run with him, that those which be behind overtake him not, and that he may overtake them which be before: even so should we do, leave off looking on those which will not run the race to Heavens bliss by the path of Persecution with us, and cast our eyes on the end of our race, and on them that go before us, that we may overtake them, and on them which come after us, that we may provoke them to come the faster after.

To look to
the mark.

He that shooteth, will not cast his eyes in his shooting on them that stand by, or ride by the ways (I trow), but rather at the mark he shooteth at: for else he were like to win the wrong way: Even so, my dearly beloved, let your eyes be set on the mark ye shoot at, even Christ Jesus, who for the Joy felt before him, did joyfully carry his Cross, contemning the shame, and therefore he now sitteth on the right hand of the Throne of God. Let us follow him: for this did he that we should not be faint-hearted. For we may be most assured, that if we suffer with him, we shall undoubtedly reign with him: but if we deny him, surely he will deny us; for he that is ashamed of me, faith Christ, and of my Gospel, in this faithless Generation, I will be ashamed of him before the Angels of God in Heaven. Oh how heavy a Sentence is this to all such as know the Mass to be an abominable Idol, full of Idolatry, Blasphemy and Sacrilege against God and his Christ, (as undoubtedly it is) and yet for fear of men, for loss of life or goods, yea, some for advantage and gain, will honestly it with their presence, dissembling both with God and Man, as their own heart and Conscience doth accuse them. Better it were that such had never known the Truth, than thus wittingly, and for fear or favour of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, to dissemble it, or rather (as indeed it is) to deny it. The end of such is like to be worse than their beginning. Such had need to take heed of the two terrible places to the Hebrews in the 6 and 10. Chapters, left by fo doing they fall therein. Let them beware they play no wily beguile with themselves, as some do I fear me, which go to Mass, and because they worship not nor kneel not, nor knock not as others do, but sit still in their Pews, therefore they think they rather do good to others than hurt.

Differ-
encing Gol-
pellers.

But (alas) if these men would look into their own Consciences, there should they see they are very Dissemblers, and in seeking to deceive others (for by this means the Magistrates think them of their sort) they deceive themselves. They think at the elevation time, all mens eyes are set upon them, to mark how they do. They think others, hearing of such men going to Mass, do see, or enquire of their behaviour there. Oh if there were in those men that are so present at the Mass, either love to God, or to their Brethren, then would they for the one or both, openly take Gods part, and admonish the people of their Idolatry. They fear man more than him which hath power to cast both Soul and Body into Hell

Math. 10.
2 Reg. 9.
Apoc. 3.

fire: they haile on both knees: they serve two Masters. God have mercy upon such, and open their eyes with his Eye-salve, that they may see, that they which take no part with God are against God, and that they which gather not with Christ, do scatter abroad. Oh that they would read what St. John faith will be done to the fearful. The counsel given to the Church of Laodicea, is good counsel for such.

Anno
1555.

Apoc. 21.
Apoc. 3.

But to return to you again (dearly Beloved,) be not ye ashamed of Gods Gospel: It is the power of God to salvation to all those that do believe it. Be therefore partakers of the afflictions, as God shall make you able, knowing for certain, that he will never tempt you farther than he will make you able to bear: and think it no small grace of God to suffer persecution for Gods Truth: for the Spirit of God resteth upon you, and ye are happy as one day ye shall see. Read 2 Thessalonians 1. Hebrews 12. As the fire burneth not gold, but maketh it finer, so shall ye be more pure by suffering with Christ, 1 Pet. 1. The hail and wind hurteth not the wheat, but cleareth it from the chaff. And ye (dearly Beloved) are Gods wheat: fear not therefore the hail: fear not the fanning wind, fear not the Millstone, fear not the Oven: for all these make you more meet for the Lords own Tooth. Sope, though it be black, soileth not the cloth, but rather at the length maketh it more clean: so doth the black Cross help us to more whiteness, if God strike with his Battledore. Because ye are Gods Sheep, prepare your selves to the slaughter, always knowing that in the sight of the Lord our death shall be precious. The Souls under the Altar look for us to fill up their number: happy are we if God have so appointed us. Howsoever it be (dearly Beloved) cast your selves wholly upon the Lord, with whom all the hairs of your heads are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish. Will we, will we, we must drink Gods Cup, if he have appointed it for us. Drink it willingly then, and at the first when it is full, lest peradventure if we linger, we shall drink at the length of the dregs with the wicked, if at the beginning we drink not with his Children: for with them his Judgment beginneth, and when he hath wrought his will on Mount Sion, then will he visit the Nations round about.

2 Tim. 1.
Rom. 8.

1 Cor. 10.
Phil. 1.
1 Pet. 3.
Matt. 5.

Persecution
compar'd to
the sail
which burn-
eth not,
but clea-
reth the
wheat.

Rom. 9.
1 Pet. 5.
Math. 10.

Palm 75.
1 Pet. 4.

Submit your selves therefore under the mighty hand of the Lord. No man shall touch you without his knowledge. When they touch you therefore, know it is your weal. God thereby will work to make you like unto Christ here, that ye may be also like unto him elsewhere. Acknowledge your unthankfulness and sin, and bless God that correcteth you in the world, because you shall not be damned with the world. Otherwise might he correct us, than in making us to suffer for Righteousness sake: but this he doth because we are not of the world. Call upon his Name through Christ for his help, as he commandeth us. Believe that he is merciful to you, heareth you, and helpeth you: I am with him in trouble, and will deliver him, faith he. Know that God hath appointed bounds, over which the Devil and all the world shall not pass. If all things seem to be against us, yet say with Job, if he will kill me, I will hope in him. Read the 1. P. Psalm, and pray for me your poor Brother and Fellow-sufferer for Gods Gospel sake, his Name therefore be praised; and of his mercy he make me and you worthy to suffer with good Conscience for his Names sake. Dye once we must, and when we know not: happy are they to whom God giveth to pay Natures debt. I mean, to dye for his sake.

1 Pet. 5.
Rom. 8.

1 Cor. 11.

1 P. 1. 20.

1 P. 1. 21.

Happy is
that death
which seeing
once it must
needs be
paid, is be-
showed upon
the Lord.

Here is not our home: therefore let us accordingly consider things, always having before our eyes the heavenly Jerusalem, Heb. 12. Apoc. 21. 22. the way thither to be by Persecutions; the dear Friends of God, how they have gone it after the example of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose footsteps let us follow even to the gallows, if God so will, not doubting but that as he within three days rose again immortal, even so we shall do in our time, that is, when the Trump shall blow, and the Angel shall shout, and the Son of man shall appear in the Clouds with innumerable Saints and Angels in majesty and great glory: then shall the dead arise, and we shall be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord, and so be always with him. Comfort your selves with these words, and pray for me for Gods sake. E. carcere 19. Nov. 1553. J. Bradford.

Anno

1555

To Sir James Hales Knight; then prisoner in the Counter in Breadstreet.

Another
Letter of
M. Bradford
to Sir James
Hales, knight

THE GOD of Mercy, and Father of all Comfort, plentifully pour out upon you and in you his Mercy, and with his Consolations comfort and strengthen you to the end, for his and our Comforts sake.

Although, right worshipful Sir; many causes might move me to be content with crying for you to your God and my God, that he would give you grace to persevere well, as he hath right notably begun, to the great glory of his Name, and Comfort of all such as fear him; as lack of learning, of familiarity, yea, acquaintance (for I think I am unknown to you, both by face and Name) and other such like things; yet I cannot content my self, but presume something to scribble unto you, not that I think my scribbling can do you any good, but that I might declare my *exultation* and compassion, love, and affection I bear towards your mastership, which is contented, yea desirous with us poor misers, to confess Christs Gospel in these perillous times and days of tryal. Oh Lord God, how good art thou, which dost thus glean out grapes, I mean Children for thy self, and Brethren for Christ! Look, good Master Hales, on your vocation; not many Judges, not many Knights, not many landed men, not many rich men, and wealthy to live as you are, hath God chosen to suffer for his sake, as he hath now done you. Certainly I dare say you think not so of your self, as though God were bound to prefer you, or had need of you, but rather attribute this as all good things unto his free Mercy in Christ. Again, I dare say that you being a wife man, do judge of things wisely, that is, concerning this your Cross; you judge of it not after the World and People which is *magnus erroris magister*, nor after the judgment of reason and worldly wisdom, which is foolishness to Faith, nor after the present sense, to which *non videtur gaudere, sed moleste*. i. e. It seemeth not to be joyous but grievous as Paul writeth; but after the word of God, which teacheth your Cross to be, in respect of your self between God and you, Gods chastising, and your Fathers correction, nurture, school, tryall, path-way to Heaven, Glory and felicity, and the furnace to consume the dross, and mortifie the reliques of Old Adam which yet remain, yea even the Frame-House to fashion you like to the dearest Saints of God here, yea to Christ the Son of God, that elsewhere you might be like unto him.

Now God
gleaseth
on his Peo-
ple.The World,
People,
warily
wisdom,
are evil
judges of
things
spiritual.
Heb. 12.Praise of the
Cross.The Cross
maketh us
wise to
God, where-
in and in
what things.

1 Cor. 4.

Subscribing
to King
Edwards will.

Psal. 139.

Now concerning your Cross in respect of the World, between the World and you, Gods Word teacheth it to be a testimonial of Gods Truth, of his Providence, of his Power, of his Justice, of his Wisdom, of his anger against Sin, of his Goodness, of his Judgment, of your Faith and Religion, so that by it you are to the World a witness of God one of his *Testes*, that he is true, he ruleth all things, he is just, wise, and at length will judge the World, and cast the wicked into perdition, but the godly he will take and receive into his eternal habitation. I know you judge of things after Faiths fetch, and the effects or ends of things; and so you see *eternum pondus gloriae*. i. e. an eternal weight of glory, which this Cross shall bring unto you, *dum non scitis ea quae videntur, sed ea quae non videntur*. i. e. while ye look not on things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. Let the worldlings weigh things and look upon the affairs of men with their worldly and corporal eyes, as did many in subscription of the Kings last will, and therefore they did that, for the which they bestrewed themselves; but let us look on things with other manner of eyes, as God be praised you did, in not doing that which you were desired, and driven at to have done. You then beheld things not as a man, but as a man of God, and so you do now in Religion, at the least hitherto you have done, and that you might do so still, I humbly beseech and pray you, say with David, *Defecerunt oculi mei in eloquium tuum: quando consolaberis me?* i. Mine eyes fail for thy word saying; when wilt thou comfort me? I though you be as *uter in fumum*. i. like a bottle in the smoke: (for I hear you want health) yet *ne obliviscentur assiduationes Dei*. i. Do not forget the statutes of the Lord: but cry out, *Quot sunt dies servit tui? quando facies de persecutoribus meis iudicium?* i. e. How many are

the days of thy Servant? when wilt thou execute judgment on them that persecute me? And be certain, *Quid Dominus dñiens venit, & non tardabit? Sermonem fecit, expecta illum*. i. The Lord will surely come, and not stay; though he tarry, wait for him. For he is but at *momentum in via sua*, & *dominus in voluntate eius*. *Ad verum peram demerabitur stertus, & ad malum manum letitia*. He is but a while in his anger, but in his favour is life weeping may abide at evening, but joy cometh in the morning. Follow therefore *Esaie* Counsell, *Ab condere ad modicum, ad momentum, donec pertinuerit indignatio eius*. i. Hide thy self for a very little while, until his indignation pass over, which is not *indignatio* indeed, but to our sense, and therefore in the six and twentieth Chapter of *Esaie*, God saith of his Church and People, that as he keepeth night and day: so *Non est indignatio mihi*. There is no anger in me (saith he.)

The Mother sometime beatech the Child; but yet her heart melteth upon it, even in the very beating; and therefore she casteth the rod into the fire, and collecth the Child, giveth it an apple, and dandleth it most motherly. And to say the truth, the love of Mothers to their Children, is but a trace to train us to behold the love of God towards us; and therefore saith he: Can a Mother forget the Child of her womb? As who should say, No: but if she should so do, yet will not I forget thee, saith the Lord of Hosts. Ah comfortable saying! I will not forget thee, saith the Lord. Indeed the Children of God think oftentimes that God hath forgotten them; and therefore they cry, *Ne abscondas faciem tuam a me, &c.* i. Hide not thy face from me, &c. *Ne derelinquas me Domine, &c.* i. Leave me not, O Lord, &c. Whereas in very truth it is not so, but to their present sense: and therefore David saith, *Ego dixi in excessu meo projectus sum a facie tua*. i. I laid in my agony, I was clean cast away from thy face: but was it for Naught verily. Read his Psalms, and you shall see. So writeth he also in other places very often, especially in the person of Christ: as when he saith, *Deus meus, Deus meus; ut quid dereliquisti me?* i. My God, my God why hadst thou forsaken me? He saith not, *Ne quid derelinquas?* i. Why dost thou forsake me? or, *derelinquis?* i. Why wilt thou forsake me? But, *Ut quid dereliquisti?* i. Why hast thou forsaken me? Where indeed God had not left him, but that it was so to his sense, and that this Psalm telleth us full well: which Psalm I pray you now and then read; it is the two and twentieth, and thereto joyn the thirtieth, and the hundred and sixteenth, with divers other. The same we read in the Prophet *Esaie*, the fortieth Chapter, where he reproverth Israel for saying, GOD had forgotten them. *Nunquid nescis, saith he? Knowest thou not? An non audivisti?* &c. Hast thou not heard? &c. *Qui sperant in Domino mutabunt fortitudinem*. i. They that trust in the Lord, shall renew their strength. And in his four and fiftieth Chapter, *Noli timere, &c.* *Ad punctum enim, in modico dereliqui te, at in miserationibus magnis congregabo te. In momento indignationis abscondi faciem meam parumper a te, at in misericordia sempiterna misertus sum tui, dicit Redemptor tuus Dominus. Nam istud erit mihi sicut aqua Noe. Vt enim juravi ne intro aqua Noe pervenirent terram, sic juravi ut non introscars tibi & non insepelire te. Montes enim commovebuntur & colles convellentur, misericordia autem mea non recedet a te, & foedus pacis meae non movebitur, dicit miserator tuus Dominus*. i. Fear not, &c. For a little while I have forsaken thee, but with great compassion will I gather thee: For a moment in mine anger I hid my face from thee; for a little season: but in everlasting Mercy have I had compassion on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is unto me, as the waters of Noe. For as I have sworn that the waters of Noe should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn that I would not be angry with thee nor rebuke thee. For the mountains shall remove, and hills shall fall down, but my Mercy shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace fall away, saith the Lord that hath compassion on thee.

Apsk. 2.
Psal. 20.

Esaie 26.

Esaie 26.

Gods love
in our cor-
rections.

Esaie 49.

Psal. 22.

Psal. 22, 27,
28, and 26,
Psal. 21,
Psal. 22.

Esaie 49.

But the Scriptures are full of such like places to them that will persevere. *eam Deum & expectare salutem & auxiliatum eius*. i. In the wrath of the Lord, and wait for his health and life. As of all temptations, this is the greatest, that God hath so often, or will not help us through

Psalm 7.

(for many benefices I have received of God by your hands, through the pikes, as they say: so of all service of God, this liketh him the best, to hope assuredly on him, and for his helpways, which is *adjuvator in tribulationibus*: i.e. An helper in tribulations, and doth more gloriously shew his power by such as be weak, and feel themselves so. For, *quo infirmiores sumus, eo sumus in illo robustiores*. Sic oculi Domini. i.e. The weaker we are, the more strong we are in him. Thus the eyes of the Lord be on them that tremble and fear. *Voluntatem eorum faciet*: i.e. he will accomplish their desire, he is with them in their trouble, he will deliver them. *Antequam clamaverint, exaudiet eos*: i.e. Before they cry, he heareth them, as all the Scriptures teach us. To the reading whereof, and hearty prayer, I heartily commend you, beseeching Almighty God, that of his Eternal Mercy he would make perfect the good he hath begun in you, and strengthen you to the end, that you might have no less hope, but much more of his help to your comfort now against your enemy, than already he hath given you against N. for not subscribing to the Kings will.

Be certain, be certain, good Master Hales, that all the hairs of your head, your dear Father hath numbered, so that one of them shall not perish: your name is written in the book of life. Therefore upon God cast all your care, which will comfort you with his Eternal Consolation, and make you able to go through the fire (if need be) which is nothing to be compared to the fire wherein our enemies shall fall and lye for ever, from the which the Lord deliver us, though it be through temporal fire, which must be conquered according to the end and profit that cometh after it; so shall it then not much fear us to suffer it for our Master Christs cause, the which the Lord grant us for his mercies sake, Amen From the Kings Bench.

Your humble John Bradford.

To my very Friend in the Lord Doctor Hill, Physician.

THe God of mercy and Father of all comfort at this present and for ever ingrain in your heart the sense of his mercy in Christ, and the continuance of his consolation, which cannot but enable you to carry with joy whatsoever Cross he shall lay upon you, Amen.

Hitherto I could have no such liberty, as to write unto you, as I think you know: but now in that through Gods providence I have no such restraint, I cannot but something write, as well to purge me of this suspicion of unthankfulness towards you, as also to signify my carefulness for you in these perilous days, lest you should wax cold in Gods cause (which God forbid) or suffer the light of the Lord once kindled in your heart to be quenched, and so become as you were before, after the example of the World, and of many other, which would have been accounted otherwise in our days, and yet still beguile themselves, still would be so accounted, although by their outward life they declare the Contrary, in that they think it enough to keep the heart pure, notwithstanding that the outward man doth currysavour.

In which doings, as they deny God to be jealous, and therefore requirer the whole man as well Body as Soul, being both create, as to immortality and society with him, so redeemed by the Blood of Jesus Christ, and now sanctified by the Holy Spirit to be the Temple of God, and member of his Son (as I say) by their parting stake to give God the heart, and the World the Body, they deny God to be jealous (for else they would give him both, as the wife would do to her husband whether he be jealous or no, if she be honest) so they play the dissemblers with the Church of God by their fact, offending the godly whom either they provoke to fall with them, or make more careless and conscienceless if they be fallen, and occasioning the wicked and obstinate to triumph against God, and the more vehemently to persecute their malice against such as will not defile themselves in Body or Soul with the Romish rage now received amongst us. Because of this, I mean, left you, my dear Master and Brother in the Lord, should do as many of our Gospellers do for fear of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and hath power both of the Body, not fearing the Lord, which hath power both of Soul and Body, and not only temporally, but also eternally: I could not but write something unto you, as well because duty doth require it

for the which he reward you, for I cannot) as also because charity and love compelleth me; not that I think you have need (for as I may rather learn of you, so I doubt not but you have hitherto kept your self upright from halting) but that I might both quiet my Conscience, calling upon me hereabout, and signify unto you by something, my carefulness for your Soul, as painfully and often you have done for my Body.

Therefore I pray you call to mind, that there be but two Masters, two kinds of People, two ways, and two mansions places. The Masters be Christ and Satan, the People be servants to either of these, the ways be strait and wide, the mansions be Heaven and Hell. Again, consider that this World is the place of trial of Gods People, and the Devils Servants: for as the one will follow his Master whatsoever cometh of it, so will the other. For a time it is hard to discern who pertaineth to God, and who to the Devil: as in the calm and peace, who is a good shipman and warrior, and who is not. But as when the storm ariseth, the expert Mariner is known, and as in war the good Soldier is seen, so in affliction and the Cross, easily Gods Children are known from Satans Servants: for then, as the good Servant will follow his Master, so will the godly follow their Captain, come what will come, whereas the wicked and hypocrite will bid adieu, and desire less of Christs acquaintance. For which cause the Cross is called a probation and trial, because it trieth who will go with God, and who will forsake him. And now in England we see how small a company Christ hath in comparison of Satans Soldiers. Let no man deceive himself: for he that gathereth not with Christ scattereth abroad. No man can serve two Masters; the Lord abhorreth double hearts; the lukewarm, that is, such as are both hot and cold, be spitted out of his mouth. None that halt on both knees doth God take for his Servant. The way of Christ is the strait way, and so strait, that as a few find it, and few walk in it, so no man can halt in it, but must needs go upright: for as the straitness will suffer no reeling to this side or that side: so if any halt: he is like to fall off the bridge into the pit of eternal perdition.

Sirius therefore, good Master Doctor, now you have found it, to enter into it: and if you should be called or pulled back, look not on this side, or that side or behind you, as Lots Wife did, but straight forwards in the end which is set before you (though it be to come) as even now present: like as you do and will your patients to do in purgations, and other your ministrations, to consider the effect that will ensue; where through the bitterness and loathsomeness of the purgation is so overcome, and the painfulness in abiding the working of that is ministered, is so eased, that it maketh the patient willingly and joyfully to receive that is to be received, although it be never so unpleasant: so (I say) set before you the end of this strait way, and then doubtless, as Paul saith, *eternum pondus glorie patet*, i. It shall bring with it an eternal weight of glory, whilst we look not on the thing which is seen, for that is temporal, but on the thing which is not seen, which is eternal. So doth the Husbandman in plowing and tilling set before him the harvest time; so doth the Fisher consider the draught of his net, rather than the casting in; so doth the Merchant the return of his Merchandise; and so should we in these stormy days set before us not the loss of our goods, liberty, and very life, but the reaping time, the coming of our Saviour Christ to Judgment, the fire that shall burn the wicked and disobedient to Gods Gospel, the blast of the Trump, the exceeding glory prepared for us in Heaven Eternally, such as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive. The more we lose here, the greater joy shall we have there. The more we suffer, the greater triumph. For corruptible doings, we shall find incorruptible treasures for gold glory: for silver, place without end; for riches, robes royal; for earthly Houses, eternal Palaces; without without measure, pleasure without pain, felicity endless; Summa, we shall have God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

O happy place! Oh that this day would come. Then shall the end of the wicked be lamentable, then shall they receive the just reward of Gods vengeance, then shall they cry we, woe, that ever they did as they have done.

1 Cor. 13.
Psalm 144.

A letter to
D. Hill,
physician

Parting
stake be-
tween God
and the
World,

Dissembling
with the
Church

Gospel
spiters.
Ely 5.

Anno
1555

Dr. Hill
M. Bradford
Physician.

Two Mat-
ters. Two
kinds of
Subjects.
Two ways.
Two King-
doms.

Affliction
trieth who
go with
God & who
go with
the Devil.

Christs pace
the smaller,
and why.

A wife man
will ever
consider the
end.

The glorious
recompen-
se of such
as suffer
for the Lord.

Anglo dom. Read Wile. 2. 3. 4. 5. Read Matthew 35. Read 1
1555 Corin. 15. 2 Corin. 5. and by Faith (which God in-
crease in us) consider the thing there set forth. And
The way to by your comfort, read Hebrews 11. to see what Faith
hath done, always considering the way to Heaven to be
by many Tribulations, and that all they which will live
godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. You know
this, our Alphabet; He that will be my Disciple, saith
Christ, must deny himself, and take up his Cross, and follow
me. Not this Bishop nor that Doctor, nor this Emperour, nor
that King, but me, saith Christ. For he that loveth Father,
Mother, Wife, Children, or very life, better than me, is
not worthy of me. Remember that the same Lord saith;
He that will save his life shall lose it. Comfort your self
with this, that as the Devils had no power over the Por-
kets, or over Job's goods without God's leave; so shall they
have none over you. Remember also that all the hairs
of your head are numbered with God. The Devil may
make one believe he will drown him, as the Sea in his
furies threateneth to the land; but as the Lord hath appointed
bounds for the overpouer which he cannot pass, so hath
he done for the other.

Marth. 8.

On God therefore cast your care, love him, serve him
after his Word, fear him, trust in him, hope at his hand
for all help, and always pray, looking for the Cross, and
whenever it cometh, be assured, the Lord, as he is
faithful, so he will never tempt you further the he
will make you able to bear, but in the midst of the
Temptation will make such an evasion, as shall be most
to his glory and your eternal comfort. God for his mer-
cy in Christ, with his Holy Spirit, endue you, comfort
you, under the wings of his mercy shadow you, and
at his dear Child guide you for evermore. To whose
merciful tuition, as I do with my heavy prayer, com-
mend you; so I doubt not but you pray for me, and so I be-
seech you to do still. My Brother P. tell me you would
have the last part of Saint Jeromes works, to have the
life thereof for a fortnight. I cannot for these three
days well forbear it, but yet on Thursday next I will
send it you, if God let me not, and use me and that I
love as your own. The Lord for his mercy in Christ
direct our ways to his glory.

Out of prison by yours to command,
John Bradford.

To Mistress M. H. a godly Gentlewoman, comforting her
in that common heaviness and godly sorrow, which the
feeling and sense of sin worketh in Gods Children.

I Humbly and heartily pray the everlasting God and
Father of mercy to bless and keep your heart and
mind in the knowledge and love of his Truth, and of
his Christ, through the inspiration and working of
his Holy Spirit, Amen.

Although I have no doubt, but that you prosper and
go forward daily in the way of godliness, more and more
drawing towards perfection, and have no need of any
thing that I can write; yet because my desire is that you
might be more fervent and persevere to the end, I could
not but write something unto you, beseeching you both
often and diligently to call unto your mind, as a mean
to stir you herunto, yea, as a thing which God most
fruitfully requirith you to believe, that you are beloved
of God, and that he is your dear Father, in through,
and for Christ and his deaths sake. This love and tender
kindness of God towards us in Christ is abundantly
herein declared, in that he hath to the godly work of
creation of this World made us after his Image, redee-
med us being lost, called us into his Church, sealed us
with his mark and sign manual of Baptism, kept and
conferred us all the days of our life, fed, nourished, de-
fended and in his Fatherly chastised us, and now hath kind-
led in our hearts the sparkles of his fear, faith, love and
knowledge of his Christ and truth, and therefore we
lament, because we lament no more our unthankfulness,
our frailties, our diffidence and wavering in things
wherein we should be most certain.

All these things we should use as means to confirm our
Faith of this, that God is our God and Father, and to

assure us, that he loveth us as our Father in Christ: to
this end (I say) we should use the things before to ad-
vised; especially in that, of all things, God requirith this Faith
and Fatherly pervasion of his Fatherly goodness, as
his chiefest service. For before he ask any thing of us,
he saith; I am the Lord thy God, giving himself, and
then all he hath to us to be our own. And this he doth
in respect of himself, of his own mercy and truth,
and not in respect of us, for then were grace no
grace. In consideration whereof, when he saith; Thou
shalt have none other Gods but me, thou shalt love me with
all thy heart, &c. though of duty we are bound to accom-
plish all that he requirith, and are culpable and guilty if
we do not the same, yet he requirith not these things fur-
ther of us, then to make us more in love, and more cer-
tain of this his covenant, that he is our Lord and God. In
certainty whereof, as he hath given this whole World to
serve to our need and commodity; so hath he given his Son
Christ Jesus, and in Christ, himself to be a pledge and
gage, whereof the Holy Ghost doth now and then give
us some taste and sweet smell to our eternal joy.

Therefore (as I said) because God is our Father in Christ,
and requirith of you faithfully to believe it, give your
self to obedience, although ye do it not with such feeling
as you desire. First must Faith go before, and then feel-
ing will follow. If our imperfection, frailty, and many
evils should be occasions whereby Satan would have us to
doubt; as much as we can, let us abhor that suggestion,
as of all others most pernicious; for so indeed it is. For
when we stand in a doubt, whether God be our Father,
we cannot be thankful to God, we cannot heartily pray
or think any thing we do acceptable to God, we can-
not love our Neighbours, and give over our selves to care
for them, and do for them as we should do, and therefore
Satan is most subtle hereabouts, knowing full well that
if we doubt of God eternal mercys towards us through
Christ, we cannot please God, or do any thing as we
should do to man. Continually casteth he into our me-
mories our imperfection, frailty, falls, and offences, that
we should doubt of Gods mercy and favour towards us.

Therefore (my good Sister) we must not be sluggish
herein, but as Satan laboureth to loosen our Faith, so
must we labour to fasten it by thinking on the promises
and covenant of God in Christs Blood; namely, that
God is our God with all that ever he hath: which co-
venant dependeth and hangeth upon Gods own goodness,
mercy and truth only, and not on our obedience or wor-
thiness in any point, for then should we never be certain.
Indeed God requirith of us obedience and worthiness, but
not that thereby we might be his Children, and he our
Father: but because he is our Father and we his Children
through his own goodness in Christ, therefore requirith he
Faith and Obedience. Now if we want this obedience
and worthiness which he requirith, should we doubt whe-
ther he be our Father? Nay, that were to make our obe-
dience and worthiness the cause, and so to put Christ out
of place, for whose sake God is our Father: But rather
because he is our Father, and we feel our selves to want
such things as he requirith, we should be stirred up to a
shamefulness and blushing, because we are not as we
should be: and thereupon should we take occasion to go
to our Father in prayer on this manner:

Dear Father, thou of thine own mercy in Jesus Christ
hast chosen me to be thy Child, & therefore thou wouldst
I should be brought into thy Church and faithful company
of thy Children; wherein thou hast kept me hitherto, thy
name therefore be praised. Now I see my self to want faith,
hope, love, &c. which thy Children have and thou requir-
est of me, wherethrough the Devil would have me to doubt,
yea utterly to despair of thy Fatherly goodness, favour
and mercy. Therefore I come to thee as to my merciful
Father, through thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and
pray thee to help me good Lord: help me, and give me
faith, hope, love, &c. and grant that thy Holy Spirit may
be with me for ever, and more and more to assure me
that thou art my Father; that this merciful covenant
that thou madest with me in respect of thy grace in Christ
and for Christ, and not in respect of any my worthiness,
is always to me, &c.

On this sort (I say) you must pray and self your cogi-
tations, when Satan would have you to doubt of salvation.
He

The desire
of the
Soul is to
th. & well
of his
by goodness
in Christ.

Wherefore
the
ye
there is requi-
red.

Let no sug-
gestion
make us
doubt of
Gods favour
in Christ.

So that ye
on Gods
promises in
Christs
Blood.

Obedience
giveth not
us to be
Gods
Children,
but so be
Gods Chil-
dren giveth
Obedience.

Now a man
should pray
when he
tag of Gods
comfort
lacketh.

Gods bene-
fit, to be
declared.

Another
godly
Letter
of M. Brad-
ford to
Mistress M.
H.

Anno
1555

He doth all he can to prevail herein. Do you all you can to prevail herein against him. Though you feel not as you would, yet doubt not, but hope beyond all hope, as Abraham did. For always (I said) goeth faith before feeling. As certain as God is Almighty, as certain as God is Merciful, as certain as God is True, as certain as Jesus Christ was crucified, is risen, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, as certain as this is Gods Commandment: *I am thy Lord thy God, &c.* so certain ought you to be that God is your Father. As you are bound to have no other Gods but him, so are ye no less bound to believe that God is your God. What profit should it be to you to believe this to be true; *I am the Lord thy God*, to others, if you should not believe that his is true to your self? The Devil believeth on this sort. And whatsoever it be that would move you to doubt of this, whether God be your God through Christ, that same cometh undoubtedly of the Devil. Wherefore did he make you, but because he loved you? Might not he have made you Blind, Deaf, Lame, Frantick, &c? Might not he have made you a Jew, a Turk, a Papist, &c? And why hath he not done so? Verily because he loved you? And why did he love you? What was there in you to move him to love you? Surely nothing moved him to love you, and therefore to make you, and so hitherto to keep you, but his own goodness in Christ. Now then in that his goodness in Christ still remaineth as much as it was, that is, even as great as himself, for it cannot be lessened; how should it be but that he is your God and Father? Believe this, believe this my good Sister, for God is no Changing; and them whom he loveth, he loveth to the end.

Desiring
commeth of
the Devil.

Excluf. 3.

Faith and
affection
of Gods
favour, is
the fountain
of all well-
doing.

Consideration
of Gods
promises
and benefits.

Cast therefore your self wholly upon him, and think without all wavering that you are Gods Child, that you are a Citizen of Heaven, that you are the Daughter of God, the Temple of the Holy Ghost, &c. If hereof you be assured as you ought to be, then shall your conscience be quieted, then shall you Lament more and more that you want many things which God loveth; then shall you labour to be Holy in Soul and Body; then shall you go about that Gods Glory may shine in all your words and works; then shall you not be afraid what man can do unto you; then shall you have Wisdom to answer your Adversaries, as shall serve to their shame, and your comfort; then shall you be certain that no man can touch one hair of your head further then shall please your good Father; to your everlasting joy; then shall you be most certain, that God as your good Father will be more careful for your Children, and make better provision for them, if all you have were gone, then you cansthen shall you (being assured I say of Gods favour towards you) give over your self wholly to help and care for others: that be in need; then shall you contemn this life, and desire to be at home with your good and sweet Father; then shall you labour to mortifie all things that would spot either Soul or Body. All these things spring out of this certain persuasion and Faith, that God is our Father, and we are his Children by Christ Jesus. All things should help our Faith herein; but Satan goeth about in all things to hinder us.

Therefore let us use earnest and hearty Prayer; let us often remember this Covenant; *I am the Lord thy God*; let us look upon Christ and his Precious Blood shed for the obligation and Confirmation of his Covenant; let us remember all the free promises of the Gospel; let us set before us Gods benefits generally in making this World, in ruling it, in governing it, in calling and keeping his Church, &c. let us set before us Gods benefits particularly, how he hath made his Creatures after his Image, how he made us of perfect limbs, form, beauty, memory, &c. how he hath made us Christians, and given us a right Judgment in his Religion; how he hath ever since we were born, blessed, kept, nourished, and defended us; how he hath often beaten, chastised, and fatherly corrected us; how he hath spared us, and doth now spare us, giving us time, space, place, grace. This if you do and use earnest Prayer, and so flee from all things which might wound your Conscience, giving your self to diligence in your vocation, you shall find at the length (which God grant to me with you) a sure certainty of salvation, without all such doubt as may trouble the peace of Conscience to your eternal joy and comfort, Amen, Amen.

Tours to use in Christ, J. Bradford.

Another Letter full of godly comfort, written to the same person.

The good Spirit of God which guideth his Children, be with you my good Sister in the Lord for ever, Amen.

Although, as I to you, so you unto me in prison are unknown, yet to him whom we desire to please, we are not only in persons, but also in hearts known and thoroughly seen: and therefore as for his sake you would by that you sent, of me be perceived how that in God you bear, to me a good will; so that I to you might be seen in God to bear you the like, I send to you these few words in writing, wishing that in all your doings and speech, ye even in your very thoughts you would labour to feel that they are all present and open before the sight of God, be they good or bad. This cogitation often had in mind, and Prayer made to God for the working of his Spirit, thereby, as a mean, you shall at the length feel more comfort and commodity, then any man can know, but such as be exercised therein. Howbeit this is to be added, that in thinking your self, and all that you have and do, to be in the sight of God; this (I say) is to be added, that you think his sight is the sight not only of a Lord, but rather of a Father, which tendereth more your infirmities, then you can tender the infirmities of any your Children. Yea, when in your self you see a motherly affection to your little one that is weak, let the same be unto you a trace to train you to see the unspeakable kind affection of God your Father towards you.

And therefore upon the consideration of your infirmities and natural evils, which continually cleave unto us, take occasion to go to God as your Father through Christ: and before his merciful heart lay open your infirmities and evils, with desire of pardon and help after his good will and pleasure, but in his time, and not when you will, and by what means he will, not by that way you would; in the same season hang on hope of his fatherly goodness, and surely you shall never be ashamed. For if a Woman that is natural cannot finally forget the Child of her womb, be sure God which is a Father supernatural cannot, nor will not forget you. Yea if a Woman could be so forgetful, yet God himself faith, he will not be so.

This opinion, yea rather certain persuasion of God our Father through Christ fee that you cherish, and by all means, as well by diligent consideration of his benefits, as of his loving corrections, whether they be inward or outward, see that you nourish; knowing for certain, that as the Devil goeth about nothing so much as to bring you to a doubt whether ye be Gods Child or no: so whatsoever shall move you to admit that dubitation, be assured the same to come from the Devil, if you feel in your self not only the want of good things, but also plenty of evil; do not therefore doubt whether you be Gods Child in Christ, or no.

For if for your goodness or illness sake, which you feel or feel not, ye should believe or doubt, then should you make Christ Jesus, for whose sake only God is your Father, either nothing, or else but half Christ.

But rather take occasion of your wants in good, and of your plenty in evil, to go to God as to your Father, and to Pray to him, that in as much as he commandeth you to believe that he is your God and Father; so he would give you his good Spirit, that you might feel the same, and live as his Child, to his glory: and cease not upon such Prayers to look for comfort in Gods good time, still hoping the best, and rejecting all dubitation, and so all evil works, words, and cogitations, as the Lord shall enable you by his good Spirit and grace, which I beseech him to give unto you, my good Sister, for ever. And further I pray you, that as he hath made you to be an helper unto your Husband, so you would endeavour your self therein to shew the same as well in Soul as Body; and beg grace of God, that your endeavour may be effectual to both your comforts in Christ, Amen.

John Bradford.

To

Another
like letter
of comfort
to M. H.

Consideration
of Gods
tender
affection to
his Son.

No time now
means to
be preferred
to God.

161: 49:

The practice
of the Devil
to bring a
man in doubt
whether he
be Gods
Child, or no.
We ought
to measure
Gods favour
neither by
our goodness
nor sins,
but only by
our faith in
Christ.

Anno
1555.

To my well beloved in the Lord, W. P.

Grace and Peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

Dear Brother, God most justly hath cast me down into a Dungeon, but much better than I deserve; wherein I see no man but my Keeper, nor can see any except they come to me. Something in the Earth my lodging is, which is an example and memorial of my Earthly afflictions (which God I trust will mortify) and of my Sepulchre, whereunto I trust my Lord God will bring me in peace in his good time. In the mean season he give me patience, lively hope, and his good Spirit. I pray you pray for me, for the Prayer of the godly, if it be fervent, worketh much with God. I thank God my common disease doth less trouble me than when I was abroad, which doth reach me the merciful Providence of God towards me. Use true and hearty Prayer, and you shall perceive God at length will declare himself to see, where now many think he sleepeth.

This disease was attended with a feebleness of stomach, wherewith he was much troubled while he was at liberty.

Out of the Tower, by the Lords
Prisoner, John Bradford.

A Letter which he wrote to a faithful Woman in her bewitchment and trouble: most comfortable for all those to read that are afflicted and broken hearted for their sin.

GOD our good Father, for his mercies sake in Christ, with his eternal Consolation so comfort you, as I desire to be comforted of him in my most need: Yea, he will comfort you (my dear Sister) only cast your care upon him, and he never can nor will forsake you. For his calling and gifts be such, that he can never repent him of them. Whom he loveth, he loveth to the end; none of his chosen can perish. Of which number I know you are, my dearly beloved Sister: God increase the Faith thereof daily more and more in you, he give unto you to hang wholly on him and on his Providence and Protection. For whose dwelleth under * that secret thing, and help of the Lord, he shall be cock-sure for evermore. He that dwelleth, I say; for if we be flitters and not dwellers, as was Lot a flitter from Sodom, where God promised him protection, if he had dwelled there still: we shall remove to our loss, as he did into the Mountains.

Rom. II.

* Gods Providence and Protection. Psalm. 119. Gen. 19.

Dwell therefore, that is trust, and that finally unto the end, in the Lord (my dear Sister) and you shall be as Mount Sion. As Mountains compass Jerusalem, so doth the Lord all his People. How then can he forget you, which are as the apple of his Eye, for his dear Sons sake? Ah dear heart, that I were now but one half hour with you, to be a Simon to help carry your Cross with you. God fend you some good Simon to be with you, and help you.

You complain in your Letters of the blindness of your Mind, and the troubles you feel. My dearly beloved, God make you thankful for that which God hath given unto you; he open your eyes to see what and how great benefits you have received, that you may be less covetous, or rather impatient, for so I fear me) it should be called, and more thankful. Have you not received at his hands sight to see your blindness, and thereto a desirous and seeking heart to see where he lieth in the mid-day, as his dear Spouse speaketh of her self in the Canticles? Oh Joy, my good Joy, what a gift is this? Many have some light, but none this fobbing and fighing, none this seeking which you have, I know, but such as he hath married unto him in his mercies. You are not content to kiss his feet with the Magdalen, but you would be kissed even with the kisses of his Mouth, Canticles 1. You would see his face with Moses, forgetting how he biddeth us seek his face, Psalm 27. yea, and that for ever, Psalm 105. Which signifieth no such sight, as you desire to be in this present life, which would see God now face to face, whereas he cannot be seen, but covered under something, yea, sometime it is that which is (as you would say) clean contrary to God; as to see his mercy in his anger. In bringing us to Hell, Faith seeth him to bring us to Heaven; in darkness it beholdeth brightness: in hiding his face from us, it beholdeth his merry countenance. How

God cannot be seen, but covered under some thing how Faith seeth God, where he is seen.

did Job see God, but as (you would say) under Satans cloak? For who cast the fire from Heaven upon his goods? Who overthrew his house, and stirred up men to take away his Cattel, but Satan? and yet Job pierced through all these, and saw Gods work, saying, The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away, &c.

In reading of the Psalms, how often do you see that David in the shadow of death saw Gods sweet love? And so, my dearly beloved, I see that you in your darkness and dimness by Faith do see clarity and brightness: by Faith, I say, because Faith is of things absent, of things hoped for, of things which I appeal to your Conscience, whether you desire not. And can you desire any thing which you know not? And is there of heavenly things any other true knowledge than by Faith?

Therefore (my dear Heart) be thankful, for (before God I write it) you have great cause. Ah, my Joy, how happy is the stay wherein you are? Verily you are even in the blessed state of Gods Children; for they mourn, and do not you so? And that not for worldly wealth, but for spiritual riches, Faith, Hope, Charity, &c. Do you not hunger and thirst for Righteousness? And I pray you, faith not Christ, who cannot lie, that happy are such? How should God wipe away the tears from your eyes in Heaven, if now on Earth ye shed no tears? How could Heaven be a place of rest, if on Earth ye find it? How could ye desire to be at home, if in your Journey you found no grief? How could ye so often call upon God, and talk with him, as I know you do, if your Enemy should sleep all day long? How should you elsewhere be made like unto Christ, I mean in joy, if in sorrow you fobbed not with him? If you will have joy and felicity, you must first needs feel sorrow and misery. If you will go to Heaven, you must sail by Hell, if you will embrace Christ in his robes, you must not think scorn of him in his rags. If you will sit at Christs table in his Kingdoms, you must first abide with him in his temptations. If you will drink of his Cup of glory, forsake not his Cup of ignominy.

Can the Head Corner-stone be rejected, and the other more base Stones in Gods building be in this world left by? you are one of his lively Stones, be content therefore to be hewn and shaped at, that you might be made more meet to be joynted to your fellows which suffer with you. Satans snatches, the Worlds wounds, contempt of Conscience, and threats of the Flesh, where-through they are enforced to cry, Oh Wretches that we are, who shall deliver us? you are of Gods Corn, fear not therefore the Flail, the Fan, Millstone nor Oven. You are one of Christs Lambs, look therefore to be fleeced, haled at, and even slain.

If you were a Market-sheep, you should go in more fat and grassie Pasture. If you were for the Fair, you should be Stall-fed, and want no weal: but because you are of Gods own occupying, therefore you must pasture on the bare Common, abiding the storms and tempests that will fall. Happy, and twice happy are you (my dear Sister) that God now halleth you whither you would not, that you might come whither you would. Suffer a little and be still. Let Satan rage against you, let the World cry out, let your Conscience accuse you, let the Law load you and press you down, yet shall they not prevail, for Christ is Emmanuel, that is, God with us. If God be with us, who can be against us? The Lord is with you, your Father cannot forget you; your Spouse loveth you. If the waves and furies arise, cry with Peter, Lord, I perish; and he will put out his hand and help you. Cast out your anchor of Hope, and it will not cease for the stormy furies, till it take hold on the rock of Gods truth and mercy.

Think not that he which hath given you so many things corporally; as inductions of Spiritual and Heavenly Mercies, and that without your deserts or desire, can deny you any spiritual comfort, desiring it. For if he give to desire, he will give you to have and enjoy the thing desired. The desire to have, and the going about to assure, ought to certify your Conscience, that they be his earnest of the thing which you asking he will give you; yea, before you ask, and whilst you are about to ask he will grant the same, as Isaiah saith, faith, to his glory and your eternal consolation. He that spared not his own Son for you, will

The state of Gods Children defined.

Mark. 11.

The way to Heaven is through hell.

Threats of the Flesh.

Gods sheep must feed on the bare Common, where the Devils curs are stalled.

Rom. 8.

Mark 8.

Philippi. Desire of spiritual comfort, though it be asking is a great gift of God.

not

not nor cannot think any thing too good for you, my heartily Beloved.

If he had not chosen you, (as most certainly he hath) he would not have so called you, he would never have justified you; he would never have so glorified you with his gracious gifts, which I know, praised be his Name therefore; he would never have so exercised your Faith with Temptations as he hath done and doth; if (I say) he had not chosen you, if he hath chosen you (as doubtless, dear Heart, he hath done in Christ, for in you I have seen his earnest, and before me and to me you could not deny it, I know both where and when) if I say, he have chosen you, then neither can you, nor ever shall you perish. For if you fail, he putteth under his hand; you shall not lie still; so careful is Christ your keeper over you. Never was Mother so mindful over her Child, as he is over you. And hath not he always been so?

Speak Woman, when did he finally forget you? And will he, how true you, in your most need do otherwise, you calling upon him, and desiring, to please him? Ah (my Joy) think you God to be mutable? Is he a changing? Doth not he love to the end them whom he loveth? Are not his gifts and calling such, that he cannot repent him of them? For else were he no God. If you should perish, then wanted he power; for I am certain his will towards you is not to be doubted of. Hath not the Spirit, which is the Spirit of Truth, told you so? And will you now hearken with Eve to the lying Spirit which would have you not to despair (no, he goeth more craftily to work, howbeit to that end, if you should give ear unto it, which God forbid) but to doubt and stand in a maiming, and so should you never truly love God, but serve him of a servile fear, lest he should call you off for your unworthiness and unthankfulness, as though your thankfulness or worthiness were any cause with God, why he hath chosen you, or will finally keep you.

Ah mine own dear Heart, Christ only, Christ only, and his Mercy and Truth. In him is the cause of your Election. This Christ, this Mercy, this Truth of God remaineth for ever, is certain for ever, I say, for ever. If an Angel from Heaven should tell you contrary, accused be he. Your thankfulness and worthiness are fruits and effects of your Election, they are no causes. These fruits and effects, shall be so much more fruitful and effectual, by how much you waver not.

Therefore (my dearly Beloved) arise, and remember from whence you are fallen. You have a Shepherd which never slumbereth nor sleepeth; No Man nor Devil can pull you out of his hands. Night and day he commandeth his Angels to keep you. Have you forgotten what I read to you out of the Psalm, *The Lord is my Shepherd, I can want nothing*? Do you not know that God spared Noah in the Ark on the outside, so that he could not get out? So hath he done to you (my good Sister, so hath he done to you) Ten thousand shall fall on your right hand, and twenty thousand on your left hand, yet no evil shall touch you. Say boldly therefore, *Many a time from my youth up have they fought against me, but they have not prevailed*; no, nor never shall prevail, for the Lord is round about his People. And who are the People of God, but such as hope in him? Happy are they that hope in the Lord, and you are one of those, my dear Heart, for I am assured you have hoped in the Lord; I have your words to shew most manifestly, and I know they were written unfeignedly. Indeed need not to say, that even before God you have simply confessed to me, and that oftentimes no less. And if once you had this hope, as you doubtless had it, though now you feel it not, yet shall you feel it again: for the anger of the Lord lasteth but a moment, but his mercy lasteth for ever. Tell me (my dear Heart) who hath so weakened you? Surely not a persuasion which came from him that called you. For why should you waver? Why should you waver, and be so heavy hearted? Whom look you on? On your self? on your worthiness? On your thankfulness? On that which God requireth of you, as faith, hope, love, fear, joy, &c. Then can you not but waver indeed: for what have you as God requireth? Believe you, hope you, love you, &c. as much as you should do? No, no, nor ever can in this life. Ah, my dearly Beloved, have you so soon forgotten that which ever should be had in memory? Namely, that when you would and should be

certain and quiet in Conscience, then should your Faith burst throughout all things not only that you have in you, or else are in Heaven, Earth or Hell, until it come to Christ crucified, and the eternal sweet mercies and goodness of God in Christ? Here, here is the resting place, here is your Spouse's bed; creep into it, and in your arms of Faith embrace him, bewail your weakness, unworthiness, your diffidence, & can you shall see he will turn to you. What said I, You shall see? Nay, I should have said, You shall feel he will turn to you. You know that *Moses*, when he went to the Mount to talk with God, he entered into a dark Cloud, and *Helias* had his face covered when God passed by. Both these dear Friends of God heard of God, but they saw him not, but you would be preferred before them. See now (my dear Heart) how covetous are we. Ah, be thankful, be thankful. But God be praised, your covetousness is *Moses* covetousness. Well, with him you shall be satisfied. But when? Forsooth when he shall appear. Here is not the time of seeing, but as it were in a glass. I am deceived, because he was not content with hearing only.

Therefore to make an end of these many words, where-with I fear me I do but trouble you from better exercises; inasmuch as you are indeed the Child of God elect in Christ before the beginning of all times, inasmuch as you are given to the custody of Christ, as one of Gods most precious Jewels; inasmuch as Christ is faithful and hitherto hath all power, so that you shall never perish, no, one hair of your head shall not be lost: I beseech you, I pray you, I desire you, I crave at your hands with all my very heart, I ask of you with hand, pen, tongue and mind, in Christ, through Christ, for Christ, for his Name, Blood, Mercies, Power, and Truths sake, my most entirely beloved Sister, that you admit no doubting of Gods final mercies towards you, howsoever you feel your self; but to complain to God, and crave of him, as of your tender and dear Father, all things, and in that time which shall be most opportune, you shall find and feel far above that your heart or the heart of any Creature can conceive, to your eternal Joy. Amen, Amen, Amen.

The good Spirit of God always keep us as his dear Children; he comfort you, as I desire to be comforted, my dearly Beloved, for evermore. Amen.

I break up thus abruptly, because our Common Prayer time calleth me. The Peace of Christ dwell in both our hearts for ever, Amen.

As for the Report of *W. Pa.* if it be as you hear, you must prepare to bear it. It is written on Heavens door, *Do well, and bear evil*. Be content therefore to hear whatsover the Enemy shall imagine to blot you withal. Gods Holy Spirit always comfort and keep you, Amen, Amen. This 8th of August, by him that in the Lord desireth to you, as well and as much felicity as to his own heart.

John Bradford.

Here followeth another Letter of his written to the good Lady Vane, wherein he resolveth certain questions which she demanded. This Lady Vane was a special Nurse, with a great supporter to her power of the godly Saints, which were imprisoned in *Q. Maries* time. Unto whom divers Letters I have both of *Mr. Philpot*, *Careless*, *Trabern*, *Thomas Rose*, and of others more, wherein they render unto her most grateful thanks for her exceeding goodness extended towards them, with their singular commendation and testimony also of her Christian zeal towards Gods afflicted Prisoners, and to the verity of his Gospel. She departed of late at *Halborn*, Anno 1568, whose end was more like a sleep, than any death; so quietly and meekly the deceased and parted hence in the Lord.

Amongst other which wrote unto her, Mr. Bradford also sent these Letters to the said Lady; the tenor whereof here followeth.

To my good Lady Vane.

It he true true and sweet feeling of Gods eternal mercies in Christ Jesus be ever more and more lively wrought in your heart by the Holy Ghost, Amen.

I most heartily thank you (good Madam) for your comfortable Letter; and whereas you would be advertised what were best to be done on your behalf, concerning your three questions; the truth is that the questions

Rom. 8.

Exercise of Temptations a greater trial then Election.

Rom. 11.

Every lying spirit not to be hearkened unto. Satan seeketh to bring trouble to Conscience to doubting, but Gods promise in Christ standeth sure for ever. All our Election is in and for Christ only.

Psal. 110.

Psal. 23.

Psal. 90.

Psal. 115.

Though feeling full, yet let hope hold fast.

The eye of Faith must look upon nothing else but only Christ crucified.

Anno

1555.

Learn here to put away doubting, all trouble leaves thee look after Christ.

The Poetic written upon Heavens gates.

Commendation on the Lady Vane.

Note how God commonly rewardeth the helpers and friends of his Saints.

A Letter of M. Bradford written to the good Lady Vane, wherein he discuteth doubts concerning things to be done.

Anno 1555. The abominable of the Mass let forth this question were conceived by the Mass where in the deliverance of his Judgment.

are never was seen, nor answered, until the thing whereof they arise be well considered. I mean until it be seen how great an evil the thing is. If it be once indeed in your heart perceived, upon visible and pitiful places gathered out of Gods Book, that there was never thing upon the Earth so great, and so much an Adversary to Gods true service, to Church, to Priest, to Pulpit, to Priesthood, Sacrifice and Kingdom, to the ministry of Gods Word and Sacraments, to the Church of Gods Repentance, Faith, and all true godliness of Life, as that is whereof the questions arise (as most assuredly it is indeed) then cannot a Christian heart but so much the more abhor it, and all things that in any point might seem to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the same, how much it hath the name of Gods service.

Again, your Ladship doth know, that as all is to be discommended and avoided, which is followed or fled from in respect of our selves, in respect of avoiding Christs Cross: so the end of all our doings should be to Godwards: to his glory, to our Neighbours, to edification and good Example, whereof none can be given in allowing any of the three questions by you propounded. But because this which I write now is brief, and needeth the more consideration or explication; as I doubt not of the one in you, so from me by Gods grace you shall receive the other shortly. For I have already written a little Book of it, which I will send unto you, in the which you shall have your questions fully answered and satisfied, and therefore I omit to write any more hereabout presently; beseeching God, our good Father, to guide you as his dear Child with his Spirit of wisdom, power, and comfort, unto eternal life, that you may be strong, and rejoice in him and with his Church, to carry Christs Cross, if he shall so think it need, 1 Per. 1. Which is a thing to be desired, wished, and embraced, if we looked on things after the judgment of Gods Word, and tried them by that Touch-stone.

If you be accustomed to think on the brevity, vanity, and misery of this life, and on the eternity, truth, and felicity of everlasting life; if you look on things after their ends, and not after their present appearance only; if you use your self to let Gods presence, power and mercy always before your eyes, to see them; as God by every Creature would you should; I doubt not but you shall find such strength and comfort in the Lord, as you shall not be shaken with all the power of Satan. Gods mercy in Christ be with you, and his good Spirit guide you for ever, Amen.

Another Letter to the Lady Vane.

Another Letter of M. Bradford to the Lady Vane.

As to mine own Soul, I wish to your Ladship grace and mercy from God our dear Father in Christ our Lord and Saviour.

I thank God that something he hath eased you, and mitigated his Fatherly correction in us both; I would to God he had done so much in the behalf of the grief of the Body to you; as he hath done to me. For as for the Soul, I trust you feel that which I pray God increase in you, I mean his Fatherly love, and grant that I may with you feel the same in such degree as may please him; I will not say as you feel, lest I should seem to ask too much at one time. God doth often much more plentifully visit with the sense of his mercy them that humble themselves under his mighty hand, and are fore exercised as you long have been; than others, which to the face of the World have a more show and appearance.

Therefore I wish as I do, and that not only for mine own commodity, but also that I might occasion you to the consideration of the goodness of God, which I by your Letters do well spy; which is indeed the high-way, whereby as God increaseth his gifts, so sheweth he more lively his salvation, Psal. 50. 107. I have received Gods Blessing from you, the which I have partly distributed unto my three Fellow-Priesters, Mr. Farrar, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Philpot, and the residue I will bestow upon four poor Souls which are imprisoned in the common Gaol for Religion also. As for mine own part, if I had need, I would have served my turn also. But because I had not, nor I thank God have not, I have been and will be your Almoner in such sort as I have already advertized you. God reward you and give you to find it spiritually and corporally. Because otherwise I cannot talk with you, therefore on this sort, as occasion and opportunity will serve, I am ready

to shew my good will and desire of your help and furtherance in the Lord to everlasting life, wherunto God bring us shortly for his mercies sake, Amen.

Good Madam, be thankful to God, as I hope you be; be earnest in prayer, continue in reading and hearing Gods Word, and if Gods further Cross come, as therein God doth serve his Providence (for else it shall not come unto you) so be certain the same shall turn to your eternal joy and comfort, Amen.

John Bradford.
To my dear Friends and Brethren, R. and E. with their Wives and Families.

The comfort of Christ felt commonly of his Children in their Cross for his sake, the everlasting God work in both your hearts, my good Brethren, and in the hearts of both your Yoke-fellows, especially of good Mary, my good Sister in the Lord, Amen.

If I had not something heard of the hazard which you are in for the Gospels sake, if you continue the profession and confession thereof, as I trust you do and will do, and that unto the end, God enabling you, as he will double for his mercies sake, if you hope in him (for this bindeth him, as David in Christs person witnesseth, Our Fathers hoped in thee, and thou deliverest them, &c. Psal. 22.) yet by conjectures I could not but suppose (though not so certainly) the time of your suffering and probation to be at hand. For now is the power of darkness fully come upon this Realm most justly for our sins, and abusing the Light lent us of the Lord, to the setting forth of our selves more than Gods glory, that as well we might be brought into the better knowledge of our evils, and so heartily repent (which God grant us to do) as also we might have more feeling and sense of our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, by the humbling and dejecting us, thereby to make us as more desirous of him, so him more sweet and pleasant unto us; the which thing the good Spirit of God work sensibly in all our hearts for Gods holy Names sake.

For this cause I thought it my duty, being now where I have some liberty to write (the Lord be praised) and hearing of you as I hear; to do that which I should have done, if I had heard nothing at all; that is, to desire you to be of good cheer and comfort in the Lord (although in the world you see cause rather to the contrary) and to go on forwards in the way of God wherunto you are entered, considering that the same cannot but so much more and more wax strait to the outward man, by how much you draw nearer to the end of it: even as in the travel of a Woman, the nearer she draweth to her delivery, the more her pains increase; so it goeth with us in the Lords way, the nearer we draw to our deliverance by death to our eternal felicity.

Example whereof we have, I will not say, in the holy Prophets and Apostles of God, which when they were young girded themselves, and went in manner whither they would, but when they waxed old, they went girded of others, whither they would not, concerning the outward man; but rather and most lively in our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose life and way was much more painful to him towards the end, than it was at the beginning. And no marvel, for Satan can something abide a man to begin well, and sit forwards, but rather than he should go on to the end, he will vomit his gorge, and cast out floods to overflow him, before he will suffer that to come to pass.

Therefore as we should not be dismayed now at this world, as though some strange thing were happened unto us, in that it is but as it was wont to be to the godly, in that the Devil declareth himself after his old wont, in that we have professed no less, but to forsake the World and the Devil, as Gods very Enemies, in that we learned no less at the first, when we came to Gods School, than to deny our selves, and take up our Cross and follow our Master, which leadeth us none other way than he himself hath gone before us: as I say, we should not be dismayed, so we should with patience and joy go forwards, if we set before us as present the time to come, like as the wife in her travel doth the deliverance of her Child, and as the Saints of God did, but especially our Saviour and pattern Jesus Christ; for the Apostle saith, He is before him the joy and glory to come, and therefore He is contented the shame and sorrow of the Cross; so if we did, we should find at the length as they found.

For

Another Letter of M. Bradford to two faithful Friends of his, one Reynold, and John.

The nearer we come to the journey end, travelling to Heaven, the nearer is the way. Example of the travel of a Woman. John 21. Example of Christ and his Apostles.

The malice of the Devil no new thing.

Godly counted
flaring us to
the con-
tent of this
sanitary
line.

For whom would it grieve which hath a long journey to go through a piece of foul way, if he knew that after that the way should be most pleasant, yea the journey should be ended, and he at his resting place most happy? Who will be afraid, or loath to leave a little pelf for a little time, if he knew he should shortly after receive most plentiful riches? Who will be unwilling for a little while to forsake his Wife, Children, or Friends, &c. when he knoweth he shall shortly after be associated unto them inseparably, even after his own hearts desire? Who will be sorry to forsake his life, which cannot but be most certain of Eternal life? Who loveth the shadow better than the Body? Who can love this life, but they that regard not the life to come? Who can desire the dross of this World, but such as be ignorant of the treasures of the everlasting joy in Heaven? I mean, who is afraid to dye, but such as hope not to live eternally? Christ hath promised pleasures, riches, joy, felicity, and all good things to them that for his sake lose any thing, and suffer any sorrow. And is he not true? How can he but be true? for guile was never found in his mouth.

March 19.

1 Pet. 2.

The flatter-
ing promi-
ses of this
world, il-
l-favourably
performed.

Alas then, why are we so slack and slow, yea hard of heart to believe him, promising us thus plentifully eternal blissfulness, and are so ready to believe the World promising us many things, and paying us nothing? If we will curry favour now, and halt on both parts, then it promiseth us peace, quietness, and many others things else. But how doth it pay this gear? or if it pay it, with what quietness of conscience? Or if so; how long I pray you? Do not we see before our eyes, men to dye shamefully, I mean as rebels and other malefactors, which refuse to dye for Gods cause? What way is so sure a way to heaven, as to suffer in Christs cause? If there be any way on horse-back to Heaven, surely this is the way; By many troubles (saith the Apostle) we must enter into Heaven. All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. For the World cannot love them that are of GOD; the Devil cannot love his enemies; the World will love none but his own: you are Christs, therefore look for no love here. Should we look for fire to quench our thirst? And as soon shall Gods true Servants find peace and favour in Antichrists regiment.

Acts 14.
2 Tim. 3.

Therefore (my dearly beloved) be stout in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on your armour; stand in the liberty of Christ which you have learned; rejoice that you may be counted worthy to suffer any thing for Gods cause: to all men this is not given. Your reward is great in Heaven, though in Earth ye find nothing. The journey is almost past, you are almost in the Haven. Hail on apace I beseech you, and merrily hoilc up your sails. Cast your selves on Christ, who careth for you. Keep company with him now still to the end; he is faithful, and will never leave you, nor tempt you further than that he will make you able to bear; yea in the midst of the temptation he will make an out-scape. Now pray unto him heartily, be thankful of his indignation, rejoice in hope of the health you shall receive, & be mindful of us which are in the vaward, and by Gods grace trust in Christ to be made able to break the Ice before you, that you following may find the way more easie. God grant it may be, Amen, Amen.

Take heed the
Cross with
courage.

Out of prison by your Brother in Christ.
John Bradford.

To Mrs. Wilkinjon.

A Letter of
Mr. Bradford
to Mrs. Wil-
kinjon.

Almighty God our most loving Father, increase in your heart (my good Mother and dear Mistis in the Lord) his true knowledge and love in Christ, to the encouraging and comforting of your faith in these stormy days; as necessary unto us, so profitable if we persist unto the end, which thing God grant to us, Amen.

My right dearly beloved, I know not what other thing to write unto you, than to desire you to be thankful to the Lord, in that amongst the not many of your calling and state, it pleaseth him to give you his rare blessing, I mean to keep you from all the filth wherewith our country is horribly defiled. This blessing assuredly is rare as you see. But now if he shall bless you with another blessing, which is more rare, I mean to call you forth

asa Martyr, and a witness aginst this filth, I hope you will become double thankful. For a greater token commonly we have not to judge of our election and salvation, next to Christ and faith in him, than the Cross, especially when it is so glorious, as on this sort to suffer any thing, but chiefly loss of this life, which indeed is never found till it be so lost; except the grain of wheat fall and be dead, it remaineth fruitless.

Ann.
1555.

The Cross
a great token
of election.

You know that he which was rapt into the third Heaven, and did know what he wrote, doth say, *That as the corn liveth not, except it be dead and cast into the Earth, so shall our bodies.* And therefore the Cross should be little fear us, that even Death it self should altogether be desired of us, as the Taylor which putteth off our rags, and arayeth us with the royall robes of immortality, incorruption and glory. Great shame it should be for us, that all the whole creatures of God should desire, yea groan in their kind for our liberty, and we our selves to loath it, as doubtless we do, if for the Cross, yea for Death it self, we with joy swallow not up all sorrow that might let us from following the Lords calling, and obeying the Lords providence; whereby doubtless all Crosses, and Death it self doth come, and not by hap or chance. In consideration whereof, right dear Mother, that this providence stretcheth it self fo into us, and for us, that even the hairs of our heads are numbered with God, not one of them to fall to our hurt; surely we declare our selves very faint in faith, if we receive not such comfort, that we can willingly offer our selves to the Lord, and cast our whole care upon his back, honouring him with this honour, that he is and ever will be careful for us, and all we have, as for his dear Children. Be therefore of good cheer even in the midst of these miseries, be thankful to the Lord, and prepare your self for a further trial; which if God fend you, as I hope, so do you believe, that God therein will help and comfort you, and make you able to bear whatsoever shall happen. And thus much, having this opportunity, I thought good to write, praying God our Father to recompence into your bosome all the good that ever you have done, to me especially, and to many other, both in this time of trouble, and always heretofore.

Your own in the Lord,
John Bradford.

Another Letter written to certain godly persons, incouraging them to prepare themselves with patience to the Cross.

Gracious God and most merciful Father, for Jesus Christs sake, thy dearly beloved Son, grant us thy mercy, grace, wisdom, and Holy Spirit to counsel, comfort, and guide us, in all our cogitations, words and works, to thy glory, and our everlasting joy and peace for ever, Amen.

Another
fruitful
Letter of Mr.
Bradford ex-
horting
from the
love of this
world, to
the patient
bearing of
the Cross.

In my last Letter you might perceive my conjecturing to be no less towards you, than now have learned. But (my dearly beloved) I have learned none other thing, than before have told you would come to pass, if ye call not away that which ye have learned. I do appeal to both your Consciences, whether herein I speak truth, as well of my telling (though not so often as I might and should, God forgive me) as also of your learning. Now God will try you, to make others to learn by you, that which ye learned by others, and by them which have suffered this day ye might learn (if already ye had not learned) that life and honour is not to be set by more than Gods commandment. They in no point for all that ever their ghostly Fathers could do, having Doctor Death to take their part, would consent, or seem to consent to the Popish Mass and Papistical god, otherwise than in the days of our late King they had received. And this their faith they have confessed with their deaths to their great glory, and all our comforts, if we follow them; but to our confusion, if we start back from the same. Wherefore I beseech you to consider, as well to praise God for them, as to go the same way with them, if God so will.

The Lady
Jane and her
husband
were be-
headed that
day.
Doctor
Death the
Popes
Chaplain

Consider not the things of this life, which is a very prison to all Gods Children; but the things of everlasting life, which is our very home. But to the beholding of this gear, ye must open the eyes of your mind, of faith

I should

Anno 1555.
 Example of
 Mofes, for
 taking Phara-
 ahs hards,
 to go with
 Gods Peo-
 ple.
 Gods love-
 tokens.
 A Strumpet
 loveth more
 by her to-
 kens, than
 by her
 liver.

I should have faid, as *Mofes* did, which fit more by trouble with Gods People, than by the riches of Egypt, and Pharaohs Court. Your house, home, and goods, yea life, and all that ever ye have; God hath given you as love-tokens, to admonish you of his love, and to win your love to him again. Now will he try your love whether ye set more by him than by his tokens, or no. If ye for his tokens sake, that is for your home, house, goods, yea life, will go with the world, left ye should lose them, then be assured, your loves as he cannot but essay it to be a Strumpets love, so will he cast it away with the world. Remember that he which will save his life shall lose it, if Christ be true: but he which adventureth, yea loseth his life, for the Gospels sake, the same shall be sure to find it eternally. Do not ye know that the way to salvation, is not the broad way which many run in, but the straight way which few now walk in?

In King Edwards time the high-way could not be known.

Before Persecution came, men might partly have stood in a doubt by the outward state of the world with us (although by Gods Word it was plain) whether was the high way (for there were as many that pretended the Gospel, as Popery: but now the Sun is risen, and the wind bloweth, so that the corn which hath not taken full root, cannot nor will not abide; and therefore easily ye may see the straight way by the small number that passeth thorow it. Who will now adventure their goods and life for Christ sake, which yet gave his life for our sakes? We are now become *Gergesites*, that would rather lose Christs than our *Porkers*. A faithful wife is never tried so to be, but when she rejecteth and withstandeth wooers. A faithful Christian is then found so to be, when his Faith is assaulted.

Math. 5.
 Gergesites
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If we be not able, I mean, if we will not forsake this world for Gods glory and Gospels sake, trow ye that God will make us able, or give us a will to forsake it for natures sake? Dye ye must once, and leave all ye have (God knoweth how soon and when) will ye, or will ye not; and seeing perforce ye must do this, will ye not willingly now do it for Gods sake?

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If ye go to *Mafs*, and do as the most part doth, then may ye live at rest and quietly; but if ye deny to go to it then shall ye go to prison, lose your goods, leave your Children comfortless, yea lose your life also. But (my dearly Beloved) open the eyes of your faith, and see how short a thing this life is, even a very shadow and smoke. Again, see how intolerable the punishment of hell fire is, and that endless. Last of all, look on the Joys incomprehensible, which God hath prepared for all them world without end, which lose either lands or goods for his Names sake. And then do ye reason thus; If we go to *Mafs*, the greatest enemy that Christ hath, though for a little time we shall live in quiet, and leave to our Children that they may live by heretics, yet shall we displease God, fall into his hands (which is horrible to hypocrites) and be in wonderful hazard of falling from eternal joy into eternal misery, first of soul, and then of body, with the Devil and all Idolaters.

Again, we shall want peace of Conscience, which surmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our Children, who knoweth whether God will visit our Idolatry on them in this life? yea our house and goods are in danger of losing, as our lives be through many casualties: and when God is angry with us, he can fend always, when he will, one mean or another to take all from us for our sins, and to cast us into care for our own sakes, which will not come into some little trouble for his sake.

On this sort reason with your selves, and then doubtless God will work otherwise with you, and in you, than ye are ware of. Where now ye think your selves unable to abide persecution, be most assured, if so be ye purpose not to forsake God, that God will make you so able to bear his Cross, that therein you shall rejoice. Faithful is God (saith *Paul*) which will not tempt you further than he will make you able to bear, yea he will give you an out-escape in the Cross, which shall be to your comfort. Think how great a benefit it is, if God will vouch you worthy this honour; to suffer loss of any thing for his sake. He might justly cast most grievous plagues upon you, and yet now he will correct you with that Rod whereby you shall be made like to his Christ, that for ever ye may reign with him. Suffer your selves therefore now to be made

like to Christ, for else ye shall never be made like unto him. The Devil would gladly have you now to overthrow that which Godly ye have of long time professed. Oh how would he triumph, if he could win his purpose? Oh how would the Papists triumph against Gods Gospel in you? Oh how would you confirm them in their wicked Popery? Oh how would the poor Children of God be discomforted, if now you should go to *Mafs* and other Idolatrous service, and do as the world doth?

Hath God delivered you from the fiew to serve him so? Hath God miraculously restored you to health from your grievous Agues for such a purpose? Hath God given you such blessings in this world, and good things all the days of your life hitherto, and now of equity will ye not receive at his hands, and for his sake, some evil? God forbid: I hope better of you. Use prayer, and cast your care upon God; commit your Children into his hands; give to God your goods, bodies, and lives, as he hath given them, or rather lent them unto you. Say with Job; *God hath given, and God hath taken away, his name be prais'd forever.* Cast your care upon him, say, for he is curd, for ye; and take it amongst the greatest blessings of God, to suffer for his sake. I trust he hath kept you hitherto to that end.

And I beseech thee, O merciful Father, for Jesus Christs sake, that, thou wouldest be merciful unto us, comfort us with thy grace, and strengthen us in thy truth, that in heart we may believe, and in tongue boldly confess thy Gospel, to thy glory, and our eternal salvation, Amen. Pray for me, and I by Gods grace will do the same for you.

John Bradford.

An admonition to certain Professors of the Gospel, to beware they fall not from it, in consenting to the Romish Religion, by the example of other halting and double-faced Gossellers.

The peace of Christ, which is the true effect of Gods Gospel believed (my dearly Beloved) be more and more plentifully perceived of you, through the grace of our dear Father, by the mighty working of the Holy Spirit our comforter, Amen.

Though I have many Letters presently to hinder me from writing unto you, yet being desired, I could not but something signify my ready good will in this behalf so much as I may, when I cannot so much as I would. You hear and see how Satan bestirreth him, raging as a roaring Lion to devour us. You see and feel partly what storms he hath raised up to drown the poor boat of Christ, I mean his Church. You see how terribly he traineth his souldiers, to give a fierce onset on the vaward of Gods battle. You see how he hath received power of God, to molest Gods Children, and to begin at his House. By reason whereof consider two things; one, the cause on our behalf; the other, what will be the sequel on strangers.

For the first, if we be not blind, we cannot but well see that our sins are the cause of all this misery; our sins, I say, which I would that every one of us would apply to our selves after the example of *Jenar* and *David*, turning over the waller, that other mens offences might lye behind, and our own before. Not that I would excuse other men, which exteriorly have walked much more grossly than many of you have done; but that I would provoke you all as my self, to more hearty repentance and prayer. Let us more and more increase to know and lament our doubting of God, of his presence, power, anger, mercy, &c.

Let us better feel and hate our self-love, security, negligence, unthankfulness, unbelief, impatience, &c. and then doubtless the Cross shall be less fearful, yea it shall be comfortable, and Christ most dear and pleasant; death then shall be desired, as the dispatcher of us out of misery, and entrance into eternal felicity and joy unspeakable, the which is so much the more longed for, by how much we feel indeed the serpents bites, wherewith he woundeth our heels, that is, our outward *Adam* and Senses. If we had, I say, a lively and true feeling of his poison, we could not but as rejoice over our Captain that hath bruised his head, so be desirous to follow his example,

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that is, to give our lives with him and for him, and so fill up his passions, that he might conquer and overcome in us and by us, to his glory and comfort of his Children.

Now the second (I mean the fequel, or that which will follow on the strangers) my dearly Be-loved, let us well look upon. For if so be that God justly do thus give to Satan and his feed to vex and molest Christ and his penitent people; Oh what and how justly may he and will he likewise give to Satan to intreat the wretcheles and impenitent sinners? If Judgements begin thus at Gods house, what will hee doo to the world?

If God's
Judgment
be so short
to his Chil-
dren, what
will it be
to his En-
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Math. S.

The doing
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the wicked
are rebuked,
and what is
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thereof.

follow on the rest: but without, if they repent not: Certainly forthem is delivered the dregs of Gods Cup, that is Brimstone, fire, and tempest intolerable. Now are they unwilling to drink of Gods Cup of afflictions, which he offereth common with his Son Christ our Lord, left they should lose their Pigs with the *Georgistia*. They are unwilling to come into the way that bringeth to Heaven, even afflictions: they in their hearts cry, *Let us cast the yoke from us*; they walk two ways, that is, they fecke to God and Mammon, which is impossible; they will not come nigh the strait way that bringeth to life; they feyfe their eyes to beholde present things only; they judge of Religion after reason, and not after Gods word; they follow the more part, and not the better; they professe God with their mouths, but in their hearts they deny him: or else they would flake him by serving him more than men; they part flake with God, which would have all giving part to the world, to the *Komms* rout, and Antichristian idolatry now set abroad among us publicly; they will have Christ, but none of his Crofs, which will not be; they will be counted to live godly in Christ, but yet they will suffer no persecution; they love this world, where-through the love of God is driven forth of them; they favour of those things that be of men, and not that be of God: *Summa*, they love God in their lips, but in their hearts, yea and in their deeds deny him, as well by not repenting their evils past, as by continuing in evil will, and by doing as the world, the flesh, and the Devil willets, and yet still perchance they will pray, or rather prate, *Thy will be done in earth*, which is generally that every one should take up his Crofs and follow Christ. But this is a hard saying. Who is able to abide it? Therefore Christ must be prayed to depart, left all the Pigs be drowned. The Devil shall have his dwelling again in themselves rather than in their Pigs, and therefore to the Devil they shall go, and dwell with him in eternal perdition and damnation, even in hell fire, a torment endless, and above all cogitations incomprehensible, if they repent not.

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open our eyes to see his hid Manna, heavenly *Jerusalem*,
the Congregation of his first born, the melody of the
Saints, the Tabernacle of God dwelling with men: then
should we run and become violent men, and to take the
Kingdom of Heaven as it were by force. God our Father
give us for his Christs sake to see a little, what and how
great joy he hath prepared for us, he hath called us unto,
and most assuredly giveth us for his own goodness and
truths sake, *Amen*.

My dearly beloved, repent, be sober, and watch in prayer, be obedient, and after your vocations, shew your obedience to the Higher Powers in all things that are not against Gods word; therein acknowledge the sovereign power of the Lord: howbeit, so that ye be no rebels, or rebels for no cause; but because with good conscience you cannot obey, be patient, suffer, and the glory and good spirit of God shall dwell upon us. I pray you remember us your afflicted brethren, being in the Lords bonds for the testimony of Christ, and abiding the gracious hour of our dear and most merciful Father. The Lord for Christs sake, give us merry hearts to drink lustily of his sweet cup, which daily we groan and grieve for, lamenting that the time is thus prolonged. The Lord Jesus give us grace to be thankful, and to abide patiently the provident hour of his most gracious will, Amen, Amen. From the Counter in the Psaltery.

Tours in Christ, John Bradford

To my good Brother *John Careles*, Prisoner in the
Kings Bench.

THe Father of mercy and God of all comfort, visit us
with his eternal consolation, according to his great
mercies in Jesus Christ our Saviour, Amen.

My very dear Brother, if I shall report the truth unto you, I cannot but signify, that since I came into prison, I never received so much consolation as I did by your last Letter, the Name of God be most heartily praised therefore. But if I shall report the truth unto you, and as I have begun, I speak still the verity, I must confess, that for mine unthankfulness to you-wards, and to God especially I have more need of Gods merciful tidings, than I had ever heretofore. Ab that Satan envious as I so greatly; Ab that our Lord would tread his bead under our feet flurly. Ab that I might for ever both my self beware, and be a goodly example to you and others to beware of unthankfulness. Good Brother Careless, we had more need to take heed, after a lightning of a feu then before. God therefore is to be praised even when he bid th, and that nor of long but cheerful countenance from myself we being not expere how to sife it as we should do, do hurt more our selves thereby, so great is our ignorance and corruption. This my good Brother and right dear to my very heart, I write unto you, as to one whom in the Lord I imbrace, and I thank God that you do me in like manner. God our Father more and more give us both his good Spirit, that as by Faith we may feel our selves united unto him in Christ; so by love we may feel our selves linked in the same Christ onto another, I to you, and you to me, we to all the Children of God, and all the Children of God to us, Amen, Amen.

Commend me to your good Brother Skeithrop, for whom This Sat-
day was
Free will
man.
I heartily praise my God, which hath given him to see his
truth at the length, and to give place to it. I doubt not that
he will be so freely in all his conversation, that his
old acquaintance may ever thereby think them selves
afraid. And we again should be unto us, if by our
example should make men to Humble at the truth. Forge
net salutations in Christ, as you shall think good to Trev,
and his fellows. The Lord bath his time (I hope) for them
also, although we perchance think otherwise. A drop
methinks the stone follow, not with once, but with
often dropping: so if with hearty prayer for them, and
good example, you fill and drop upon them as you can,
you shall see Gods work at the length. I beseech God
to make perfect all the good be hath begun in us all, Amen.
I desire you all to pray for me the most unworthy prisoner
of the Lord.

Your Brother, *J. N. Broadbent*

To

Anno
1555.

Anno

1555.

To Mr. John Hall and his Wife, Prisoners in Newgate for the testimony of the Gospel.

Another Letter of Mr. Bradford to Mr. Hall and his Wife in Newgate Prison.

The Crofs taken without Gods lending.

Worldly Iohns recompensed with endless and perpetual gain by the Crofs.

What commodities the Crofs bringeth.

Promises annexed to the Crofs.

A Almighty God our heavenly Father through Jesus Christ, be with you both, my dearly Beloved, as with his dear Children for ever, and so he bleſs you with his Holy Spirit, that you may in this your Croſs (for his cause doubtleſs) rejoyce and gladly take it up to bear it ſo long as he ſhall think good. I have heard (my good Brother and Siſter) how that God hath brought you both into his School-houſe (whereas both purpoſed by his leave to have played the Trewands) that thereby you might ſee his carefulneſs and love towards you. For if it be a token, of a loving and careful Father for his Children, to prevent the purpoſe, and diſappoint the intent of his Children, purpoſing to depart a while from the School for fear of beating (which thing they would not do, if they did as much conſider the commodity of Learning which there they might get) how ſhould you take this work of the Lord preventing your purpoſe, but as an evident ſign of love and fatherly carefulneſs that he beareth towards you? if he ſhould have winked at your wills, then would you have eſcaped beating, I mean the Croſs; but then ſhould you have loſt the commodity of learning that which your Father will now have you to learn and feel, and therefore hath he ſent you his Croſs. He, I ſay, hath brought you where you be; and though your reason and wit will tell you, it is by chance or fortune, or otherwiſe, yet (my dearly Beloved) know for certain that, whatſoever was the mean, God your Father was the worker hereof, and that for your weal, although otherwiſe your old Adam doth tell you, and you feel: yet I ſay of truth that your duty is to think of this Croſs, that as it is of Gods ſending, and cometh from him; ſo although your deſerts be otherwiſe, it is of love and fatherly affection for your weal and commodities ſake.

What commodity is hereby? you will perchance object. You are now kept to cloſe Priſon, you will ſay, your Family and Children be without good Over-ſeers; your ſubſtance diminiſheth by theſe means; your poverty will approach; and perchance more perils alſo, yea and loſs of life too. Theſe are no commodities, but diſcommodities, and that no ſmall ones; ſo that juſtly you would be glad to know what commodity can come to you by this Croſs, whereby cometh ſo great diſcommodities.

To theſe things I answer, that indeed it is true you ſay of your Bodies, Families, Children, ſubſtance, poverty, life &c. Which things, if you would conſider a while with inward eyes, as you behold them with outward; then perhaps you ſhould find more eaſe. Do not you now by the inward ſenſe perceive that you muſt part from all theſe and all other commodities in the world? Tell me then, have not you this commodity by your Croſs, to learn to loath and leave the world, and to long for and deſire another world, where is perpetuity? You ought of your own head and free will to have (according to your profeſſion in Baptiſm) forſaken the world and all earthly things, uſing the world as though you uſed it not. Your heart ſet only upon your hoard in heaven, or elſe you could never be Christs true diſciples, that is to be ſaved, and be where he is. And throw you (my good hearts in the Lord) throw you, I ſay, that this is no commodity, by this Croſs to be compelled hereto, that you might aſſuredly enjoy with the Lord endleſs glory? How now doth God, as it were, Fatherly pull you by the ears, to remember your former offences concerning theſe things and all other things, that repentance and remiſſion might enſue? How doth God now compel you to call upon him, and to be earneſt in Prayer: Are theſe no commodities? Doth not the Scripture ſay, that God doth correct us in this World, becauſe we ſhall not be Damned with the World? That God chaſtenieth every one whom he loveth? That the end of this correction ſhall be joy and holineſs? Doth not the Scripture ſay, That they are happy that ſuffer for righteousneſs ſakes, as you now do? That the glory and ſpirit of God is upon them? That, as you are now made like unto Chriſt in ſuffering, ſo ſhall you be made like him in reigning? Doth not the Scripture ſay, That you are now going the high and right way to Heaven? That your ſuffering is Christs ſuffering? My dearly Be-

loved, what greater commodities than thoſe can a godly heart deſire?

Therefore ye are commanded to rejoyce and be glad when ye ſuffer as now ye doſor through the goodneſs of God great ſhall be your reward: Where? Forboth on earth firſt your Children; for now they are in Gods meer and immediate protection: Never was Father ſo careful for his Children; as God is for yours preſently: Gods bleſſing, which is more worth than all the world; you leave indeed to your Children: Though all your Providence for them ſhould be pulled away; yet God is not poor, he hath promiſed to provide for them moſt Fatherly. *Caf. thy burthen upon me, ſaith he; and I will bear it.* Do you therefore call them, and commend them unto God your Father, and doubt not that he will dye in your debt. He never was found unfaithful, and he will not now begin with you. The good mans ſeed ſhall not go a begging his Bread; for he will ſhew mercy upon thouſands of the poſterity of them that fear him. Therefore (as I ſaid) Gods reward firſt upon earth ſhall be felt by your Children even corporally, and ſo alſo upon you, if God ſee it more for your commodity, at the leaſt inwardly you ſhall feel it by quietneſs and comfort of Conſcience: and ſecondly, after this life you ſhall find it ſo plentifully, as the eye hath not ſeen, the ear hath not heard, the heart cannot conceive how great and glorious Gods reward will be upon your bodies, much more upon your ſouls. God open our eyes to ſee and feel this indeed. Then ſhall we think the Croſs which is a mean hereto to be commendous. Then ſhall we thank God that he would chaſtiſe us. Then ſhall we ſay with David; *Happy am I that thou haſt puniſhed me: for before I went aſtray, but now I keep thy Law.*

This that we may do indeed (my dearly Beloved) let us firſt know that our Croſs cometh from God: Secondly, that it cometh from God as a Father, that is, to our weal and good. Therefore let us thirdly call to mind our ſins, and ask pardon. Whereto let us fourthly look for help certainly at Gods hand in his good time: help I ſay, ſuch as ſhall make moſt to Gods glory, and to the comfort and commodity of our ſouls and bodies eternally. This if we certainly conceive, then will there iſſue out of us hearty thanksgiving, which God requieth as a moſt precious ſacrifice. That we may all through Chriſt offer this, let us uſe earneſt prayer to our God and dear Father, who bleſs us, keep us, and comfort us under his ſweet Croſs for ever, Amen, Amen.

My dear hearts, if I could any way comfort you, you ſhould be ſure thereof, though my life lay thereon, but now I muſt do as I may, becauſe I cannot as I would. Oh that it would pleaſe our dear Father thoſtly to bring us where we ſhould never depart, but enjoy continually the bleſſed fruition of his heavenly preſence: Pray, pray that it may ſpeedily come to paſs, pray. To morrow I will ſend to you to know your eſtate; ſend me word what are the chiefeſt things they charge you with all. From the Counter.

By your Brother in the Lord,
John Bradford.

To Mrs. Hall, Priſoner in Newgate, and ready to make answer before her Adverſaries.

Our moſt merciful God and Father through Chriſt Jeſus our Lord and Saviour, be merciful unto us, and make perfect the good he hath begun in us unto the end. Amen.

My dear Siſter, rejoyce in the Lord, rejoyce; be glad, I ſay, be merry and thankful, not only becauſe Chriſt ſo commandeth us, but alſo becauſe our ſtate wherein we are preſently, requieth no leſs, for we are the Lords wineſt. God the Father hath vouchſafed to chuſe us amongſt many, to wineſts and reſtiſe that Chriſt his Son is King; and that his Word is true. Chriſt our Saviour, for his loves ſake towards us, will have us to bear record that he is: no the blood uſurper nor deceiver of the people, but Gods Embaſſador, Prophet, and Meſſias; ſo that of all dignities upon earth this is the higheſt. Greater honour had not his Propheſy, of Chriſt Apoſtles, nor deareſt Friends, than to bear wineſts with Chriſt, as we now do. The world, following the counſel Satan, who of their Sire Satan, would gladly condemn Chriſt and his wineſts, ſent to the Lord hath choſen us to be his Champions ſake.

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Care of Children to be left to Gods providence: p. 177.

Two things to be conſidered of all men that be under the Croſs.

Another Letter of Mr. Bradford to Mrs. Hall. Math. 5.

to let this. As *foots Soldiers* therefore let us stand to our Master, who is with us and standeth on our right hand, that we shall not be much moved, if we hope and hang on his mercy; he is so faithful and true, that he will never tempt us farther than he will make us able to bear.

Therefore be not careful (for I hear say this day you shall be called forth) what you shall answer. The Lord which is true and cannot lye, hath promised, and will never fail nor forget it, that you shall have both what and how to answer, so as shall make his shameless Adversaries ashamed. Hang therefore on this Promise of God, who is an helper at a pinch, and a most present remedy to them that hope in him. Never was it ever heard of, or shall beget any hoping in the Lord was put to foil.

Therefore as I said, I say again, Dear Sister, be not cut, nor careful for your answering, but also be joyful for your cause. Confess Christ, and be not ashamed, and he will confess you, and never be ashamed of you. Though loss of goods and life be like here to ensue; yet if Christ be true (as he is most true) it is otherwise indeed: for he that loseth his life, saith he, winneth it; but he that saveth it, loseth it. Our sins have deserved many deaths. Now if God so deal with us, that he will make our deserved death a demonstration of his Grace, a reversalment of his Verity, a confirmation of his People, and overthrow of his Adversaries; What great cause have we to be thankful? Be thankful therefore good Sister, be thankful. Rejoice and be merry in the Lord; be stout in his cause and quarrel, he is faint-hearted, but run out your race, and let your Captain Christ before your eyes. Behold how great your reward is. See the great glory, and the eternity of felicity prepared for you. Serve and fight lawfully, that you may get the Crown. Run to get the game, you are almost at your journey's end; I doubt not but our Father will with us send to you also, as he did to Helias a fiery Chariot, to convey us into his Kingdom. Let us therefore not be dismayed, to leave our Cloak behind us, that is, our Bodies to suffer, God will one day restore them to us like to the Body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whose coming is now at hand; Let us look for it and lift up our heads, for our redemption draweth nigh, Amen, Amen. The Lord of mercy grant us his mercy, Amen. I pray you, pray for me, and so desire my Brethren which be with you. Gods peace be with us all, Amen. Blessed be the dead that dye in the Lord; then how much more they that dye for the Lord?

Your Brother in bonds, J. Bradford.

To a Woman that desired to know his mind, whether she refraining from the Mass, might be present at the Popish Mass, or no.

I beseech Almighty God our heavenly Father to be merciful unto us, and to increase in you my good Sister, the knowledge and love of his Truth, and at this present give me grace so to write to you something of the same, as may make to his glory and our own comfort and confirmation in him, through Christ our Lord, Amen.

Whether you may come with safe Conscience to the Church now, that is, to the Service used commonly, in part, as at Mattins, or at Even-song, or no, is your desire to have me to write something for your further stay. My dearly Beloved, although your benefits towards me merit perchance make you to think, that in respect thereof I would bear with that which else were not to be born with; yet by Gods grace I am purposed, simply and without all such respect in this matter, to speak to you the truth according to my Conscience, as I may be able to stand unto, when I shall come before the Lord.

First therefore, go about to learn perfectly the first Lesson to be learned of a Christian, that is, to deny yourself, and in nothing to seek your self.

Secondly, learn after this, to begin at the next Lesson to it, which is, to seek God in all things you do, and leave undone.

Thirdly, know that then you seek God, when in his service you follow his Word, and not mans fantasies, custom, multitude, &c. and when with your Brother you follow the rule of Charity, that is, To do as you would be done by. In these is a sum of all the counsel I can give you, if that hereto I admonish you of the Service now

used, which is not according to Gods Word, but rather against Gods Word directly, and in manner wholly: So that your going to the Service, is a declaration that you have not learned the first Lesson, nor never can learn it, so long as you go thither; therefore the second Lesson you shall utterly lose, if you cease not the seeking of your self, that is, if for company, custom, father or friend, life or goods, you seem to allow that which God disalloweth. And this that you the better may perceive, I purpose by Gods grace briefly to shew.

First, the Mattins and Even-song is in a Tongue forbidden publicly to be used in the Congregation that perceiveth not the Tongue. Read how Paul affirmeth it, to pray in an unknown Tongue, to be against Gods Commandment. This one (I trow) were enough, if nothing else were. For how can Gods glory be sought, where his Word and Commandment is wilfully broken? How can charity to Man stand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his Word, is overthrowen?

Again, both in Mattins and in Even-song is Idolatry maintained for Gods service; for there is Invocation and Prayer made to Saints departed this life, which robbeth God of that glory which he will give to none other.

Moreover, this Service, and the fetters forth of it condemneth the English Service as Heretic, thereby falling into Gods Curse, which is threatened to all such as call good evil, and evil good; whereof they shall be partakers that do communicate with them.

Besides this, this Latin Service is a plain mark of Antichrists Catholick Synagogue; so that the Communicants and Approvers of it thereby declare themselves to be Members of the same Synagogue, and so cut off from Christ and his Church, whose exterior mark is the true administration of Gods Word and Sacraments.

Furthermore, the example of your going thither to allow the Religion of Antichrist (as doubtless you do indeed, howsoever in heart you think) occasioneth the obfcurity to be utterly intractable, the weak Papists to be more obfolute, the strong Gospellers to be fore weakened, and the weak Gospellers to be utterly overthrowen: which things, how great offences they be, no Pen is able to utter by Letters. All these evils you shall be guilty of, that company with these in Religion exteriorly, from whom you are admonished to fly. If Christ be Christ, follow him: gather with him, left you scatter abroad. Serve God, not only in Spirit, but also in Body. Make not your Body, now a member of Christ, a member of Antichrist. Come out from amongst them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. Confess Christ and his Truth, not only in heart, but also in tongue, yea in very deed, which few Gospellers do. Indeed they deny him, and therefore had need to tremble, lest that Christ will deny them in the last day: the which day, if it were set before our eyes often, then would the pleasures and treasures of this World be but trifles.

Therefore good Sister, often have it before your eyes, daily set your self and your doings as before the Judgment Seat of Christ now, that hereafter you be not called into Judgment. Think that it will little profit you to win the whole World, and to lose your own Soul. Mark Christs Lessons well, He that will save his life, shall lose it. The Father of Heaven commandeth you to hear Christ, and he saith, Follow me: this can you not do, and follow Idolatry or Idolaters. Fly from such, saith the Scripture.

This God grant to you, to me, and to all Gods Children, Amen. Thus in haste I have accomplished your request. God grant that as you have done me much good bodily, so that this may be a little mean to do you some good spiritually, Amen. If time would serve, I would have written more at large. The second of March, Anno 1555.

To the Worshipful, and in God my most dear Friends, the Lady Vane.

I have good Spirit of God our Father be more and more plentifully perceived of your good Ladyship, through the mediation and merits of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, Amen.

Although your benefits towards me have deferred at my hands the service I can do for you, yet (Right Wor-

The Lord
merciful,
as I will
give them
that stand
in his de-
struction,
how
and what to
answer.

A blessed
thing, feeling
a most small
need, dye to
the Lord.

A Reg.

A resolution
of M. Brad-
ford, whether
it be lawful
to receive
the Mass, may
be heard by
the Popish Ma-
tins, or no.

Three les-
sons to be
learned of
every Chris-
tian.

Ann
1555

Reasons
proving
that no
Catholics
may come
to the To-
pish Mass
and Even-
song, with
a good
Confidence.
The Popes
Service is
in a Tongue
unknown.
The Popes
Service is
full of Idola-
try.
Ely 2.
The Popes
Service con-
demneth
our English
Service of
Heretic.
The Popes
Latin Ser-
vice is a
mark of
Antichrist.

The going
to the P.
Service is
very ex-
ample and
admonition.

Christs Les-
son.

An Epistle
of M. Brad-
ford to the
Lady Vane,
concerning
the State of
the Popes
preached
Primate.
Wor-

Anno
1555.
The Pope
proves to be the great
Antichrist
(spoken of by the Apo-
stles).

Worldly and dearly beloved in the Lord) the true
fear of God, and the love of his truth, which perceive to be
in you; specially, and above all other things do bind me
hereunto. This bearer hath told me that your desire
is to have something sent to you concerning the un-
derp Authority of the Supremacy of the Bishopp of Rome
(which is undoubtedly that great Antichrist, of whom
the Apostles do so much admonish us) that you may have
as well something the more to stay on, as also wherewith
to answer the Adversaries, because you may perchance
therein be something appoyed. To satisfie this your desire,
I will briefly go about, and say, that I will by Gods grace
fully let forth the fame, to enform you to withstand the
Assaults of the Papists herein, if you mark well and read
over again that which I now Write.

The Papists do place in preeminence over the whole Church, the Pope, thereby unplacing Christ, which is the head of the Church, that giveth life to the whole Body, and by his Spirit doth make lively every member of the same. This they do without all Scriptures. For where they bring in this spoken to *Peter*, Feed my Sheep; I would gladly know whether this was not commanded *personally* to *Peter*, for that which otherwise they will

unto others also. As thou art a *Worshipper* (and I am) I urge that he spake to *Peter* by name, if they had any learning, they would easily perceive how that it was not for any such cause as they pretend, but rather by a threefold commandment to refore him to the honour of an Apostle, which head lieth by his threefold denial. And how dare they interpret this word, *My Sheep*, my Lambs, to be the universal Church of Christ? I trow a man might easily by the like "reason prove that *Peter* himself had reigned that which Christ had given to him, in exhorting his fellow Pastors to feed the flock of Christ. Is not this pretty flattery? Because *Christ* saith to *Peter*, Feed my Sheep, therefore he ought to rule the universal and whole Church of Christ? If *Peter* do truly Write unto others that they should do the like, that is, Feed *Christs* flock, either he translateth his right and Authority committed to him upon them, or else he doth participate or communicate with them so that foolishly they go about to establish that which hath no ground. *Peter* indeed was a shepherd of the Sheep, but such a one as bestowed his labour on them so far as he could stretch himself by his Ministry. But the Papists prate that he had full power over all Churches: Wherein they may fee *Paul* to improve them, for else he had done unjustly in denying him the superiour place. Howbeit, who ever yet read that *Peter* did take any thing upon him over Churches committed to other men? Was not he the chief of the Church? sent of one not having rule over the rest? I grant that he was an excellent instrument of God, and for the excellency of his gifts, whenever they met together, place therefore was commonly given unto him. But what is this to the purpose, to make him ruler and head over all the whole Church, because he was so over the *Great Congregation*?

But be it to that *Peter* had as much gift as to him, as they do affirm: Who yet will grant, that *Peter* had no patrimony given for his heirs? He hath left (say the Papists) to his successors the left hand right which he received of Lord God, to turnt his fucceffour be a Statute. O Lord God, thou must himself fucceffour be a Statute for he received no title of Christ himself. I would gladly have the Papists to shew me one place of fucceffion mentioned in the Scriptures. I am fure that when *Peter* purposely painteth out the whole Administration of the Church, he neither maketh one head, nor any Inheribtable Primacy, and yet he is altogether in commendation of the Church, for he hath made mention of one God the Father, of one Christ, of one Spirit, of one Body of the Church, of one Faith, and of one Baptism, then he doth forbith the mean and manner how unity is to be kept, namely, because unto every Pastor is grace given after the measure, wherwith Christ hath endued them Where I pray you is now any title of *Plenitudinis potestatis*, of fullness of power? When he calleth home every one unto a certain measure, why did he not forthwith say one Pope? Which he could not have forgotten if the thing had been as the Papists make it.

No cause why any Perpetuity of primacy should be long to

was at Rome: This is even like to this, that because *Moses* the greatest Prophet, and *Aaron* the first Priest exercised their offices unto their Death in the desert, therefore the principall^e place of the Jewish Church should bein the Wilderness. But grant them their reason that it is good; What should *Amos* claim? For *Peters* Chair was there also; wherein *Paul* gave him a Check, which was unfeinly and unmanerly done of *Paul*, that would not give place to his President and better.

No, say the *Pelagians*, *Rome* must have this Authority be-
 cause *Peter* died there. But what if a man should by
 probable conjectures shew, that it is but a fable which is
 assigned of *Peter* Bishoprick at *Rome*? Read how *Faul-*
 doth salute very many private persons when he writeth
 to the *Romans*. Three years after his Epistle made, he
 was brought to *Rome* prisoner. *Luke* telleth, that he
 was received of the Brethren, and yet in all these, is no
 mention at all of *Peter*, which then by their stories was
 at *Rome*. Belike he was proud, as the Pope and Prelates
 be, or else he would have visited *Paul*. *Paul* being in
 prison in *Rome* did write divers Epistles, in which he
 expresseth the names of many which were in company
 of *Peter*, but of *Peter* he speaketh never a word. Surely if *Peter* had been there, this silence
 of him had been suspicious. In the 2 Epistle to *Timothy*,
Peter complaineth that no man was with him in his
 Defence, but all had left him. If *Peter* had been then at
Rome, as they write, then either *Paul* had belied him,
 or *Peter* had played his *Peters* part, *Luke* 22. In another
 place, how doth he blame all that were with him, only
Timothy excepted? Therefore we may well doubt whether
Peter was at *Rome* Bishop as they prate: for all this
 time and long before, they say that *Peter* was Bishop there.

But I will not put up coals in this matter. If *Rome* be the chief fact because *Peter* died there, why should not *Antioch* be the second? Why should not *James* and *John*, which were taken with *Peter* to be as *Billars*? Why, I say, should not their seats have honour next to *Peters* feet? Is not this gear preposterous, that *Alexandria* where *Marc* (which was but one of the *Disciples*) was *Bishop* should be preferred before *Ephesus* where *John* the *Evangelist* taught and was *Bishop*, and before *Jerusalem*, where not only *James* taught and died *Bishop*, but also *Christ Jesus* our Lord and High Priest for ever, by whom being Master, I hope, honour should be given to his chair, more then to the chair of his *Chaplains*?

I need to speak nothing how that *Paul* telleth *Peters* <sup>Third Ap-
ostle</sup> to concern rather Circumcision or the *Jews*, <sup>which was
over the
dramatical,
and over
the Gentile,</sup> and therefore properly persaineth not to us. Neither do I
need to bring in *Gregorius* the firstbith of *Rome*; which
was about the year of our Lord 600. who plainly in his
works doth write that this title of *Primacy*, and to be
head over all Churches under Christ, is a title meet and
agreeing only to *Antichrist*, and therefore he calleth it
a prophane, a mischiefous, and an horrible title. Whom
should we believe now, if we will neither believe *Apostle*
nor Pone?

If I should go about to tell how this name was first gotten by *Phocas*, I should be too long. I purpose God willing to fit it forth as large in a work which I have begun of Antichrist; if God for his mercies sake give me life to finish it. For this present therefore I shall desire your Ladyship to take this in good part. If they will needs have the Bishop of *Rome* to be acknowledged for the head of the Church, then will I urge them that they shall give us a Bishop. But they obtrude unto us a butcher rather, or a hitepiece, than a Bishop. They brag of *Peters* succession, of Christs Vicar, this is always in their mouth. But also how can we call him Christs Vicar that refitteth Christ, oppugneth his verities, persecuteth his People, and like a Pretiate preferreth himself above God and man? How, or wherein doth the Pope and such a one show himself to be Christs Vicar, or the true Successor of *Peters* Ministry, which is the bequest of his succession? For this conclusion, which I will urge presently for this conclusion, if the Papists will have the Bishop of *Rome* supreme head of the Church of Christ in Earth, they must, afore they attain this, give us a Bishop in deed, not in name. For whosoever he be that will make this the name

this must needs follow, that they do nothing else but teach a most wicked detestation, and departing from Christ.

But of this, if God lend me life, I purpose to speak more at large hereafter. Now will I betake your Ladyship unto the tuition of God our Father, and Christ our only Head, Pastor and Keeper, to whom see that you cleave by true Faith, which dependeth only upon the Word of God; which if you do follow as a lantern to your feet, and a light to your steps, you shall then avoid darkness, and the dangerous deeps whereinto the Papists are fallen by the Judgment of God, and seek to bring us into the same dungeon with them, that the blind following the blind, they both may fall into the ditch: out of the which God deliver them according to his good will, and preserve us for his Names sake, that we being in his light, may continue therein, and walk in it whilst it is day, so shall the night never overpresius, we going from light to light, from verite to verite, from Faith to Faith, from glory to glory, by the governance of Gods good Spirit, which God our Father give unto us all for ever, Amen.

Your Brother in bonds for the testimony of Iesus Christ,
John Bradford.

He wrote also another fruitful Letter to this R. Hopkins, which you may read in the book of Letters of the Martyrs.

Here followeth another Letter of M. Bradford, to one Richard Hopkins, Sheriff sometimes of Coventry, and yet being (as I hear, say) alive. This Hopkins, whom Mr. Bradford commendeth so much in this Letter, during the time of his Sherifalitie was detested and accused, by certain malignant Adversaries, of matter pertaining to Religion. What matter it was, I am not yet certainly informed, unless it were for sending, and lending unto a thiefe, being then in prison ready to be hanged, a certain English Book of Scripture for his Spirituall comfort.

Whereupon, or else upon some such like matter, he being maliciously accused, was sent for and committed to the Fleet, and there endured a sufficient time, not without great peril of life. Notwithstanding, the said Hopkins being at length delivered out of prison, following this Counsel of Mr. Bradford, and minding to keep his Conscience pure from idolatry, was driven with his Wife and eight young Children, to avoid the Realm, and leaving all other worldly respects, with his great loss and damage went into High Germany, where he continued in the City of Basle, till the Death of Queen Mary; being like a good Tobias, to his power a friendly helper, and a comfortable reliever of other English Exiles thereabout him, Gods holy blessing so working with him therefore, that in those far Countries neither he fell in any great decay, neither any one of all his household, during all that time there, miscarried, but so many as he brought out, so many he re-carried home again, yea and that with advantage, and Gods plenty withal upon him. Now the Letter Written to this Richard Hopkins by Mr. Bradford, is this.

A Letter to Master Richard Hopkins, then Sheriff of Coventry, and prisoner in the Fleet, for the faithful and constant confessing of Gods Holy Gospel.

A Letter of M. Bradford to R. Hopkins, who was prisoner the same time for his Conscience.

Dearely beloved in the Lord, I wish unto you, as unto mine own Brother, yea as to mine own heart root, Gods mercy, and the feeling of the same plentifully in Christ our sweet Saviour, who gave himself a ransom for our sins, and price for our redemption, praised therefore be his Holy Name for ever and ever. Amen.

I will not go about to excuse my self for not sending unto you hitherto, suffering for the Lords sake as you do, to the comfort of me and all that love you in the Truth; but rather accuse my self both before God and you, desiring of you forgiveness, and with me to pray to God for pardon of this my unkind forgetting you, and all other of my sins, which I beseech the Lord in his Mercy to do away for his Christs sake. Amen.

Now to make amends to you ward, I would be glad if I could: but because I cannot, I shall heartily desire you to accept that will, and this which I shall now write unto you thereafter; I mean, after my will and not after the deed to accept and take it. At this present, my dear heart in the Lord, you are in a blessed state, although it seem otherwise to you, or rather unto your old Adam, the

which I dare now be so bold as to discern from you, because you would have him not only discerned, but also utterly destroyed. For if God be True, then is his Word True.

Now his word pronounceth of your state that it is happy, therefore it must needs be so. To prove this, I think it need not: for you know that the Holy Ghost saith, That they are happy which suffer for Righteousnes sake, and that Gods Glory and Spirit resteth on them which suffer for Conscience to God. Now this you cannot but know, that this your suffering is for Righteousnes sake, and for Conscience to God-wards, for else you might be out of trouble even out of hand. I know in very deed that you have felt and do feel your unthankfulness to God, and other sins, to witness to you, that you have deserved this imprisonment, and lack of liberty, betwixt God and your self, and I would you so would confess unto God in your prayers, with petition for pardon and thanksgiving, for his correcting you here. But you know that the Magistrates do not persecute in you your sins, your unthankfulness, &c. But they persecute in you Christ himself, his Righteousnes, his verity, and therefore happy be you that have found such favour with God your Father, to account you worthy to suffer for his sake in the sight of man; surely you shall rejoyce therefore one day with a joy unspeakable, in the sight of man also.

You may think your self born in a blessed time, that have found this grace with God, to be a vessel of honour to suffer with his Saints, yea with his Son. My beloved, God hath not done so with many. The Apostle saith, Not many noble, nor many rich, nor many wise in the World, hath the Lord God chosen. Oh then what cause have you to rejoyce, that amongst the not many, he hath chosen you to be one? For that cause hath God placed you in your office, that therefore ye might the more see his special dignation and love towards you. It had not been so great a thing for Mr. Hopkins to have suffered as Mr. Hopkins, as it is for Mr. Hopkins also to suffer as Master Sheriff. Oh happy day that you were made Sheriff by the which as God in this World would promote you to a more honourable degree, so by suffering in this room he hath exalted you in Heaven, and in the sight of his Church and Children, to a much more excellent glory. When was it read that a Sheriff of a City hath suffered for the Lords sake? Where read we of any Sheriff that hath been cast into prison for Conscience to God-ward? How could God have dealt more lovingly with you, then herein he hath done? To the end of the World it shall be written for a memorial to your praise, that Richard Hopkins Sheriff of Coventry, for Conscience to do his Office before God, was cast into the Fleet, there kept prisoner along time. Happy and twice happy are you, if hereafter you may give your life. Never could you have attained to this promotion on this sort out of that Office. How do you preach now, not only to all men, but specially to Magistrates in this Realm? Who would ever have thought that you should have been the first Magistrate that for Christs sake should have lost any thing? As I said before, therefore I say again, that your state is happy. Good Brother, before God I Write the Truth unto you, my Conscience bearing me witness that you are in a most happy state with the Lord, and before his sight.

Be thankful therefore, rejoyce in your trouble, pray for patience, prefevere to the end, let patience have her perfect work. If you want this Wisdom and Power, ask it of God, who will give it to you in his good time. Hope still in him, yea if he should slay you, yet trust in him with Job, and you shall perceive that the end will be to find him merciful and full of compassion: for he will not break promise with you, which hitherto did never so with any. He is with you in trouble, he heareth you calling upon him, yea before you call, your desires are not only known, but accepted through Christ. If now and then he hide his face from you, it is but to provoke your appetite, to make you the more to long for him. This is most true. He is coming, and will come, he will not be long. But if for a time he seem to tarry, yet stand you still, and you shall see the wonderful works of the Lord. Oh beloved, wherefore should you be heavy? Is not Christ Emmanuel, God with us? Shall you not find that as he is true in saying, In the World you shall have trouble; so is he in saying, In me you shall have comfort? He doth not swear only that trouble will

Anno 1555.

Martyrs persecuted not for their sins, but for Christs only, and the Gospel.

R. Hopkins the first Magistrate that suffered for his Conscience.

Job. 1.

1 Cor. 2.

Anno will come, but withal he sweareth that comfort shall en-
 sue. And what comfort? Such a comfort as the eye hath
 not seen, the Ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can
 conceive. O great comfort! who shall have this? Forsooth
 they that suffer for the Lord. And are not you one of them?
 Yea verily are you. Then, as I said, happy, happy, and
 happy again are you, my dearly beloved in the Lord. You
 now suffer with the Lord, surely you shall be glorified
 with him. Call upon God therefore in your trouble, and he
 will hear you, yea deliver you in such sort, as most shall
 make both to his and your glory also. And in this calling
 I heartily pray you to pray for me your fellow in affliction.
 Now we be both going in the high way to Heaven: for
 by many afflictions must we enter in thither, whither
 God bring us for his mercies sake, Amen, Amen.

Your fellow in affliction, John Bradford.

To my good Sister Mistress Elizabeth Brown.

A Letter of
 Mr. Bradford
 to Mistress
 Brown now
 called
 Mistress
 Willough.

GOD Sister, God our Father make perfect the good be-
 hath begun in you unto the end.
 I am afraid to write unto you because you so over charge
 your self at all times, even whensoever I do but send to you
 commendations. I would be more bold on you then many
 others, and therefore you might suspect so great tokens
 still I should write unto you of my need; which thing doubt-
 less I would do if it urged me. Dear Sister, I see your un-
 fained love to me waxes in God, and have done of long
 time, the which I do recompence with the like, and will
 do by Gods grace so long as I live, and therefore I hope
 not to forget you, but in my poor prayers to have you in re-
 membrance, as I hope you have me. Otherwise I can do
 you no service, except it be now and then by my writing
 to let you from better exercise; where yet the end of my
 writing is to excite and stir up your heart more earnestly
 to go onwards in your well begun enterprise. For you know
 none shall be crowned, but such as strive lawfully, and
 none receive the glove, but those that run to the appoint-
 ed mark. None shall be saved but such as persevere and con-
 tinue to the very end.

1 Tim. 1.
Heb. 10.
 Therefore, Dear Sister, remember that we have need
 of patience; that when we have done the good will of God,
 we may receive the promise. Patience and perseverance
 be the proper notes, whereby Gods Children are known
 from counterfeiters. They that persevere not, were always
 but Hypocrites. Many make godly beginnings, yea their
 progress seemeth Marvellous, but yet after in the end they
 fall. These were never of us; with Saint John: for if
 they had been of us, they would have continued unto the
 very end.

**Whole-
 some
 lessons of
 life.**
 Go to now therefore mine own beloved in the Lord; as
 you have well begun, and well gone forward; so well per-
 sist, and happily end, and then all is yours: Though this
 be sharp and sever, yet it is not tedious and long. Do all
 that ever you do, simply for God, and as to God; so shall
 never unkindness nor any other thing make you to leave
 off from well doing; so long as you may do well. Accustom
 your self now to see God continually, that he may be all in
 all unto you. In good things behold his mercy, and apply it
 unto your self. In evil things and plagues behold his judg-
 ments, where-through learn to fear him. Beware of Sin,
 as the Serpent of the Soul, which spoileth us of all our
 ornament and seemly apparel in Gods sight. Let Christ
 Crucified be your book to study on, and that both night and
 day. Mark your Vocation, and be diligent in the works
 thereof. Use hearty and earnest prayer, and that in Spirit.
 In all things give thanks to God our Father through
 Christ. Labour to have here life everlasting begun in you:
 for else it will not be elsewhere enjoyed. Set Gods judg-
 ment often before your eyes, that now examining your self,
 you may make diligent just, and obtain never to come in-
 to judgment. Uncover your evils to God, that he may
 cover them. Beware of this Antichristian Traile: defile
 not your self in Soul or Body therewith, but accomplish be-
 lieves in the fear of God, and bear no Yoke with unbe-
 lievers. Look for the coming of the Lord which is at
 hand; by earnest prayer and godly life hasten it. God our
 Father accomplish his good work in you, Amen. Commend
 me to my good Mother Mistress Willough, and to my
 very dear Sister Mistress Warcup. I shall daily com-

mend you all to God, and I pray you do the like for me.

John Bradford.

To a Friend of his; instructing him how he should An-
 swer his Adversaries.

MY good Brother, our merciful God and dear Father
 through Christ, open your eyes effectually to see,
 and your heart ardently to desire the everlasting joy which
 he hath prepared for his slaughter-sheep, that is, for such
 as shrink not from his truth for any such storms sake
 Amen.

When you shall come before the Magistrates to give an
 answer of the hope which is in you, do it with all reverence
 and simplicity. And because you may be sometimes afraid
 by the power of the Magistrates and cruelty which they
 will threaten against you, I would you set before you the
 good Father Moses to follow his example. For he set the
 invisible God before his eyes of Faith, and with them
 looked upon God and his glorious Majesty and power, as
 with his corporal eye he saw Pharaoh and all his fearful
 terrors. So do you my dearly beloved: let your inward
 eye give such light unto you, that as you know you are
 before the Magistrates, so and much more, you and
 they also are present before the Face of God, which will
 give such Wisdom to you, fearing him and seeking his
 praise, as the Enemies shall wonder at; and further, he
 will so order their hearts and doings, that they shall, will
 they nill they, serve Gods Providence towards you; which
 you cannot avoid though you would; as shall be moost to his
 glory, and your everlasting comfort.

Therefore, my good Brother, let your whole study be only
 to please God: put him always before your eye, for he is
 on your right hand lest you should be moved; he is faith-
 ful, and never will suffer you to be tempted above that
 he will make you able to bear. Yea, every hair of your head
 he hath numbered, so that one of them shall not perish
 without his good will, which cannot but be good unto you,
 in that he is become your Father through Christ: and
 therefore as he hath given you to believe in him (God in-
 crease his belief in us all) so doth he now graciously give
 unto you to suffer for his names sake: the which you ought
 with all thankfulness to receive, in that you are made
 worthy to drink of the self same cup, which not only the
 very Sons of God have drank of before you, but even the
 very natural Son of God himself hath brought you good
 luck: Oh be of his mercy make us thankful to pledge him
 again, Amen.

Because the chiefest matter they will trouble you, and
 go about to deceive you withal, is the Sacrament, not of
 Christs Body and Blood, but of the Altar as they call it;
 thereby destroying the Sacrament which Christ instituted.
 I would you noted these two things: First, that the Sa-
 crament of the Altar which the Priest offered in the Mass
 and eateth privately with himself, is not the Sacrament
 of Christs Body and Blood instituted by him, as Christs
 institution plainly written and set forth in the Scriptures,
 being compared to their using of it, plainly doth declare.

Again, if they talk with you of Christs Sacrament
 instituted by him, whether it be Christs Body or no: an-
 swer them, that as to the eyes of your reason, so your taste
 and corporal sense it is Bread and Wine, and therefore the
 Scripture calleth it after the Consecration: so even so to
 the eye, taste, and sense of your Faith, which ascendeth to
 the Right Hand of God in Heaven, where Christ sitteth,
 it is in very deed Christs Body and Blood, which spiri-
 tually your Soul feedeth on to everlasting life in Faith,
 and by Faith, even as your Body presently feedeth on the
 Sacramental Bread and Sacramental Wine.

By this mean, as you shall not allow transubstantiation,
 nor none of their Popish Opinions: so shall you declare the
 Sacrament to be a matter of Faith, and not of reason, as the
 Papists make it. For they deny Gods Omnipotency, in the
 in that they say Christ is not there, if Bread be there:
 but Faith looketh on the Omnipotency of God, as joined
 with his promise, and doubteth not but that Christ is
 able to give that be promised us spiritually by Faith, the
 Bread still remaining in substance, as well as if the sub-
 stance of Bread were taken away: for Christ faith not in
 and how.

Another
 Letter of M.
 Bradford to
 his friend,
 with in-
 structions
 how to an-
 swer his Ad-
 versaries.

Instructions
 how to an-
 swer, and to
 behave him-
 self before
 the Judge.

Anno 1555.
The Prelates persecute me, I hate the Prelates, not for that they persecute me, but for that they hate me, and I hate them, because they persecute me, and I hate them, because they persecute me, and I hate them, because they persecute me.

loving kindness here, then by praying for you, and after this life, by witnessing your Faith declared to me by your fruits, when we shall come and appear together before the Throne of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whither I thank God I am even now a going, ever looking when Officers will come, and satisfy the Precept of the Prelates, whereof though I cannot complain, because I have justly deserved an hundred thousand deaths at Gods hands by reason of my sins, yet I may and must rejoyce, because the Prelates do not persecute in me mine iniquities, but Christ Jesus and his Verity, so that they persecute not me, they hate not me, but they persecute Christ, they hate Christ.

And because they can do him no hurt (for he sitteth in Heaven, and laugheth them and their devices to scorn, as one day they shall feel) therefore they turn their rage upon his poor sheep, as Herod their Father did upon the Infants *Matt. 2. 16*. Great cause therefore have I to rejoyce, that my dear Saviour Christ will vouchsafe, amongst many, to choose me to be a vessel of grace to suffer in me (which have deserved so often and justly to suffer for my sins) that I might be most assured I shall be a vessel of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

Therefore, my right dear Brother in the Lord, rejoyce with me, give thanks for me, and cease not to pray, that God for his mercies sake would make perfect the good he hath begun in me. And as for the Doctrine which I have professed and preached, I do confess unto you in writings, as to the whole world I shortly shall by Gods grace in suffering, that it is the very true Doctrine of Jesus Christ, of his Church, of his Prophets, Apostles, and all good men: so that if an Angel should come from Heaven and preach otherwise, the same were accursed.

Therefore waver not, dear heart in the Lord, but be confirmed in it, and as your vocation requirith, when God so will, confess it, though it be perilous so to do. The end shall evidently shew another manner of pleasure for so doing, then tongue can tell. Be diligent in prayer, and watch therein. Use reverent reading of Gods Word. Set the shortness of this time before your eyes and let not the Eternity that is to come, depart out of your memory. Practise in doing, that you learn by reading and hearing. Decline from evil, and pursue good. Remember them that be in bonds, especially for the Lords cause, as members of your body, and fellow heirs of grace. Forget not the afflictions of *Sion*, and the oppression of *Jerusalem*, and God our Father shall give us his continual blessing through Christ our Lord, who guide us as his dear Children for ever. Amen.

And thus I take my Vale and farewell with you dear Brother for ever in this present life, till we shall meet in eternal bliss; whither our good God and Father bring us shortly, Amen. God bless all your Babes for ever, Amen. Out of Prison this 8th of February.

Your afflicted Brother for the Cause,
John Bradford.

Another Letter to Mrs. Anne Warcup.

Another Letter to Mrs. Anne Warcup.
Almighty God our heavenly Father for his Christ sake, increase in us faith, by which we may more and more see what glory and honour is reposed and safely kept in Heaven, for all them that believe with the heart, and confess Christ and his truth with the mouth, Amen. My dearly beloved, I remember that once heretofore I wrote unto you a Vale, or a farewell upon conjecture: but now I write my farewell to you in this life in deed, upon certain knowledge. My staff standeth at the door, I continually look for the Sheriff to come for me, and I thank God I am ready for him. Now go I to practise that which I have preached. Now am I climbing up the hill, it will cause me to puff and to blow before I come to the cliff: The hill is steep and high, my breath is short, and my strength is feeble: pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I have now through his goodness, even almost come to the top, I may by his grace be strengthened, not to rest till I come where I should be. Oh loving Lord, put out thy hand, and draw me unto thee: for no man cometh, but he whom the Father draweth. See, my dearly beloved, Gods loving mercy: he knoweth my short breath and

great weakness. As he sent for *Helias* in a fiery Chariot, so sendeth he for me: for by fire my drofs must be purified, that I may be fine gold in his sight. O unthankful wretch that I am! Lord do thou forgive me mine unthankfulness. Indeed I confess (right dear to me in the Lord) that my sins have deserved Hell fire, much more then this fire. But lo, so loving is my Lord, that he converteth the remedy for my sins, the punishment for my transgressions, into a testimonial of his Truth, and a testimony of his Verity, which the Prelates do persecute in me, and not my sins: Therefore they persecute not me, but Christ in me, which, I doubt not, will take my part unto the very end. Amen.

O that I had so open an heart, as could so receive, as I should do this great benefit and unspeakable dignity, which God my Father offereth to me! Now pray for me, my dearly beloved: pray for me that I never shrink. I shall never shrink I hope. I trust in the Lord I shall never shrink: for he that always hath taken my part, I am assured will not leave me when I have most need, for his truth and mercies sake. Oh Lord help me. Into thy hands I commend me wholly. In the Lord is my trust, I care not what man can do unto me, Amen. My dearly beloved, say you Amen also, and come after if so God call you. Be not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ but keep company with him still. He will never leave you, but in the midst of temptation will give you an outscaper: to make you able to bear the brunt. Use hearty prayer, reverently read and hear Gods Word, put it in practice: look for the Cross lift up your hands, for your redemption draweth nigh; know that the death of Gods Saints is precious in his sight. Be merry in the Lord, pray for mitigation of Gods heavy displeasure upon our Country. God keep us for ever, God bless us with his Spiritual blessings in Christ. And thus I bid you farewell for ever in this present life. Pray for me, pray for me, for Gods sake pray for me. God make perfect his good work begun in me, Amen. Out of Prison the 7th of February.

Yours in the Lord, J. Bradford.

In the story of Mr. Bradford it was above rehearsed, how a certain Gentlewoman, being in trouble by her Father and Mother for not coming to Mals, sent her Servant to visit M. Bradford in Prison. Who tending the woful case of the Gentlewoman, to the intent partly to confirm her with counsel, partly to relieve her oppressed mind with some comfort, directed this Letter unto her; the contents whereof are these.

To a certain godly Gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her Friends, for not coming to the Mals.

I Wish unto you, right Worlhipful and my dearly beloved Sister in the Lord, as to my self, the continual grace and comfort of Christ, and of his holy Word, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, who strengthen your inward man with the strength of God, that you may continue to the end in the faithful obedience of Gods Gospel, whereto you are called, Amen.

I perceived by your self the last day when you were with me, how that you are in the School-house and trial Parlor of the Lord; which to me is (at the least it should be) a great comfort to see the number of Gods elect by you increased, which is in that state wherof God hath not called many, as Paul saith. And as it is a comfort to me, so should it be a confirmation unto me, that the Lord for his faithfulness sake will make perfect and finish the good he hath begun in you to the end.

If then your Cross be to me a comfort or token of The Cross your Election, and a confirmation of Gods continual favour (my dearly Beloved) how much more ought it to be so unto you? Unto whom he hath not only given to believe, but also to come into the trace of suffering for his sake, and that not commonly of common Enemies; but even of your own Father, Mother, and all your Friends, I mean Kinsfolks, as you told me. By which I see Christs words to be true, How that he came to give his Children such a Peace with him, as the Devil might not, nor may abide, and therefore stirreth up Father and Mother, Sister and Brother, rather than it should continue. But (my dear Sister) if you cry with David to the Lord, Psal. 124. and

God turneth the deserved death of his, to a glorious testimonial of his Truth.

Another Letter of M. Bradford to a godly Gentlewoman. Rom. 1.

1 Cor. 1.

1 Cor. 1, and 10.

The Cross a token of Gods Election.

Math. 10. 39. I have loved the Father, and I have loved the peace of Christ.

Psal. 124.

Rom. 8.

and complain to him; how that for Conscience to him your Father and Mother hath forsaken you, you shall hear him speak in your heart, that he hath received you, and by this would have you to see, how that he maketh you here like to Christ, that elsewhere (in Heaven) you might be like unto him; whereof you ought to be most assured, knowing that in time, even when Christ shall appear, you shall be like unto him. For he will make your body, which now you defile not with Idolatrical service in going to Mass, like unto his own glorious and immortal Body, according to the power whereby he is able to do all things. He will confess you before his Father, which do not deny his verity in word nor deed before your Father; he will make you to reign with him, that now suffer for him and with him; he will not leave you comfortless, that seek no comfort but at his hand; though for a little time you be afflicted, yet therein will he comfort and strengthen you, and at the length make you to be merry with him in such joy as is infinite and endless. He will wipe all the tears from your eyes; he will embrace you as your dear husband; he will after he hath proved you, crown you with a Crown of glory and immortality, such as the heart of man shall never be able to conceive in such sort as the thing is. He now be- holdeth your steadfastness, and striving to do his good will; and shortly will he shew you how steadfast he is, and will be ready to do your will, after that you have fully re- signed it to his will.

1 John 1.
Phil. 3.
Mark 16.
Math. 2.
2 Tim. 2.

Common-
ing with
Christ in
fasting.

Pledge him in his cup of the Cross, and you shall pledge him in the cup of his Glory. Desire to drink it before it be come to the dregs, whereof the wicked shall drink and all those that for fear of the Cross and pledg- ing the Lord, do walk with the wicked in betraying in fact and deed that which their heart embraceth for ver- ity. The which thing if you should do (which God forbid) then, my dear Mistress and Sister in the Lord, you should not only lose all that I have before spoken, and much more infinitely of eternal joy and glory, but also be a cast-away, and partaker of Gods most heavy dis- pleasure in Hell fire eternally; and so for a little ease, which you cannot tell how long it will last, to lose for ever and ever all ease and comfort. For he that gathereth not with me (saith Christ; as no Mass-Gospieller doth) scattereth abroad. According to that we do in this Body, we shall receive, be it good or bad. If of our words we shall be judged to condemnation or salvation; much more then of our facts and deeds. You cannot be partaker of Gods Religion and Antichrists service, whereof the Mass is most principal. You cannot be a member of Christs Church, and a member of the Popes Church. You must glorify God not only in soul and heart, but also in body and deed. You may not think that God requirith less of you his Wife now, then your Husband did of you. If both Heart and Body your Husband would have, shall Christ have less, throw you, which hath so bitterly and dearly bought it? If your Husband could not admit an excuse how your heart is his only, if he should have taken your Body in bed with another; do you think that Christ will allow your Body at Mass, although your heart consent not to it?

1 Joh. 1.
1 Cor. 15.
1 Cor. 16.

The Mass is
the prepu-
pal service
of Ant.
Christ.
1 Cor. 6.

Psalm 121.

God esteemeth his Children, not only of their hearts, but of their pure hands and works, and therefore in He- lias time he counted none to be his Servants and People, but such as had not bowed their knees to Baal; as now he doth not in England account any other to be his dar- lings, which know the Truth in heart, and deny it in their deeds, as do our Mass-Gospiellers.

We ought to desire above all things the sanctifying of Gods holy Name, and the coming of his Kingdom; and shall we then see his Name blasphemed so horribly as it is at Mass, by making it a Sacrifice propitiatory, and setting forth a false Christ of the Priests and Bakers making, to be worshipped as God, and say nothing? The Jews rent their cloaths afunder in seeing or hearing any thing blasphemously done or spoken against God, and shall we yet come to Church where Mass is, and be mute? Paul and Barnabas rent their cloaths to see the People of Lycaonia to offer Sacrifice unto them, and shall we see Sacrifice and Gods service done to an inanimate Creature, and be mute? What thing helpeth more or so much Antichrists King- dom as doth the Mass? And what destroyeth preaching

* Note
that of
the priests
and the
Bakers
making.

and the Kingdom of Christ upon Earth more than it doth? And how can we then say, Let thy Kingdom come, and go to Mass? How can we pray before God, Thy will be done on Earth, when we will do our own will, and the will of our Father or Friends? How pray we, Deliver us from evil, which knowing the Mass to be evil, do come to it?

But what go I about to light a Candle in the Noon- day, that is, to tell you that we may not go to Mass, or to the Congregation where it is, except it be to reprove it, in that all men in so doing do but dissemble both with God and Man? And is dissembling now to be allowed? How long will men yet halt on both knees (saith God?) Halting (saith Paul) bringeth out of the way, that is to say, out of Christ, which is the way: so that he which is not in him shall wither away, and be cast into Hell fire. For Christ will be ashamed of them before his Father, which be now ashamed of his Truth before this wicked generation.

Therefore (my good Mistress) take good heed; for it had been better for you never to have known the Truth, and there-through to have escaped from Papistical un- cleanness, then now to return to it, making citizens your members, being members of righteousness, members of unrighteousness, as you do, if you do but go to the Church where Mass is. Be pure therefore, and keep your self from all filth of the spirit, and of the flesh. Abstain not only from all evil, but from all appearance of evil.

And so the God of Peace shall be with you, the glory of God shall govern you, the Spirit of God shall sanctify you, and be with you for ever, to keep you from all evil, and to comfort you in all your distress and trouble; which is but short if you consider the eternity you shall enjoy in glory and felicity in the Lord, which undoubtedly you shall not fail but inherit for ever, if so be you, as the elect Child of God, put your trust in his mercy, call upon his Name unsafely, and yield not unto the end of the wicked world, but stick still against it unto the oed. God for his holy Names sake, which is properly the God of the widows, be your good and dear Father for ever, and help you always, as I my self would be helped at his hands in all things, and especially in this his own cause, Amen, Amen.

John Bradford.

To one by whom he had received much comfort and re- lief in his Trouble and Imprisonment.

The mercy of God in Christ, peculiar to his Children, A Letter of thanks to a good Bene- factor at his.

When I consider with my self the benefits which God hath shewed unto me by your means, if I had so good and thankful a heart as I would I had, I could not with dry eyes give him thanks; for certainly they are very many and great. And now being yet still the Lords Prisoner, I receive from him more benefits by you. For the which I think my self so much bound to you, my good Brother, (although you were but the instrument by whom God wrought and blessed me) that I look not to come out of your debt by any pleasure, or service that I shall ever be able to do you in this life. I shall heartily pray unto God therefore to requite you the good you have done to me for his sake: for I know that which you have done, you have done it simply in respect of God and his Word. He therefore give you daily more and more to be confirmed in his Truth and Word, and so plentifully pour upon you the riches of his holy Spirit and heavenly Treasures laid up in store for you, that your corporal and earthly riches may be used of you at Sacraments and significations thereof; the more to desire the one, that is, the heavenly, and the less to esteem the other, that is, the earthly. For Satans solicitation is, so to set before you the earthly, that therein and thereby you should not have access to the consideration of the heavenly, but as one bewitched should utterly forget them, and altogether become a lover and worshipper of the earthly Mammon, and so to fall to covetousness, and a desire to be rich, by that means to Christ bring you into many noisome and hurtful lusts: as now adays I hear of many which have utterly forsaken God and all his heavenly riches, for Antichrists pleasure, and the preserving of their worldly self, which they imagine to leave to their posterity, whereof they are uncertain, as they

Anno

1555.

The Mass
destroyeth
preaching
and the
Kingdom
of Christ.

He dissa-
deth her
from the
Mass.

Anno 1555. they may be most certain they leave to them Gods wrath and vengeance, in his time to be sent by visitation, or by some heavenly repent me, and prevent not the same by earnest Prayer. Wherein my good Brother: if you be diligent, heavy, and persevering, I am sure God will preserve you from evil, and from yielding your self to do as the world now doth by allowing in bodily fact in the Romish service, that which the inward cogitation and mind doth disallow. But if you be cold in Prayer, and come into consideration of caribly and present things simply, then shall you fall into faithless follies and wounding of your Conscience; from which God evermore preserve you with your good Wife, and your Babe Leonard, and all your Family, to the which I wish the blessing of God now and forever, through Christ our Lord, Amen.

I pray you give thanks for me to your old Bed-fellow, for his great friendship for your sake shewed to me when I was in the Tower.

John Bradford.

To a faithful Friend of his, and his Wife, revealing their doubts, why they ought not to come to auricular Confession.

The merciful God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which loveth us as a most dear Father, and hath put upon him towards us the affections of a most tender Mother towards her Children, so that he can no less think upon us (although of our selves we be most unworthy, and deserve nothing less) than she can think on her only begotten Child in his distrait; yea, if she should forget her Child, as some unnatural Mother will do, yet will he never forget us, although for a time he seem to sleep, that we might be occasioned to call loud and awake him: this good God keep you, my dear Brother Nathanael, and your good Yoke-fellow, my heartily beloved Sister in the Lord, in all things now and for ever, to his glory and your eternal comfort: and also of his goodness he grant you both the feeling of that hope, which undoubtedly he hath laid up in store for you both, far passing the store and provision, not only which you have made, but all the world is able to make, as I trust already he hath wrought it in you; but I beseech him to increase it more and more, and kindle in you a hearty longing for the enjoying of the summe which once felt and had indeed, then the means by the which we come thereto, cannot be so greatly creased, as most men do dread them, because either they want this feeling (I mean it, of altogether) or else because the sense of this present time and things therein, are as a mist to the hiding of those things from our sight, lest we should run and embrace them by hasty Prayer, the Spirit whereof God grant us, and indeed we should attain enough in this behalf, if we continued therein.

For auricular Confession, wherein you desire my advice for your good Yoke-fellow and Family (my most dear Brother) I am as ready to give it, as you to desire it, yea more glad, so far as half a suspicion was in me (at the least touching my dear Sister your wife) of a bathing of my advice, that too much had been given, where indeed I should lament my too little feeding you spiritually, as both you out of Prison and in Prison have fed me corporally. But as I always thought of her, so I yet think that she is the Child of God, whom God dearly loveth, and will in his good time to her eternal comfort give her her hearts desire in sure feeling and sensible believing of this, which I would she had often in her mind; namely, that he is her God and Father through Jesus Christ our dear Lord and Saviour. A greater service to God she cannot give, than to believe this. If Satan say, the believeth not to answer, not him but the Lord, and to say, yea, Lord help my unbelief, and increase my poor Faith, which Satan faith is no Faith: make him a Liar, Lord as always he hath been, and shall be. Undoubtedly, sooner or later God will graciously hear her groans, and keep all her tears in his Burell, for he is a righteous God, and hath no pleasure in the death of his Creature; he loveth mercy, he will return and shew her his mercy, he will cast all her sins and iniquities into the bottom of the Sea; and the longer that he carrieth (as he doth it but to prove her) to the more liberally will he recompence her long longing, which no less pleaseth him, than it grieveth now her

ward Adam. For the mortification whereof God I use this Cross, and therefore if she desire to bear the same, doubtless God will make her able to bear it, and in presumption of his goodness and strength, let me call her self wholly upon him: for he is faithful, and will actually confirm, and bring to a happy end that good which graciously he hath begun in her. The which thing I desire him to do for his own glory and I names sake, Amen.

And now to the matter. Confession auricular, as it was first used and instituted (which was by the way of counsel asking) I take to be amongst the most of Devils which are indifferent, that is, neither unlawful, nor necessarily binding us, except the offence of the weak could not be avoided. But to consider it, as it is now used (I write to you but as I think, and what my mind is; which follow no further, than good men by Gods Word do allow it) to consider it, I say, as it is now used, methinks it is plainly unlawful and wicked, and that for these causes.

First, because they make it a service of God, and a thing which pleaseth God of it self, I will not say meritorious; this bringer my Brother can tell you at large how great evil this is.

Secondly, because they make it of necessity, so that he or she that useth it not, is not taken for a good Christian.

Thirdly, because it requireth of itself an impossibility, that is, the numbering and telling of all our sinfulness, which no man perceiveth, much less can utter.

Fourthly, because it establisheth and confirmeth, at the least alloweth praying to Saints, *Præter Sanctos Mariam*, you must fly or the Devil for you.

Fifthly, because it is very injurious to the liberty of the Gospel, the which to affirm in example and fact, I take to be a good work and dear in Gods sight.

Sixthly, because (as it is used) it is a new, yea a very new, of the Popish Church, and therefore we should be so far from allowing the same, that we should think our selves happy to live any thing in bearing witness thereagainst.

Seventhly, because instead of counsel, where you should receive poison, or if you refuse it under Sir *Jehan Benedicite*, you should no it is there be wound in the Briars.

Eighthly, because the end and purpose why we go thither, is for the avoiding of the Cross, that is, for our own cause, and not for Christs cause, or for our Brethrens commodities. For in that they make it so necessary a thing, and a worshipping of God, it cannot but be against Christ, and the freedom of his Gospel, and the same thing teacheth us, that it is against the commodity of our Brethren, which either be weak, either be strong, either be ignorant, either be of estate. If they be weak, by your resorting to it, they be made more weak. If they be strong, you do what you can to diminish their strength. If they be ignorant, thereby you help to keep them by your fact. If they be obstinate, your resorting to it cannot but rock them asleep in their obstinate Error of the necessity of this rite and ceremony. These causes recited do shew you what I think in this: but my thinking must no further bind you than a mans thought should do, except the same be grounded upon Gods Word which bindeth indeed, as I think they do. I doubt not but you weighing these causes, and especially two of the first and the last, if you pray to God for his Spirit to direct you, and thereto ask the advice of thine good Brother and other godly Learned men, I doubt not (I say) but you should be guided to do that which is best in Gods sight, although in the light of the world perhaps you should be counted foolish and precise. But be a point with your selves as the Disciples of Christ, which had forsaken themselves, to follow not your will, but Gods will, as you daily pray in the Lords Prayer.

The Cross of Christ be willing to carry, lest you carry the Cross of the World, the Flesh, or the Devil. One of these four Crosses you must carry. Three of them bring to hell, and therefore the more part gash that way, which is a broad way. Only the fourth is the narrow way, why the but few go that way, as well because the way is thorny, as also because few walk in it lowly, though it be that, that leaden it is but short, and the few are many, if you consider the godly, as the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and Christ Jesus, with all his guard and train.

Think

Another Letter of Mr. Bradford, dispriving auricular Confession.

Note that this Name was not his proper name but he was so called for his singular singularity and trust.

What is to do if Satan charge our Conscience with unbelief.

The Lord the longer heareth, the more liberally he recompeneth as at his coming.

Confession auricular, as it was first used.

Secondly, because they make it of necessity.

Fourthly, because it establisheth and confirmeth.

Confession auricular, as it was first used.

Confession auricular, as it was first used.

Confession auricular, as it was first used.

Confession auricular, as it was first used.

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Confession auricular, as it was first used.

Confession auricular, as it was first used.

Confession auricular, as it was first used.

Confession auricular, as it was first used.

Think not scorn to come after them which are gone before you, and after them which now go before you, in whole number I trust I am appointed to be one, and I beseech you pray for me, that God would vouch me worthy that honour. Our sins deserve plagues, prison, and the loss of all that ever we have: therefore if God remove our sins out of sight, and send us Prison, and loss of goods and living for his Names sake, Oh how happy are we? My dear hearts in the Lord, consider this gear, and be assured that he which loseth any thing for Christs sake, the same in his posterity shall find it here, and in Heaven elsewhere. As for unbeliefness to answer for your Faith; it shall be enough to will them to dispute with your teachers. Faith standeth not in disputing. I think few, if it came to disputing, could defend the Godhead of Christ and many other Articles; I speak it for the simple sort. Pray for me. Lack of Paper maketh this end. Commend me to my good Brother R. B. and my good Sister his Wife. I pray them to pray for me. I trust by this Bearer to hear how you do.

John Bradford.

Another Letter to N. and his Wife.

Another
Letter of
Mr Bradford
to a dear
Friend and
his Wife.

Gods mercy in Christ I wish you to feel, my dear Brother, with my faithful Sister your Wife, now and for ever, Amen.

Having this occasion, I could not but write something, as well to put my self in remembrance of my duty to Godwards for you both in thankfulness and prayer, as to put you in remembrance of me: and your duty towards God for me, in praying for me; for I dare not say in thankfulness for me: nor that I would have you to give no thanks to God for his wonderful great and sweet mercies towards me, and upon me in Christ his Son; but because I have not deserved it at either of your hands. For ye both know right well, at least my Conscience doth accuse me, how that I have not only not exhorted and taught you (as both my vocation and your deserts required) to walk worthy of that vocation which God hath made you worthy of, and with trembling and fear to work out your salvation, that is, in the fear of God to give your selves to great vigilance in Prayer for the increase of Faith, and to a wary circumspection in all your conversation, not only in words and words, but also in thoughts; because God is a searcher of the heart, and out of the heart it cometh that defileth us in Gods sight: I have (I say) not only not done this, but also have given you example of negligence in prayer, watching, fasting, talking, and doing, so that two to me for giving such example. Lastly for this cause, dear Brother and Sister, God hath cast me here, that I might repent me and turn to him, and that ye might also by his correction upon me be more diligent to redress these things and others, if they in your Conscience do accuse you.

Antichrist
rejoicing in
England.

My dearly Beloved, heavy is Gods anger fallen upon us all; doleful is this day. Now hath Antichrist all his power again. Now is Christs Gospel trodden under foot. Now is Gods People a derision and prey for the wicked. Now is the greatest plague of all plagues fallen, the want of Gods Word: and all these we have, yea I alone have justly deserved. Oh that as I write (I alone) I could with David, 1 Par. 21. and with Jonas in heart say so. But I do not, I do not, I see not how grievously I have sinned, and how great a misery is fallen for mine unthankfulness for Gods Word, for mine hypocrite in professing, preaching, hearing, and speaking of Gods Word: for my not praying to God for the continuance of it, for my not loving of it thoroughly as it requireth, &c. I will speak nothing of my manifest evils, for they are known to you well enough.

He exhort-
eth them by
his confes-
sion to do
the like.
His Prayer
to God.

Dear Brother and Sister, with me say ye the like for your own parts, and with me join your hearts, and let us go to our heavenly Father, and for his Christs sake beseech him to be merciful unto us, and to pardon us: Oh good Father, it is we that have deserved the taking away of thy Word, it is we that have deserved the taking away of thy plagues fallen upon us; we have done amiss, we have dealt untruly with thy Ghostly, we have procured thy wrath, and therefore just art thou in punishing us, just art thou in plaguing us, for we are very naughty. But good Lord and dear Father of mercy, whose justice is such,

that thou wilt not punish the poor Souls of this Realm, Anno 1555. which yet have not thus sinned against thee, as we have done (for many yet never heard thy Word) for our Trespases; and whose mercy is so great, that thou wilt put our iniquities out of thy remembrance for thy Christs sake, if we repent and believe: grant us we beseech thee, true Repentance and Faith, that we, having obtained pardon for our sins, may through thy Christ get deliverance from the tyranny of Antichrist now oppressing us.

Oh good Father, which hath said, that the Scepter of the wicked should not long lye upon and over the just, lest they should put forth their hands to iniquity also; make us just, we pray thee in Christs Name, and cut asunder the cords of them that hate thee; let not the wicked people say, Where is their God? Thou our God art in Heaven, and dost whatsoever pleaseth thee upon earth.

Oh that thou wouldst in the mean while, before thou dost deliver us, that (I say) thou wouldst open our eyes to see all these plagues to come from thee, and all other that shall come, whatsoever they be, publick or private, that they come not by chance nor by fortune, but that they come even from thy hand, and that justly, and mercifully; justly, because we have and do deserve them, not only by our birth-poyson still sticking and working in us, but also by our former evil life past, which by this punishment and all other punishments thou wouldst have us to call to our remembrance, and to set before us, that thou mightst put them from before thee, where as they stand so long as they are not in our remembrance, to put them away by repentance. Mercifully, O Lord God, dost thou punish, in that thou dost not correct to kill, but to amend; that we might repent our sins, ask mercy, obtain it freely in Christ, and begin to suffer for righteousness sake; to be part of thy house, wherewith thy Judgment is blemished; to be partakers of the afflictions of thy Church, and thy Christ, that we might be partakers of the glory of the same; to weep here, that we might rejoice elsewhere; to be judged in this world, that we might with thy Saints judge hereafter the world; to suffer with Christ, that we might reign with him; to be like to Christ in shame, that we might be like to him in glory; to receive our evils here, that we might with poor Lazarus find rest elsewhere; rest, I say, and such a rest as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive.

Oh that our eyes were open to see this, that the Cross cometh from thee to declare thy justice and thy mercy, and hereto, that we might see how short a time the time of suffering is; how long a time the time of rejoicing is to them that suffer here, but to them that will not, how long and miserable a time is appointed and prepared; a time without time in eternal wo and perdition, too horrible to be thought upon. From the which keep us, dear Father, and give us more light in Soul to see this gear, and how that all thy dearst Children have carried the Cross of grievous afflictions in this life; in whose company do they place us, and such a Cross lay upon us, as thou wilt make us able to bear, to thy glory and our salvation in Christ, for whose sake we pray thee to shorten the days of this our great misery fallen upon us most justly, and in the mean season give us patience, repentance, faith, and thy eternal consolation; Amen, Amen, Amen.

And thus dear hearts, I have talked (methinks) a little while with you, or rather we have all talked with God. Oh that God would give us his Spirit of Grace and Prayer. My dearly Beloved, pray for it, as for your selves, so for me, and that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy to suffer with a good Conscience for his Names sake. Pray for me, and I shall do the like for you. This 20. of December, by him whom by this Bringer you shall learn. I pray you give my commendations to all that love me in the Lord. Be merry in Christ, for one day in Heaven we shall meet and rejoice together for evermore, Amen.

To my good Brother Augustine Barneber.

Mine own good Augustine, the Lord of mercy bless thee my dear Brother for ever. I have good hope, that if you come late at night, I shall speak with you, but come as secretly as you can: Howbeit, in the mean season, if you can, and as you can, learn what Mr. G. hath spoken to Dr. Story and others. The cause of all this trouble

This Augustine being a Dutchman, was a servant, and a faithful minister in the time of K. Edward, and in Q. Marys time a singular attendant upon the Lords Petitioners.

Anno 1555. *double both to my Keeper and me, is thought to come by him. I have said that I shall be burned in Smithfield, and that flourish. Domini voluntas fiat. Ecce ego Domine, mitte me; I The Lords will be done. Behold here I am Lord, send me. As mine own sweet friend, I am now alone, left I should make you and others worse. If I should live, I would more warily use the company of Gods Children, then ever I have done from Domini portabo quoniam peccavi; I will bear the Lords anger, because I have sinned against him. Commend me to my most dear Sisters, for whom my heart bleedeth; the Lord comfort her and strengthen her unto the end. I think I have taken my leave of her for ever in this life, but in eternal life we shall most surely meet, and praise the Lord continually. I have now taken a more certain answer of death then ever I did: and yet not so certain as I think I should do. I am now as a sheep appointed to the slaughter. As my Gods, the hour is come, glorify thy most unworthy child. I have glorified thee, with this my sweet Father, and I will glorify thee. Amen. As mine own bowels, praise God for me, and pray for me; for I am his hope: I hope he will never forsake me, though I have above all other most deserved it. I am the most singular example of his mercies, praised be his Name therefore for ever. Cause Mrs. Perpoint to learn of the Sheriff Mr. Chelster, what they purpose to do with me, and know if you can, whether there be any writ forth for me. Factus sum sicut Nyctiorax in domicilio, & Passer solitarius in tecto; i. I am like to an Owl in the house, and as a Sparrow alone in the house top. As my Augustine, how long shall Gods enemies thus triumph? I have sent you this of the Baptism of Children to write out; when this is done, you shall have other things. Pray, pray mine own dear heart, on whom I am bold. The Keeper telleth me, that it is death for any to speak with me, but yet I trust that I shall speak with you.*

John Bradford.

To these Letters of Mr. Bradford above specified, here is also adjoined another Letter of the said Bradford, written to certain of his faithful Friends, worthy of all Christians to be read; wherein is described a lively comparison between the Old man and the New: Also between the Law and the Gospel, containing much fruitful matter of Divinity, necessary for Christian Consciences to read and understand.

A Letter of Mr. Bradford, describing a Comparison between the Old man and the New, &c.

A Man that is regenerate and born of God, (the which thing that every one of us be, our Baptism, the Sacrament of Regeneration, doth require under pain of damnation, and therefore let every one of us with the Virgin Mary say, Be it unto me, O Lord, according to thy word, according to the Sacrament of Baptism, wherein thou hast declared our Adoption; and let us lament the doubting hereof in us, striving against it, as we shall be made able of the Lord) a man, I say, that is regenerate, consisteth of two men (as a man may say) namely of the Old man, and of the New man. The Old man is like to a mighty Giant, such a one as was Goliath, for his birth is now perfect. But the New man is like unto a little Child, such a one as was David, for his birth is not perfect until the day of his general Resurrection.

The Old man therefore is more strong, lusty, and flourishing than the New man, because the birth of the New man is begun now, and the Old man is perfectly born. And as the Old man is more flourishing, lusty, and stronger than the New man; so is the nature of him clean contrary to the nature of the New man, as being earthly and corrupt with Satans seed, and blessed with the Celestial seed of God. So that one man, inasmuch as he is corrupt with the Seed of the Serpent, is an Old man; and inasmuch as he is blessed with the seed of God from above, he is a New man. And as inasmuch as he is an Old man, he is a sinner and an enemy to God; so inasmuch as he is regenerate, he is righteous and holy, and a friend to God, the seed of God preserving him from sin, so that he cannot sin, as the seed of the Serpent, whereby he is corrupt even from his Conception, inclineth him, yea inclineth him to sin, and nothing else but to sin: So that the

best part in man before Regeneration, in Gods sight, is not only an enemy, but enmity it self.

One man therefore which is regenerate, well may be called always just, and always sinful; just in respect of Gods seed, and his regeneration; sinful in respect of Satans seed and his first birth. Betwixt these two men therefore there is continual conflict, and war most dead; The flesh and Old man, by reason of his birth that is perfect, doth often for a time prevail against the New man (being but a child in comparison) and that in such sort, as not only other, but even the children of God themselves think that they be nothing else but Old, and that the Spirit and Seed of God is lost and gone away; where yet notwithstanding the truth is otherwise, the Spirit and the Seed of God at the length appearing again, and dispelling away the clouds which cover the Sun of Gods Seed from shining, as the clouds in the Air do the corporal Sun; so that sometimes a man cannot tell by any sense, that there is any Sun, the clouds and wind so hiding it from our sight: Even so our carnal or blindness, and corrupt affections do often shadow the sight of Gods Seed in Gods Children, as though they were plain Reprobates. Whereof it cometh, that they praying according to their sense, but not according to the truth, desire of God to give them again his Spirit, as though they had lost it, and he had taken it away. Which thing God never doth indeed, although he make us to think so for a time, for always he holdeth his hand under his children in their falls, that they lye not still as other do which are not regenerate. And this is the difference betwixt Gods children which are regenerate and elect before all times in Christ, and the wicked always; that the elect lye not still continually in their sin, as do the wicked, but at the length do return again by reason of Gods Seed, which is in them hid as a sparkle of fire in the ashes, as we may see in Peter, David, Paul, Mary Magdalen, and others. For these (I mean Gods children) God hath made all things in Christ Jesus, to whom he hath given his dignity, that they should be his Inheritance and Spouses.

This our Inheritor Christ Jesus, God with God, Light of Light, coeternal and consubstantial with the Father, and with the holy Ghost, to the end that he might become our husband (because the husband and the wife must be one body and flesh) hath taken our nature upon him, communicating with it and by it in his own person, to us all his children, his Divine Majesty (as Peter saith) and so is become flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bones substantially; as we were become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones spiritually, all that ever we have pertaining to him, yea even our sins; as all that ever he hath, pertaineth unto us, even his whole glory. So that if Satan should summon us to answer for our debts or sins, in that the wife is no fusable person, but the husband, we may well bid him enter his Action against our husband Christ, and he will make him a sufficient answer.

For this end (I mean that we might be coupled and married thus to Christ, and so be certain of Salvation, and at godly peace with God in our Consciences) God hath given his holy word, which hath two parts (as now the children of God do consist of two men) one part of Gods word being proper to the Old man, and the other part of Gods word being proper to the New man. The part properly pertaining to the Old man is the Law; the part properly pertaining to the New man is the Gospel.

The Law is a Doctrine which commandeth and forbiddeth, requiring doing and avoiding. Under it therefore are contained all precepts, threatnings, promises upon conditions of our doing and avoiding, &c. The Gospel is a Doctrine which always offereth and giveth, requiring Faith on our behalf, not as of worthiness, or as a cause, but as a certificate unto us, and therefore under it are contained all the free and sweet promises of God; as I am the Lord thy God, &c.

In those that be of years of discretion, it requirith Faith, not as a cause, but as an instrument; whereby we our selves may be certain of our good husband Christs love and his glory, and therefore when the Conscience feel-eth it self disquieted for fear of Gods judgment against sin, the may in no wise look upon the Doctrine pertaining to

How one man may be called al-ways just and always just.

Why the Old man sometimes prevaileth against the New man.

The Old man is so multiply prevaleth sometimes against the New in the Children of God, that the Spirit and Seed of God seemeth to be utterly taken away, as though it were lost.

Which thing God never doth indeed, although he make us to think so for a time, for always he holdeth his hand under his children in their falls, that they lye not still as other do which are not regenerate.

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the Old man, but on the Doctrine only that pertaineth to the New man, in it not looking-for that which it requir-eth, that is Faith, because we never believe as we should; but only on it which it offereth, and which it giveth, that is, on Gods grace and eternal mercy and peace in Christ. So shall he be in quiet, when the looketh for it, al-together out of her self, in Gods mercy in Christ Jesus: in whose lap if he lay her head with S. John, then is the happy, and shall find quietness indeed. When she feeleth her self quiet, then, in Gods Name, let her look on the Law, and upon such things as it requireth, thereby to bridle and keep down the Old Adam, to say that *Goliath*; from whom the muft needs keep the sweet Promises, being the bed wherein her Spouse and she meet and lye together. For as the wife will keep her bed only for her husband, although in other things she is contented to have fellow-ship with others, as to speak, sit, eat, drink, go, &c. so our Conscience, which are Christs wives, muft needs keep the bed, that is Gods sweet Promises alone for our selves and our husband, there to meet together, to embrace and laugh together, and to be joyful together. If Sin, the Law, the Devil, or any thing would creep into the bed, and lye there, then complain to thy husband Christ, and forthwith thou shalt see him play *Pinces*' part. Thus (my dearly beloved) I have given you in few words a sum of all the Divinity which a Christian Conscience cannot want.

A Letter written to his Mother, as a Farewel, when he thought he should have suffered shortly after.

Another Letter or leave-taking to his Mother supposing that he should have suffered shortly.

THe Lord of Life and Saviour of the World, Jesus Christ, bless you and comfort you, my good and dear Mother, with his heavenly comfort, consolation, grace, and spirit, now and for ever. Amen.

If I thought that daily, yea almost hourly you did not cry upon God the Father through Jesus Christ, that he would give me his blessing, even the blessing of his Children; then would I write more hereabouts. But forasmuch as herein I am certain you are diligent, and so I beseech you, good Mother, to continue; I think it good to write something, whereby this your crying might be furthered. Furthered it will be, if those things which hinder it be taken away. Among the which, in that I think my Imprisonment is the greatest and chiefest, I will thereabout spend this Letter, and that briefly, lest it might increase the let, as my good Brother, this bringer, can tell you. You shall know therefore, good Mother, that for my Body, though it be in an House, out of the which I cannot come when I will, yet in that I have conformed my will to Gods will, I find herein liberty enough, I thank God. And for my lodging, bedding, meat, drink, godly and learned company, Books, and all other necessities for mine ease, comfort, and commodity, I am in much better case than I could wish, and Gods merciful Providence here is far above my worthiness. Worthiness, quoth I? Alas, I am worthy of nothing but damnation.

But besides all this, for my Soul I find much more commodity. For God is my Father, I now perceive, through Christ; therefore in prisoning me for his Gospel, he maketh me like to the Image of his Son Jesus Christ here, that when he cometh to Judgment, I might then be like unto him, as my trust and hope is, I shall be. Now maketh he me like to his Friends the Prophets, Apostles, the holy Martyrs and Confessors. Which of them did not suffer at the least Imprisonment or bannishment for his Gospel and Word?

Now Mother, how far am I unmeet to be compared to them? I (I say) which always have been, and am so vile an Hypocrite and grievous a Sinner. God might have caused me long before this time to have been cast into Prison as a Thief, a Blasphemer, an unclean Liver, and an heinous Offender of the Laws of the Realm; but (dear Mother) his mercy is so great upon both you, and all that love me, that I should be cast into Prison as none of these, or for any such Vices, but only for his Christs sake, for his Gospels sake, for his Churches sake, that thereby as I might learn to lament and bewail my ingratitude and sins, so I might rejoyce in his mercy,

be thankful, look for eternal joy with Christ, for Anno whole sake, praised be his Name for it, I now suffer, and therefore should be merry and glad. And indeed (good Mother) so I am, as ever I was, yea, never so merry and glad was I, as now I should be, if I could get you to be merry with me, to thank God for me, and to pray on this sort: Ah good Father, which dost vouchsafe that my Son, being a grievous sinner in thy fight, should find this favour with thee, to be one of thy Sons Captains and Men of War to fight and suffer for his Gospels sake, I thank thee, and pray thee, in Christs Name, that thou wouldst forgive him his sins and unthankfulness, and make perfect in him that good which thou hast begun; yea Lord, I pray thee make him worthy to suffer, not only imprisonment, but even very death for thy Truth, Religion, and Gospels sake. As Anna did apply and give her first Child Samuel unto thee, so do I dear Father, beseeching thee for Christs sake to accept this my Gift, and give my Son, John Bradford, grace always truly to serve thee and thy people, as Samuel did, Amen, Amen.

If on this sort (good Mother) from your heart you would pray, as I should be the most merriest man that ever was; so am I certain the lets of your prayer for my imprisonment would be taken away. Good Mother therefore mark what I have written, and learn this prayer by heart, to say it daily, and then I shall be merry, and you shall rejoyce if that you continue, as I trust you do, in Gods true Religion, even the same I have taught you, and my Father *Traves* I trust will put you in remembrance of: my Brother Roger also, I trust, doth so daily. Go to therefore, and learn apace. Although the Devil cast divers lets in the way, God in whom you trust, will cast them away for his Christs sake, if you will call upon him; and never will he suffer you to be tempted about that he will make you able to bear. But how you should do herein, the other Letter which I have written herewith, shall teach you, which I would have none should read till my Father *Traves* have read it, and he will give you by Gods grace some Instructions.

Now therefore will I make an end, praying you good Mother, to look for no more Letter after it if were known that I have Pen and Ink, and did write, then should I want all the foreaid commodities I have spoken of concerning my Body, and be cast into some Dungeon in fetters of Iron: which thing I know would grieve you, and therefore for Gods sake, see that these be burned, when this little Prayer in it is copied by my Brother Roger: for perchance your House may be searched for such gear, when you think little of it: and look for no more, sweet Mother, till either God shall deliver me, and send me out, either you and I shall meet together in Heaven, where we shall never part asunder, Amen.

I require you *Elizabeth* and *Margaret* my Sisters, that you will fear God, use Prayer, love your Husbands, be obedient unto them, as God willeth you: bring up your Children in Gods fear: and be good Houewives. God bless you both, with both your Husbands, my good Brethren, to whom to do good, because I now cannot, I will pray for them and you. Commend me to your Sister *Anne*, Mother *Pike*, *Th. Sarrocold* and his wife, *R. Shalacroff* and his wife, *R. Bolton*, *J. Wild*, Mr. Vicar, the Parson *Mottram*, Sir *Laurence Hall*, with all that love, and I trust, live in the Gospel; and God turn Sir *Thomas* his heart, Amen. I will daily pray for him. I need not to set my name, you know it well enough.

Because you should give my Letters to my Father *Traves* to be burned, I have written here a Prayer for you to learn to pray for me, good Mother, and another for all your House in your Evening Prayer to pray with my Brother. These Prayers are written with mine own hand: keep them still, but the Letters give to Father *Traves* to burn, and give Father *Traves* a Copy of the later Prayer.

Another Letter to his Mother, at his last Farewel unto her in this world, a little before he was burned.

Gods mercy and peace in Christ, be more and more perceived of us, Amen.
My most dear Mother, in the Bowels of Christ I hear-
dearly

1558.

A prayer for his Mother to offer unto God in his behalf.

This Letter came next to our hands.

Exhortation to his two Sisters.

Another, and the last Letter of M. Bradford, written to his Mother a little before his death.

Anno 1555. heartily pray and beseech you to be thankful for me unto God, which thus now taketh me unto himself: I dye not, my good Mother; as a Thief, a Murderer, an Adulterer, &c. but I dye as a Witness of Christ's Gospel and Verity, which hitherto I have confessed (I thank God) well by preaching, as by imprisonment, and now even presently I shall most willingly confirm the same by fire. I knowe that God most justly might take me hence simply for my sins (which are many & great; and grievous: but the Lord for his mercy in Christ, hath pardoned them all, I hope) but now dear Mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a Confessor and Witness, that the Religion taught by Christ Jesus; the Prophets, and the Apostles, is Gods Truth. The Prelates do persecute in me Christ whom they hate, and his Truth which they may not abide, because their works are evil, and may not abide the Truth and Light, lest men should see their Darkness. Therefore my good and most dear Mother, give thanks for me to God, that he hath made the Fruit of your Womb to be a witness of his glory, and attend to the Truth, which (I thank God for it) I have truly taught out of the Pulpit of Manchester. Use often and continual prayer to God the Father through Christ. Hearken, as you may, to the Scriptures: serve God after his Word, and not after Custom: beware of the Romish Religion in England, defile not your self with it: carry Christs Cross as he shall lay it upon your back: forgive them that kill me: pray for them, for they know not what they do: commit my Cause to God our Father: be mindful of both your Daughters, and help them as you can.

Bradford
persecuted
of the Prelates,
not
for his faith,
but for the
truth of
Christ.

I send all my writings to you and my brother Roger, do with them as you will, because I cannot as I would, he can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to give you, or to leave behind me for you: only I pray God my Father, for his Christs sake, to bless you, and keep you from evil. He give you patience, he make you thankful, as for me, so for your self, that he will take the Fruit of your Womb to witness his Verity: wherein I confide to the whole world. I dye and depart this life in hope of a much better: which I look for at the hands of God my Father, through the Merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ.

Thus, my dear Mother, I take my last farewell of you in this life, beseeching the Almighty and eternal Father by Christ, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we shall give him continual thanks and praise for ever and ever, Amen. Out of Prison the 24. of June, 1555.

Your Son in the Lord,
John Bradford.

A Letter sent with a Supplication to Queen Mary, her Council, and the whole Parliament.

IN most humble wise complaineth unto your Majesty and Honours, a poor Subject persecuted for the Confession of Christs Verity: the which Verity deserveth at your hands to be maintained and defended, as the thing by the which you reign and have your Honours and Authority. Although we that be Professors, and through the grace of God the constant Confessors of the same, are (as it were) the outswEEPINGS of the world: yet (I say) the Verity it self is a thing not unworthy for your ears to hear, for your eyes to see, and for your hands to handle, help, and succour, according to that the Lord hath made you able, and placed you where you are, for the same purpose. Your Highness and Honours ought to know, that there is no innocency in words or deeds, where it is enough and sufficient only to accuse. It becometh Kings, Queens, and all that be in Authority, to know that in the administration of their Kingdoms they are Gods Ministers. It becometh them to know, that they are no Kings, but plain Tyrants, which reign not to this end, that they may serve and set forth Gods glory after true knowledge: and therefore it is required of them, that they would be wise, and suffer themselves to be taught, so submit themselves to the Lords discipline, and to his their Sovereigns, lest they perish; as all those Potentates with their Principalties and Dominions cannot long prosper, but perish in blood, if they and their Kingdoms be not ruled with the Scripture of God, that is, with his Word; which who so becometh not, honoureth not God, and they that honour not the Lord, the Lord will not honour them, but bring them into contempt, and at the length take his own cause, which he

Difference
between
Kings and
Tyrants.

hath most chiefly committed unto them to care for, into his own hands, and so overthrow them, and set up his Truth gloriously; the People also perishing with the Princes, where the word of prophecy is wanting, much more it is suppressed, as it is now in this Realm of England, over which the eyes of the Lord are set to destroy it; your Highness, and all your Honours, if in time you look not better to your office and duties herein, and not suffer your selves to be slaves and hangmen to Antichrist and his Prelates, which have brought your Highness and Honours already to let Barabbas loose, and to hang up Christ: as by the grace and help of God, I shall make apparent, if first it would please your excellent Majesty, and all your Honours, to take to heart Gods Doctrine, which rather through the malice of the Pharisees, I mean the Bishops and Prelates, then your Consciences, is oppressed; and not for our contemptible and execrable state in the sight of the world, to pass the less of it. For if (the Doctrine I mean) is higher, and of more honour and majesty, than all the whole world. It standeth invincible above all power, being not our Doctrine, but the Doctrine of the ever-living God, and of his Christ, whom the Father hath ordained King, to have dominion from Sea to Sea, and from the River unto the ends of the world. And truly so doth he, and will be reign, that he will shake all the whole earth with his iron and brazen power, with his golden and silver brightness, only by the rod of his mouth, to shiver in such sort as though they were pots of clay, according to that which the Prophets do write of the magnificence of his Kingdom. And thus much for the thing, I mean the Doctrine, and your duties to hearken, so propagate, and defend the same.

But now will our Adversaries mainly cry out against us, because no man may be admitted once to write against them, that we pretend falsely the Doctrine and Word of God, calling us the most wicked Contemners of it, and Heretics, Schismatics, Traytors, &c. All which their sayings, how malicious and false they are, though I might make report to that which is written by those men whose works they have condemned, and all that retain any of them, publicly by Proclamation: yet here will I occasion your Majesty and Honours by this my writing, to see that it is far otherwise than they report of us. God our Father for his holy Names sake, direct my pen to be his Instrument to put into your eyes, ears, and hearts, that which most may make to his glory, to the safeguard of your souls and bodies, and preservation of the whole Realm, Amen.

John Bradford.

To certain of his Friends, N. S. and R. C.

I With to you, my good Brethren, the same grace of God in Christ, which I wish and pray the Father of Mercies to give me for his holy Names sake, Amen.

Your Letter, though I have not read my self, because I would not alienate my mind from conceived things, to write to others, yet I have heard the sum of it, that it is of Gods Election; wherein I will briefly write to you my Faith, and how I think it good and meet for a Christian man to wade in it. I believe, that man, made after the Image of God, did fall from that blessed state, to the condemnation of himself, and all his Posterity. I believe that Christ, for man being thus fallen, did oppose himself to the Justice of God, a Mediator, paying the ransom and price of redemption for Adam and his whole Posterity that refuse it not finally. I believe, that all that believe in Christ, I speak of such as be of years of discretion, are partakers of Christ and all his Merits. I believe that Faith, and to believe in Christ (I speak not now of Faith that men have by reason of Miracles, John 2. 11. Acts 8. or by reason of earthly Commodity, Math. 13. Custom and Authority of men, which is commonly seen, the hearts of them that believe, being not right and simple before God: but I speak of that Faith which indeed is the true Faith, the justifying and regenerating Faith) I believe, I say, that this Faith and Belief in Christ, is the work and gift of God, given to none other than to those which be the Children of God, that is, to those whom God the Father before the beginning of the world hath predestinate in Christ unto eternal life.

Good warning
to Q.
Mary.

Princes
made slaves
to Antichrist.

Christ
ordained
to bear dominion over all.

Christs
Majesty
is falsly
belied of
the Prelates
for Heretics,
and Schismatics.

A Letter of
M. Bradford
to certain
persons be-
ing at that
time not
thoroughly
instructed in
the doctrine
of Gods Election.

True faith.
Evid. 4.

* Thus do I wade in Predestination, in such sort as God hath patched and opened it. Though in God it be the first, yet to us it is last opened. And therefore I begin with Creation, from whence I come to Redemption, so to Justification, and so to Election. On this sort I am sure, that warily and wisely a man may walk in it easily by the light of Gods Spirit, in and by his Word, seeing this Faith not to be given to all men, *2 Thess. 3.* but to such as are born of God, predestinate before the World was made, after the purpose and good will of God: which will we may not call into disputation, but in trembling and fear submit our selves to it, as to that which can will none otherwise than that which is holy, right, and good, how far soever otherwise it seem to the judgment of Reason, which must needs be beaten down to be more careful for Gods glory, than for mans salvation, which dependeth only thereon, as all Gods children full well see: for they seek not the glory which cometh of men, but the glory which cometh of God, *Jer. 9. John 5.* They know God to be a God which doth on earth, not only Mercy, but also Judgment, which is his Justice and most Justice, although our foolish reason cannot see it. And in this knowledge they glory and rejoyce, though others through vain curiosity grudge and murmur there-against. Thus briefly I have sent you my mind and meaning concerning this matter. Hereafter you shall have (I think) your Letter particularly answered by Mr. Philpot; as also, if I have time, and so you require it, I will do.

John Bradford.

Notes upon the same Epistle, and to the matter of Election appertaining.

As touching the Doctrine of Election (whereof this Letter of Mr. Bradford, and many other his Letters more do much intreat) three things must be considered.

1. First, What Gods Election is, and what is the cause thereof.
2. Secondly, How Gods Election proceedeth in working our Salvation.
3. Thirdly, To whom Gods Election pertaineth, and how a man may be certain thereof.

Between Predestination and Election, this difference there is: Predestination is as well to the Reprobate, as to the Elect. Election pertaineth only to them that be saved.

Predestination, in that it respecteth the Reprobate, is called Reprobation: in that it respecteth the saved, is called Election, and is thus defined.

Predestination is the eternal decreement of God, purposed before in himself, what shall befall on all men, either to Salvation or Damnation.

Election is the free mercy and grace of God in his own will, through faith in Christ his Son, choosing and preferring to life such as pleaseth him.

In this definition of Election, first goeth before (the mercy and grace of God) as the causes thereof, whereby are excluded all the works of the Law, and merits of deserving, whether they go before faith, or come after. So was Jacob chosen, and Esau refused, before either of them began to work, &c.

Secondly, In that this mercy and grace of God in this definition is said to be (free) thereby is to be noted the proceeding and working of God not to be bounded to any ordinary place, or to any succession of Chair, nor to state and dignity of person, nor to worthiness of blood, &c. but all goeth by the meer will of his own purpose; as it is written, *Spiritus ubi vult, spirat, &c.* And thus was the outward race and stock of Abraham after the flesh refused (which seemed to have the preeminence) and another Seed after the Spirit raised up to Abraham of the Stones, that is, of the Gentiles. So was the outward Temple of Jerusalem and Chair of Moses, which seemed to be of price, forsaken, and Gods Chair advanced in other Nations. So was tall Saul refused, and little David accepted: the Rich, the Proud, the Wife of this world rejected, and the Word of Salvation daily opened to the poor and miserable Abjects, the high Mountains cast under, and the low Valleys exalted, &c.

Thirdly, Where it is added (in his own will) by this falleth down the free will and purpose of man, with all his actions, counsels, and strength of Nature; according as it is written, *Non est volentis, neque currentis, sed miserantis Dei, &c.* It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy. So we see how Israel ran long, and yet got nothing. The Gentiles later began to set out, and yet got the game. So they which came at the first hour did labour more, and yet they which came last, were rewarded with the first, *Matthew 20.* The working will of the Pharisee seemed better, but yet the Lords will was rather to justify the Publican, *Luke 18.* The elder son had a better will to tarry by his Father, and so did indeed: and yet the fat Calf was given to the younger son that ran away, *Luke 15.* Whereby we are to understand, how the matter goeth, not by the will of man, but by the will of God; as it pleaseth him to accept, according as it is written, *Non ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt, &c.* Which are born, not of the will of the flesh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God. Furthermore, as all then goeth by the will of God only, and not by the will of man: so again here is to be noted, that this will of God never goeth without faith in Christ Jesus his Son.

And therefore, fourthly, is this Clause added in the definition, through faith in Christ his Son. Which faith in Christ to us-ward maketh all together. For first, it certifieth us of Gods Election; as this Epistle of Mr. Bradford doth well expresse. For whosoever will be certain of Election in God, let him first begin with his faith in Christ: which if he find in him to stand firm, he may be sure, and nothing doubt, but that he is one of the number of Gods Elect. Secondly, The said faith, Faith is the

and nothing else, is the only condition and means whereupon Gods mercy, grace, election, vocation, and all Gods promises to salvation do stay, according to the words of St. Paul, *Si permaneritis in fide, &c.* If ye abide in the faith, *Coloss. 1.* Thirdly, This faith also is the immediate and next cause of our justification simply, without any other condition annexed. For as the mercy of God, his grace, election, vocation, and other preceding causes do save and justify us upon election, if we believe in Christ: so this faith only in Christ without condition is the next and immediate cause, which by Gods promise worketh our justification; according as it is written, *Crede in Dominum Iesum, & salvus eris, tu & domus tua; i. Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy whole house, Acts 16.* And thus much touching the definition of Election, with the causes thereof declared. Which you fee now to be no merits, nor works of man, whether they go before or come after faith, but only the meer mercy of God through faith. For like as all they that be born of Adam, do taste of his malediction, though they tasted not his Apple: so all they that be born of Christ, (which is by faith) take part of the obedience of Christ, although they never did that obedience themselves, which was in him, *Rom. 5.*

Now to the second Consideration, let us see likewise, how, and in what order this election of God proceedeth in choosing and electing them which he ordaineth to salvation; which order is this. In them that be chosen to life, first Gods mercy and free grace bringeth forth Election; election worketh vocation, or Gods holy calling; which vocation, through hearing, bringeth knowledge and faith of Christ. Faith through promise, obtaineth justification, justification through hope, waiteth for glorification.

Election is before time. Vocation and faith cometh in time. Justification and glorification is without end. Election, depending upon Gods free grace and will, excludeth all mans will, blind fortune, chance and all per-adventures.

Vocation, standing upon Gods election, excludeth all mans wisdom, cunning, learning, intention, power and presumption.

Faith in Christ, proceeding by the gift of the Holy Ghost, and freely justifying man by Gods promise, excludeth all other merits of men, all condition of deserving, and all works of the Law, both Gods Law and mans Law, with all other outward means whatsoever.

Justi-

the certainty of this faith, search your hearts. If you have it, praise the Lord, for you are happy, and therefore cannot finally perish. For then happiness were not happiness, if it could be lost.

When you fall, the Lord will put under his hand, that you shall not fall. But if ye feel not this faith, then know that predestination is too high a matter for you to be disputers of, until you have been Scholars in the school-house of repentance and justification, which is the Grammar School, wherein we must be conversant and learned before we go to the University of Gods most holy Predestination and Providence. Of this matter he writeth more at large in the book of Letters of the Martyrs Fol. 351.

Notes to this epistle added. Difference between Predestination and Election. Definition of Predestination. Election defined.

The parts of the definition examined.

Mercy and Grace.

Free mercy and grace.

Anno 1555.

The free mercy and grace of God in his own will. *Rom. 9.*

Math. 20.

Luke 18.

Luke 15.

John 1. Gods mercy in saving the elect ever includeth the condition of faith in Christ.

The free mercy and grace of God in his own good will through faith in Christ his Son our Lord.

Faith is the only condition whereupon Gods grace doth save us.

Acts 16. Faith only is the immediate cause of our justifying.

The second consideration.

Grace, Election, Vocation, Faith, Justification, Glorification.

Mans free will blind Fortune.

Mans wisdom, cunning, learning, intention, power and presumption.

Mans merits, Works of the Law excluded from the cause of our salvation.

our salvation, on Christ.

Anno 1555. Justification cometh freely by faith, standeth sure by promise, without doubt, fear, or wavering in this life.

Glorification pertaining only to the life to come, by hope is looked for.

Grace and Mercy preventeth.

Election ordaineth.

Vocation prepareth and receiveth the Word, whereby cometh Faith.

Faith justifieth.

Justification bringeth glory.

Election is the immediate and next cause of Vocation.

Vocation (which is the working of Gods Spirit by the Word) is the immediate and next cause of Faith.

Papists confound the due time of Election.

Faith is the immediate and next cause of Justification. And this order and connexion of Causes is diligently to be observed, because of the Papists, which have miserably confounded and inverted this Doctrine, thus teaching, That Almighty God so far forth as he foreseeth mans merits before to come, so doth he dispense his Election. *Dominus prout cujusque merita fore praevidet, ita dispensat electionis gratiam.* And again, *Nullis precedentibus meritis Dominum rependere electionis gratiam, futuris tamen concedere*: that is, That the Lord recompenseth the grace of Election, not to any merits preceding; but yet granteth the same to the merits which follow: As though we had our Election by our Holiness that followeth after, and not rather have our Holiness by Gods Election going before.

Election.

But we, following the Scripture, say otherwise, that the only cause of Gods Election, is his own free mercy; and the only cause of our Justification is our Faith in Christ, and nothing else. As for example; first concerning Election, if the question be asked, Why was Abraham chosen, and not Nachor? Why was Jacob chosen, and not Esau? Why was Moses elected, and Pharaoh hardened? Why David accepted, and Saul refused? Why few be chosen, and the most forsaken? It cannot be answered otherwise but thus, Because it was so the good will of God.

That vocation he meaneth here which is after faith.

In like manner touching Vocation, and also Faith, if the question be asked, Why this Vocation and Gift of Faith was given to Cornelius the Gentile, and not to Tertullus the Jew? Why to the Poor, to the Babes, and little Ones of this world, (of whom Christ speaketh, *I thank thee Father, which hast hid this from the wise, &c.* Math. 11. Why to the Unwise, the simple Abjects and Outcasts in this world? (Of whom Christ speaketh Saint Paul, *1 Corinthians 1. Ye see your calling my brethren, how not many of you, &c.*) Why to the Sinners, and not to the Just? Why the Beggars by the High-ways were called, and the bidden Guests excluded? We can go to no other cause, but to Gods Purpose and Election, and say with Christ our Saviour, *Quia, pater, sic complacuit offi ante te*; i. Yea Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight, Luke 10.

Vocation bringeth forth.

Justification by faith only.

And so for Justification likewise, if the question be asked, Why the Publican was justified, and not the Pharisee? Luke 18. Why Mary the sinner, and not Simon the inviter? Luke 11. Why Harlots and Publicans go before the Scribes and Pharisees in the Kingdom? Matthew 21. Why the Son of the Free-woman was received, and the Bond-womans Son, being his elder, rejected? Genesis 21. Why Israel, which so long fought for Righteousness, found it not; and the Gentiles, which fought not for it, found it? Romans 9. We have no other cause hereof to render, but to say with Saint Paul, Because they fought for it by works of the Law, and not by Faith: which Faith, as it cometh not by mans will (as the Papist falsely pretendeth) but only by the Election and free Gift of God; so it is only the immediate cause whereunto the Promise of our Salvation is annexed, according as we read; *And therefore of Faith is the Inheritance given, as after Grace, that the Promise might stand sure to every Seed,* Romans 4. Item, in the same Chapter, *Faith, believing in him which justifieth the wicked, is imputed to righteousness.*

And thus concerning the causes of our Salvation, ye

see how Faith in Christ, only and immediately, without any Condition doth justify us, being so linked with Gods Mercy and Election, that wherefore Election goeth before, there Faith in Christ must needs follow after. And again, whosoever believeth in Christ Jesus through the Vocation of God, he must needs be partaker of Gods Election.

Whereupon resulteth now the third note or consideration; which is, to consider whether a man in this life may be certain of his Election. To answer to which question, this first is to be understood; That although our Election and Vocation simply indeed be known to God only in himself, *a priori*; yet notwithstanding it may be known to every particular faithful man, *a posteriori*; that is, by means, which means is Faith in Christ Jesus crucified. Forasmuch as by Faith in Christ a man is justified, and thereby made the Child of Salvation, Reason must needs lead the same to be then the Child of Election, chosen of God unto everlasting life. For how can a man be saved, but by consequence it followeth, that he must also be elected?

How hath God election before he will save, and so the act of faith is long.

The third consideration is Election known to God simply. Election known to man by Faith in Christ.

Faith is the means whereby we be certain of our election.

And therefore of Election it is truly said, *De electis one judicandum est a posteriore*; that is to say, We must judge of Election, by that which cometh after, that is, by our Faith and Belief in Christ: which Faith, although in time it followeth after Election, yet this is the proper and immediate cause assigned by the Scripture, which not only justifieth us, but also certifieth us of this Election of God.

De electis one judicandum est a posteriore.

Whereunto likewise well agreeth this present Letter of Mr. Bradford, wherein he saith, Election, albeit in God it be the first, yet to us it is the last opened. And therefore beginning first (saith he) with Creation, I come from thence to the Redemption and justification by Faith, and so to Election. Not that Faith is the cause efficient of Election, being rather the effect thereof, but is to us the cause certificatory, or the cause of our certification, whereby we are brought to the feeling and knowledge of our Election in Christ. For albeit that Election first be certain in the knowledge of God; yet in our knowledge, Faith only that we have in Christ, is the thing that giveth to us our certificate and comfort of this Election.

Election first known to God and last opened to man.

Wherefore, whosoever desireth to be assured that he is one of the elect number of God, let him not climb up to Heaven to know, but let him descend into himself, and there search his Faith in Christ the Son of God: which if he find in him not feigned, by the working of Gods Holy Spirit accordingly; thereupon let him stay and so wrap himself wholly, both Body and Soul, under Gods general Promise, and cumber his head with no further Speculations; knowing this, *That whosoever believeth in him shall not perish*, John 3. *shall not be confounded*, Romans 9. *shall not see death*, John 8. *shall not enter into judgment*, John 5. *shall have everlasting life*, John 3.7. *shall be saved*, Matthew 28. Acts 16. *shall have remission of all his sins*, Acts 10. *shall be justified*, Romans 3. Galatians 2. *shall have floods flowing out of him of water of life*, John 7. *shall never dye*, John 11. *shall be raised in the last day*, John 6. *shall find rest to his soul, and shall be refreshed*, Matthew 11.

Every man to stay himself under Gods general promise.

Now then, forasmuch as we see Faith to be the ground whereupon dependeth the whole Condition of our justifying, let us discuss in like manner what is this Faith whereof the Scripture so much speaketh, for the more plain understanding of the simple. For many kinds there be of Faith: as a man may believe every thing that is true, yet not every truth doth save, neither doth the believing of every Truth justify a man. He that believeth that God created all things of nought, believeth truly. He that believeth that God is a just God, that he is Omnipotent, that he is merciful, that he is true of promise, believeth well, and holdeth the truth. So he that believeth that God hath his Election from the beginning, and that he also is one of the same Elect and Predestinate, hath a good belief, and thinketh well: but yet this belief alone, except it be seasoned with another thing, will not serve to Salvation: as it availed not the old Jews, which so thought of themselves, and yet think to this day to be only Gods elect People.

What is faith? Divers kinds of faith. Every truth hath his faith, but every truth justifieth not, no more doth every faith.

Faith the
action,
Ch. 11. the
verse 2. et
Faith
F. an and
Christ cor-
relatives.

Christ with-
out Faith,
Faith not.
Faith with-
out Christ
helpeth not.

Only the Faith which availeth to Salvation is that, whereof Object is the Body and Passion of Jesus Christ crucified. So that in the act of justifying, these two, Faith and Christ, have a mutual relation, and must always concur together; Faith as the action which apprehendeth; Christ as the object which is apprehended.

For neither doth the Passion of Christ save without Faith, neither doth Faith help, except it be in Christ: as we see the body of man sustained by bread and drink, not except the same be received and conveyed into the stomach: and yet neither doth the receiving of every thing sustain mans body, except it be meat and drink, which have power to give nourishment. In like sort it is with Faith; for neither doth the believing of every thing save, but only Faith in the Blood of Christ: neither again doth the same Blood of Christ profit us, except by Faith it be received. And as the Sun, being the cause of all light, shineth not but to them only which have eyes to see; nor yet to them neither, unless they will open their eyes to receive the light: so the Passion of Christ is the efficient cause of Salvation, but Faith is the Condition whereby the said Passion is to us effectual.

And that is the cause why we say with the Scripture, that Faith only justifieth us, not excluding thereby all other external causes that go before Faith, as Grace, Mercy, Election, Vocation, the Death of Christ, &c. all which be external causes, working our Salvation through Faith. But when we say that Faith only justifieth us, the meaning thereof is this; that of all internal actions, motions, or operations in man, given to him of God, there is none other that contenteth and pleaseth God, or standeth before his Judgment, or can help any thing to the justifying of man before him, but only this one action of Faith in Jesus Christ the Son of God.

For although the action of Praying, Fasting, Alms, Patience, Charity, Repentance, the fear and love of God be high gifts in man, and not of man, given of God to man, yet be none of all these actions in man impured of God to Salvation, but only this one action of Faith in man upon Christ Jesus the Son of God. Not that the action itself of believing, as it is a quality in man, doth so deserve, but because it taketh that dignity of the object. For as I said, the act of justifying Faith, as it is an action in man, is not to be effected alone, but must ever go with his object, and taketh his virtue thereof. Like as the looking up of the old Israelites did not of it self procure any health unto them, but the promise made in the object, which was the brazen Serpent, whereupon they looked, gave them health by their looking up: Even so after like sort are we saved by Faith and spiritual looking up to the Body of Christ crucified. Which Faith to define is this.

To believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of the living God, sent into this World, by his death to satisfy for our sins, and so to receive the same.

And thus much touching Election and Faith; which the order and explication of the causes necessary to be considered in our Salvation, whereby may appear how far the pretended Catholicicks do swerve from the right mind of the Scriptures. For where the Scriptures in declaring the causes of Salvation, do send us only to Faith, as the only Condition whereby these causes have their working, these Catholicicks do quite leave out Faith, and in stead thereof, place in other Conditions of Doings, Merits, Will-works, Pardons, Masses, and especially Auricular Confessions, with Penance and Satisfaction for our Sins, &c.

And besides these Letters above specified of Mr. John Bradford, there hath come to our hands certain other Letters of his, not long ago, sent by a certain old Friend of the said John Bradford unto us. Which Letters being written of him in former times before his trouble, as they have not been yet printed nor seen abroad, so I thought it not amiss to communicate the same to the Christian Reader, for the worthiness of the matter, and the goodness of the man, which may redound, I trust, to no small fruit to him, that with godly eyes shall advise the same.

A Letter of Mr. Bradford to Father Traves, Minister of Blackley.

Anno
1555.

The abundant Grace and rich Mercy of God in Christ our only Saviour and high Bishop, be increased in your heart, through the lively worker of all goodness, the holy Spirit, until the day of the Lord, &c.

I have received your two Letters (good Father Traves) since that I did write unto you, whereof though honestly willett to make an excuse, yet truth biddeth me otherwise, and faith, it is better with shame to confess the fault (for therein is, as a man might say, half a deserving of pardon) than without shame to lye. I might have written unto you twice (notwithstanding indeed some business wherein I have something been occupied) but yet I have not. Now the cause is, because I would not. And why would I not? but because I could not, I mean, because my cunning is taken away by sin, for my sins do forbid goodness unto me. Indeed if my sinning were of infirmity, there were good hope of recovery of that which I have lost: But seeing, both willing and knowing I have too much yielded, and yet do yield to my infirmities, justly I do deserve, that because I have cast away, and rejected the word of the Lord behind my back, the Lord should reject me. And because I would not have blessing, I am worthy (as David saith) that it be taken away from me. I have now at length experience, that to bring a man forth of Gods favour, is sooner seen when a man hath received all things abundantly, than when need or the Cross pincheth. Afore it pleased God to work the restitution (you know what I mean) and afore it pleased God to provide for me as he hath done, so that I can say in nothing where any want is, as pertaining to my body: I was another manner of man, than now I am, and yet Gods defects have otherwise bounden me: but the Scripture is true, I have advanced my children, and nourished them, but they have contemned me, I have fed them that they were fat and gross, and they spurned against me. Perchance you will ask me wherein? Oh Father Traves, I warrant you, this is my filie, in carnal, and not in spiritual writing, do something shew unto you; but as for it, in comparison of other things is nothing. For where the life of man is such, that either it pertaineth or amendeth, as Paul saith, *The outward man is corrupted day by day*, and therefore except the inward man be renewed, the shoe goeth away, every building in Christ doth grow to a holy Temple, as the wicked on the contrary part shall proceed to worse, 2 Tim. 2. I have made a change far otherwise in going back, than I think by Letters I can persuade you: Wherein will you say? For the first, second, and third, and to be brief in all things: As for an example, Gods true fear is flown away from me, love to my Brethren is exiled from me, faith is utterly taken away: In stead whereof is distrust and doubtfulness bearing rule, contempt of Gods honour, and of my Brethren reigning, and in stead of true fear, an imagined fear, according to my brain holding the Principality. For extenuate sin, and I do not consider that in sin, which a Christian ought to consider; that sin being not forgiven, is such a thing for the which God calleth his Creature away, as examples not only of Saul, of Judas, of the Israelites (which were beloved indeed, and yet for sin are rejected) but also of others, on whom lately for my warning God hath visited the same, do admonish me. But it is but my Pen

Deut. 32.

which writes this: For the wicked, saith Solomon, when they come into the depth of their sins, then they grow in security. I am I cannot tell what: I fear, but it is but blindly, or else would I awake otherwise than I do; I fear me, I say, that I am intangled of the Devil, after his desire. Pray for me, that the Lord would give me repentance, that I may escape out of his Snares. Alas, the Spirit of Prayer, which before I have felt plentifully, is taken clean away from me. The Lord be merciful unto me. I am fold under sin, I am the Bond-slave of sin: for whom I obey, his Servant I am, I am ashamed to speak of it, no I shame not at all: for I have forgot to blush, I have given over to weep. And truly I obey, I obey, I say mine own Concupiscences, namely in eating, in drinking,

Prov. 12.

2 Tim. 1.

The error of
the Papists
perverting
the mind of
Gods Te-
staments,
how, and
wherein.

Virtues and
works of
Charity,
though they
be good
gifts of God
in man, yet
they serve
not to justifi-
cation.
Faith maketh
his dignity
of his ob-
ject.
Looking up
to the bra-
zen Serpent,
unto and ob-
serving upon
the body of
Christ com-
p. red.

Anno 1555. drinking, in jangling and idleness, I will not speak of vain-glory, envy, disdain, hypocrite, desire of estimation, self-love, and who can tell all? Is this the reward thou renderest to God, O Bradford? It is true, yea too true, thou knowest it, O Lord for thy mercies like pardon me. In your Letters you touch me home, how that there is no mans heart, but that considering the ingratitude of this World, this belly-cheer (wherein you even take me by the Nose) &c. his eyes would tumble out great gulches of Tears. The Lord be praised which worketh so in you, for it is with me as with them of whom you complain. Indeed it may be so again, but oh it is very unlikely: for mine enemies are become old, and are made by custom more than familiar, for they are as it were converted into nature in me. Yet I am not grieved therefore, although I cannot persuade my self that God will help me. O Lord be merciful unto me for thy Christs sake. This day I received the Lords Supper, but how I have welcomed him, this night (which I have spent in lasciviousness, in wantonness, and prodigality, obeying my flesh and belly) doth so declare, that what to say, or write any more, I know not, sleep doth aggravate mine eyes, and to pray I am altogether unapt. All this is come through the occasion of making this bringer a Supper in my Chambers, the Lord pardon me, a trust no more to be so far overleant. But this I write, not that the anger of God, which I have deserved, so feareth me, thou knowest it O Lord. But of this perchance too much.

For Gods sake pray for me, good Father *Traves*, and write unto me as you may by your weakness, your Letters do me good. By this which I have now written; you may consider more, touch me therefore home in your Letters, and the Lord, I trust, shall and will reward you. If God lend me Life, of which I am most unworthy, I will more trouble you with my Letters than I have done; but bear with me, I do it not out of any evil will, the Lord I take to judge, there is none whose company and talk I more desire than yours, I speak it before God. Prove my Mothers mind how she can bear it, if when I shall come down, I shall shew my self another man outwardly, but alas faintly, than before I have done. Mary, when my coming will be I know not. Indeed two things move me fore, the one for my Mothers Cause, concerning her better instruction, if the Lord would thereto use me his Instrument, the other is to talk with you, and effusions to trouble you, as I have hitherto ever done, but always to my profit. For Gods sake pray for me, for I had never so much need. This Sunday at night, following S. Andrews day, at Pembroke Hall.

The most miserable, hard-hearted, unthankful sinner,
John Bradford.

Another Letter of John Bradford to Sir Thomas Hall, and Father Traves of Blackley.

THE grace of God our most merciful Father, keep Mind and Soul in Christ Jesus, who alone is our full sufficient Saviour, for in him we be compleat, being made through his death and one only oblation made and offered by himself upon the Cross, the Children of God, and fellow heirs with him of the Celestial Kingdom, which is the free gift of God, and cometh not of Merits, but of the meer grace of God, given to none that putteth any manner of hope or trust in any other thing visible or invisible, than in that oblation of sweet favour which Christ himself did offer upon good Friday (as we call it) which oblation is alway recent and new in the sight of God the Father, and maketh intercession for us: as I mean, which think that only Sacrifice then offered, to be sufficient, as it is, hath been, and ever shall be for all the faithful, by the which Sacrifice (if we believe) we have free pardon of all our sins. To him therefore which was both the offerer, and the offering, be all honour and praise, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, blessed for ever, Amen.

Sir Thomas, the occasion of this my long silence, mine old friend *John Traves*, shall declare unto you, upon the knowledge whereof I doubt not of your pardon. I have sent unto you an English and Latin Testament, both in one print and volume, the which, though it be not

not so beautiful without as I can I have seen, yet not less beautiful within, as mine I have seen, and found better for your Eyes, your Eyes I mean not to open. For undoubtedly it giveth light unto the Soul, it doth revive the dead. Whereof take this for an Argument, and a true proof. If your Soul be not delectable in Gods Word, doth hunger for it (I mean not the Book, but the Doctrine in the Book) surely your Soul is dead: for as the Body abhorring meat is not well, even so must the Soul be, for other meat hath she none. Christ, whom we must believe afore all Men, affirmeth this to be true in the 4. of *Matthew*. Not only in Bread, but in every word of Gods the Soul doth live. Mark well, he saith not, one or two words, as an Epistle, or a Gospel; but he saith, every word. Take heed, believe Christ better than any Man, be he never so holy. For he that is of God, (*John 8.*) heareth the word of God. Will you have a more plain badge, whether you are the true Christ of God or no, then this Text: Christ saith, He that is of God, heareth the word of God: but other word of God he heareth none, than in the Canon of the Bible: and all things written therein, are written for our learning (*2 Tim. 3. 16*) whereby he proveth, seeing that it is a cunning, your learning that we must learn it. Therefore were he to all them which either persuade Men, that there is other Doctrine of like Authority, or that dissuade Men from embracing this Word, this Word of God, or that think this Word, especially the New Testament, is not above all others to be loved, to be read, to be chewed. This is the precious stone, which in the Gospel Christ saith, when a Man hath found, he selleth all that ever he hath, and buyeth it. Mark now how necessary and precious Christ maketh that which great learned Men (nay the Devils but no Men) think not necessary, God help them. Christ bade his Disciples sell their Coats, and buy a Sword: which is none other thing then the Word of God: for so S. Paul calleth it, the Sword of the Spirit. Nay say our learned Men, (I lie, they have said so, now they are ashamed) fetch fire and burn it.

This I say, Sir Thomas, to the intent no ungodly Hypocrite should persuade or dissuade you from reading the Holy Word of God, the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Follow you Saint Pauls lesson: Attend I reading, and let the Word of God dwell in you. How much? Pleasantly, faith he. And to what end? To feed the flock of Christ: even as much as in you is, faith Peter, not once a year or once a quarter as a Stawbery, but so much as in you is. This Word of God trieth all Doctrine: for we ought to have our Conscience charged with nothing as touching Religion, except the Word of God in the Canon of the Bible set it out, I mean not only in allegories, but even in plain words. For no other Foundation can any Man lay, besides that which is laid. S. Paul saith, the groundwork is laid already. Even so faith he to the *Ephesians*; We be his Workmanship to do good Works, which God hath created that we should walk in them. He saith that they were not to be made, but they are made already. What shall we think then of such words as Men will have founded; which yet seem most holy? Let Gods Word be Judge. Read the same diligently and reverently with Prayer (I mean not Latin Service not understood, but with true hearty Prayer) and mark what the Law requireth, even that which we cannot give, the whole heart, and more if it were possible. But to this end that we being our abominable uncleanness and iniquity might despair in our selves, trembling at the justice of God, and his anger which we continually procure, and blaspheme Christ, in whom God the Father is well pleased. Which Christ is the end of the Law to justify all that believe, and continue not in their Jewish ignorance, justifying themselves; and treating Christs Blood under their feet, denying the Lord that bought them. And such, be they never so well learned, never so holy, be nothing but Hypocrites, and plain Antichrists, which may be called the Sword of Gods Mouth. For the Trumpets of the Army (I mean Gods Word) when they blow, the high Walls of *Jerusalem*, the figure of Hypocrite Alderdown. Embrace therefore Gods holy Word & be not only a reader, but a doer: for your edifying, it is our duty to be apt to teach such proud Hypocritical arrogant babblers, as I am now (which

(which if I may use this term, defile Gods Word) God forgive me, and pray you for me, and give God thanks for me, that spareth me thus *Lucifer-like*, not of a true zeal, but of a foolish bragging, which prate of Gods Holy Word. I wote not what I do to confesse it. So it is I have sent to you other Books which I pray you read. I have written your Name in them. The Holy Ghost keep you with your Brother George, his Wife, and Children, and with your Brother James, &c. Sir Laurence, &c. This 20. of March.

A very painted Hypocrite,
John Bradford. Yours
in Christ for ever.

Pray for me, pray for me, give God thanks for me, and take John Travers help to read this Letter written in haile.

If any thing but good be chanced to John Travers (which God forbid) I pray you burn my Letters out of hand.

Another Letter of Master Bradford, to Father Travers.

Gratia, misericordia, & pax a Deo Patre nostro, & Domino Jesu Christo Domino nostro.

I mine Heart were not altogether adamantine, your kind Letter to me unkindly would cause me from the bottom of the same, to confesse mine ingratitude towards you upon your behalf exempt me so much deserved: but as I am to do, so shew I my self to write, and as I am unable in the one, so am I foolish in the other; In all these unkindnesses, rudeness, &c. whereof you accuse your self, I am informed to acknowledge my self, most justly condemned, not so feignedly by me confessed, as most truly by you experienced. In your Letters as in a glass I may learn, by you in detesting your self, to espy my nakedness, which before I thought clothed Duplicitie, now only laid with false hypocritically guided, of which detestation wrong is in you by the Holy Ghost, be not proud: For what have you that you have not received? but be thankful to the Lord, not only therefore, but also for those surges which you feel now through the cares accompanying marriage, now through education and bringing up of your Children, and Family, now through that Crois of the common accustomed trade of living: For Per multas tribulationes oportet ingredi Regnum Dei: Through many tribulations we must enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, yet they be the cognisances of Gods election, the Letter Thau, the Instruments which work supplicia eterne vite, and therefore to be embraced. Believe me in this the most excellent gift of God, a Man to detest and humble himself, and to feel the Croises of Christ as Croises. But I most hypocritical wretch, not worthy that this earth should bear me, am even a going to Bed with Jelabel, and such as commit fornication with her, which is afflictio maxima. O Lord help me and deliver me for Jesus sake, wint mine eyes with ointment that I may see. O give me not over into a leud mind and reprobate ense, but awake my sleeping Soul that Christ may shine in me. You know the Crois, the Fatherly Crois, the living Lord hath laid upon me: but I am little or nothing moved there-with, I work therein (yet not I but Gods Spirit) not of a repentant Faithful mind, but I cannot tell how of a sloathful blind, wretchedly intent. O Lord forgive me for saying so, (it is thy gift) forgive me mine unthankfulness for Jesus sake, and as herein I blasphemed and dishonestly thy Holy Name, so do thou by thy Holy Spirit glorify by me the same. So be it, So be it.

Since my coming to London, I was with M. Latimer, whose Counsel is as you shall hear, which I purpose by Gods Grace to obey (if it be thy will, O Lord, fiat.) He willed me (as I have done) to write to my Master who is in the Country, and to shew him, that if within a certain time which I appointed, 14. days, he do not go about to make restitution, that I will submit my self to my Lord Protector, and the Kings Majesties Council to confesse the fault, and ask pardon. The life is uncertain and frail, and when time is, it must be deferred. And what should it profit me to win the whole World, and to

lose mine own Soul? If, as I justly have deserved, I be put to death for it, Gods will be done. At the least, slander, reproach, rebuke, loss of worldly friends, loss of living, &c. shall ensue. What then? Lord thy will be done, thine I am; if death come, welcome be it, if slander, &c. Even as thou wilt Lord, So be it. Only grant me a penitent loving obedient heart, and of meir love to go forwards herein, and not to shrink, to stand and not to fall, that thy name only be praised herein. Amen. Pray, pray for me, cry for me, and when you shall hear any thing, comfort my Mother, to whom for that this bringer hath not given me an hours warning of his departure, I have not only written nothing, but also have thus prated to you, who (as no Man else would) I think will bear with me. For as God knoweth (whose Grace I commit you and your Bed-fellow, with all your Children and Family) the shortness of time, and thus said brings importance is only the let I neither send you spectacles, the price of the Paraphrases, nor thanks for your choice as by the next that cometh I will, God willing, send the premisses to you, and a godly Testament for Sir Thomas Hall, which is at the binding. But be not acknowyn that I have now written to you, for so I have prayed this bringer. God be with us, and pray for me, and abhor not my rude scribbling, which if it were as well written as it is meant, would deserve pardon. Thus make I an end, imputing to the basiness of this bringer all blame, which you may lay unto me.

From the Temple this Sunday, immediately after M. Latimers famous Sermon, which this bringer, as he saith, did bear.

By your poorest friend,
John Bradford.

It shall not be long, God willing, but you shall both here and bear from me. Keep with you Melanctons Comm places, for I have another.

Another Letter of Master Bradford to Father Travers.

Grace, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, with increase of all manner of godly knowledge and living, be with you and all your household, now, and ever, Amen.

To excuse this long silence, within five or six days after my (like foolish) Letters written to you by John Mols; it pleased God to send my Master hither to London (whom as I lately tofore had advertised by Letters) I moved (you know wherein) and prayed him to discharge the same, or else I would submit my self, &c. Whereunto he answered, that if the Books would declare it, he would satisfie, &c. The Books I shewed, whereupon he promised as much as I could ask. But being herein something more moved then he had cause (God be praised therefore, which of his meir good pleasure wrought it) at times as I could, I desired to know how and in what time he would discharge us both. He thinking me to be over curious herein, was not therewith contented, and hearing me to alledge the uncertainty of time, and the fear of Gods justice (which O gracious Lord grant me) he answered me to be scrupulous, and of a superstitious Conscience (for *animalis homo non percipit ea quae sunt Dei*) and plainly said further, that I should not know, nor by these words have his head so under my girdle. And when I shewed him that (God witnesseth with me) I went about no such thing: He said, that there was no godly Conscience, seeing he promised afore the face of God to discharge me, and to pay the thing, but it ought so to be quieted. And thus at divers and sundry times, moving effoons to know of him the way and time of discharging the debt, & having none other answers then tofore, (doubting worldly wisdom, which useth delays, to reign in him with this Mammon (the which O Merciful God eradicate out of his Heart, mind, and all others) I was something more sharp, and told him, *non ego tamen, sed gratia tua Domine*, I would obey God more than Man: the which he lightly regarding, as seemed, I departed, and went to Master Latimer to have had him to have brought me to my

4000 my Lord Protector (whose grace then was purposed
 1555. shortly to take his journey to visit the Ports) *M. Latimer*
 I say willed me to stay until his return, which will not
 be long before *Easter*. In this mean time I bade my Bed-
 fellow my Masters Son, whom my Master had used as
 his Instrument to move me carnally, for my Master dis-
 charged him of his exhibition, telling him that he could
 not be able to keep either House or Child, for I purpo-
 sed to undo both him and all his, (untruly thou knowest
 good Lord) and bade him to take that as a warning, that
 both he and his Brethren should provide for themselves
 as they could, I bade, I say, my said Bed-fellow to shew my
 Master, as of himself, my further purpose, which thing
 when he knew, it so moved and feared him, that he began
 something to relent, and then made fair promises, that
 look what I should devise, that would he do. I devised,
 but my devise pleased him not. And thus, but not vainly I
 trust (as I now do wish you, but I know your gentleness
 which ever hath born with me) I spent the time in which
 I have been silent to write, nay babble to you. And he,
 departing out of London tofore I knew, did send me
 word by another of his said Sons, not so given to the
 Gospel, and a good Life according as my Bed-fellow,
 and therefore more to be suspected (for though *pietas non*
est suspicio) as I should think my self rather *impius*, yet
 Christ bade us to be *prudentes sicut serpentes* (this other
 Brother I say told me that my Mr. would do all things,
 only his Anne and Abiliter preserved) (*Et quid prodest totum*
mundum lucrari, animam vero perire) And with the said
 Brother my Mr. sent me a little billet also, where-
 in he confessed that he was contented within twelve
 Months to deliver to my hands the whole Money: which
 Bill I thinking not so good as it might have been, have
 devised another, and have sent it down to him in the Coun-
 try, with request that he will Seal and Sign it. For thus
M. Latimer thinketh sufficient, but as yet I hear not of it,
 doubting worldly Wisdom, which was the whore that
 overcame *Samson*, that moved *David* to slay *Urias*, that
 brought wife, *Salomon* to Idolatry, that crucified Christ,
 the which moved me to perpetrate *hoc facinus*, the which
 worketh in my Masters Heart, having higher place there
 than *Timor Domini*. What say I there? yea, yea, with me,
 it fitteth in the holy place (the Lord deliver us; doubting
 I say, worldly Wisdom, I remain in that same state now
 for this matter (though in work for my Soul, which is
 more to be lamented, pray therefore I beseech you, pray
 with me, and for me, that I may do so earnestly) that I
 was in at my last writing unto you. And as I then was pur-
 posed, so I doubt not (grant it Lord) but that I shall per-
 sever, if in the mean season I shall not hear from my
 Master accordingly. Thus I have (like my self) foolishly
 but truly declared unto you in many babbling words, which
 wit (if I had it) would have shortly and briefly compre-
 hended. Arrogant, nay Gods working unthankful wretch,
 my working in this matter, which is, and was the only
 cause (as I now do) I troubled you not afore, to the in-
 tent I might advertise you some certainty in this thing.
 And though silence had been much better then this fool-
 ish prating, yet your Fatherly kindness ever towards me in
 expecting from you a correction, as I have herein given
 cause, may though not to you, yet to me be profitable. In
 hope whereof, I proceed in requiring you to continue
 your remembrance of me a most unkind wretch to
 God and you, in your Prayers with the Almighty mer-
 ciful Lord, that I may more regard his will and pleasure
 herein, then all honour or shame in this life. But I must
 confess unto you that my working in this matter is not of
 love, as I should do, nor of fear of Gods justice (mine un-
 thankfulness, mine unthankfulness, if nothing else were,
 hath not only deserved it, but doth deserve more then e-
 verlasting Damnation, O Lord be merciful unto me.)
 I do not so repent it as I should do. Why say I so?
 as though this were any thing: Oh hypocritical wretch
 that I am! Alas Father *Traves*, let me so call you,
 I am hard-hearted, there was never any so obstinate, so
 unkind, against so loving, so merciful, so gracious, so good,
 so beneficial a Lord, yea a Father, as I wretch, and most
 miserable Sinner am. This I speak, but not of humility,
 but of Hypocrisie, yet I speak truly. I pray the good
 Father for Christs sake, I may think it truly, as I write
 it even of arrogancy, so it is. Therefore pray and cry

for me. Here be such godly, godly, and learned Sermons,
 which these uncircumcised ears of mine hear at the least
 thrice a week, which were able (the great loving mercy
 of God offered to me in them, I mean) to burst any Mans
 heart, to relent, to repent; to believe, to love, and to fear
 that omnipotent gracious Lord: but my adamantine, ob-
 stinate, most unkind, ingrate, unthankful heart, hear-
 ing my Lord, which is the Lord over all Lords, so grac-
 iously, so lovingly, vouchsafe by so many his Instruments
 to speak, to call, to cry unto me, now by his laws, now
 by his threats, now by his Gospel, now by his prom-
 ises, now by all his creatures, to come, to come even to
 himself, I hide me with *Adam* in the Garden. I play not
 only *Samuel* running to *Hely*, but I play *Jonas* running
 to the Sea, and there I sleep upon the hatches tumbling in
Jesabab Bed, quod est afflictio maxima, until it please God
 to anoint mine eyes *collyrie*, until it please him to raise up
 a tempest, to turn and look upon me, as *Luke* saith he did
 on *Peter*. For O Lord it is thy gift, and cometh of thee,
 and of thy meek grace; it cometh not of Man, it cometh not
 of works, to repent, to believe, to fear, and to love.
 Work thou therefore in me for Jesus Christs sake, which
 am thy Creature and most unthankful hypocritical ser-
 vant, not when I will, nor as I will but when thou wilt,
 even that which may be to the glory of thy Name,
 Amen. What should I write? nay, why do I not pluck
 these same words and paper in pieces? for I write altogether
 of hypocrisie and arrogant presumption. I will confess
 it (thou wicked spirit the Lord judge thee: I will confess
 it, it is most true, *John Traves*, I but only write it, for
 it is not I, it is hypocrisie. *Scientia* (if I had it) *infractis*,
 O Lord grant me thy grace, and leave me not to mine
 own judgment and reason. Hypocrisie, arrogancy, and
 obstinate security environ me (yet I feel them not) the
 Lord deliver me. Pray, pray for me. Give God thanks for
 me: O Lord, even *tua fiat voluntas*: Unlock this mine
 Heart, thou which hast the Key of *David*, which open-
 est only, that I may desire to have the desire of the glory
 of thy name, of repentance, faith, &c. Pray for me, and
 be thankful for me, O Father *Traves*, and write to me.
 Your Letters I desire more to see, then any mans living.
 Let me have them therefore as you may, but your Prayers
 at all times, that God would open mine heart to feed
 and taste of these comfortable places of Scripture (which
 to me are locked) *memento Jesum Christum resurrexisse*
ex mortuis. This Text as a Text of most comfort (as it
 is indeed, and when God will, I shall feed on it) did *Paul*
 send to *Timothy* to be his comfort in all places. For our
 Salvation (this day of Resurrection) is nearer now then
 when we believed. Therefore, *qui perseveraveris salvus*
eris. For *consummabitur pravaricatio*, saith *Daniel*, *finem ac-*
cipiet peccatum, delebitur iniquitas, & adducetur justitia
semperterna. *Deus enim ipse veniet, & salvabit nos*. *Veni-*
ens veniet, & non tardabit, & quandocunque manifesta-
tus fuerit vita nostra Christus, tunc & nos manifestabi-
mur cum illo in gloria. *Semel enim oblati estis multo-*
rum peccatorum, rursus absque peccato conspici-
etis *is qui illum expectant in salutem*. *Sic Semper*
cum Domino erimus: proinde consolemini vos invicem
mutuo sermonibus hiis. O Lord open mine eyes
 which see nothing of the great comforts in these
 thy most rich words: Open mine eyes, good Lord,
ne nunquam obdormiam in morte. Pray for me, and
 commend me to your good Bedfellow, & omnibus
 in Christo fratribus oculo sancto. Thus I make an end (for
 it is time you may say) and I pray you still water Sir
Thomas Hall, unto whom I have sent a fair Testament
 both in English and Latin, if this bringer will carry it.
 And I have herewith sent you a Letter, which first per-
 use and read, and when you have so done, abhor not me,
 but my wickedness, and pray for me. And as you can see
 a meet time, seal it, and deliver it to Sir *Nicholas Wolf-*
soner, by such policy as you can think by Gods grace
 through Prayer. I confess unto you, God is my witness,
 to my knowledge, I never in my being in the Country
 this Winter at any time called it to remembrance, the Lord
 forgive me. I would by some occasion, if any could be had,
 afore the delivery of the Letter, by some story or commu-
 nication, that he did know that abomination to be sin, for I
 fear me he thinketh it to be no sin. The Lord open our eyes,
 & forgive us, Amen. The peace of God be with you, Amen.
 From

From the Temple, this twenty two of March 1547.

Years in Christ most bounden,
John Bradford

I have sent you three pair of good Spectacles I trow, and other such Books as have your Name written in them, which take in good worth, and pray for me, and give thanks for me.

Another Letter of Master Bradford to Father Traves.

Gratia, misericordia, & pax, &c.

My chance is not by this bringer to have any warning in manner of his farewell, so that I am constrained, time coarcting me, to write not so much of things (which I will omit) as my desire was. Concerning the great matter you know of, it hath pleased God to bring it to this end, that I have a Bill of my Masters hand, wherein he is bound to pay the sum afore Candlemas next coming. This thinks Mr. Latimer to be sufficient. Therefore I pray you to give that gracious Lord thanks, and thanks, and thanks upon it, for me a most wretched ingrate Sinner, which have also in other things no less cause to praise Gods Name: As for that I have and sustain my Masters sore displeasure, he which hath brought me (God I should say through it) unto a more contempt of Worldly things, through the sequestration of such his business, as afore I had adovithal, I call it a contempt, well, take the word even as it is Hypocritically and vaingloriously spoken: for the which fault amongst my others unnumerable, I trust you remember in your Prayer, whereof I have (would I knew how much) need. There is yet another thing, whereof I will advertise you even to this end, that you might pray if it be Gods will, that as I trust shortly to begin, so be may vouchsafe to confirm that he hath begun, as (if I be not deceived) I believe it is his working. If the thing seem by Gods Spirit in you that I presume, then for the Lords sake advertise me: for I am much given to that disease, the Lord deliver me. I have moved my M. therein already by Letters: so see if I shall have any living of him as hitherto I have had, but I have thereof no answer, nor as our Natural speech is, any likelihood of any grant. Yet that I have already, I trust, will suffice me for three years: you look what my purpose meaneth, I am so long afore I come to it. Therefore I do it, because my long babbling should be left tedious. Now shall you have it. If Gods will be (whereunto pray I may be obedient) I am minded afore Midsummer to leave London to go to my Book at Cambridge, and if God shall give me Grace, to be a Minister of his Word. Thus you have of a flye an Elephant. Well, take it in good part though you see my clamor, and not clamor, clamor. A tumbling block gathereth no Mass: so therefore pray for me. Perchance I do foolishly so forsake so good a living as I have. I will say no more thereof, but pray for me. I trust as I said, for three years study I have sufficient, if my Master take all from me: and when this is spent, God will send more. I do not write this that you should think me to be in need of Worldly help, and therefore as Priests were wont, secretly to beg. No, in the Lords Name I require you not to take it so: for I had rather never send Letter, afore I should be herein a crost to you, for sufficient sua dici afflictio, we are more set by then many Sparrows. But if my Mother, or Sir Thomas Hall murmur at it, or be offended with me, as you can, remedy it with your counsel. Howbeit, as yet I will not write to them of it, until such time as I be going. I am something fickle minded and unconstant, therefore pray for me, that my hand being put to the Plough (presumptuously spoken) I look not back. You may gather by my words in this Letter the Heroical heart which lyeth in me.

I have sent you a book of Bucer against Winchester in English lately translated, which I never read, therefore I cannot praise it. And as I call to remembrance, I did send you with the other Books more then you received, at the least one of them I remember, which is called, The Common places, or the Declaration of the Faith by Urbanus Rhegius. Ask for it, or send me word in whom

the default is, you have it not. Hereafter, and that shortly by Gods Grace I will send you Primitive laborum meorum, a work or two which I have Translated into English, so soon as they be Printed, which will be afore Whitsuntide. Pray for me, good Father Traves, and God send you health of Soul and Body, as I would mine own or any Mans living. But yet to warn you of that you know not, in writing your Letters to me, you hit me home, and grieve me that I look for. You are deceived, and so is all that know me, I never came to any point of mortification, therefore a little tickling sets me afore, God help me, and give God thanks for me, as all Men be most bounden. Thus when I once begin to write to you, I run as the Priest saith Mattins, for I think I may be bold on you. The Holy Ghost preserve you, your Wife and Family, and persevere his grace in you unto the end. I pray you pray for me, a most (what should I call me) miserable and blasphemous sinner. The peace of God be with us. From the Temple this twelfth of May, 1548.

Sir Thomas Hall hath deceived me, but himself most. I desire to speak with him, as this Winter is my chance, if I discharge not my self of mine Office, so see him. Pray for him, and for me.

A very Hypocrite,

John Bradford.

Another Letter of Master Bradford To Father Traves.

The perseverance of Gods grace, with the knowledge of his good will, increaseth with you unto the end. To declare my self, as I am a Carnal Man, which understandeth not the things that be of the Spirit. These my Letters, though I counterfeit and meddle amongst them the spiritual words, as the Devil did in his temptations to Christ will declare no less. For I begin with carnal things in effect, and no marvel if I do end: for how can a Man gather figs of briars? These words as they seem, so they are spoken for a Cloak to make you think otherwise: but, Father Traves, you cannot think so evil of me as I am. But to the matter. This present day by Gods grace I take my journey towards Cambridge, where I pray God, and so earnestly I pray you to pray for me, that I may circumspectly redeem this time which God hath appointed (to me unknown) to lend me: for alas, I have spent most wickedly the time past, for the which I must account even for every hair breadth as they say: for God hath not given here time to sin. But if I considered this (as I do nothing less, custom of sin and pleasing my self hath so hardened my heart) I should then come to the feeling of my self, then should I hate sin which I now love, then should I fear Gods wrath, which I now contemn, then should I cry out and weep, and continually pray, whereas now I am as dry as a Stone, as dumb as a Nail, as far from praying, as he that never knew any taste of it. Which thing once I felt, (thanks to the Lord) but now for mine unthankfulness I am almost (but most worthily) deprived. I fear me, God will take his grace from me. I am so unthankful. Alas, why do I lye in saying I fear me? Nay, God grant I may do so, for then should I pray and pray: but seeing I cannot, speak you for me, pray for me, that the Lord would remember his old compassions towards me, for his mercies sake draw me, yea compel me to serve, to fear and to love him. Thus may you see how I presume: for my intent was to have been a Minister of Gods Word, to have been his Instrument to call from as I have called to sin, but you see how that God punisheth mine arrogance. Alas, what shall I do? I am an unprofitable and an idle Member, I thought I should have been therein profitable, but Medicus cura te ipsum. How should I see what should I do? I cannot labour with my hands. Well, I trust God will give me grace and knowledge to translate: nothing I fear me, yea I distrust me, that I shall never be Minister of Gods Word: yea, if arrogance were not in me, how should I, of all wretches the greatest, think me to look to the highest room and vocation that is upon Earth? Therefore oftfoons I desire you to pray for me, that Gods will may be done in me whether I live or dye, so that

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that his name be honoured. My Master which was, hath denied me all his beneficence, but I have for this Life more than enough, thanks be to God. As this Winter I intend by Gods favour to declare more unto you. This Book which I have sent, take it in good part, it is the first, I trust it shall not be the last. God hath appointed me to translate. The priot is very false, I am sorry for it. I pray you be not offended at my babling in the Prologues, &c.

John Bradford.

I will lye, God willing, this Summer at Katherine's Hall in Cambridge: write to me.

Another Letter of Master Bradford, to Father Traves.

THe loving kindnes and abundant mercy of God the Father, poured plentifully upon all the Faithful, in the Blood of that meek Lamb Jesus Christ our only Satisfaction and Mediator, through the working of the most Holy Spirit, be encreased, and perceived in you daily more and more, to the glory of God, &c.

Because I stand both in doubt of the reading and delivery of such Letters as I write and send unto you (dearly beloved Father Traves) I am constrained to leave off such griefs, and spiritual wanes, as, thanks unto the Lord, I unwillingly feel: for the flesh, as you know, loveth nothing so much as security, of all enemies most perilous, and not a little familiar with me: from the which, with vain-glory, hypocrisy, &c. and Worldliness, the Lord deliver me. I had not thought to have written thus much, but these I cannot keep, but commit them to your Prayers. And to the intent I would you should not think any ingratitude in me; as also that I might give you occasion to write to me again, as heretofore I have done, even so do I interurb and trouble you with my babling but yet having this commodity, that I babble not so much as I wont to do. The cause I have declared, which had almost been the cause I had not written at all. I did write unto you from London when I came thither: send me word what Letters you have received, for from you I have received but two, and both by John Mele, and in the latter I perceived that the Lord had visited you with sickness, his Fatherly Rod, whereby he declareth his love upon you, and that he careth for you. Ut in tempore supremo exultes nunc ad breve tempus afflictus, quo exploratio fidei multo pretiosior auro quod perit, et tamen probatur, &c. Siquidem in hoc vocatus es, ut cum Christo patiaris, nam & cum illo glorificaberis. Certus enim sermo est, si sufferimus & con-regnabimus. You know that Christ, est filius Dei erant, tamen ex his quae passus est didicit obedientiam. Patientia opus perfectum habet ut sitis perfecti & integri, nullaque in parte diminuat: and doth not patientia come of probatio, the one then you had, so that you were going a School to learn the other, which learned what want you? The end of all Gods proving is as Paul saith, Ut imperiet nobis sanctimoniam: igitur gratias age Deo Patri qui idoneum te fecit ad participationem fortis sanctorum in lumine, &c. Nam qui parumper affixit, idem instaurat te, succiat, roborat, stabilizat. And that the Lord knoweth how cripere pios & tribulatione, and that in tempore opportuno, even shortly: for haud tardat qui promittit: nam modicum tempus, & videbis me: veniens enim venit, & non tardabit. Itaque qui confortes estis crucis Christi gaudeat, fidei eter, ut in revelatione quoque glorie ejus gaudeatis exultantes. Oh how doth my will over-run my wit. Why Bradford; whom writest thou unto? thou shewest thy self. Thus Father Traves, you may see my rashness to rabble out the Scripture without purpose, time, or reason. I will not blot it out as I thought to have done: for that hereby you shall see my need of your Prayer. Well, I look for a watch-word from you. Write for Gods sake, and pray for me that I may be in something profitable to the Lords Congregation, that I may be no stumbling block, ut confundantur in me qui illum expectant. Send me such counsels as the Lords Spirit shall move you how to study. My desire is in something to be profitable, if it were the Lords will, for to be Minister verbi. Alas I am unwearied, and my time, my time, yea the Lords time, I have hitherto evil, yea most wickedly mispent it, &c. Thus will

I end. The Lord be with you and your Bed-fellow, to whom have me heartily commended, and to all your Children and Family, the which I beseech the Lord to lighten his countenance over, and grant you his peace: pray for me. I long for Winter to speak with you. Refcribe oro. Pray for me. This Assumption-day in Katherine's Hall in Cambridge.

Yours with all I have and care,
John Bradford

Another Letter of Master Bradford to Father Traves.

THe plentiful grace of God the Father, through our only Master and Lord Jesus Christ, increase in us daily to the glory of his Name. Amen.

Forasmuch as I have often written unto you, good Father Traves, and yet have not once heard from you since Pentecost, I cannot now be so bold either in writing much or often as I would have been: Howbeit this I say, that I much marvel that I hear not from you: but not so, for I am so wretched a Sinner, that the Lords Spirit I am certain doth not move you to write to me, yet for Gods sake pray for me; and in the Lords Name I desire you to give thanks to God for me. And when it may please God to move you, write to me; though it be but two words, and counsel me how to study the Word of life, the ministry whereof I desire, if it be the Lords pleasure, to profit, and that I may do it both in living and learning, pray for me. *Herum mens omnibus rebus suis abdicavit, & quae prius concesserat, jam solvere renuit, & multa profusa seculis est omnino.* I know not when I shall see you in Body, therefore let me hear from you. I write not this that you should think me in exquisite and angustia esse. No Father, the Lord giveth me omnia assatim, and will do I trust I shall shortly here have a fellowship, I am so promised, and therefore I have taken the degree of Master of Art, which else I could not have attained. If I get a fellowship, I shall not need de crassimo sollicitus esse, as heretofore I shall more write to you by Gods grace. I pray you write again, and often pray for me. In haustis apparet, the twenty two of October. *Ne sciat mater mea quod herum mens adeo duriter mecum egit, &c.*

Miserimus peccator,
J. Bradford

Another Letter of Master Bradford to Father Traves.

THe peace and plentiful Mercy of God our Heavenly Father, in his Christ our only Lord and Saviour, be ever increased in you by the Holy Spirit, qui efficit omnia in omnibus, Amen.

Father Traves, though I might think my self more happy, if you would often write unto me, yet because I ought to have respect to your pains, which now that old Man cannot so well sustain as it might, I had rather lose my happiness in that behalf, then will your grief, for as much as it can be my happiness unto me which turneth to your pain: yet because pain is not painful when it is joyed with gain, I therefore desire you for Gods sake to pray often for me: for if I shall not be worthy of your Prayer, as the Lord who knoweth all things doth rightly well see it, and so my Conscience witnesseth, your good Prayer shall return into your own Bosom. And know this, that who so converteth a Sinner by Prayer, whether it be by Prayer, preaching, or writing Letters, &c. the same hath saved a Soul. Use therefore, for Gods sake I ask it, that pains whereunto is joyed profit, I mean Prayer to God for me, a miserable and most wretched Sinner: and as for the gainless pain in writing to me, ye is yet as you may and surely God for whose sake you do it, in that he will reward a Cup of cold Water, will in something requite you. And I know certainly, that if you did see what spiritual profit I receive by your Letters, I am certain you would not think all your labour lost. For Christs sake therefore begin again to write unto me, and reprove me sharply for my horrible unthankfulness to God. You know how that God hath exonerated my laden Conscience

Conscience of the great weighty burthen, for so I did write to you, yea the Lord hath in a manner unburdened me of the lesser burthen also: for I have an assurance of the payment of the same by Candlemas. Lo thus you see what a good God the Lord is unto me. O Father Traves give thanks for me, and pray God to forgive me my unthankfulness. But what should I rehearse the benefits of God towards me? Alas I cannot. I am too little for all his mercies, yea, I am not only unthankful, but I am too far contumelious against God. For where you know the Sun, the Moon, and the seven Stars did forsake me, and would not shine upon me, yet the Lord hath given me here in the University as good a living as I would have wished. For I am now a Fellow of Pembroke Hall: for the which neither I nor any other for me did ever make any sute: yea there was a contention betwixt the M. of Katherines Hall and the Bishop of Rochester, who is Master of Pembroke Hall, whether should have me, fit hoc tibi dictum. Thus you may see the Lords carefulness for me. My Fellowship here is worth seven pound a year, for I have allowed me 18. pence a week, and as good as thirty three shillings four pence a year in money, besides my Chamber, Launder, Barber, &c. and I am bound to nothing but once or twice a year to keep a Probleme. Thus you see what a good Lord God is to me. But I pray you what do I now to God for all this? I will not speak of the great mercies he sheweth unto my Soul. Surely, Father Traves, I have clean forgotten God, I am all secure, idle, proud, hard-hearted, utterly void of Brotherly love, I am envious, and disdain others, I am a very stark Hypocrite, not only in my words and works, but even in these my Letters to you. I am all sensual without the true fear of God, another manner of Man then I have been since my calling. Alas Father Traves, I write this to put my self in remembrance, but I am without all sense, I do but only write it. For Gods sake pray for me, which am only in name a Christian, in very deed a very Worldling, and to say to you the very truth, the most Worldling of all other. I pray you exhort my Mother now and then, with my Sister Margaret to fear the Lord, and if my Mother had not sold the Fox fur which was in my Fathers Gown, I would she would send it me, he must have your counsel in a piece of Cloath.

Yours for ever,
John Bradford.

Another Letter of Master Bradford to Father Traves.

The self same mercy, grace, and peace, which heretofore I have felt plentifully, though now, through mine unthankfulness and wilful obedience to the pleasure of this outward Man, I neither feel, neither can be persuaded that I possess, yea if I shall truly write, I in manner pass not upon the same, so far am I fallen, the Lord help me, the same mercy, &c. I say, I with unto you as I can, with all increase of godliness. Hypocritically with my Pen and Mouth, beseeching you in your earnest Prayers to God, to be an earnest suter unto God for me which am fallen into such a security, and even an hardness of heart, that neither I sorrow my state, neither with any grief or fear of Gods abjection do write this: before the Lord which knoweth the Hearts of all Men I lye not. Consider for Christs sake therefore, good Father Traves, my necessity though I my self do not, and pray for me, that God cast me not off as I deserve most justly. For where I ought to have well proceeded in Gods School, by reason of the time, I confess it to my shame I am so far gone back, as alas if I came were in me I might be ashamed to write it, but much more to write it, and think it not, such is the reward of unthankfulness. For where God wrought the restitution of the great thing you know of, the which benefit should bind me to all obedience: Alas Father Traves I am too unthankfull, I find no will in Heart (though by my writing it will be hard to persuade you) either to be thankful, either to begin a new life in all things to mortifie this outward Man, and heartily to be well content to serve the Lord in Spirit and verity, and withstand mine affections, and especially my beastly sensuality in meat and drink, where with I was troubled at my

being with you, but now through my licentious obeying that affect, I am fallen so, that a whole legion spirituum malorum, posseseth me. The Lord whom I only with mouth (my Heart still abiding both in hardness and wilfulness) call upon, deliver me and help me. And for Gods sake give you hearty thanks for the great benefit of restitution, pray to the Lord that at the length I may once return to the obedience of his good will, Amen. I thank you for your cheefe, and so doth Father Latimer as unknown: for I did give it him, and he saith he did never eat better Cheefe, and so I dare say he did not. I thank him I am as familiar with him, as with you: yea God so moveth him towards me, that his desire is to have me come and dwell with him whensoever I will, and welcome. This do I write yet, once more to occasion you to be thankful for me to the Lord, which by all means sheweth nothing but most high love to me: And again a very obstinate Rebellion. Pray therefore for me in haif.

The sinful.
John Bradford.

William Minge.

The next day after Master Bradford and John Leaf did suffer in Smithfield, Will. Minge Priest, died in Prison at Maidstone being there in Bonds for Religion, and like to have suffered also, if he had continued the fury of his adversaries, whose nature was to spare and favour none that favoured Christs pure Gospel: which W. Minge with as great constancy and boldness yielded up his life in Prison, as if it had pleased God to have called him to suffer by the fire, as the other good and godly Men had done at the Stake, as he himself was ready also so to do, if it had pleased God to have called him thereunto.

James Trevifam buried in the fields.

Upon the third of July 1555. died one James Trevifam in the Parish of Saint Margarets in Lathbury upon a Sunday, who being impotent and lame kept his Bed: for he could not rise out of it a long time. This Trevifam had a Servant, one John Smal, which read on the Bible, and as he was in reading, Berd the Promoter came to the House, and would needs go up the Stairs, where he found four persons besides him and his Wife, to wit, the young Man that read, and two Men and a Woman. All which folks, the said Berd the Promoter there being apprehended and carried to the Counter, where they remained about a fortnight, for all the friends they could make. Moreover the said Berd would have had also James the lame Man himself to Newgate in a Cart (and brought the Cart to the door) but for neighbours. Nevertheless, the poor Man was faine to put in two shillings for his forthcoming, for he could not go out of his Bed, being not only impotent, but also very sick the same time. So within a few days, the said James lying in extremity, the Parson of the Church named M. Farthing, came to him, and had communication with him and agreed well, and so departed. It happened after the Priest was come down into the street, there met him one Toller a Founder. Yea, saith he, be ye agreed? I will accuse you, for he denieth the Sacrament of the Altar. Upon that the Parson went to him again, and then the Priest and he could not agree. And so the Parson went to the Bishop of London and told him. The Bishop answered, that he should be burnt, and if he were dead, he should be buried in a Ditch. And so when he died the Parson was against his Wife as much as he could, neither would let her have the Coffin to put him in, nor any thing else, but was faine to bear him upon a Table to Morefield, and there he was buried. The same night the Body was cast up above the ground, and his sheet taken from him, and he left naked. After this the owner of the field seeing him buried him again, and a fortnight after the Summer came to his Grave, and summoned him to appear at Pauls before his Ordinary, to answer to such things as should be laid against him. But what more befell upon him, I have not certainly to say.

The

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1555.

Will. Minge
died in
Prison.

The story
of James
Trevifam.
Buried in
the fields,
and sum-
moned af-
ter his
death.

M. Farthing
Parson of S.
Margarets
in Lathbury
accuseth
James.

Anno

1555.

The History of Mr. John Bland, Preacher and Martyr,
Constantly suffering for the Gospel of Jesus
Christ.

July 12.
John Bland,
J. Frankish,
Martyrs.

The 12th day of July, John Bland, John Frankish, Nicholas Sberden, and Humphrey Middleton, were all four burned at Canterbury together for our Cause: Of the which number, Frankish and Bland were Ministers and Preachers of the Word of God, the one being Parson of Adgham, the other the Vicar of Rolvinton. This Mr. Bland was a man so little born for his own Commodity, that no part of his life was separated from the common and publick utility of all men. For his first doings were there employed to the bringing up of Children in learning and virtue. Under whom were trained divers towards young men, which even at this present do handsomely flourish. In the number of whom is Dr. Sands, a man of singular learning and worthiness, as may well becom a Scholar meet for such a Schoolmaster, whom I gladly here name for his singular gifts of virtue and erudition.

Mr. Bland
Schoolmaster
to Dr. Sands, sometimes Bp. of Worcester,
now Archbishop of York.

After this, he coming to the Ministry in the Church of GOD, or rather being called thereto, was inflamed with incredible desire to profit the Congregation, which may appear by this, that whereas he was cast into Canterbury Prison for the preaching of the Gospel, and delivered once or twice from thence at the suit of his Friends, yet would he needs preach the Gospel again as soon as he was delivered. Whereupon he being the third time apprehended, when his Friends yet once again would have found the means to have delivered him if he would have promised to abstain from preaching; he stood in it earnestly, that he would admit no such Condition, notably well expressing unto us the manner and example which we read in the Apostle Paul; *Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Tribulation, or anguish, or hunger, or nakedness, or danger, or persecution, or the sword, &c.* But to express the whole life and doings of this godly Martyr, seeing we have his own testimony concerning the same, it shall be best to refer the Reader to his own report, writing to his Father of the whole Discourse of his troubles, from the beginning almost to the later end, in order and manner as ye shall hear.

Mr. Bland
offered by
his friends
to be delivered, refused.

A Discourse of the whole process and doings of Mr. Bland, written and reported by himself to his Father in his own Letter, as followeth.

Dear beloved Father in Christ Jesus, I thank you for your gentle Letters. And to satisfy your mind, as concerning the troubles whereof you have heard, these shall both declare unto you all my vexations that have chanced me since ye were with me, and also since I received your last Letters. God keep you ever.

Your Son, John Bland.

Declaration
of the troubles
of Mr. Bland, how
and by whom he
was apprehended,
and brought to his
condemnation.
John Austen
persecutor.
John Austen
extended
with the
Communion
Table.

First, the 3d of Septemb. being Sunday, after Service ended, ere I had put off my Surplice, John Austen came to the Table (commonly called the Lords Table) and laid both his hands upon it, saying, Who set this here again? Now they say they took the Table down the Sunday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who set it up again. The Clerk answered, that he knew not. Then Austen said, he is a Knave that set it here. I was then going down the Church, marvelling what he meant, and said, Goodman Austen, the Queens Highness hath set forth a Proclamation, that ye may move no Sedition. And ere I could speak any more, he said, thou art a Knave: And said, well Goodman Austen, that I have said, I have said. By Gods Soul (quoth he) thou art a very Knave. Then my Clerk spake to him, but what I am not free. But he said, ye are both Heretick Knaves, and have deceived us with this fustion too long, and if he say any Service here again, I will lay the Table on his face; and in that rage he with other took up the Table, and laid it on a Chalk in the Chancel, and set the Tressels by it. Wherefore I rode by and by to Mr. Isaacs, and shewed him the cause, both how sedition he had spoken, and performed it with a like deed. Mr. Isaacs directed a Warrant to the Constable or Bosholder, which was incontinently

served, so that he was brought before him the same night and was bound by Recognizance, with Sureties, to appear if he were called. But we agreed so well then, that it was never called for, the Table was brought down, and was permitted, as before.

The 26th of Novemb. being Sunday, Richard Austen and his brother Thomas came to the foresaid Table after the Communion was done, and as I was going by them, Richard said unto me, Mr. Parson, we have to speak to you. And I said, what is your will? And he said, you know that you took down the Tabernacle or Sealing wherein the Rood did hang, and such other things: we would know what recompence you will make us. For the Queens proceedings are (as you know) that such must up again.

Quoth I, I know no such proceedings as yet; and as for that I did, I did it by Commandment.

No, said Thomas Austen, ye will not know the Queens proceedings.

Yes, said I, I refuse not to know them.

Then said Richard, Ye are against the Queens proceedings; for you say there are abominable uses and devilishness in the Mass.

Goodman Austen, said I, if I so said, I will say it again, and God willing, stand to the proof of it.

Masters all, quoth Richard Austen, bear record of these words, and went his way.

Quoth Thomas Austen, thou wilt as soon eat this Book as stand to them. No quoth I, not so soon. Tell us, quoth he, what devilishness is, that is in the Mass.

I often preached it unto you, said I, and ye have not believed it, nor born it away, nor will now neither, though I should tell you.

Thou (quoth he) hast told us always, like an Heretick as thou art. Now ye lye, Goodman Austen, quoth I, by your leave. Marry, quoth he, thou liest. And I said, and you lye, for I have taught you Christ and his Truth.

Quoth he, thou art an Heretick, and hast taught us nothing but Heresie: for thou canst say nothing that is true.

Yes, Goodman Austen, I can say that God is in Heaven, and ye will say (I trow) that it is true, and so have I taught you truly.

Quoth he, thou hast taught us like an Heretick, and hast said, that there is no Devil in Hell.

Well, said I, lye on; me think you can say little truth. Many other taunts he gave, too long to write. And at the last he said, ye pulled down the Altar; will ye build it again? No (quoth I) except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do that I did.

Well, if you will not, said he, then will I. For I am Churchwarden.

I charge you, said I, that you do not except you have Authority. I will, said he, not let for your charge. For we will have a Mass here on Sunday, and a Preacher, that shall prove thee an Heretick, if thou dare abide his coming.

Yes, quoth I, God willing, I will abide and hear him; for sure I am, that he cannot disprove any Doctrine that I have preached.

Yes, quoth he, and that thou shalt hear, if thou run not away ere then.

No, Goodman Austen, I will not run away.

Marry, quoth he, I cannot tell; thou art as like yeas nay: with many other words we came out of the Church door, and so departed.

When the Sunday came, I looked for our Preacher, and at the time of Morning Prayer I said to the Clerk, why do ye not ring? ye forget that we shall have a Sermon to day. No, quoth he, M. Miles's Servant hath been here this morning, and said, his Master hath Letters from my L. Chancellor, that he must go to London, and cannot come. That day I did preach to them a Sermon in his stead. Now have they slandered me, that I had prepared a company from divers places to have troubled him; but they agreed not in their lye. For some said, I had them at Adgham, and that Richard Austen had knowledge, and sent to the Kings Constable to let the Peace keep, which is found a lye. Other said, I had them living in wait for him between Canterbury and Adgham. Other said, I had them in both places, that if the one mist, the other should not. God forgive them all. Now upon these two matters they

C c

crack,

Th. Austen
and Richard
Austen pick
matter against Mr.
Bland.

Mr. Bland
charged for
speaking against the
Mass.

False account
taken.

Th. Austen
threatened
to bring in
a Popish
Priest against Mr.
Bland.

False statement
made against
Mr. Bland.

crack, that they sent two Bills of Complaint to the Council. Wherefore by the counsel of Friends, I made this Testimony, and sent it up by Mr. *Wise-man*.

The behaviour of John Bland Parson of Adelham, in the County of Kent, the Sunday, the third day of December last past, containing the words which he there spake unto the people.

Mr. Bland
Parson of
Adelham,
cleareth
himself of
false slander.

Whereas upon certain Communication had between the said Parson and *Richard Austen*, and *Thomas Austen* in the presence of all the Parish of *Adelham*, the Sunday before *S. Andrew's* day last, the said *Austen* then declared, That the said Parson had taught there in times past great Heresies, which to confound, they would prepare a Preacher against the next Sunday following, if it be the said Parson would abide, and not run away: Upon which rumour, divers and sundry persons resorted out of the County unto the said Parish Church, at the said same day appointed, there to hear the Preacher; and at the time in which the Sermon ought to be made, no man appeared there to preach. But it was reported unto the Parson, that the Preacher appointed, had urgent business, and could not come. So that the multitude being now come together, the same Parson perceiving that the peoples expectation was defrauded, said, Forasmuch as you are come willingly to hear some good advertisement of the Preacher, which cannot be now present, I think it not convenient to permit you to depart without some Exhortation for your edifying. And so further declaring that he had no Licence to preach, said, That he would not meddle with any matter in Controversie. And then he began the Epistle of the day, desiring the Audience to mark three or four places in the same Epistle, which touched quietness and love one to another: and there briefly reading the Epistle, he noted the same places, and so making an end thereof, desired all men to depart quietly and in peace, as they did, without any manner of disturbance, or token of evil.

Mr. Bland
exhorting
the people
to love and
quietness.

Witnesses they undernamed, with divers others.

Edmund Mores, } William Forsfall.
Richard Randall, }
John Hills. } Thomas Gooding.

Another matter of trouble wrought against John Bland, as appears by his own Narration.

The third
matter
against Mr.
Bland.
A Popish
Malt-Priest
brought to
say Malt
at Adelham.

Upon the *Innocents* day, being the 28th day of December, they had procured the Priest of *Stodmarsh* to say them Malt; he had nigh made an end of Martins ere I came; and when he had made an end of Martins, he said to me, Mr. Parson, your Neighbour hath desired me to say Martins and Malt; I trust ye will not be against the Queens proceedings: No (quoth I) I will offend none of the Queens Majesties Laws, God willing. What say ye, quoth he, and made as he had not heard? And I spake the same words to him again, with an higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the Chancel heard: So I cried the third time (that all the Church heard) that I would not offend the Queens Laws, and then he went to Malt; and when he was reading the Epistle, I called the Clerk unto me, with the beckning of my finger, and said unto him, I pray you desire the Priest when the Gospel is done, to tarry a little, I have something to say to the people; and the Clerk did so.

Mr. Bland
again ex-
horteth the
people in
his Parish
Church.

And the Priest came down into the Stall where he sat; and I stood up in the Chancel door, and spake to the people of the great goodness of God, always shewed unto his people, unto the time of Christs coming; and in him and his coming, what benefit they palt, we present, and our Successors have; and among other benefits, I spake of the great and comfortable Sacrament of his Body and Blood. And after I had declared briefly the institution, the promise of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I spake of the Bread and Wine, affirming them to be Bread and Wine after the Consecration, as yonder Malt-Book, saying,

Bland speak-
eth of the
right insti-
tution of the
Sacrament
at the Lords
Supper.

Panem sanctum vite eterne, & Calicem salutis perpetue, &c. Holy Bread of Eternal Life, and the Cup of perpetual Salvation. So that like as our bodily mouths eat the Sacramental Bread and Wine, so doth the mouth of our Souls (which is our faith) eat Christs Fleth and Blood. And when I had made an end of that, I spake of the mislife of the Sacrament in the Malt; so that I judged it in that use no Sacrament, and shewed how Christ bade us all eat and drink; and one only in the Malt eateth and drinketh, and the rest kneel, knock, and worship: and after these things ended, as briefly as I could, I spake of the Benefactors of the Malt, and began to declare what men made the Malt, and recited every mans name, and the patch that he put to the Malt; and ere I had rehearsed them all, the Churchwarden and the Borholder, his Son in law, violently came upon me, and took my Book from me, and pulled me down, and thrust me into the Chancel, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cried, Thou Heretic! some, thou Traitor; some, Thou Rebel; and when every man had said his pleasure, and the rage was something past; be quiet good Neighbours, said I, and let me speak to you quietly. If I have offended any Law, I will make answer before them that are in Authority to correct me. But they would not hear me, and pulled, one on this side, and another on that, and began again. Then *Richard Austen* said, Peace, Masters, no more till Malt be done, and they ceased. Then said I to the Churchwarden and the Borholder, either holding me by the arm: Masters, let me go into the Church yard till your Malt be done. No quoth the Churchwarden, thou shalt tarry here till Malt be done. I will not, quoth I, but against my will. And they said, Thou shalt tarry, for if thou go out, thou wilt run away. Then said I to the Borholder, Lay me in the Stocks, and then ye shall be sure of me, and turned my back to the Altar. By that time *Richard Austen* had devised what to do with me, and called to the Borholder and the Churchwarden, and bade them put me into a side Chappel, and shut the door to me, and there they made me tarry till Malt was ended. When the Malt was ended, they came into the Chappel to me, and searched what I had about me; and found a Dagger, and took it from me. Then said *Thomas Austen*, Churchwarden, after many brablings that they made with me, Thou keepst a Wife here amongst us, against Gods Law and the Queens. Ye lye, Goodman *Austen*, said I, it is not against Gods Law, nor, as I suppose, against the Queens. Thus they brought me out of the Church, and without the door they railed on me, without pity or mercy: but anon the Priest came out of the Church, and *Ramsay* that of late was Clerk, said unto him, Sir, where dwell you? And therefore *Thomas Austen* took him by the arm, and said, Come on Sirra, you are of his Opinion, and took his Dagger from him, and said, he should go with him. I am content, said he, and a little mocked them in their envious talk. By this time there came in at the Church Style, one *John Gray* of *Wingham*, Servant to *John Smith*, and seeing them hold *Ramsay* by the arms, said to him, How now *Ramsay*, have you offended the Queens Laws? No quoth he. Then there is no Transgression. Therewith *Thomas Austen* took him, and said, Ye are one of their Opinion, ye shall go with them for Company, and took his Dagger from him, and then demanded what he did there? But after (I think) for very shame they let him go again. But they carried me and *Ramsay* to *Canterbury*, with eighteen persons weaponed: A sheet of paper will not hold the talk that we had that night with Mr. *Hardest Justice*, Mr. *Oxenden*, Mr. *Spilman*, and Mr. *Tust-Jam*.

He speaketh of the abuse of the Sacrament in the Malt.

He declared how the Malt was searched and seized together, and by what means *Mr. Bland* violently plucked down in his Sermon by the Churchwarden.

Mr. Bland
driveth into a
side Chappel
till the Malt
was done.
Mr. Blands
dagger taken from him.

Mr. Bland
driveth into a
side Chappel
till the Malt
was done.
Mr. Blands
dagger taken from him.

John Gray of Wingham troubled for a word speaking.

Mr. Bland and Ramsay carried to Canterbury.

Mr. Hardest Justice, Mr. Oxenden, Mr. Spilman, and Mr. Tust-Jam.

The next day they made a Bill against me, but it served not their purpose, which was, that they would have had me to Prison. But *James Chapman*, and *Bartholomew Joyes*, were bound in Twenty pounds either of them, for my appearance at the next General Sessions, or I, Sureties for Mr. Bland. The *Worshipful* and *Simon Barre*, Sureties for *Ramsay*.

Now

Anno Now the 23. or 24. of February Sir Thomas Finch, Knight, and Master Hardey, sent for me and my Sureties, to Master Finches place, and took me from my Sureties, and sent me to the Cattle of Canterbury, by Sir Thomas Moyles commandment (they said,) where I lay ten weeks, and then was bayled, and bound to appear at the next Sessions holden at Canterbury; but after, they changed it to be at Ashford on the Thursday in Whitsun-week, being the Nineteenth of May: but in the mean time the matter was exhibited to the Spiritual Court.

The first Examination of Mr. John Bland in the Spiritual Court, before Dr. Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Mr. Collins Commissary.

The 18 day of May, Mr. Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury, made the Maors Serjeant to bring me before him and Mr. Collins Commissary, into Christs Church, and they went with me into a Chamber, in the Suffragan of Dovers House. Then the Archdeacon said, Art thou a Priest? And I said, I was one. And he said, Art thou any Graduate of any University? And I said, Yea. What degree (said he) hast thou taken? The degree (quoth I) of a Master of Art. The more pity (quoth he) that thou shouldst behave thy self as thou hast done. Thou hast been a common Preacher licensed, hast thou not? And I said, I have been so. Marry (quoth he) so I understand.

What hast thou preached?

And I said, Gods Word, to the edifying (I trust) of his people.

No, no, quoth he, to the destroying of their Souls and thine both, except the mercy of God be all the greater. I pray thee, what hast thou preached? tell me.

I told you, quoth I, what I have preached.

Nay, but tell me, quoth he, what one matter hast thou preached to the edifying of the people, as thou sayest? I will tell you no particular matter; for I perceive you would have some matter against me.

No, by my faith, quoth he, but that only I would win thee from Heresies that thou art bewrapt in, and hast infected others withal. For thou hast preached, as I am informed, that the blessed Sacrament of the Altar is not the very Body and Blood of Jesus Christ after the Consecration. Tell me, hast thou not preached? and is not this thine opinion?

Sir, quoth I, I perceive (as I said) that ye seek matter against me. But seeing that I am bound in the Sessions to my good behaviour for preaching, which may be broken with words, and well I know not with what words; and also both mine authority to preach, and my living are taken from me, I think I am not bound to make you an answer.

Collins. Mr. Bland, do you not remember, that S. Peter biddeth you make answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the faith that is in you?

Bland. I know that, and am content so to answer as that Text biddeth: but I know that Mr. Archdeacon doth not ask me after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble. Then they said, No, ye shall not be troubled for any thing that ye say here.

Bland. I am content for knowledge sake to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwise. And so they fell in reasoning more than the space of an hour, of the Sacrament, both against me. At the last Mr. Collins said, Mr. Bland, will ye come and take in hand to answer such matter on Monday next, as shall be laid to you?

Bland. Sir, ye said I should not be troubled for any thing that should be said here for Learnings sake. And they said, ye shall not, but it is for other matters.

Bland. Sir, I am bound to appear, as some tell me, on Thursday next at Ashford, I am in doubt whether I can or no: yet I have purposed to be there, and so to go to London to Mr. Wiseman, for an Obligation that he hath, whereby I should receive certain money to pay my Debts withal. Then said Mr. Archdeacon, I will write to Mr. Wiseman, that ye shall sustain no loss.

Bland. That shall not need: for I can sustain no great

loss, if I go not. But I pray you to let me have a longer day. No, quoth he.

Bland. Sir, I cannot well come on Monday.

Harps. Wilt thou not come, when he so gently speaketh to thee, where he may command thee?

Bland. I do not deny to come, but I desire a longer day.

Harps. * Thou shalt have no other day; I charge thee to come on Monday.

Bland. Sir, I perceive it shall be for this or like matters: will it please you or Mr. Collins, for Gods sake, to confer Scriptures privately with me in this matter, seeing ye say ye would so gladly win me?

Harps. With all my heart will I take the pains, and I will also borrow my Lord of Dovers Library, to have what Books thou wilt: and thus they departed. Now the 17 of May at Ashford I could not be released, although I was called to the Spiritual Court for the same matter, but was bound to appear at the Sessions holden at Crambrook, the third of July.

Another Appearance of Mr. Bland before the Archdeacon and his Fellows.

The 21 day of May I appeared in the Chapter-house, where was a great multitude of people, unlooked for of me, and Mr. Archdeacon said thus to me: Ye are come here according as ye were appointed; and the cause is, that it hath pleased the Queens Highness, herte to place me, to see Gods holy Word set forth, and to reform those that are here fallen into great and heinous Errors, to the great displeasure of God, and the decay of Christs Sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the Catholick Church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is sore poysoned with the same, and hast infected and deceived many with thy evil Preaching, which if thou wilt renounce, and come home again to the Catholick Church, both I and many other more would be very glad; and I for my part shall be bright glad to shew you the favour that lieth in me, as I said unto you when you were appointed hither, because ye then refused to satisfie again the people that ye had deceived. And whereas it is feigned by you, that I should openly dispute the matter with you this day; although I did neither so intend nor appoint, yet I am content to dispute the matter with thee, if thou wilt not without disputeation help to heal the Souls that are brought to Hell-ward by thee? What sayest thou?

Bland. I do protest before God and you all, that neither is my Conscience guilty of any Error or Heresie, neither that I ever taught any Error or Heresie willingly. And where your Mastership saith, That I have feigned an open Disputation with you, it is not true, as I can thus approve: Upon Saturday I was at Ugdens and there Mr. Bingham laid it to my charge, that such an open Disputation, as ye have here offered, should be this day between you and me: Whereat I much marvelled, and said to him, That before that present I never heard any such word; neither would I answer nor dispute: and to this can Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Oxenden, Mr. Setb of Overland, and Mr. Ugen witness; and further I said to them, that I never spake to you of any Disputation, nor you to me. Now if your Mastership have any thing to say to me by the Law, I will make answer to it.

Harps/Hear ye what he saith? His Conscience is cleare: I pray thee whercon groundest thou thy Conscience? let me hear what thy faith is?

Bland. I know not why ye should more ask me a reason of my faith, than any other man in this open Audience?

Harps. Why thou Heretic, art thou ashamed of thy faith? if it were a Christian belief, thou needest not to be ashamed of it.

Bland. I am not ashamed of my faith. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord &c. with all the other Articles of the Creed; and I do believe all the holy Scriptures of God to be most certain and true.

Mr. Bland wanted to speak again before them.

* Note here the extreme dealing of the great-fellows.

The second appearance of Mr. Bland, Mr. Harpsfield words to Mr. Bland.

He said further, that he presented against Mr. Bland.

The answer of Mr. Bland to Mr. Harpsfield words.

Mr. Bland cleared himself briefly of the same repute of Mr. Harpsfield.

To believe the Articles of our Christian Faith never so well, as will not suffice the Papists.

Harpf. Wilt thou declare no more than this?
Bland. No.

The People
Fie of Dr.
He is blind.

Harpf. Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my faith: I do believe and ground my faith and conscience upon all the Articles of the Creed, and upon all the holy Scriptures, Sacraments, and holy Doctors of the Church, and upon all the general Councils that ever were since the Apostles time. Lo, hereupon ground I my faith; with many words more, which I well remember not. And when he could get no other answer of me, than I had said before, he called for a Scribe to make an act against me. And after much communication, I said, By what Law and Authority will ye proceed against me. Mr. Collins said, By the Canon Law.

Mr. Bland
re-
queth to
have his
Counsellor.

Bland. I doubt whether it be in strength or no. Yet I pray you let me have a Counsellor in the Law, and I will make answer according to the Law.

Harpf. Why thou Heretick, thou wilt not confesse thy faith to me, that have Authority to demand it of thee, and yet I have confessed my faith to thee before all this Audience. As concerning the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, thou hast taught, that after the Consecration it is Bread and Wine, and not the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. How saist thou, hast thou not thus taught?

The People
ever call
him a
foolish.

Bland. Sir, as concerning this matter of the Sacrament, when I was with you and Mr. Collins, ye said then it was for other matters that I should come hither: and further, that ye would be content at my desire, to confer Scriptures with me, to see if ye could win me; and ye said, ye would borrow my Lord of *Dover's* Library, that I should have what Book I would; and now ye require me thus to answer, contrary to your promise, ere any Conference be had, and seek rather to bring me into trouble, than to win me.

Harpf. I will, as God shall help me, do the best to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable; and I trust to dissolve all thy doubts, if thou be willing to hear. And I also will desire thee two worshipful men, my Lord of *Dover*, and Mr. Collins, to hear us.

Bland. No, ye shall pardon me of that: there shall be no such witness. But when we agree, set to our hands. Heretofore made the people a noise against me, for refusing the witness: and here had we many more words, then I can rehearse. But at the last I said, Sir, will ye give me leave to ask you one question? And he said, yea, with all my heart. For in that thou askest any thing, there is some hope that thou maist be won.

Mr. Bland
question to
D. Harpf.

Bland. Sir, when it pleased Almighty God to send his Angel unto the Virgin *Mary* to salute her, and said, Hail full of Grace, &c. came any substance from God our Father into the Virgins womb to become man? whereat as well Mr. Archdeacon, as my Lord of *Dover*, and Mr. Collins said. But my Lord spake the first, and said, The Holy Ghost came to her; and ere he had brought out his sentence, Mr. *Syrac Peters* said, *Verum alijssim obumbravit*. Truth, said Mr. Archdeacon, it was the power of God, sent by the Holy Ghost. They had forgotten, that *genitus fuit ex substantia patris*; Or else they perceived whereunto this question tended: and so both I and they left it; by what words I cannot tell. But I said, Sir, shall I ask one other? And he said, Yea. Is there in the Sacrament, after the Consecration, Christs natural Body, with all the qualities of a natural Body, or no?

Another
question of
Mr. Bland to
D. Harpf.

Harpf. Hark, said Mr. Archdeacon; hear ye this Heretick? He thinks it an absurdity to grant all the quantities of Christs natural Body to be in the Sacrament. But it is no absurdity: For even that natural Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary* is glorified, and that same Body is in the Sacrament after the Consecration. But perceive ye not the arrogancy of this Heretick, that will put me to answer him, and he will not answer me? he thought to put me to a pinch with his question; for I tell you it is a learned question.

Bland. So if ye be so much discontented with me, I will say no more; yet I would all men heard, that ye say the glorified Body of Christ is in the Sacrament, after the Consecration.

Harpf. I may call thee gross ignorant. Thou gross ignorant, is not the same body glorified, that was born

of the Virgin *Mary*? Is it then any absurdity to grant that to be in the Sacrament? And whiles he spake many other words, I said to Mr. *Petit*, That the Sacrament was instituted, delivered, and received of his Apostles, before Christs Body was crucified; and it was crucified before it was glorified; which saying Mr. *Petit* partly recited to Mr. Archdeacon.

Harpf. Thou art without all learning. Was not Christs Body given to his Apostles, as in a glorified act? and yet no inconvenience, although his natural Body was not crucified; for when he was born of the Virgin *Mary* without pain, was not that the act of a glorified Body? And when he walked on the water, and when he came into the house to his Apostles, the doors being shut fast, were not these acts of a glorified Body?

Dover. Then my Lord of *Dover* helped him to a better place, and said, When Christ was in Mount *Thabor*, he was there glorified in his truth, my Lord, he was glorified in the sight of three of his Apostles.

Harpf. Ye say truth, my Lord, he was glorified in the sight of three of his Apostles.

Bland. This me think is new Doctrine.

Harpf. Well, seeing he will by no other way be reformed, let the people come in and prove these matters against him. And therewith the Archdeacon brought forth a Copy of the Bill of Complaint that was put against me at *Christmas*, and about that we talked a little. And then Mr. Archdeacon rose up, and said, See ye good people that know this matter, that ye come in, and prove it against him. Whereunto answered *Thomas Aulfen*, I pray you, said he, let us be no more troubled with him. And then spake *John Aulfen*, and *Heath* with one eye, and began to accuse me; but no answer they could have of me, but do to me what ye can by Law, and I will answer it. Then said *Thomas Aulfen*, *Bland*, ye were once abjured.

Bland. Ye say not truly, Goodman *Aulfen*, I was never abjured. Either, said he, ye were abjured, or else ye had the Kings pardon. Neither of both; ye speak this of malice; with many other railing words more. Then Mr. Archdeacon departed, and Mr. *Collins* to command me to appear the next day. Howbeit, for certain other urgent business that I had, I did not appear, but wrote a Letter to Mr. Commissary, desiring him to respite the matter till my coming home again; and if he would not, I would be content to submit my self to the Law when I came home.

Now about the 28 day of *June* I came to Mr. Commissary to shew him of my return, and offered my self to satisfy the Law, if it were proceeded against me, before Mr. *Cocks* of *Surry*, and *Marks* the Apparitor; but Mr. Commissary said gently, he had done nothing against me. And so appointed me to appear before him the Friday seven-night after. Now in the mean time was the Sessions holden at *Crambrooke*, where I was bound to appear; and carrying Surety with me to be bound again, for I looked for none other, did appear the third day of *July*.

And Sir *John Baker* said, *Bland*, ye are, as we hear Sir *J. Bakers* say, a Scot; where were ye born and brought up? And I said I was born in *England*. And he said, where? And I said, in *Sedber*, and brought up by one Dr. *Lupton*, Provost of *Easton College*. Well, said he, I know him well. Remain to your Bond till Afternoon.

Then said Sir *Thomas Moyle*, Ah *Bland*, thou art a stiff-necked Fellow. Thou wilt not obey the Law, nor his word, answer when thou art called. Nor will, quoth Sir *John Baker*? Mr. Sheriff, take him to your Ward: and the Bailiff set me in the Stocks, with other, and would not hear me speak one word; and so we remained in the Goal of *Maidstone*, till a fortnight before *Michaelmas*, or thereabout; and then we were carried to *Rocheester*, to the Assize holden there, where we were among the Prisoners two days: and when we were called, and the Judges of Assize asked our causes, when my cause was rehearsed, Mr. *Barrow*, Clerk of the Peace, said, That I was an excommunicate person.

Then Mr. *Koper* of *Lincoln* talked with the Judges, but what I am not able to say. But the Judges of Assize said, Take them to *Maidstone* again, and bring them to the Sessions that shall be holden next at the Town of *Maldin*: Howbeit, the Sheriff did not fend for us, so that we tarried at *Maidstone* till the Sessions holden at *Green*.

Anno

1555.

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glorified

body be in the

Sacrament

when the

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Mr. Bland

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Mr. Bland

appearing at

Sessions in

Crambrooke.

Mr. Bland

talk with

Mr. Bland.

Mr. Bland

brought up

by Dr. Lupton,

Provost of

Easton Col-

ledge.

Sir T. Moyle

said, Sir

T. Moyle

said, Sir

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T. Moyle

Anno 1555. *Greenwich* the 18 and 19 of *February*. I and other being within the Bar amongst the Felons, and Irons upon our Arms, were called out the later day by the Jaylor and Bailiffs, and ealed of our Irons, and carried by them into the Town to Sir *John Baker*, Mr. *Petit*, Mr. *Webb*, and two other whom I know not.

Another Examination of Mr. Bland before Sir John Baker.

Baker. Bland, wherefore were ye cast into Prison?

Bland. I cannot well tell. Your Mastership cast me in.

Baker. Yea, but wherefore were you in before that time?

Bland. For an unjust Complaint put upon me.

Baker. What was the Complaint?

Bland. I told him as truly and briefly as I could?

Baker. Let me see thy Book; and I took him a Lastine Testament.

Baker. Will ye go to the Church, and obey and follow the Queens proceedings, and do as an honest man should do.

Bland. I trust in God to do no otherwise but as an honest man should do.

Baker. Will ye do as I said?

Bland. Will it please your Mastership to give me leave to ask you a question?

Baker. Yea.

Bland. Sir, may a man do any thing that his Conscience is not fastidied in to be good?

Baker. Away, away, and threw down the Book, and said, It is no Testament. And I said, Yes. And Mr. *Webb* took it up, and said unto me marvellous gently; Mr. *Bland*, I knew you when ye were out of this Opinion: I would to God ye would reform your self; with better words then I will write. And I said; If ye have known me of another Opinion then I am of now, it was for lack of knowledge.

Baker. Yea, said thou so? by St. *Mary*, and thou hold thee there, I will give six Fagots to burn thee withal, ere thou shouldst be unborn: hence Knave, hence. And so were we reprieved into our place again within the Bar. And at night, when Judgment of Felons and all was done, we were called, and the Judge said to the Jaylor, Take them with you, and deliver them to the Ordinary, and if they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they shall have Judgment and Execution. And one of our Company said, My Lord, if we be killed at your hands for Christs sake, we shall live with him for ever.

Another Appearance of Mr. Bland in the Spiritual Court.

Mr. Bland brought again to the Castle of Canterbury. The Bishop of Dover, Mr. Collins, Mr. Mills, with other; and then went to them Mr. Oxenden, Mr. Petit, Mr. Web and Mr. Hardes, Justices. And when I was called, Mr. Web said, Here we present this man unto you, as one vehemently suspected of Heresie.

Bland. And I said; Mr. Web, ye have no cause to suspect me of Heresie. I have been a Prisoner this whole year, and no matter proved against me. I pray you, wherefore have I been so long kept in Prison?

Web. Leave your arrogant asking of questions, and answer to that that is laid to your charge.

Bland. I do so; for I lay you have no cause to suspect me of Heresie.

Web. Yes; ye denied to Sir John Baker, to be conformable to the Queens proceedings.

Bland. Is it a just cause to suspect me of Heresie, for asking a question with leave? So we had more words there then I well remember.

Then stood up Master *Petit*, and said, Ye were cast into Prison, because ye fled away from your Ordinary.

Bland. Then have I had wrong. For I never fled, nor disobeyed mine Ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the Law. Let them now say if I did; but they said nothing. And when I saw they held their peace, I said, Mr. Commissary, have you been the cause of this mine imprisonment? No, quoth he; ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appear the Friday after the Sessions. Here I was suffered to speak no more, but shut up in a corner till my Companions were likewise presented, and then we were sent to *Wesgate* into Prison, and were put in several close Holdes, that never one of us could speak to another, nor any man was permitted to come to us. We were four times at this appearance: but one they dispatched, by what means I cannot tell: whose name was *Cornwall*, a Tanner.

And thus hitherto passed the talk between Bland and the Justices, and certain Gentlemen of the Shire. Now followeth the order of the reasoning between him and the Clergy-men, before whom he was examined. But forasmuch as the chiefest doer and judge against him was the Bishop of Dover or Suffragan of Canterbury, called Doctor *Richard Thornton*, to the intent it may appear what little truth or constancy is in these Catholick Persecutors; I thought here to exhibit by the way a certain Popish Letter, written of a Papist unto him. Wherein is declared what a Gospeller the laid *Richard Thornton* was in King *Edward*'s time, which now turning with the world, sheweth himself such a bitter Persecutor against Gods Servants in Queen *Maries* time. The Copy of this Letter here followeth.

A Copy of a Popish Letter written to the Bishop of Dover, by one Thomas Goldwell a Priest, declaring what a Professer he was in King *Edward*'s time.

Right Reverend, and my good Lord, after my hearty thanks for your good cheer at my last being with your Lordship, this shall be to certify you, that as soon as I arrived with my Lords Grace, I gave him your Letters, but I had much work to obtain any thing of him for you. For there hath been given very evil informations of you, and it hath been said, that you have concurred with all manner of evil proceedings, the which hath these years past been in *England*, as well against the holy Sacrament of the Altar, and against the Supreme Authority of Christs Vicar in Earth, as with the use of the abominable late Communion, and with the Marriage of Priests, as well Religious as Secular; and that you have given Orders to (I cannot tell how many) base, unlearned, and evil disposed people, by reason of the which they have taken upon them to preach, and to do much hurt in *Ken*. So that men think that yet if any new mutation, the which God forbid, should chance, you would be as ready to change as any other. And indeed it maketh me to fear the same, by reason that notwithstanding it hath pleased Almighty God to provide, that your Absolution was sent unto you (not looking, I dare say, for any such thing) of all manner of matters past, yet your Lordship (more regarding the vanity of the World, then the offence of God, the which he only knoweth how much it grieves me, for the due love I bear unto you) presumed to sing Mass in *Pontificalibus*, the holy days immediately following, and also to ministrare to Children the Sacrament of Confirmation, because that one (being a Member of the Devil) did somewhat comfort you so to do.

Oh my Lord, what honour should it have been both to God and your self, and also edification to all good people, (though all worldly men and Hereticks would therefore have laugh'd you to scorn) if you considering your great offences toward God, and his goodness again toward you, would like as you have offended in the face of the world, to the damnation of many, likewise have shewed your self penitent in the face of the world, to the edification of many, and not only to have celebrate for vanity *Pontificaliter*; but also for a time to have abstained for reverence *retaliator* from the Altar, according to the old custom of the Church. The which I have also seen observed of some honest men, not being thereto incited of any man. But that which is past cannot be called again. And I thought it not my part to leave your Lordship mine old Friend and Master in the mire. What have I created not

Power to give Absolution, granted to the Bishop of Dover from the Cardinal.

to solicit your cause with my Lords Grace, till at the last I obtained of his Grace for your Lordship all the faculties of the which I send you a Copy here inclosed, partly for your own consolation, and partly for other, desiring your Lordship to use them to the honour of God, that there come to me thereof no rebuke: not publishing them to any person, but to such that you know will gladly receive them. For hitherto there is never a Bishop in England, who hath granted him so great authority concerning those which be under his Cure. Only Mr. Archdeacon hath the like, and in one thing more great then be these your Lordships. Wherefore your Lordship shall do well to remit unto him all such Priests as have Cure of Soul, whether they be Beneficed men, or Parish Priests. For he hath not only authority to absolve them, as you have, but also to give them authority to absolve such as he underneath their Cures. And thus I commit your Lordship to the protection of Almighty God. Written at Brussel the 16. of June, 1554.

Your Lordships Beadman,

Thomas Goldwell.

And thus much concerning the Bishop of Dover, by way of digestion. Now to return again to the examinations of Mr. Bland, let us hear his own Report of his Answers, as followeth.

How followeth mine Answer, as nigh as I can call to remembrance, every word, and sentence; yet if any that was present can help to perfect it, I would be glad. But just as dare I say, that there is never one sentence, but it was openly spoken the ninth of March in the Chapter-house of Creechurch, in the presence of as many as they had chosen, the Mayor of the City being called to be assistant, and all other stout out.

The Answer of Mr. Bland in his Appearance before the Commissary, and other in the Spiritual Court.

After Collins said; Mr. Bland, ye know that ye are presented unto us as one suspected of Heresie. How say ye, be ye contented to reform your self to the Laws of this Realm, and of the holy Church?

Bland. I deny that I am suspected justly of Heresie, and that ye heard when I was presented, that I denied the Suspension to be just, but to defend the unjust punishment that I have suffered: neither can ye prove that any occasion hath been given by me, whereby any man should suspect me therein. But if you have any Law or Authority to proceed against me for any thing done for a whole year ago and more, I will answer to it.

Collins. Ye were convented before Mr. Archdeacon and me, and matter of Heresie laid to your charge.

Bland. That matter was done and said a whole year ago, and for that I have been in Prison this year and more. If ye have any thing against me by any Law, I desire you to let me know the Law and the Matter, and I will answer according to the Law.

Then said my Lord Suffragan; but that I am one of the Judges, I would rise, and stand by thee, and accuse thee to be a Sacramentary, and bring witness to prove it; yea, and further, that thou hast called the Mass an abominable Idol.

Bland. You, my Lord, never heard me say so: But I heard you once say, That in your Confidence ye had abhorred the Mass three years. Thou thyself, quoth he, I never said so.

Bland. My Lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witness to approve it, with the day, time, and place; and I once did hear Mr. Collins at a Visitation in Wingham say, That Christ was a full Satisfaction for all sin present, past, and to come, contrary to that he said now.

And here we had more words of this matter, which I let pass for lack of good remembrance.

Mr. Collins said, this is but a shift. You were better answer now; for else you shall be in Prison again, and be called on Monday, and have Articles laid to you, and if ye then answer not directly, ye shall be condemned *pro contemptu*, and that will be worse for you.

Bland. Sir, I do not now, nor will not then deny to answer to any thing that ye can lay to my charge by the Law; wherefore I trust ye will let me have the benefit of the Law.

Collins. This is the Law, that if ye be required of the Ordinary, *Reddere rationem fidei*, then may ye not deny it. And that we do now.

Bland. To that then will I answer. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, with all the other Articles of the same Creed: And I believe all the Articles contained both in the Creed called the Mass Creed, and in the Creed of *Athanasius*: And I do believe, that all the holy Scriptures, and all things therein contained, are most true.

Collins. This will not serve you: ye must answer to all such Articles in all these as shall be laid to you, or asked of you.

Bland. Let me know the Law that it is in that force (without any just cause of suspicion proved against me) and I will answer.

Collins. How say ye, will ye answer?

Bland. Sir, I have answered you. Have him away, said my Lord of Dover; he had better have answered.

Bland. My Lord, I am ready to answer, if ye have any thing against me by the Law.

B. Dover. Ye have preached many Heresies in *Adeham*, where I am Parson now; and therefore ye must make answer to them.

Bland. Lay them to my charge by the Law, and I will answer them, if ye can approve that I am bound to answer to that was done a year or more ago; for if ye may do that, ye may also lay to my charge, and compel me to answer to all things done in all my life, I trow.

Collins. It is not a year ago since you were before Mr. Archdeacon and me.

Bland. It is truth, it is a year and ten weeks since the words were spoken; and I have been a Prisoner ever since, and have been at five Sessions, and never could have my cause tried. Me think your Charities should think it punishment enough, if I had been guilty.

Collins. All this will not serve you; you must needs answer, and it will be better for you to answer now, then another time. Will ye reform your self, and go to the Church, and worship Christ in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar; and be obedient unto all the Queens Laws?

Bland. I pray you wherefore am I brought hither?

Collins. To answer to such things as are demanded of you.

Bland. Sir, I thought ye had some matters against me by the Law.

Collins. Well, on Monday at 9. of the Clock ye shall see the Law, and have Articles laid unto you.

Then they had spied Mr. Cox the Lawyer, and called him in, and said; Here is a Lawyer can tell you are bound by the Law to answer: and he said, as they had said.

Collins. Do ye not believe, that after the Consecration of the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, there remaineth no substance of Bread, but the substance of Jesus Christ, both God and Man?

Bland. Master Commissary, I know not by any Law why ye should ask me that question more then any other man here. And after a little talk, my Lord of Dover asked me this question; Doest not thou believe, after the Consecration, that it is the Body of Christ? And I said, No, I do not so believe: for the Scriptures do not teach me, that there should remain the Flesh of Christ, to eat as a man should eat mans Flesh.

Then Mr. Glaister said, That was the Opinion of the Capernaites: there is no man here of that Opinion, and spake long of cutting of Christs Body, as men cut Fleesh in the Shambles.

Then Mr. Doctor Faucet said; Master Bland, forasmuch as you and I were brought up both in one House, and born both in one Parish, I would be as glad as any man alive to do you good: but ye may not thus stand against the Church. For Christ faith; Ye must humble your self, and take up his Cross, and follow him. And to humble your self in this place, is to be content, and not stick to your

Anno 1555.

Mr. Bland confessed all the Articles of his Creed, if the faith of the Sacrament be in the Scripture, and so necessarily a thing, why did not the Apostles then put it in the Creed, and make three Articles? It is here in the Scripture, not yet put in the Creed, why then do the Pope so extremely bind us as unto it?

Mr. Bland appeared at five Sessions, and could not have his cause tried.

Mr. Bland called before the Spiritual Judges, not for any matter they had, but that they would have against him.

Mr. Bland desired the reality of Christs Presence in the Sacrament. The Capernaites took Christ to speak literally of his Body, and so do the Papists, and not the Protestants.

The Officers of Mr. Bland, as the Clergy-men Mr. V. and unjustly suspected of Heresie, and more unjustly punished.

The Bishop of Dover once advised the Mass.

Collins the Commissary proceeded before the true Doctors of free judgment by Christ.

Anno your own Judgment, but to humble yourself to the Holy Church, which hath determined, that after the Consecration there remaineth no Bread, but the Natural Body and Blood of Christ.

Bland. Master Doctor, if ye take humbling of our selves in that place, to admit the Determination of the Church, then must we know by the Scriptures, that the same Church determined nothing but according to the Scriptures, as this is not: and therefore I do not believe any such Transubstantiation; nor never will, God willing. Then (quoth he) I have done with you: I will no more pray for you then for a dog.

Then said Master Glasier; How think ye? Did Paul when he said; *Is not the Bread that we break a partaking of the Body of Christ?* Did he mean Bakers Bread?

Bland. Though he did not mean Bakers Bread, that doth not prove that he brake Natural and Real Flesh. Glasier. No, by Saint Mary, we say not so, but we say it is the Natural Body glorified, under the forms of Bread and Wine.

Bland. Then the Apostles had it not as we have; or else his glorified Body was crucified for us.

Glasier. Tush, ye do not understand the Scriptures. For Christ's Body was ever glorified, in that it was so marvellously united to the Godhead: yea, and he shed his Body divers times glorified, as in the Mount Thabor: And when he walked on the Water, we see he was light, and had no weight in him. Was not that then a glorified Body?

Bland. Then belike Peter's Body was glorified, if walking on the Water was the deed of a glorified Body: and the Iron that *Elizeus* made to swim upon the Water.

Dover. Tush, quoth my Lord of Dover, that was done by Prayer. But they made such a noise with laughing, that I heard no more what my Lord said.

Bland. Masters, I know that it availeth us nothing to reason with you, no more then it booted you in the time of the Gospel. For then neither the reason of *Devilias*, *Cochlens*, nor yet of detection of the Sophistry of my Lord Chancellors doing, could take any place. And it is known to some that be here, that something I can say in them.

Dover. No, you know *Oecolampadius*, *Zwinglius*, and such other.

Bland. Indeed, my Lord, I have seen part of their doings.

Dover. That is seen by thee to day.

Glasier. I was glad, when I heard you say ye believed the Catholick Church; and now go you from it?

Bland. No that I do not.

Glasier. Ye know that Christ saith; *If thy Brother have offended thee, go and reconcile him between thee and him. If he hear thee not, take two or three witnesses all things may be established. If he hear not them, Dic Ecclesie; If he hear not the Church, take him as an heathen.* I pray you where could ye have found this Church of yours fifty years ago?

Bland. Ye know that the true Church did not at all times Hourih, but was wonderfully perfected.

Dover. Then my Lord cried; No more, I command you to hold your peace. Have him away and bring in Another.

Collins. Ye shall come again on Monday, at nine of the Clock, and in the mean time ye shall have whom ye will to confer withal: your friend D. Faucet, or Mr. Glasier, if ye desire them.

Bland. I will refuse to talk with no Man: as for any conference of your part, it is but weak Laws, established as they are. But when there was no Law, I did desire conference. And so for that time I departed.

The Monday after we were brought forth to the same place again; and then Master Collins began to speak to me, but after what manner, it is clean out of my mind: but the end was, that I would reform my self. But as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to see the Law, which they said before I should see.

Dover. What needs that? we have enough against

you. * For ye denied to me Transubstantiation in the Sacrament.

Bland. I did refuse to answer, till ye promised that I should see the Law, whereby ye may compel me to answer.

Dover. My Lord took the Scribes Book, and read the answer that I made to Doctor Faustus, which I knew not that they had written.

Bland. My Lord, I made you no such answer when ye asked me. I take M. Collins and M. Glasier to witness. Then they brought forth a Decretal, a Pook of the Bishop of *Romes* Law; to bind me to answer, which my Heart abhorred to look upon. The chief was, that the Ordinary had authority to examine, and that they so examined must needs answer. But I said, that it meant of such as were justly suspected, as I was not. And here we had much Communication. For I charged them with unjust Imprisonment, which they could not avoid.

But Mr. Oxenden would have helped them, and said, the Justices put me in Prison for a Sermon seditionously spoken, and for troubling a Priest at Mass.

Bland. That is not true. For after I had been ten weeks in prison, I was bayled, till I was cast in again, and (as the Justice said) for the disobeying mine Ordinary, which I never did.

Collins. Will ye be content to confer with some? It will be better for you; now we offer it you, because ye would not desire it.

Bland. As I did not refuse before, no more will I now. But I did not perceive before, but that one thing might have come, without any leave-taking, to confer the Scriptures: and therefore I looked that Doctor Faustus would have come to me without desiring, if any commodity to me had been in conference; for though I was never able to do him good; yet once I was his Tutor.

Collins. Are ye content to come to his Chamber at afternoon?

Bland. Sir, I am a Prisoner, and therefore it is meet that I obey, and come whither you will, and ye departed. At this time we were three. But they took another to appear before them the Tuesday seven-night after. And when he came, I knew not what was done; but that I hear they excommunicated him, and let him go. His name was Miller a Clothier.

Here followeth a certain confutation of Master Bland against false and manifest absurdities, granted by Mr. Milles, Priest of Christ's Church in Canterbury.

Milles. We say, that Christ is in or under the Sacrament really and corporally, which are the forms of Bread and Wine, and that there is his Body contained invisibly, and the qualities which we do see, as whiteness and roundness, be there without substance by Gods power, as quantity and weight be there also by invisible measure.

Bland. This is your own Divinity, to make accidents the Sacrament, and Christs real Body invisibly contained in them, and so to destroy the Sacrament. And yet the Doctors say; * *Materia Sacramenti est panis & vinum.* And God by his power worketh no miracles with *Hoc est corpus meum*, so to change the substance of Bread and Wine into his Body and Blood, in that he maketh accidents to be without their substance by invisible measure. I am ashamed to see you so destroy Christs Sacrament, contrary to your own Doctors, and trifle with Gods Work.

Milles. To Christ is given all power in Heaven and in Earth, so that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be, and is where he listeth, and is in the Sacrament really and corporally without occupying of place; for a glorified Body occupieth no place.

Bland. Mark your own Reason. All power is given to Christ both in Heaven and Earth; by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he listeth; he is in the Sacrament really and corporally, without occupying of place.

I deny your Argument; for it followeth neither of your Major nor Minor. And first I would learn of you, how you know that Christ listeth to be present at every

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Priest list. For if the Priest list not to say your Mass, then Christ listeth not to be there,

Again, ye say, all power is given unto Christ both in Heaven and in Earth, so that that is the cause by your reason, that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he list: and by that reason he had no power of his Godhead, till he had his humane Body, and then he was not equal with the Father in Divinity: for all power was not given to Christ, before the humanity and the Godhead were knit together, neither was he *Filius*. Here is more danger then ye are ware of; if ye would stand to it with just Judges.

Mills. We eat Christs Flesh and Blood spiritually when we receive it with Faith and Charity. And we also do eat it corporally in the Sacrament; and the Body that we to receive hath Life. For the Godhead is annexed thereto: which although it be received with the Body of Christ, yet it is not vile after a gross sort, and the Flesh of Christ that we receive is lively; for it hath the Spirit of God joynted to it. And if a Man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the Blood of Christ: for it is contrary to the nature of Christs Blood. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and (a) quantities, without substance of Blood.

f Bland. I am glad that you are so much against all Men, to say that Christs Body is alive in the Sacrament; it may fortune to bring you to the truth in time to come. Me think it is evil to keep Christs Body alive in the Pix, or else must ye grant, that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the Pix. And ye say truth, that it is (b) not the Natural receiving of Christs Blood that maketh a Man drunken; for it is the nature of Wine that doth that, which ye deny not.

And a more truth ye confess then ye did think, when ye said; If a Man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the substance of Blood; for indeed Blood hath no such qualities with it: by which it is evident that there is no Natural Blood.

If a Man be drunken with Wine Consecrated, it must be a miracle, as I think you will have it, that the said accidents should be without their Natural Substance, and work all the operations of both Substance and Accidents: and so it followeth, that a Man may be drunken by miracle. The Body that ye receive, ye say, is alive, because it is annexed to the Godhead, and the Flesh that ye receive is lively, because it hath the Spirit of God joynted to it.

This division is of your New Inventions, to divide the Body and the Flesh, the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by Gods Spirit; and both one Sacrament: ye make of it a thing so fantastical, that ye imagine a Body without Flesh, and Flesh without a Body, as ye do qualities and quantities without substance, and as ye do a living Body without qualities and quantities.

Mills. If case so require, and there be a godly intent in the Minister to Consecrate, after the Consecration thereof, there is present the Body and Blood of Christ, and no other substance, but accidents without substance to a true believer.

Bland. Ye grant three absurdities, e that in a Tun of Wine Consecrated is nothing but accidents: and to increase it withal, ye have brought in two Inconveniences; First, that it is not the Word of God that doth consecrate, but the intent of the Priest must help it; and if that lack, ye seem to grant no Consecration, though the Priest speak the Word; and yet your Doctors say, that the wickedness of the Priest minnifieth not the Sacrament.

And to an unbeliever ye seem to say, that it is not the same, that it is to the true believer; and then must the believer have something to do in the Consecration. *Incidit in scyllam qui vult vitare charibdim.*

Mills. The substance of Christs Body doth not fill the Mouses Belly. For although he doth receive the outward forms of Bread and Wine, yet he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation. And a Mousse doth not eat the Body of Christ, to speak properly; for it doth not feed him spiritually or corporally, as it doth

Man, because he doth not receive it to any inducement Anno of immortality to the Flesh.

Bland. Ye make not your Doctrine plain to be understood: we must know how a Mousse can receive the substance inwardly and outwardly. Ye say, he doth not receive the substance d inwardly, but without violation: *Erge*, with violation he receiveth the substance inwardly. Ye say that the Mousse cannot violate Christs Body; but he violateth the substance that he eateth. And this your proper speech doth import as much as that the Mousse should eat the Sacrament to as great effect, and the same thing, as doth the unworthy receiver. For if that be the cause that the properly eateth not the Body of Christ, because he doth not feed upon it spiritually nor corporally, nor receiveth it to any inducement of immortality, as ye say; then it followeth, that the unbeliever and the e Mousse receive both one thing. And yet it cannot be denied, but the f Mousse will live with consecrated Bread, and then ye must grant this absurdity, that a substance is nourished and fed only with accidents.

Mills. Mens Bodies be fed with Christs Body, as with immortal meat, by reason of the Godhead annexed to eternal life; but mens Bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of Bread and Wine: and we deny that by the Sacramental eating any gross humour turned into Blood, is made miraculously in the Body.

Bland. Where it cannot be denied that a Man may live, and naturally be nourished in his Natural Body with the Sacramental Bread and Wine consecrated; ye cannot avoid that: but then ye turn to the spiritual nourishing of Mans Body, by Christs Body and Godhead annexed, which is nothing to put away the absurdity, that either a Mans Natural Body should be fed naturally with accidents, or else to have them changed into gross humours. But ye say, Mens Bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of Bread and Wine; and then must ye needs grant, that qualities and quantities must be made substance in Man. For *ex eisdem sunt & nutritur mixta*, or else is all that is the nutriment in Man accidents and no substance.

Mills. If the forms of Bread and Wine be burned or Worms ingendered, it is no derogation to the Body of Christ, because the presence of his Body ceaseth to be there, and no substance cometh again.

Bland. Ye grant here, that a substance may be made of accidents, as ashes or worms: but I think you will have it by your miracles, and this I count a more absurdity then the other, that Christs Body should cease to be there, and no substance to come again; for no word in all the whole Bible seems to serve you for the ceasing of his presence, though we granted you, which we do not, that it were there. God Almighty open your Heart, if it be his Will and Pleasure, to see the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would answer you to all the rest, in these and all other my doings. I submit my self to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his holy Word, desiring you in the Bowels of Christ to do the same.

Your Orator in the Lord,
John Bland.

The last appearance and examination of Master Bland.

Hitherto you have heard the troublesome handling of this Faithful and Blessed Servant of God, *John Bland*, toft to and fro, from Prison to Prison, from Session to Session. At last he was brought before the Bishop of Dover, the Commissary, and the Archdeacon, at *Canterbury* the 13 day of June. The name of this Bishop was *Richard Thornton*. The Commissary was *Robert Collins*, whom the Cardinal by his Letters Patents had substitute to his factor, before his coming over to England. The Archdeacon was *Nicholas Harpsfield*. Under theea great sort of innocent Lambs of Christ were cruelly intreated and slain at *Canterbury*, amongst whom this forefaid Master

a Case being put that the Priest taking a great quantity in the Chalice, he made drunk, wench of these three hundred maketh him drunk: the nature of Wine? he said: the accidents only of Wine create the true substance of Wine? he said: any reasonable Man Judge.

e Three Inconveniences granted by the Popish. 1. That a Tun of Wine being Consecrated, nothing remaineth but accidents: which is false by the operation thereof. 2. Where he saith, that the Word of God doth not Consecrate without the intent of the Priest, which is against their own Doctrine, saying, that the wickedness of the Priest minnifieth not the Sacrament. 3. Where he saith, that the unbeliever is not the substance as the Popish say, that the wicked receive the Body.

1555.

Argument. A contrario sensu. 4 The Mousse receiveth not the Body inwardly, but without violation. 5 Erge, with violation he receiveth the Body inwardly. Argument. The Mousse violateth not the Body of Christ. The Mousse violateth the substance which he eateth. Erge, The Mousse eateth no substance of Christs Body. 6 The Mousse and the unbeliever receive the Body of Christ both alike, by the Epiphila doctrine. f Argument. No Mousse can live with accidents only without substance. A Mousse may live with consecrated hosts. Erge, consecrated hosts have not only accidents, but the Substance of Bread.

Another absurdity, that substance is made of accidents, when ashes or worms be made of the forms of bread and Wine.

Richard Thornton the Bloody Bishop of Dover, op of Dover.

Anno 1555 Master Bland was one of the first; who, as it is said, being brought before the said Bishop, and Colleagues, which were John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Humphrey Middleton, William Coker, was examined of Articles. To whom it was objected by the Commissary, whether he believed that Christ is really in the Sacrament, or no, &c. To this he answered and said, that he believed that Christ is in the Sacrament, as he is in all other good Bodies; so that he judged not Christ to be really in the Sacrament.

The words of St. Paul at his examination.

Another appearance.

The last appearance of Mr. Bland before the Bishop of Dover, and others.

Whereupon the day being on Monday, he was bid to appear again upon Wednesday next, and from thence he was deferred again to Monday following, being the twentieth of June, in the same Chapterhouse, then to hear further what should be done, in case he would not relent to their mind. The which day and place he, appearing as before, was required to say his mind plainly and fully to the foresaid Articles, being again repeated to him. Which Articles, commonly and in course they use to object to their Examinees which be brought before them, as there now followeth, and need not much hereafter, specially for that Country of Kent, to be repeated.

Articles Ministring by Richard Bishop of Dover, to Mr. Bland, and likewise to the rest following after him.

Articles of course ministered against Mr. Bland.

1. **I**st, that thou art of the Diocess of Canterbury, and so subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop there.

2. **I**tem, that thou art a Christian Man, and dost profess the Laws of God, and Faith of Christs Catholick Church, and the determination of the same.

3. **I**tem, That all Parsons which teach, preach, believe, affirm, hold, maintain, or say within the Diocess of Canterbury, otherwise then our Holy Mother the Church doth, are Excommunicate Persons; and Hereticks, and as Excommunicate and Hereticks ought to be named, reputed, and taken.

4. **I**tem, that thou, contrary to the Catholick Faith, and determination of our Mother Holy Church, within the Diocess of Canterbury, hast openly spoken, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet dost hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token, sign, and remembrance thereof, and that the very Body and Blood of Christ is only in Heaven, and no where else.

5. **I**tem, that thou, contrary to the Catholick Faith, and determination of our Mother Holy Church, hast within this Diocess of Canterbury openly spoken, said, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet dost hold, maintain, affirm and believe, that it is against Gods Word, that the Sacrament of Christs Church should be Ministring in an unknown Tongue; and that no Man safely and with a safe Conscience, or without peril of sin, receiveth any Sacrament Ministring in any Tongue that he understandeth not.

6. **I**tem, that thou, contrary to the Catholick Faith of our Mother Holy Church, hast, and yet dost hold opinion, and say, that it is against Gods Word, that the Sacrament of the Altar should be Ministring in one kind; and that no Man may with a safe Conscience so receive it.

7. **I**tem, that the premises be true, and that there is a common fame upon them within the Diocess of Canterbury.

The Answers of Master Bland to the foresaid Articles

Answer to the first Article, as of the Register. The Catholick Church or Christ. The Catholick Church or Christ.

1. **T**O these Articles Mr. Bland, answering again in order as they were objected to him, saith to the first, granting the same, that he was a Priest, and of the Diocess of Canterbury.

2. To the second also he answereth affirmatively.

3. **I**tem, to the third he answereth, that the Article is true, maintaining the Catholick Church to be Christs Church.

4. **I**tem, in the fourth Article, as touching the first part of the Article, he doth confess, that he hath preached and taught it, as it is contained in the same. And as touching

the second part of the Article, he doth confess, that he doth now also hold and say, as he preached and taught before.

5. **I**tem, to the fifth Article he granteth:

6. To the sixth he preached, held, and doth hold, as it is contained in the Article.

7. **I**tem, to the last Article he granteth the same, &c. This done, and his Answers and Confession taken, despite was given him yet a few days to deliberate with himself. So the 25. day of the said Month of June he making his appearance again in the said Chapterhouse, there openly and boldly withstood the authority of the Pope, whereupon his Sentence was read, and so he condemned and committed to the secular power. Touching the form and tenor of the sentence, because all their sentences of course agree in one, read before in the History of M. Rogers.

M. Bland denieth the Pope, M. Bland condemned.

The Prayer of Mr. Bland before his death.

THE Lord Jesus, for whose love I do willingly leave this Life, and desire rather the bitter death of his Cross, with the loss of all Earthly things, then to abide the Blasphemy of thy holy Name, or else to obey Man in breaking of the Commandments; thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in Worldly Wealth to worship false Gods, and honour thy enemy, I chose rather the torments of this Body, and loss of this my Life, and have counted all things but vile dust and dung, that I might win thee: Which death is more dear unto me, than thousands of Gold and Silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the Deer that is wounded desireth the foal. Send thy holy comfort, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of Earth, which is void of all strength of it self. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and not able to do any thing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as thou of thy accustomed goodness hast bidden me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own Cup amongst thine elect; give me strength against this Element, that as it is to my sight most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may be at thy commandment, as an obedient servant, sweet and pleasant; and through the strength of thy Holy Spirit, I may pass through the strength of this fire into thy Bosom, according unto thy promise, and for this mortality to receive immortality, and for this corruptible to put on incorruptible. Accept this burnt offering & Sacrifice, O Lord, not for the Sacrifice it self, but for thy dear Sons sake my Saviour; for whose testimony I offer this freewill offering with all my heart and with all my Soul. O Heavenly Father, forgive me my Sins, as I forgive the whole World. O sweet Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O God, grant me thy Holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither. Conduct me unto everlasting Life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my Spirit; Lord Jesus receive my Soul. So be it.

A Prayer of Mr. Bland.

The History of John Frankesh, Humphrey Middleton, Nicholas Sheterden.

HAVING now passed over the Examinations of Mr. Bland, let us further proceed to the rest of his fellows conceptives, being joynted the same time with him in the like cause and like affliction. The names of whom were John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Humphrey Middleton, Thacker, and Coker, of whom Thacker only gave back. The rest constantly standing to the truth, were altogether condemned by the Suffragan of Canterbury, the 25. day of June, the year above expressed. Touching whole Examinations I shall not need long to stand, for so much as the Articles ministered against them were all one; so in their answers they little or nothing disagreed, as hereafter (by the Lords help) you shall hear. In the mean time, because Nicholas Sheterden in his Examinations had a little more large talk with the Archdeacon and the Commissary, I will first begin with the same.

July 12. John Frankesh, Humphrey Middleton, Nicholas Sheterden, Mary.

The

The first Examination or reasoning of Nicholas Sheterden with M. Harpsfield Archdeacon, and M. Collins the Commissary for the which they sent him to Prison.

First, the Archdeacon and Commissary affirmed, that the very words of Christ, when he said, *This is my Body*, did change the substance, without any other interpretation or spiritual meaning of the words.

Sher. Then belike when Christ said, *This Cup is my Blood*, the substance of the Cup was changed into his Blood, without any other meaning, and so the Cup was changed, and not the Wine.

Arch. Not so; for when Christ said, *This Cup is my Blood*, he meant not the Cup, but the Wine in the Cup.

Sher. If Christ spake one thing, and meant another, then the bare words did not change the substance; but there must be a meaning sought as well of the Bread, as of the Cup.

Arch. There must be a meaning sought of the Cup otherwise then the words stand. But of the Bread it must be understood only as it standeth without any other meaning.

Sher. Then do ye make one half of Christs institution a figure, or borrowed speech, and the other half a plain speech, and so ye divide Christs Supper.

Arch. Christ meant the Wine, and not the Cup, though he said, *This Cup is my Blood*.

Sher. Then shew me whether the words, which the Priest do speak over the Cup, do change the substance, or whether the mind of the Priest doth it?

Arch. The mind of the Priest doth it, and not the words.

Sher. If the mind of the Priest doth it, and not the words, if the Priest then do mind his harlot, or any other vain thing, that thing so minded was there made, and so the People do worship the Priests harlot in stead of Christs Blood: and again, none of the People can tell when it is Christs Blood, or when it is not, seeing the matter standeth in the mind of the Priest. For no Man can tell what the Priest meaneth, but himself; and so are they ever in danger of committing Idolatry.

Then was the Archdeacon somewhat moved, and fate him down, and said to the Commissary; I pray you Mr. Commissary speak you to him another while; for they are unreasonable and perverse answers, as ever I heard of. Then stood up the Commissary, and said:

Com. Your Argument is much against you self; for ye grant that the Bread is a figure of Christs Body; but the Cup can be no figure of his Blood nor yet his very Blood; and therefore Christ did not mean the Cup, but the Wine in the Cup.

Sher. My Argument is not against me at all; for I do not speak it to prove that the Cup is his Blood, nor the figure of his Blood, but to prove that the bare words being spoken of the Priest do not change the substance no more of the Bread, then they do change the Cup into Blood.

Commiss. It could not be spoken of the Cup, when he said, *This Cup is my Blood*; but he meant the Wine in the Cup.

Sher. Then it remaineth for you to answer my question to the Archdeacon, that is, whether the mind of the Priest when he speaketh over the Cup, doth change it into Blood, or the bare words?

Commiss. Both together doth it, the words and the mind of the Priest together; yea the intent and the words together doth it.

Sher. If the words and intents together do change the substance, yet must the Cup be his Blood, and not the Wine, forasmuch as the words are, *This Cup is my Blood*, and the intent ye say, was the Wine; or else the words take none effect, but the intent only.

After, the Commissary in his Chamber, said, it was the intent of the Priest before he went to Mass, without the words; for the Priest did intend to do as holy Church had ordained, then the intent made the Sacrament to take effect.

Sher. If the Sacraments take effect of the intent of the Priest, and not of Gods Word, then many Parishes having a Priest that intendeth not well, are utterly deceived,

both in Baptizing, and also worshipping that thing to Anno be God, which is but Bread, because for lack of the Priests intent, the words do take none effect in it; so that by this it is ever doubtful, whether they worship Christ, or Bread, because it is doubtful what the Priests do intend.

Commiss. Then the Commissary would prove to me, Christs Body, whether it may be in two places at once.

Sher. This place and other must needs be understood for the unity of the person, in that Christ was God and Man, and yet the matter must be referred to the Godhead, or else ye must fall into great error.

Commiss. That is not so. For it was spoken of the manhood of Christ, forasmuch as he said, the Son of Man which is in Heaven.

Sher. If ye will needs understand it to be spoken of the Son of Man, then must ye fall into the error of the Anabaptists, which deny that Christ took Fleish of the Virgin Mary; for if there be no Body ascended up, but that which came down, where is then his incarnation? For then he brought his Body down with him.

Commiss. Lo how you seek an error in me, and yet see not how ye err your self. For it cannot be spoken of the Godhead, except ye grant that God is passible, for God cannot come down, because he is not passible.

Sher. If that were a good Argument, that God could not come down, because he is not passible, then it might be said by the like Argument, that God could not sit, and then Heaven is not his seat, and then say as some do, that God hath no right hand for Christ to sit at.

Com. Then the Commissary affirmed plainly, that it was true, God hath no right hand indeed.

Sher. Oh what a spoil of Christs Religion will this be, that because we cannot tell how God came down, therefore we shall say, that he came not down at all; and because we cannot tell what manner of hand he hath, to say that he hath no hand at all; and then he cannot reach the utmost part of the Sea. O misery! at length it will come to pass, that God cannot sit, and then how can Heaven be his Seat; and if Heaven be not his Seat, then there is no Heaven, and then at length I doubt ye will say there is no God, or else no other God, but such as the Heathen Gods are, which cannot go nor feel.

Commiss. Why, doth not the Scripture say, that God is a Spirit? and what hand can a Spirit have?

Sher. Truth it is, God is a Spirit, and therefore is worshipped in Spirit and Truth; and as he is a Spirit, so hath he a Spiritual Power, so he hath a Spiritual Seat, a Spiritual Hand, and a Spiritual Sword; which we shall feel, if we go this way to work, as we begin. Because we know not what God hath, therefore if we say he hath none, then it may as well be said, there is no Christ.

Then the Commissary said, he would talk no more with me, and so departed; and also the Commissary was compelled to grant, that Christs Testament was broken, and his institution was changed from that he left it: but he said they had power so to do.

My first answering, after their Law was established.

BECAUSE I know ye will desire to hear from me some Declaration of the first Examination of the chief Priests, and examination of certain Articles and then I required to see their Commission.

They shewed it to me, and said, there it is, and the King and Queens Letters also. Then I desired to have it read: and in reading I perceived, that on some notable suspicion he might examine upon two Articles; whether Christs real presence were in the Sacrament; and whether the Church of England use Christs Catholick Church.

To that I answered, that I had been a Prisoner three quarters of a year, and as I thought wrongfully: reason would therefore that I should answer to those things wherefore I was Prisoner.

Suff.

The talk of Nicholas Sheterden with the Archdeacon and Commissary about the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.

The Rector's Catholicks cannot deny a figure in the Cup and yet will not grant the same in the Bread.

If the mind and not the words of the Priest doth it: how then is it that Saw and his fellows say, that the words be the form and formal cause only that maketh the Sacrament? Can the Comm. say taketh the Marry in hand.

The Commissary brought to an absurdity.

The intent of the Priest maketh not the Sacrament.

1555.

Christs Body, whether it may be in two places at once.

The Commissary brought to another inconvenience.

Gods hand is spiritual.

Gods hand is spiritual.

Sheterden required to see the Commission. Sheterden three quarters of a year in Prison before the Law took place.

Anno 1555. Suff. The suffragan said, his Commission was, I must answer directly, yea or no.

Sher. This Commission, said I, was not general to examine whom he will, but on just suspicion.

Suff. He said, I was suspected, and presented to him.

Sher. Then I required that the accusation might be shewed.

Suff. He said, he was not bound to shew it; but he commanded me in the King and Queens Name to answer directly.

Sher. And I as a Subject do require of you Justice: for that I have done I ask no favour.

Suff. He said I was suspected.

Sher. I bade him prove that suspicion, or what cause he had to suspect.

Suff. Thou wast callt into Prison for that cause.

Sher. That was a pretty suspicion, because I had suffered Imprisonment contrary to Gods Law and the Realm, that therefore I must now for amends be examined of suspicion without cause, to hide all the wrong done to me before.

Suff. For when I was callt into Prison, there was no Law but I might speak as I did: therefore in that point I could be no more suspect, than you which Preached the same your self not long before.

Suff. That was no matter to thee what I Preached.

Sher. Well, yet in the King and Queens Name I must answer directly: and therefore I require as a Subject, that ye do not extend beyond your Commission, but prove me suspect, more than you your self.

Mills. Then said M. Mills, I had written to my Mother, and he did see the Letter, wherein I perfwaded my Mother to my opinions.

Sher. In that I did but my duty to certify her, I was not in Prison for any evil. And that was before the Law also, and therefore no more suspicion was in me, than was in them which taught the like.

Mills. Well, ye are required here to answer directly, or no.

Sher. First then I require of you to prove this suspicion; and thus we tosted it to and fro. At last the Bishop said he himself did suspect me. I asked whereby?

Suff. Well, said he, I my self did suspect thee, and it is no matter whereby.

Sher. But your Commission doth not serve you to do without cause of suspicion.

Suff. Well, yet did I suspect you.

Sher. It is not meet for you to be my accuser, and my judge also, for that is too much for one Man. And thus many words were multiplied, and they were much grievous.

Mills. If you were a Christian Man you would not be ashamed of your faith being required.

Sher. I am not ashamed indeed, I thank God, and if any Man did come to me, either to teach or learn, I would declare it; but forasmuch as I perceive you come neither to teach nor to learn, I hold it best not to answer you.

Mills. If you will not, then will we certify the Kings Council.

Sher. I am therewith content that you should certify that I had suffered three quarters Prison wrongfully, and therefore I desire to be justified or condemned, first for that I suffered such Imprisonment; and then I will not refuse to answer your Articles, though they were a bundle of them. But to say that I would answer, whereby you should heal all your wrong done to me against the Law of God and the Realm, I will not.

Here much ado there was to prove that he had no wrong, and again, that it was not they that did it. But said he, the Commissary was one of them. He answered, No, it was the Archdeacon. He said, you fate with him, and he asked your Counsel in it, and yet if it were he, it was your Church, except the Archdeacon, and you be divided one from another. Well said they, Will ye now deny that ye said then, and promise here to submit your self henceforth, and ye shall be delivered?

Sher. I am not so much bound to you to grant any such promise: and again you shall well know that I would not promise to go cross the Street for you: but if I did at any time offend your Law, let me have the punishment.

Then said they, that it was obstinacy in him, that he would not answer, and a token that his faith was nought, seeing he was ashamed to utter it.

Sher. Nay said he, you shall well know I am not ashamed of my Faith: but because you do so greedily seek Blood, I will answer only to that you have against me.

Suff. Nay, you shall answer to the Articles, or else be Condemned upon Suspicion.

Sher. I am content with that, yet all Men shall know that as ye suspect and can prove no cause, so shall ye Condemn me without a matter, and then shall all Men know ye seek my Blood, and no justice.

Suff. No, we seek not thy Blood, but thy conversion.

Sher. That we shall see. For then shall you prove my perversion first, before you condemn me on your suspicion without proof of the same: and by that I shall know whether you seek Blood or no. Many other words were between them.

At last stept up one Lovells a Lawyer, which would prove his Imprisonment not to be wrong, but right, by old Statutes of Edward the fourth, and Henry, &c. but at last he was compelled to forsake those Statutes from Michaelmas to Christmas, and then he said it was no wrong.

To this Nicholas said, if he could prove that Men might wrongfully imprison before a Law, and in the mean while make Laws, and then under that hide the first wrong, then he said true, or else not.

Thus he kept the Bandogs at staves end, not as thinking to escape them, but that I would see, said he, the Foxes leap above the ground for my Blood if they can reach it (so it be the will of God) yet we shall see them gape, and leap for it. From Westgate in haste.

By yours, Nicholas Shetelden.

Notes of Nicholas Shetelden, against the false worship and oblation of the Sacrament.

The Holy sign in stead of the thing signified is servile servitude, as Saint Augustine termeth it, when the Bread in the Sacrament is by common and solemn error worshipped in stead of the Flesh assumed of the Word of God.

There was no mention of worshipping the Creatures at the feast or first supper that Christ did celebrate: therefore the saying of Christ concerning divorce, may well be applied to them; it was not so from the beginning, nor shall be to the end.

The once made oblation of Christ is hereby derogate, when this Sacramental oblation and offering of thanksgiving is believed to be propitiatory, and that it purgeth the Soul as well of the living as of the dead, against this saying to the Hebrews, With one only oblation he hath made perfect for ever those that are sanctified. Again, Where is remission, there is no more oblation for sins, making us clean by him.

This word (by himself) hath a vehemency and pith, that driveth all Priests from authority to enterprise such oblation, whereas what he himself doth by himself, he leaveth not for other to do. So seemeth our purgatory already past & done, not to come & remaining to be done.

His Examination before the Bishop of Winchester, then Lord Chancellor.

I was called into a Chamber before the Lord Chancellor, the Suffragan, and other, Priests I think for the most part. He standeth to the table, called me to him, and because I saw the Cardinal was not there, I bowed my self and stood near.

Then said he, I have sent for you, because I hear you are indicted of heresie; and being called before the Commissioners, ye will not answer nor submit your self.

I said, if it like you, I did not refuse to answer; but I did plainly answer, that I had been in Prison long time, and reason it was that I should be charged or discharged for that, and not to be examined of Articles to hide my wrong Imprisonment, neither did I know any Indictment against

me.

One Lovells a lawyers

One Lovells a lawyers

One Lovells a lawyers

One Lovells a lawyers

against me. If there were any, it could not be just, for I was not abroad since the Law was made.

Winch. Well, yet if such suspicion be of you, if you be a Christian, ye will declare that it is not true, and so purge your self.

Sher. I thought it sufficient to answer to mine offences, &c. trusting that they would lay no such burthen upon me, whereby the wrong done to me might be covered, but I would be proved to have wrong or right.

Winch. He said, if thou wilt declare thy self to the Church to be a Christian, thou shalt go, and then have a writ of wrong Imprisonment, &c.

Sher. I said I was not minded to sue now, but require to have right justice; but to make a promise I will not: but if I offend the Law, then punish me accordingly. For it might be that my Conscience was not persuaded, nor would be, in Prison; seeing these things which I have learned, were by Gods Law openly taught and received by authority of the Realm. And he said it was never received, that I might speak against the Sacrament, I said against some opinion of the Sacrament it was openly taught.

Winch. By no Law, and that was not able to confider, that all that while God preferred that, so that no Law could pass against it.

Sher. I said their Law did not only persuade me, but this most; when they Preached unto us, they took pain to set out the Word of God in our Tongue, so that we may read and judge whether they say true or no, but now they take the light from us, and would have us believe it, because they say so, which is to me a great persuasion.

Winch. It was not a few that could be your guide in understanding; but the Doctors and all the whole Church, now whom wouldst thou believe? either the few or the many?

Sher. I did not believe for the few, nor for the many, but only for that he bringeth the word, and sheweth it to me to be according to the process thereof.

Winch. Well said he, then if an Arrian come to thee with Scripture, thou wilt believe him, if he shew this Text, *My Father is greater than I.*

Sher. I answered no, my Lord, he must bring me also the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he saith, *My Father and I am one.*

Winch. Yea, said he, that is by charity, as we be one with him.

Sher. I said that gods would not stand with the rest of the Scripture, where he said; *I am the very same, that I say to you;* He said the Truth, and the Truth was God, &c. with much such like. And here he made many words (but very gently) of the Sacrament: Likewise Christ said (quoth he) it was his Body; yea, (that is to say) a figure of his Body, and how Men did not consider the Word was God, and God the Word, and so provoked me with such temptation; but I let him alone, and said nothing.

So after many words he came to the Churches faith and comely orders of Ceremonies and Images. And then I joynted to him again with the Commandments.

Winch. He said, that was done that no false thing should be made, as the Heathen would worship a Cat, because she killed Mice.

Sher. I said that it was plain that the Law forbade not only such, but even to make an Image of God to any manner of likeness.

Winch. Where find ye that?

Sher. Forsooth in the Law where God gave them the Commandments: for he said, *Ye saw no shape, but heard a voice only:* and added a reason why? *left they should after make Images, and marry themselves:* So that God would not shew his shape, because they should have no Image of him which was the true God, &c.

Winch. He said, I made a goodly interpretation.

Sher. I said no, it was the Text.

Then was the Bible called for, and when it came, He bade me find it, and I should find it be confounded with mine own words, so that if there were any grace with me, I would trust mine own wit no more; and when I looked, it was Latin.

Winch. Why, said he, can ye read no Latin?

Sher. No. Then was the English Bible brought. He bade me find it; and so I read it aloud, and then he said; lo here thou mayst see; this is no more to forbid the Image of God, than of any other Beast, Fowl or Fish (the place was *Deut. 4.*) I said it did plainly forbid to make any of these as an Image of God, because no Man might know what shape he was of. Therefore might no Man say of any Image, this is an Image of God.

Winch. Well, yet by your leave, so much as was seen we may, that is, of Christ, of the Holy Ghost; and the Father appeared to *Daniel*, like an old (a) Man &c.

Sher. That is no proof that we may make Images contrary to the Commandment: for though the Holy Ghost appeared like a Dove, yet was he not like in shape, but in certain qualities, and therefore when I saw the Dove which is Gods Creature, indeed I might remember the Spirit to be simple and loving, &c. and with that he was somewhat moved, and said, I had learned my Lesson, and asked who taught me, with many words; and he said he would prove how good and profitable Images were to teach the unlearned, &c.

Sher. At the last I said, my Lord, although I were able to make never so good a gloss upon the Commandments, yet obedience is better than all our good intents, and much ado we had: at last he saw, he said, what I was, and how he had sent for me for charity sake to talk with me, but now he would not meddle, and said my wrong imprisonment could not excuse me, but I must clear my self.

Sher. I said that was ease for me to do, For I had not offended.

Winch. He said I could not escape so, there I was deceived.

Sher. Well, then I am under the Law, &c.

Arch. The Archdeacon was there called in for me, and he laid to me, that with such arrogance and stoutness, as never was heard, I behaved my self before him, whereas he was minded with such mercy towards me, &c. and many lies he laid to me, that I was sent home till another time; and I would not be contented, but went out of the Church with such an out-cry as was notable.

Sher. I declare, that he falsely herein reported me, and brought in the Laws then in the Realm, and the Queens Proclamation that none of her subjects should be compelled till the Law were to compel, and that I rehearsed the same in the Court for me, and I did use him then (said I) as I use your grace now, and no otherwise.

Winch. He said that I did not use my self very well now.

Sher. I said, I had offered my self to be bailed, and to confer with them, when and where they would.

Winch. He said, I should not confer, but be obedient. I said, let me go, and I will not desire to confer neither: and when I offended, let them punish me, and so departed.

By your Brother, Nicholas Sheterden, prisoner for the truth in Westgate.

The last Examination with the Condemnation of Master Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humfrey Middleton.

And thus much touching the particular, and several Examinations of *Nicholas Sheterden*, and of *Mr. Bland*. Now to touch something also of the other Martyrs, which the same time were examined, and suffered with them together, to wit, *Humfrey Middleton* of *Albford* and *John Frankesh*, Vicar of *Rolovenden* in the Diocese of *Kent* above mentioned, here first would be declared the Articles which publicly in their last examinations were joyntly and severally ministred unto them by the foresaid *Torbarn* Bishop of *Dover*. But forasmuch as these Articles, being ordinary and of course, are already expressed in the Story of *M. Bland*, as may appear before; It shall not therefore be needful to make any new rehearsal thereof.

To these seven Articles then being propounded to the five persons above named, to wit, *John Frankesh*, *John Bland*, *Nicholas Sheterden*, *Humfrey Middleton*, and one *Thacker*, first answered *John Frankesh* somewhat doubtfully, desiring further respite to be given him of fourteen days

Winch
maketh
a miracle
that
there was
no Law in
King Ed-
wards
time against
the Sacra-
ment of the
Altar.

The Cath-
olicks stand
upon the
number.

The faithful
stand upon
the word.

Winchetter
denied the
Images.

No Image of
God to be
made.

(a) But the
Command-
ment saith:
Deut. 4.
Thou shalt
make no I-
mage of God
either man
or woman,
&c.
The Holy
Ghost like a
Dove is some
qualities but
not in shape.
The quali-
ties of this
seemed here
to want in
Winchetter.

How the
Catholicks
falsely slander
the faithful
innocent.

The final
Condemna-
tion of the
4 godly
Martyrs, Ex
Regis Cant.

Anno 1555. days to deliberate with himself. Which was granted: Mr. Bland answered flatly and roundly, as before ye heard. Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphrey Middleton answered to the first and second Articles affirmatively. To the third concerning the Catholick Church after a fort they granted. To the fourth, and fifth, and sixth, touching the Real presence, and the Sacrament to be ministrified in the Latin Tongue, and in one kind, they refused utterly to answer. Sheterden said, he would not answer thereto be-

fore the cause were determined why he was imprisoned; and so still remained Prisoner, before the Laws of Parliament received, &c. Middleton added moreover and confessed, that he believed in his own God, saying, My living God, and no dead God, &c. Thacker only relented, and was content to take Penance. Thus the afore said four upon these Answers were condemned by the Bishop of Dover, the 25 day of June, An. 1555.

Thacker
relented

The burning of four Martyrs.



The Martyrdom of
John 9 and
John 10, and
Nicholas
Sheterden and
Humphrey
Middleton,
burned at
two several
Stakes in
Canterbury,
Anno 1555.
July 12.

And so being given to the Secular Power, they were burned at Canterbury the 12 of July, at two several Stakes, but all in one Fire together, where they in the fight of God and of his Angels, and before Men, like true Souldiers of Jesus Christ, gave a constant testimony to the truth of his holy Gospel.

The Prayer of Nicholas Sheterden before his death.

A Christian
Prayer of
Nicholas
Sheterden
before his
death.

O Lord my God and Saviour, which art Lord in Heaven and Earth, maker of all things visible and invisible, I am the Creature and work of thy hands; Lord God look upon me, and other thy People, which at this time are oppressed of the worldly minded for thy Laws sake: yea Lord, thy Law it self is now trodden under foot, and mens inventions exalted above it, and for that cause do Land many thy Creatures, refuse the glory, praise and commodity of this life, and do chuse to suffer adversity, and to be banished; yea to be burnt with the Books of thy Word, for the hopes sake that is laid up in store. For Lord thou knowest, if we would but seem to please men in things contrary to thy Word, we might by their permission enjoy these commodities that others do, as Wife, Children, Goods and Friends, which all I knowledge to be thy gifts, given to the end I should serve thee. And now Lord, that the World will not suffer me to enjoy them, except I offend thy Laws, behold I give unto thee my whole Spirit, Soul and Body, and lo, I leave here all the pleasures of this life, and do now leave the use of them for the hopes sake of eternal life purchased in Christs Blood, and promised to all them that fight on his side, and are content to suffer with him for his Truth, whensoever the World and the Devil shall persecute the same.

Sacrifice of
obedience
to God.

Sacrifice of
thanks for
redemption.

O Father, I do not presume unto thee, in mine own righteousness, no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son my Saviour. For the which excellent gift of salvation I cannot worthily praise thee, neither is my sacrifice wor-

thy, or to be accepted with thee, in comparison of our sacrifice of Bodies mortified, and obedient unto thy will: and now Lord, whatsoever rebellion hath been, or is found in my Members, against thy will, yet do I here give unto thee my Body to the death, rather than I will use any strange worshipping, which I beseech thee accept at my hand for a pure sacrifice: let this torment be to me the last enemy destroyed, even Death, the end of misery, and the beginning of all joy, peace and solace; and when the time of Resurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again these members then glorified, which now be spoiled and consumed by the fire. O Lord Jesus receive my Spirit into thy hands. Amen.

Letters of Nicholas Sheterden; and first a Letter to his Mother.

After my humble and bounden duty remembered, well-beloved Mother, this shall be to wish you increase of grace and godly wisdom, that ye may see and perceive the crafty bewitching of Satan our mortal Enemy, which, as I have divers times declared unto you, doth not openly shew himself in his own likeness, but under colour of devotion deceiveth them that keep not a diligent eye upon him; but having confidence in mens traditions and customs of the World, leaving the Commandments of God, and Testament of his Son Christ Jesus our Lord, do grow more into superstition and hypocrisie, than into wisdom and true holiness. For this is most true, that Satan, the enemy of Souls, doth by his Ministers make many believe, that those things, which they compel us unto for their Bellies sake, have many godly significations, although they be most contrary to Gods will, as doubtless they be, even as did the Serpent in Paradise to our first Mother Eve. What (said he) hath God commanded ye an Apple, shall not eat of all the Trees in the Garden? The Woman said, of the fruits of the Trees in the Garden we may eat: but of the Tree in the midst of the Garden, said God, see ye eat not lest ye die. Even so our Ministers

A Letter of
Nicholas
Sheterden to
his Mother
Sheterden
written
in prison
in the
year 1555
at the
age of
18 years

As the Ser-
pent in Pa-
radise so
doth he by
an Apple
seduce the
people by
flattery

new-dayes, say, Hath God commanded ye shall not make you any Image or likeness of any thing? Yea forsooth. Truly, say they, what harm can they do? May we not remember God the better when we see his Image or Picture? For they are good Books for the Lay-men; but indeed they be better for the Priests, because they receive the offering.

And looke how truly the promise of the Serpent was kept with Eve, so is the persuasion of our Priests found true to us. For as Adam and Eve did become like God in knowing good and evil, so are we in remembering God by his Image. For Adams eyes were so open, that he left both innocency and righteousness, and was become most miserable of all Creatures: and even so we remember Christ so well by Images, that we forget his Commandments, and count his Testament, confirmed in his Blood, for stark madness or heresie; so miserably have we remembered him, that of all People we are most blind: and this doth follow upon our presumption, when we remember God by breaking of his Law: and therefore surely except we repent, shortly God will remember us in his wrath, and reward us with his plagues, as sure as there is a God it will come to pass.

But I know the craftiness of them herein (I thank God) which will say; Where went he to School? Is he wiser than our great Doctors that studied all their life? And looke they say that it is good Hay; although we smell it musty our selves, yet must we believe it is sweet, and then pay them well for their so saying, and all is safe. But I might say again, What Sir, be ye wiser than Christ, and God his Father, or the Holy Ghost? What, wiser than the Prophets, and the holy Apostles, and all the holy Martyrs? I pray you Sir, where had you your high Learning? Is it higher than God (being in Heaven) is able to reach, or have ye let it lower in Hell than ever Christ durst to venture? For it is some strange Learning helike, that Christ and his Apostles could never attain to the knowledge of it. But vain men are never without some shift: for peradventure they will not be ashamed to say, that Christ coming on his Fathers message, did forget half his Errand by the way. For I dare say, the greater half of their Ceremonies were never commanded by Christ: Yea, I doubt it would be hard to find one in the Church perfectly as he left it: so Romishly hath Antichrist turned the Church upside-down for lucre sake.

Beloved Mother, as I have aftenimes said unto you, even so now I beseech you from my very heart-root in Christ, to consider your own Souls health is offered you, do not cast it off: we have not long time here. Why should we deceive our selves either for ease of our flesh, or for the winning of this worlds Treasure: I know that some will say to you, Why should we condemn our Fathers that loved thus: God forbid that we should condemn any that did according to their knowledge. But let us take heed that they condemn us for if they had heard the Word as we have, and had been warned as we have, it is to be thought that they would more thankfully have received it than we do: yea, they were more faithful in that they knew, than many now are. Therefore they shall be our condemnations, if we do not embrace this grace offered us. And surely looke how many of them God will accept and save, those shall we never see, nor have any part among them: for our disobedience is more great than their ignorance. Wherefore if we will meet our Fathers in bliss and joy, let us not refuse his mercy offered more largely to us than to them, even according to Christs promise, which said, after such great ignorance as to seek him from Country to Country, and find him not; Yet shall the Gospel (saith he) be preached in all the world, and then shall the end come.

And now let us know the time of our visitation, and not turn back again, seeing we are once delivered: for surely God will not bear it at our hands to turn backward. O remember Lots Wife. God must needs punish out of hand our shameful backsliding, either with indignation and hardness of heart, so that they shall pericute his Church and his true Servants, or else reward it with open vengeance and plagues. And therefore, good Mother, accept this my simple Letter as a fruit of my love and obedience to you. Would God we might be so knit in Faith

and trust in Gods Word and Promises here in this life, as we might together enjoy the bliss and consolation of eternal Life; which I desire, and seek above all worldly treasure, as ye partly know. If I should seek the good will of Men contrary to my Conscience, I could make some my Friends: which now peradventure are jealous over me amidst. But I thank God, let them weigh the matter between God and their Conscience, and they have no just cause so to do: Nevertheless I would they would yet refrain and put their matter and mine into the ballance of Gods most holy Word, there to be weighed by the mind of the holy Ghost, expressed unto us by the holy Patriarchs, and Prophets, and by Jesus Christ our only Saviour and Mediator, and by his holy Apostles; and then I doubt not, but our matter shall be ended with peace, and joyfulness of heart; which God grant us for his mercy sake. Amen.

Your own Child, Nicholas Sheterden, Prisoner for the Truth in Westgate, 1555

A Letter to his Brother, Walter Sheterden.

Wish you health in Christ, true knowledge of his Word, and a faithful obedient heart unto the same. It is answered me, my Brother, that ye would me by a Letter made to a Friend of yours to persuade with me, that I should be ruled by mine Uncle, which saith, he will bestow his goods very largely upon me, if I should not stand too high in mine own conceit. But, my good Brother, trust ye do not judge so evil of me, that I should have a Faith to sell for money. For though he or you were able to give me the treasure of the whole County, yet I thank my Lord God, I do judge it but an heap of dungs, in respect of the treasure hid within; yet I do esteem a Buckle of your shoes, if it come with good will. And for to be comforted and ruled by him or you, or any other my Friends, I do not, neither have refused it, if they require more of me than my power, and that which belongeth to mortal men. But if they require of me any thing which pertaineth to God duly, there is neither high nor low, Friend nor Foe, I trust in God, shall get it of me, nor yet the Angels in heaven.

For though I be not learned (as the vain men of the world call Learning) yet, I thank my Lord God, I have learned out of Gods Book to know God from his Creatures, and to know Christ from his Sacraments, and to put a difference between the merits of Christs Passion and his Supper, and a difference between the Water of Baptism, and the Holy Ghost, and not to mix and mingle all things confusedly together: so that if one ask me a question or a reason of my Faith, I must say thus; I believe as the holy Church believeth: if he ask me what is the order of that Faith, I should be so ignorant that I could not discern God from his Creatures, nor Christ from his Sacraments; If I should so monstrously utter my Faith, that I were not able to judge between Christs birth and his burial, nor which were first, of his mortification, and his glorification, who would believe that my Faith were sound?

For some affirm that Christ did not give to his Apostles a mortal and a passible Body, but an immortal and glorified Body, so that he should have a glorified Body before his Death, and so his Glorification was before his Resurrection; and that he was risen before he was crucified, and crucified before his Baptism, and then they may as well say, he was baptised before his birth, and born before he was conceived, and conceived before he was promised, and that were even right. Antichrist to turn all things backward, and then say, Oh, ye must believe, for God is Almighty, he can do all things, &c. Truth it is, that God is almighty indeed, and yet I may not believe things contrary to his Word, that Christs Body was glorified before he died: for Gods Omnipotency doth not stand in things contrary to his will, but in performing his will at his pleasure in time. Neither doth he require of us to judge or believe of his Almighty power, that he hath made the end of the world to come before the beginning, or yet the fruit to come before the blossom, and yet it be nevertheless Almighty.

But if peradventure you shall think with your self, Why, they are Learned, it were marvel but they should know what is the Truth, as well as other which never kept any such study, &c. To that I answer, that if they had studied

Images more profitable Books than our Lay-men.

Sheterden prophesied of Gods Plagues.

Learning a gainst or without Gods Word is vain, and to no purpose.

Antichrist hath turned the Church clean upside down.

The Fathers that heard no better are now do be overcome by the truth, so that they shall receive it not.

Gods visitation not to be refused.

ANNO

1555.

Experience how Gods Martyrs seek not this World.

My Uncle hath been with me, I said made great Promises and great threats.

So should we have two Bodies at once, one glorified, and another mortal.

We are bound to believe what God hath expressly willed, not what he is able to do.

Gods

Anno 1555. Gods word, the Author of Truth, as they have done Logick, and Duns, with the Legend of Lier, they should have been as expert in the Truth, as they be now in bald Reasons. But thus hath God fulfilled his promise, that such should be deluded with Lies, which would not believe nor walk in his Truth.

And again; this is a good cause to make us think surely, that this was the cause that God gave them over at the first to error, after the Apostles time by little and little, as they grew in sin. For seeing we had his Truth now among us a few years, because we did not obey unto it, we see what a sudden change God hath brought upon us for our sins sake. And why should not we think that this and such like disobedience was the cause that God took his word from all Christendom at the first, and cast a darkness upon them that would not walk in his light? For it is evident enough to see how unlike their doings be to Christs and his Apostles: and that seen, either we must judge Christs doings very slender, and theirs good, or else that indeed they be the very Antichrists, which should come and turn all things out of frame. Thus I have been bold to trouble you, which I trust shall not be altogether in vain. Pray for me as I do for you.

Why God takeeth his Word from Realms.

Your Brother Nicholas Sheterden,
Prisoner for the Truth in Westgate.

Another Letter to his Brother

Another Letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his Brother.

Time of Gods visitation to be received.

Certificate of Conscience.

Spiritual provision.

1 Eld 4.
The witness of Truth.

God, which is the giver of all goodness, and that freely for his love to us (not only without our deserts, but contrary to the same) grant you my Brother, such increase of godly knowledge and love unto the virtues thereunto belonging, as may give you such a talk in heavenly things, that all treasures of earthly things may favour to you, as indeed they are, most vain and uncertain, so shall ye never take them for better than they be. Yea, whether God take them from us, or give them unto us, we shall know our selves neither richer nor poorer before God. But if we lay up in our hearts the treasure of his Word, we shall not only enrich our selves against the time of need, but also arm our selves against the battle with weapons and harness, which is invincible, and cloath our selves against the marriage. For behold, the Lord hath called us of long time to the feast, and blown the Trumpet to prepare the battle. Let us know the time of our visitation, lest the Lord sitting on his mount, bewail our destruction, which he desireth not, but because he is just to punish such as continue in sin, even as he is merciful to forgive the repentant that turn in time; for so is God that cannot deny himself.

Let us therefore in this day, while it is called to day, hear his voyce, and not harden our hearts by resistance of his will, lest he swear in his wrath, that we shall not enter into his rest. Let us count it sufficient, that we have spent the time past (as S. Peter faith) after the will of the Gentiles, in eating and drinking, chambering and wantonness, and in abominable Idolatry, &c. And now let us assay a new life, and trade our members in virtue another while, lest peradventure we might run past any return in the contrary. But if we now return and lay hand of his word in deed and verity, as we have long time done in talk and liberty, then will God heap upon us such certificate of Conscience, as shall kindle our consolation in him, so that all treasure shall be dung to the excellent knowledge of our Saviour. Dear Brother, my hearts desire and and Prayer to God is, that we may together enjoy the bliss of eternal inheritance by one spiritual regeneration and new birth, as we are joyed by nature. But alack the way and mean thereunto hath been much neglected of me (I will not say of you) for I had rather ye should accuse your self: for no doubt the best of us both hath not fought for wisdom in Gods Word, as some in the world whom we know have fought for money: therefore they shall be our Judges, if we do not learn by them: yea the very Emmer, as Solomon faith, doth teach us to provide for the time to come; for she provideth in Summer against Winter.

This is the best token I have for you now, which though it be simple, yet shall it declare partly my hearts desire to you ward, which is even as to mine own Soul. Let nothing dismay you for my cause: but be ye sure I

shall have victory in the Truth, which Truth is stronger than Kings, Wine, or Women. For as Zorobabel faith; Wine is unrighteous, the King is unrighteous, Women are unrighteous; yea all the Children of men are unrighteous, but the Truth endureth, and is always strong, and conquereth for ever without end: Therefore this is to desire you and all other my Friends that with me good, to pray that God will always keep me in his Truth, as he hath begun, which prayer, if it be of such a mind as laboureth to depart from evil, shall be to me the greatest pleasure under Heaven. For I desire nothing in comparison of Gods Truth, I thank him of his mercy, which so hath wrought: for I take it as a sure seal of the endless Joy which shall hereafter follow; which God bring us unto, when his will and pleasure is, Amen. From Camberbury.

By yours Nicholas, Sheterden.

Another Letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his Mother.

O My good Mother, whom I love with reverence in the Lord, and according to my duty, I desire your favorable blessing and forgiveness of all my misdeeds towards you. Oh my good Mother, in few words, I will you the same salvation, which I hope my self to feel, and partly talt of before this come to you to read; and in the resurrection, I verily believe to have it more perfectly in Body and soul joyed together for ever: and in that day God grant you to see my face with joy: but, dear Mother, then beware of that great Idolatry, and blasphemous Mass. Oh let not that be your God, which mice and worms can devour. Behold I call Heaven and Earth to record, that it is no God, yea the fire that consumeth it, and the moistness that causeth it to mould, and I take Christs Testament to witness, that it is none of his ordinances, but a meer invention of men, and a snare to catch innocents Blood; and now that God hath shewed it unto you, be warned in time. Oh give over old customs, and become new in the Truth. What state soever your Father be in, leave that to God; and let us follow the counsel of his Word. Dear Mother, embrace it with hearty affection, read it with obedience, let it be your pastime; but yet cast off all carnal affections, and Love of worldly things: so shall we meet in Joy at the last day, or else I bid you farewell for ever more: O farewell my Friends and lovers all, God grant me to see your faces in Joy. Amen.

To his Mother another Letter written before his death.

Testimony and warning against the Idol of the Altar.

Whosoever the Fathers were, Gods Word must needs be followed.

From Westgate the 11 of July, 1555.
Your Child, written with his hand,
and sealed with his Blood, Nicholas
Sheterden, being appointed to be slain.

The Copy of a Letter written to his Wife.

I Wrote unto you as one that longed more to hear of your health, than of all worldly treasure, willing you to intreat Elau the elder Brother by nature gently, giving to him his own, yea, and offer him one of the droves, and say they be Jacobs, and are sent for a present to my Lord Elau, but he will not take it, &c. Now my Beloved ye know the blessing of our Father is, that the elder shall serve the younger, and wisdom our Mother hath taught us the same, and I know ye do complain of your "servant" the flesh, that he is rebellious, disobedient, and unward; like he unruly and crookedly ye think he doth his service: but yet behold, how shall ye plead your cause before an indifferent Judge? For if it be true that his service be not according to his duty, as it is many times found in Servants; yet, I say, can you shew your cause to no indifferent Judge, but he shall object against you that he is not kept like a servant, but he lacketh both meat and drink, and other necessities meet and due for a servant: so shall ye take more shame of your own complaint, than remedy or vengeance against your servant, and it shall be a cloak for him to hide all his rebellion and unward service; because ye have misused him.

Another Letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his Wife.

By this servant because he useth her own body, which doth much with penury or fasting more than needeth.

And therefore my sentence is, that ye patiently bear with him in small faults, and amend your own great faults, as Oppression, Cruelty; and Covetousness, requiring more than a servant can do, specially being tired with labour, famished with hunger, and lamed with stripes. And these things amended, if he do his service negligently
D d z (as

How a mans body is to be ordered with discipline.

as no doubt (sometime he will) yet then he may boldly correct him with discretion, and sometime if he do not his Task, ye may make him go to bed Supperless: but yet beat him not with durable strokes, neither withhold his meat in due time, and pinch him not by the Belly continually, but let him have something to joy in: only watch him, and keep him from doing of harm. Though he be but a stranger in the life that is in God; yet be good to strangers for we are all strangers in darkness, and Capives in sin, as well soul and spirit, being in Egypt, as now the flesh is yet unbaptized with the terrible Red Sea of death, and remember that one law abideth for the stranger, I mean one reward abideth both for Body and soul in the land of everlasting rest. And (1) therefore intreat him gently, and deal with him justly now: for the time will come that the yoke of Bondage shall be taken from his neck, and he shall be a fellow heir with your younger Brother.

Circumcise him therefore, but do not misuse him, nor keep him from his own, but deal mercifully with the stranger, that he may say, Ob of what understanding heart is this people: Who hath God? Or where is God so nigh as to these? God make you wise and polstick in heart, victorious in the field of this world, to rule the Nations with a rod: but kill not the Gibconites, with whom peace is taken; but let them draw Water, and hew wood, but give them their meat and drink due for Labourers, and be glad because your disease is so remedied: for it is better and easier for a thirsty labouring man to drink, then for a drunken man to tell a sober tale. Yea, it is a token that ye have earnestly followed your labour, and not kept company with drunkards and belly-gods: and therefore be glad I say, yea, and glad again; for great is your reward in heaven; yea blessed shall they be, that in this your zeal shall meet you, and with draw your hand from revenging your self upon that churlish Nabal: which thing I hope to doe now with these sweet Reasons, and frails of Figs, I bring of one house with your servant Nabal, I dare say to you that churlishness is his name: but revenge not, for the Lord shall do it in his due time. Farewell mine own Heart.

Yours in bonds at Westgate,

Nicholas Sheterden.

The next day after the condemnation of these foresaid, which was the 26. day of July, were also condemned for the same Articles, W. Coker, W. Hopper of Cambrook, Henry Lawrence, Richard Wright of Ashford, W. Stere of Ashford. But because the execution of these Martyrs pertaineth not to this month, more shall be said, the Lord willing, of them, when we come to the month following of August.

Nicholas Hall, and Christopher Waid, Martyrs.

July 19.
N. Hall
and Christopher
Waid, Martyrs.

The same month of July next after the suffering of the Kentishmen above named followed the death and Martyrdom of Nicholas Hall Bricklayer, and Christopher Waid of Dartford, which both were condemned by Maurice, Bishop of Rochester, about the last day of the month of June. The six Articles ministered to them were of the same ordinary course and effect with the Articles of the other Martyrs before specified, the brief sum whereof were these.

A brief sum of their Articles.

Articles objected against N. Hall and Christopher Waid.

1. Ifst, that they were Christian men and professed the Catholick determinations of our Mother holy Church.
2. That they which maintain or hold otherwise then our holy Mother the Catholick Church doth, are Hereticks.
3. That they hold and maintain, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine, is not the very Body and Blood of Christ. And that the said very Body of Christ is verily in heaven only, and not in the Sacrament.
4. Item, that they have and do hold and maintain, that

the Mass, as it is now used in the Catholick Church, is naughty and abominable.

5. Item, that they have been and be amongst the people of that Jurisdiction vehemently suspected upon the premises, and there upon Indicted, &c.

Their Answers.

To these Articles they answered, as commonly others used to do, which stand with Christ and his truth against these pretended Catholicks, and their sinister Doctrine. First granting themselves Christian men, and acknowledging the determinations of the holy Church, that is, of the Congregation or Body of Christ; Save that Hall denied to call the Catholick and Apostolick Church his Mother, because he found not this word, Mother, in the Scripture.

To the second they granted. To the third Article as touching the very Body and Blood of Christ to be under the forms of Bread and Wine in substance they would not grant, only affirming the very Body of him to be in Heaven, and the Sacrament to be a token or remembrance of Christs death; Nicholas Hall adding moreover, and saying, That whereas before he held the Sacrament to be but only a token or remembrance of Christs death, now he said, that there is neither token nor remembrance, because it is now misused and clean turned from Christs institution, &c. And concerning the Mass in the fourth Article, to be abominable, Christopher Waid with the other answered, that as they had confessed before, so would they now not go from that they had said. To the fifth Article, for the peoples suspicion they made no great account nor sticking to grant to the same.

And thus much concerning the Articles and Answers of these good men. Which being received, immediately sentence of Condemnation was pronounced by the said Maurice the Bishop against them, the copy of which sentence as it runneth much what after the common course in condemning all other like Servants of Christ, so the same being exemplified before in the story of Master Rogers, shall not greatly need here again to be repeated, but rather may be referred over to the place above noted. Nicholas Hall was burned at Rochester about the 19. day of July.

Furthermore, with the foresaid Hall and Waid, in the same month of July, three other more were condemned by Maurice, Bishop aforesaid, whose names were Joan Beach Widow, John Harpel of Rochester, and Margery Polley. Of which Margery Polley, touching her examination and condemnation here followeth in story.

The Condemnation and Martyrdom of Margery Polley.

Margery Polley widow, Wife some time of Richard Polley of Peppingbery, was accused and brought before the said Maurice, Bishop of Rochester, about the beginning of the month of June. Which Bishop according to the Pontifical solemnity of that Church, rising up out of the Chair of his Majesty, in the high swelling stile after his ordinary fashion to dash the silly prur Woman, beginning in these words.

We Maurice, by the sufferance of God, Bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our mer office in a cause of Heresie, against thee Margery Polley, of the parish of Peppingbery, of our Diocess and Jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay and object against thee all and singular these Articles ensuing. To the which, and to every parcel of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plain answer by vertue of thine Oath thereupon to be given, &c.

Thus the Oath first being ministered, and the Articles commenced against her, which Articles were the same that were ministered to Nicholas Hall and Waid before, the so framed her Answers again, especially answering to the third and fourth Article, that she neither allowed the Deity of their Sacrament, nor the absurdity of their Mass. For the which, Sentence was read against her about the

begin-

Anno

1555.

Their Answers.

This word Mother Church is not found in the Scripture.

Answers of N. Hall.

Answers of Chr. Waid.

Condemnation of N. Hall and Christopher Waid, Martyrs.

Ex Registro.

Ex Registro: Margery Polley, Widow and Martyr.

Anno
1555.
The Con-
demnation
of Margery
Foley.

beginning of June, and the condemned for the same. But because her death followed not upon the same, we will therefore defer the tractation thereof to the due place and time, first setting down in order of history the execution of Christopher Waid above mentioned.

The Execution and Martyrdom of Christopher Waid.

Christopher Waid of Darford, in the County of Kent, Linnen-Weaver, was condemned by Maurice, Bishop of Rochester, and appointed to be burned at Darford aforesaid. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was betimes in the morning carried out of the Town, in a Cart, a Stake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the Town, called the *Brimth*, into a gravel pit thereby, the common place of the execution of Felons. Thither also was brought a load of Broom-faggots, with other Faggots and Tall-wood. Unto which place resorted the people of the Country in great number, and there tarried his coming. Inasmuch as thither came divers Fruiters with horse-loads of Cherries, and sold them. About ten of the Clock cometh riding the Sheriff, with a great many of other Gentlemen, and Retinue, appointed to assist him therein, and with them Waid, riding pinioned by him one Margery Polley of Tunbridge, both singing of a Psalm; which Margery, as soon as she espied afar off the multitude gathered about the place where he should suffer, waiting his coming, she said unto him very loud and cheerfully; *Thou mayst rejoice Waid to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day.*

And so passing by the place, which joyed hard to the high-way, they were carried straight down to the town, where the was kept until the Sheriff returned from Waid's execution. And Waid being made ready, and tripped out of his clothes in an Inn, had brought unto him a fair long white shirt from his wife, which being put on, and he pinioned, was led up on foot again to the forefaid place. And coming straight to the stake, he took it in his arms, embracing it, and kissed it, setting his back unto it, and standing in a Pitch-barrel, which was taken from the Beacon, being hard by; then a Smith brought a hoop of Iron, and with two staples, made him fast to the stake under his arms.

As soon as he was thus settled, he spake, with his hands and eyes lifted up to Heaven, with a cheerful and loud voice, the last verse of the lxxxvi. Psalm; *Shew some good taken upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me, may see it, and be ashamed; because thou Lord hast helped me, and comforted me.* Near unto the stake was a little hill, upon the top whereof were pitched up four staves, quadrangle wise, with a covering round about like a Pulpit: into the which place, as Waid was thus praying at the stake, entered a Friar with a Book in his hand; whom when Waid espied, he cried earnestly unto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace the Doctrine of the Gospel preached in King Edwards days. whom the Sheriff thus speaking to the people, often interrupted, saying, Be quiet Waid, and die patiently. I am (said he) I thank God, quiet, Master Sheriff, and so trust to die. All this while the Friar stood still looking over the Coverlet, as though he would have uttered somewhat: but Waid very mightily admonished the people to beware of that Doctrine; which when the Friar perceived, whether he were amazed, or could have no audience of the people, withdrew himself out of the place immediately, without speaking any word, and went away down to the Town. Then the Reeds being set about him, he pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, always with his hands making a hole against his face, that his voice might be heard, which they perceiving that were his Tormentors, alway cast faggots at the same hole, which, notwithstanding, he still, as he could, put off, his face being hurt with the end of a Faggot cast thereat. Then fire being put unto him, he cried unto God often, *Lord Jesus receive my soul;* without any token or sign of impatience in the fire, till at length, after the fire was once thoroughly kindled, he was heard by no man to speak, still holding his hands up over his head together towards heaven, even when he

was dead and altogether roasted, as though they had bin staid up with a prop standing under them.

This sign did God shew upon him, whereby his very Enemies might perceive, that God had according to his prayer shewed such a token upon him, even to their shame and confoundment. And this was the order of this godly Martyrs execution, this was his end. Whereby God seemed to confound and strike with the spirit of dumbness the Friar that Lookt which was risen up to have spoken against him; and also no less wonderfully sustained those hands which he lifted up to him for comfort in his torment.

Speñatores presentes Richardus Fletcher Pat-
ter, nunc Minister Ecclesie Cantuariensis,
Richardus Fletcher filius, Minister Ec-
clesie Kienfis.

The apprehension, examination, condemnation, and burn-
ing of Dirick Carver and John Lauder, who suffered
Martyrdom for the testimony of Christs Gospel.

The 22. day of this month of July, was burned at July 22 and
Leves, within the County of Suffex, one Dirick Car- 23. Dirick
ver, late of the parish of Brightbamsted in the same Carver and
County. And the next day (being the 23 day of the John Lau-
same month) was also burned at Stening, another named der-Martyr,
John Lauder, late of Godstone in the County of Surrey. Edu Gage,
Which two then were (with others) about the end of the Gentleman,
month of October, Anno 1554. apprehended by Ed- Tene. ior.
ward Gage, Gentleman, as they were at prayer within the dwelling-house of the said Dirick; and by him were sent up unto the Queens Council. Who, after examination, sent them as prisoners to Newgate, there to attend the leisure of Boner Bishop of London. From whence (upon the Bishops receipt of a Letter from the Lord Marquess of Winchester now Lord Treasurer) they were brought by the Keeper of the Prison the 8. of June next after, into the Bishops Chamber at his house in London; and there (being examined upon divers points of Religion) they made their several confessions, subscribing and signing them with their own hands. Which being read, the Bishop objected unto them certain other Articles, causing them to swear truly and directly to answer the same; which Articles they confessed to be true, referring themselves chiefly to their former Confessions.

This done, after long persuasions and fair exhortations, they were demanded whether they would stand to their Answers. To whom Lauder said, I will never go from these Answers so long as I live. The other also confirmed the same, and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the Bishop in the Consistory at Paris, the tenth day of the same month next following. Which Articles and Confession, with the aforementioned Letter do here ensue.

A Letter from the Marquess of Winchester, Lord Treasurer, unto Boner Bishop of London, touching the examination of the said Prisoners.

After my right hearty Commendations to your good Lordship, I shall not forget your livery of Black against this time; no more I shall Mr. Dean, to whom I wrote to make the Sermon, who must now assuredly do it: for my Lord of Chichester cannot attend it. To whom I have given like knowledge by my Letter now sent, and of Spain. your Lordship must command the Sextons of your Church to be in a readiness for ringing in the time of service. And if ye be not furnished with Black apparel for the Altar, and for the Priest, Deacon and Subdeacon, I must have knowledge thereof, that it be taken of the Queens stuff, whereof I pray you let me be advertised.

And ye have sent Bradford to Newgate, as a man convicted of heresie before you: but as I perceive ye have not sent me a Significavit, and therefore you must send me one, that I may proceed with him, and that shall I do, as soon as I am answered of you.

There be divers like Prisoners that came from Suffex, that be not yet examined before you, lying now in Newgate, which must be examined by you, since they be come to London, and so I pray they may be, and I certified of your proceedings, that I may follow, which I shall do, thanking your Lordship heartily for my Conies.

D d 3

trusting

Carver and
Lauder ap-
prehended ac-
cording to the
Bishop
Dunt.

These Fu-
nerals were
for the
Kings
Grave,
where the
old Queen
died.

A Signifi-
cant to be
sent to the
Lord Treas-
urer for
burning of
a signifi-
cant.
He maneth
Dirick Car-
ver and
John Lau-
der to be
examined
of their own
Persons.

...ing to recompence your Lordship again shortly with
twice as many. From my House the seventh of June,
1555.

Your loving Friend,
Wincheſt.

The Confession of Dirick Carver, before Boner Biſhop of
London.

Dirick Car-
ver, his Con-
feſſion.

Dirick Carver Beer-Brewer of *Brighthamſted*, in
the County of *Suffex*, where he hath dwelled by
the ſpace of 8 or 9 years, born in the Village of *Dilſon*
by *Stackon* in the Land of *Luke*, 40 years of Age, or
thereabout, and now Priſoner in *Newgate*, where he hath
remained and continued at the Councils commandment,
ſince *Albalewne* day laſt paſt, being examined concerning
his faith and belief in the Sacrament of the Altar, faith,
that he hath, and doth believe, that the very ſubſtance of
the Body and Blood of Chriſt is not in the ſaid Sacra-
ment, and that there is no other ſubſtance remaining in
the ſaid Sacrament after the words ſpoken by the Prieſt,
but only the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine.

The materi-
al ſubſtance
of the Sacra-
ment denied
to be the
Body of
Chriſt real-
ly.

The uſe and
ſervice of
the Latine
Maſſ denied.

Item, Being examined concerning the Maſſ in Latin
now uſed in the Church of *England*, he believeth that
there is no Sacrifice in the ſaid Maſſ, and that there is in
it no ſalvation for a Chriſtian man, except it ſhould be
ſaid in the Mother Tongue, that he might underſtand it;
and concerning the Ceremonies of the Church, he faith
and believeth, that they be not profitable to a Chriſtian
man.

Auricular
Confefſion
and Abſolu-
tion of the
Prieſt re-
jected.

Item, Being examined concerning auricular Confef-
ſion, heanſwereth, That he hath and doth believe, that it
is neceſſary to go to a good Prieſt for good counſel; but
the abſolution of the Prieſt, laying his hand upon any
mans head, as is now uſed, is nothing profitable to a
Chriſtian mans ſalvation. And further he faith, that he
hath not been confeſſed, nor received the Sacrament of
the Altar, ſince the Coronation of the Queen that now
is.

The Faith of
the Church
of England
in Q. Marys
time re-
proved.

Item, Concerning the Faith and Religion now taught,
ſet forth and believed in the Church of *England*, he
anſwereth and believeth, that the Faith and Doctrine
now taught, ſet forth, and uſed in the ſaid Church of
England, is not agreeable to Gods Word. And further-
more he faith, that Biſhop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and
others of their Opinion, which were of late burned,
were good Chriſtian men, and did preach the true Do-
ctrine of Chriſt, as he believeth; and faith that they did
ſhed their Blood in the ſame Doctrine, which was by
the power of God, as he faith and believeth.

Joſeph, Lau-
der and Veſte,
Imprisoned
for hearing
the Goſpel.

And further being examined, he faith, That ſince the
Queens Coronation, he hath had the Bible and Pſalter
in Engliſh, read in his houſe at *Brighthamſted* divers
times, and likewiſe ſince his coming into *Newgate*: but
the Keeper hearing thereof, did take them away; and
faith alſo, that about a Twelve-month now paſt, he had
the Engliſh Proceſſion ſaid in his Houſe, with other Eng-
liſh Prayers. And further faith, that *Thomas Iweſon*, *John*
Launder, and *William Veſte* being Priſoners with him in
Newgate, were taken with this Examinee in his Houſe
at *Brighthamſted*, as they were hearing of the Goſpel,
then read in Engliſh, a little before *Albalewne* day laſt
paſt, and brought into the Court: and being examined
thereupon by the Council, were committed by them to
Priſon in *Newgate*.

The Confefſion of John Launder, before Boner Biſhop of
London.

John Lau-
der, his Con-
feſſion.

John Launder Husbandman of the Pariſh of *Godſtone*,
in the County of *Surrey*, of the Age of 25 years,
born at *Godſtone* aforeſaid, being examined, doth confeſs
and ſay, that about two days next before *Albalewne*
laſt paſt, this Examinee and one *Dirick Carver*, *Thomas*
Iweſon, *William Veſte*, with divers other Perſons to the
number of twelve, (being altogether in their Prayers,
ſaying the Service in Engliſh, ſet forth in the time of
King *Edward* the Sixth, in the Houſe of the ſaid *Dirick*,
ſchewate at *Brighthamſted* in *Suffex*) were apprehended by
one *M. Edw. Gage*, and by him ſent up hither to *London*,
to the King and Queens Council, and by them (upon his

examination) committed to *Newgate*, where he with his Anno
ſaid other Fellows, hath ever ſince remained in Priſon. 1555.

And further being examined, he doth confeſs and ſay,
that the occaſion of his coming to the ſaid *Brightham-
ſted* was upon certain buſineſſ there to be ſped for his
Father: and ſo being there, and hearing that the ſaid
Dirick was a man that did much favour the Goſpel, this
Examinee did reſort to his houſe and company, whom
before that time he did never ſee or know, and by reaſon
of that his reſort, he was apprehended as before: And
further doth confeſs and believe, that there is here in
Earth one whole and Uniſverſal Catholick Church, where-
of the Members be diſperſed through the World; and
doth believe alſo, that the ſame Church doth ſet forth and
teach only two Sacraments, *Fidelities*, the Sacrament of
Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the Supper of our Lord.
And whoſoever doth teach or uſe any more Sacraments,
or yet any Ceremonies, he doth not believe that they be
of the Catholick Church, but doth abhor them from
the bottom of his heart: And doth further ſay and believe
that all the Service, Sacrifices and Ceremonies, now uſed
in this Realm of *England* (yea and in all other parts of
the world, which hath been uſed after the ſame manner)
be erroneous and naught and contrary to Chriſts inſti-
tution, and the determination of Chriſts Catholick
Church whereof he believeth that he himſelf is a mem-
ber.

The cauſe of
the apprehen-
ſion of
John Lau-
der.

Two Sacra-
ments only.

Ceremonies
abhorred.

Alſo he doth confeſs and believe, that in the Sacrament
now called the Sacrament of the Altar there is not really,
and truly contained, under the forms of Bread and Wine,
the very natural Body and Blood of Chriſt in ſubſtance;
but his belief and faith therein is as followeth, *videlicet*,
that when he doth receive the material Bread and Wine
he doth receive the ſame in a remembrance of Chriſts
death and paſſion, and ſo receiving it, he doth eat and
drink Chriſts Body and Blood by faith and none other
ways as he believeth.

The real
preſence of
Chriſts Body
under the
forms of
Bread and
Wine deni-
ed.

And moreover he doth confeſs, ſay, and believe, that the
Maſſ now uſed in the Realm of *England*, or elſewhere
in all Chriſtendom, is naught and abominable, and direct-
ly againſt Gods Word, and his Catholick Church; and
that there is nothing ſaid or uſed in it good and profitable.
For he faith, that albeit the *Gloria in excelsis*, the Creed,
Sanctus Paternoſter, *Agnus*, and other parts of the
Maſſ be of themſelves good and profitable, yet the ſame
being uſed amongſt other things that be naught and ſu-
perfluous in the Maſſ, the ſame good things do become
naught alſo, as he believeth.

The Maſſ a-
bominable.

Alſo he doth believe and confeſs that auricular Con-
feſſion is not neceſſary to be made to any Prieſt, or to a-
ny other creature, but every perſon ought to acknow-
ledge and Confeſs his ſins only to God; and alſo that no
perſon hath any authority to abſolve any man from his ſins
and alſo believeth that the right and true way (according
to the Scripture) after a man hath ſaln from grace to ſin,
to ariſe to Chriſt again, is to be ſorry for his offences, and
to do the ſame or the like no more; and not to make any
auricular Confefſion of them to the Prieſt, either to take
abſolution for them at the Prieſts hands. All which his
ſaid Opinions he hath believed by the ſpace of theſe ſe-
ven or eight years paſt, and in that time hath divers and
many times openly argued and defended the ſame, as he
faith, &c.

Auricular
Confefſion
not neceſſary.

Articles objected by Boner Biſhop of London againſt Di-
rick Carver and John Launder

1. **F**irſt, I do object againſt you, and every of you, Articles laid
that ye and every of you, being within the ſaid City of *London*,
priſon of *Newgate*, and within this ſaid City of *London*,
are of my Jurisdiction (being Biſhop of *London*) and ſub-
ject unto the ſame, offending and trespaffing within
the ſaid priſon and City in matters of Religion; and concern-
ing the Catholick faith and belief of the Church in any
wiſe.

Articles laid
to Dirick
Carver and
John Lau-
der.

2. **I**tem, I do object againſt you, and every of you, Sacraments
that ye and every of you, ſince your firſt coming and en-
tering into the ſaid priſon, and during your abode there,
both there and in ſundry places within this City and Di-
oceſs of *London*, have holden, maintained, and defended
ſundry opinions againſt the Sacraments of the Church,
eſpecially

Sacraments
of Penance,
and the Al-
tar.

Anno especially against the Sacrament of Penance, and also against the Sacrament of the Altar.

1555. 3. Item, I do likewise object that ye, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have (as concerning the Sacrament of the Altar) holden, maintained and defended, to the best of your power, that in the said Sacrament of the Altar there is not the very substance of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, but that in the Sacrament there is only the substance of natural Bread and Wine, and no other substance.

The Laune 4. Item, I do likewise object that you, and every of Maid. you, in all or some of the said places, have, concerning the Mass in Latin now used in the Church, and the sacrifice of the same, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that the said Mass is not good or profitable, and that there is no sacrifice in the same.

Ceremonies. 5. Item, I do likewise object, that you and every of you, in all or some of the places, have concerning the ceremonies of the Church, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that the said ceremonies are not profitable to a Christian man, but hurtful and evil.

Auricular 6. Item, I do likewise object, that you and every of confession. you, in all or some of the said places, have concerning the Sacrament of Penance, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that auricular Confession (being a part thereof) albeit it may be made unto a good Priest for counsel, yet the absolution of the Priest, laying his hand upon any mans head, and doing as is now usually done in the Church, is nothing profitable to any mans salvation, and that therefore ye neither have been confessed to the Priest after the usual manner of the Church, nor yet received the said Sacrament of the Altar since the coronation of the Queens Majesty, which is more then the space of one whole year and a half.

The Faith 7. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and every of and doctrine of the Church of England. you, in all or some of the said places, concerning the Faith and Religion now taught, set forth, used and believed in the Church of this Realm of England, and the Doctrine of the same, have holden, believed and said, that it is not agreeable to Gods Word, but clean contrary to the same.

Defending 8. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and every of you, in all, or some of the said places, have believed, spoken, and said, and to your power upholden maintained, and said, that Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their Opinion, which of late within this Realm were burnt for Heresie, were good Christian men, in speaking and holding against the said Sacrament of the Altar and that they did preach nothing but the true Doctrine of Christ, shedding their Blood for the maintenance of the said Doctrine.

English Service 9. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and every of you, have earnestly laboured and travelled, to the best and utmost of your power, to have up again the English Service, and the Communion in all points, as was used in the later days of K. Edward the Sixth, here in this Realm of England.

10. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and every of you, have thought and do think firmly and steadfastly, and so have and do believe, that the Faith, Religion, and Doctrine, set forth in the said time of the fore said King Edward, was in all points good and godly, containing in it the true Faith and Religion of Christ, in every part.

11. Item, I do likewise object and say, that ye, and every of you (for your misbelief, offence, transgression, and misbehaviour in the premises, and for that also that you would not come to your several Parish Churches, and hear your divine Service there, as other Christian people did and do; but absent your selves from the same, and have your private Service in your houses, especially in the house of Dirick Carver) were sent up unto the King and Queens Majesties privy Council, and by them or some of them sent afterward into the Prison of Newgate aforesaid, having there by their Authority remained as Prisoners, during all the time ye have been there.

12. Item, I do likewise object and say, that I the said Bishop of London was commanded by the Authority of the said Council, to make process against you, and every of you, so that it was not my procuring or searching that ye should be commanded or called before me in this matter of Heresie, but partly by your demerits, and partly the commandment enforced me to call and send for you,

to make answer herein, and hereof to shew you the said Letters.

Their Answers to the Articles.

Upon Monday, being the tenth day of June, these two persons (with other,) were brought by the Keeper unto the Bishops Consistory, as it was before commanded at one of the Clock in the Afternoon, where the Bishop first beginning with the said Dirick Carver, caused his Confession with the Articles and Answers to be openly read unto him (which order he kept at the condemnation of every Prisoner) asking him whether he would stand to the same. To whom the said Dirick answered, that he would: for your Doctrine, quoth he, is payson and sorcery. If Christ were here you would put him to a worse death then he was put to before.

You say that you can make a god; ye can make a pudding as well. Your Ceremonies in the Church be beggary and payson. And further I say, that auricular Confession is contrary to Gods Word, and very payson: with divers other such words.

The Bishop seeing his constancy, and that neither his accustomed flatteries, nor yet his cruel threatnings could once move this good man to incline to their Idolatry, pronounced his usual and general blessing, (as well towards this Dirick as also upon the said John Launder, although severally) who (after the like manner of process used with him) remained in the same constancy, as did the others, and therefore were both delivered unto the Sheriffs, who were there present, but afterwards were conveyed to the places above named, and there most joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their souls into the hands of Almighty God, by Jesus Christ, who hath assured them to a better hope of life.

This Dirick was a man whom the Lord had blessed as well with temporal riches, as with his spiritual treasures; which riches yet were no clog or let unto his true profiting of Christ, (the Lord by his grace so working in him) of the which, there was such havock made, by the greedy ravens of that time, that his poor wife and Children had little or none thereof. During his imprisonment, although he was well stricken in years (and as it were, past the time of learning) yet he so spent his time, that being at his first apprehension utterly ignorant of any letter of the Book, he could before his death read perfectly any Printed English. Whose diligence and zeal is worthy no small commendation, and therefore I thought it good not to pass it over in silence, for the good encouragement and example of others.

Moreover, at his coming into the Town of Lewes to be burned, the people called upon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the Faith of Jesus Christ. He thanked them, and prayed unto God, that of his mercy he would strengthen them in the like Faith. And when he came to the sign of the Starr, the people drew near unto him, where the Sheriff said, that he had found him a faithful man in all his Answers. And as he came to the stake, he knelt down and made his prayers, and the Sheriff made halt.

Then his Book was thrown into the Barrel, and when he had stript himself (as a joyful member of God) he went into the Barrel himself. And as soon as ever he came in, he took up the Book and threw it among the people, and then the Sheriff commanded in the King and Queens name, on pain of death, to throw in the Book again. And immediately, that faithful Member spake with a joyful voice, saying:

Dear Brethren and Sisters, witness to you all, that I am come to seal with my blood Christs Gospel, because I know that it is true: it is not unknown unto all you, but that it hath been truly preached here in Lewes, and in all places of England, and now it is not. And because that I will not deny here Gods Gospel, and be obedient to mans Laws, I am condemned to dye. Dear Brethren and Sisters, as many of you as do believe upon the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost, unto everlasting life, see you do the works appertaining to the same. And as many of you as do believe upon the Pope of Rome, or any of his Laws, which he sets forth in these days, you do believe to your utter condemnation, and except the great mercy of God, you shall burn in Hell perpetually.

Imme-

Their Answers.

The world of Dirick Carver to their.

Dirick Carver and John Launder, sent down into the Country to be burned.

The cruel spoil of Diricks goods.

Dirick learned to read in the Prison.

Dirick burned at Lewes.

Diricks Book commanded in the Queens name to be thrown again into the fire.

The testimony of Dirick at the stake.

The exhortation of Dirick to the People.

Where find
you that in
the Creed,
to believe
on the Pope.

Immediately the Sheriff spake unto him, and said, If thou dost not believe on the Pope thou art damned Body and Soul. And further the Sheriff said unto him, Speak to thy God, that he may deliver thee now, or else

to strike me down to the example of this People; but this faithful Member said, The Lord forgive you your sayings.

Anno
1555.

The Martyrdom of Margery Polleij.



The Martyrdom of Dirick Carver, at Lewes, Anno 1555, July 22.

The Martyrdom of Dirick Carver.



Horrible
provoking
of Gods
Judgment.

Dirick's
Prayer at
his death.

And then spake he again to all the People there present, with a loud voice, saying, Dear Brethren, and all you whom I have offended in words or in deed, I ask you for the Lords sake to forgive me, and I heartily forgive all you, which have offended me in thought, word, or deed. And he said further in his Prayer, Oh Lord my God, thou hast written, He that will not forsake Wife, Children, House, and all that ever he hath, and take up thy Cross and follow thee, is not worthy of thee. But thou Lord knowest, that I have forsaken all, to come unto thee: Lord have mercy upon me, for unto thee I commend my Spirit; and my Soul doth rejoyce in thee. These were the last words of that faithful Member of Christ, before the fire was put to him. And after that the fire came to him, he cried, Oh Lord, have mercy upon me, and sprung up in the fire, calling upon the Name of Jesus, and so he ended.

Thomas Iveson, Martyr.

The Iveson, or Iveson, apprehended with Dirick Carver, and others, and suffered at Chichester.

At Chichester, about the same Month was burned one Thomas Iveson of Godstone in the County of Surrey, Carpenter; whose apprehension, examination and condemnation (for as much as it was at one time, and in one form with Dirick Carver, and Jobu Launder) I do here omit, referring the Reader to their History and Process before-mentioned, saving only this his several Confession and private Answers made before Bishop Boner at his last examination in the Consistory, I thought not to pretermitt, who being examined upon the foresaid Articles, answered as followeth.

The Answers of Thomas Iveson to the Objections of Bishop Boner of London, in a Chamber at his House, in the Month of July.

Answers of
Tom. Iveson.

1. First, That I believed, that there is but one Catholic, Universal, and whole Church of Christ throw the whole World, which hath and boldeth the true Faith, and all the Sacraments of Christian belief, and all the Sacraments of Christ, with the true use and administration of the same.

2. Item, That he is necessarily bounden to believe

and give credit, in all the said Faith, Articles of the Belief, Religion, and the Sacraments of Christ, and the administration of the same.

3. Item, That that Faith, Religion, and administration of Sacraments, which now is believed, used, taught, and set forth in this our Church of England, is not agreeing with the Truth and Faith of Christ, nor with the Faith of the said Catholic and Universal Church of Christ.

4. Item, Concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, he believeth, that it is a very Idol, and detestable before God as it is now ministrifed.

5. Item, That the Mass is naught, and not of the institution of Christ, but that it is of Mans invention: and being demanded whether any thing used in the Mass be good, he said that he would answer no further.

6. Item, That he had not received the Sacrament of the Altar, since it had been ministrifed as now it is in England, neither was confessed at any time within these seven years; nor he hath not heard Mass by the same space.

7. Item, That auricular Confession is not necessary to be made to a Priest; for that he cannot forgive, nor absolve him from sins.

8. Item, Concerning the Sacrament of Baptism, that it is a sign and token of Christ, as Circumcision was, and none otherwise, and he believeth that his sins are not washed away thereby, but his Body only washed: for his sins be washed away only by Christs Blood.

9. Item, That there be in the Catholic Church of Christ only two Sacraments, that is to say, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord, and no more, which are not rightly used at this present time in England, and therefore be unprofitable.

10. Item, He believeth, that all the Ceremonies now used in the Church of England, are vain, superfluous, superstitious and naught.

Furthermore, The said Iveson being earnestly travelled wital to recant, said in this wise, I would not recant and forsake my opinion and belief for all the goods in London: I do appeal to Gods mercy, and will be none of your Church, nor submit my self to the same: and that I have said, I will say again. And if there came an Angel from Heaven, to teach me any other Doctrine then

He meant not by the mere virtue of the Element.

Two Sacraments.

Against Ceremonies.

Anno

1555.

The Martyrdom of Thomas Ivesson.



The Martyrdom of Master John Denley.



The Mar-
tyrdom of
John Ivesson
made strong
by his insti-
tution.

The Testi-
monies
condemned.

than that which I am now in, I would not believe him. Which answer thus made, he was condemned as an Heretic, and with the same Persons was committed to the Secular Power (as they term it) and at the place above-mentioned was burned; persevering still in his constant Faith unto the end.

John Aleworth.

John Ale-
worth died
in Prison.

IN the latter end of this Month of July, John Aleworth died in Prison, at the Town of Reading, being there in bonds for the cause and testimony of the truth of the Lords Gospel. Whom although the Catholick Prelates (according to their usual solemnity) did exclude out of there Catholick burial, yet we see no cause why to exclude him out of the number of Christs holy Martyrs, and heirs of his holy Kingdom.

James Abbes, a Martyr of blessed memory, suffering for the true cause of Christs Gospel.

August.

James Abbes
Martyr.

Among many that travelled in these troublesome days to keep a good Conscience, there was one James Abbes, a young man, which through compulsion of the tyranny then used, was enforced to have his part with his Brethren in wandering, and going from place to place, to avoid the peril of apprehending. But when time came, that the Lord had another work to do for him, he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before the Bishop of Norwich, D. Hopton. Who examining him of his Religion, and charging him therewith very sore, both with threats and fair speech, at the last the said poor James, did yield and relented to their naughty persuasions, although his Conscience contented not thereto.

James Abbes
relented.

Now when he was dismissed, and should go from the Bishop, the Bishop calling him again, gave him a piece of Money, either lx. d. or xxx. d. whether I know not; which when the said James had received, and was gone from the Bishop, his Conscience began to throb, and inwardly to accuse his fact, how he had displeased the Lord by consenting to their beastly Illusions: In which combat with himself (being piously vexed) he went immediately to the Bishop again, and there threw him his said Money, which he had received at his hand, and said, It repented him that he ever gave his consent to their wicked persuasions, and that he gave his consent in taking of his Money.

Money gi-
ven to
James Abbes
by the Bi-
shop. A notable
example of
filing of
Conscience.
James Abbes
threw to the
Bishop his Money
again.

Now this being done, the Bishop with his Chaplains did labour afresh to win him again, but in vain: for the said James Abbes would not yield for any of them all, although he had played Peter before through infirmity, but stood manfully in his Masters quarrel to the end, and abode the force of the fire, in the consuming of his Body into ashes, which tyranny of burning was done in Bury, the second day of August, Anno 1555.

James Abbes
made strong
by his insti-
tution.

A discourse of the Apprehension, Examination, and Condemnation of John Denley, Gentleman, John New-
man, and Patrick Packingham, martyred for the Testimony of Christs Gospel.

IN the midst of this tempestuous rage of malignant Adversaries, persecuting and destroying the poor flock of Christ, many there were, which though they were not Spiritual men, yet thought to help forward, for their parts, and as one would say, to heap up mo Coals to this furious flame of Persecution, whether of a blind zeal or a parasitical flattery, I know not. Amongst which, one was Edmund Tyrel Esquire, and at that time a Justice of Peace within the County of Essex, an Assister (as it seemeth) to cruel murderers of Gods Saints. Who as he came from the burning and death of certain godly Martyrs, met with John Denley, Gentleman, and one John Newman (both of Maidstone in Kent) travelling upon the way, and going to visit such their godly Friends, as then they had in the said County of Essex. And upon the sight of them as he yet braggeth, first upon suspicion apprehended, and searched them; and at last, finding the confessions of their Faith in writing about them, sent them up unto the Queens Commissioners, directing also unto one of the same Commissioners, these his favourable Letters in their behalf. The Copy whereof here may appear as followeth.

John Denley
Gentleman,
John Newman,
Patrick Pack-
ingham, Mar-
tyrs.
Edm. Tyrel,
Esquire, Pro-
moted.

A Copy of Edmund Tyrels Letter, to one of the Queens Commissioners.

SIR, with most hearty Commendations unto you, these shall be to advertise you, that I have received a Letter from Sir Nicholas Hare and you, and other of the King and Queens Majesties Commissioners, by a Servant of the King and Queens, called John Failes, for certain business about S. Ojythes, the which I could not immediately go about, for that I had received a Letter from

A Letter of
direction
written by
M. Edmund
Tyrel to a
Commission-
er, whom I
ghost to be
Sir Richard
Dunsford.

from the Council, to assist the Sheriff for the execution of the Hereticks, the one at *Raleigh*, and the other at *Rochford*, the which was done on Tuesday last.

And as I came homeward, I met with two men: Even as I saw them I suspected them, and then I did examine them, and search them, and I did find about them certain Letters which I have sent you, and also a certain writing in Paper, what their Faith was. And they confessed to me, that they had forsaken and fled out of their Country for Religions sake; and since they have been in many Countries, by their confession, which I have sent you: for the which I thought it good (for that they came from *London*, and that there might be more had of them than I yet have understood) to send them to you, whereby you and others of the King and Queens Commissioners there might try them so that their lewdness might be thoroughly known; for I think these have caused many to trouble their Consciences. So this hath been some let to me, wherefore I could not go about those matters expressed in your Letters: but to morrow at Noon I intend by Gods grace to accomplish your Letters, with as much diligence as I may. And thus the holy Trinity have you ever in his keeping. I beseech you to be so good (Mister) to discharge these poor men that bring these Prisoners up, as soon as may be. And thus most heartily farewell. From *Rainesden Park* the 12. of June 1555.

By your assured to command,
Edmund Tyrel.

Forasmuch as in this Letter mention is made of a certain Writing in paper found about them of their Faith; what this Writing was, and what were the contents of it, the Copy thereof here ensueth.

Certain Notes collected and gathered out of the Scriptures by John Denley Gentleman, with a Confession of his Faith, touching the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, found about him ready written, at his Apprehension.

Christ is in the Sacrament, as he is where two or three are gathered together in his Name.

M. Denley
notes touch-
ing matter
of the Sacra-
ment.

Figurative-
ly, Spiritu-
ally, Really.

The difference of Doctrine between the Faithful and the Papists concerning the Sacrament is, that the Papists say, that Christ is corporally under or in the forms of Bread and Wine; but the Faithful say, that Christ is not there, neither corporally nor spiritually; but in them that worthily eat and drink the Bread and Wine, he is spiritually, but not corporally.

For figuratively he is in the Bread and Wine, and spiritually he is in them that worthily eat and drink the Bread and Wine; but really, carnally, and corporally he is only in Heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

My belief in the Sacrament of the blessed Body and Blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ.

The belief
of V. Denley
of the Sacra-
ment of the
Body and
Blood of
our Lord.
How Bread
representeth
the Body of
Christ.

The fruit of
Christ's
death, what
I will refresh
myself with
it, and how
it is received
in the Sacra-
ment.

How Christ
is received
spiritually
in the Sacra-
ment.

AS concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, my belief is this, that the Bread and Wine is appointed unto a Sacrament; and that after thanks be given to God the Father, then it doth represent unto me the very Body and Blood of our Lord. Now Bread Saviour Jesus Christ; not that the Bread is the Body, or the Wine the Blood, but that I in Faith do see that blessed Body of our Saviour broken on the Cross, and his precious Blood plentifully shed for the redemption of my sins. Also in faith I hear him call us unto him, saying, Come unto me all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you, *Matth. 11. 28.* In Faith I believe that all that do come unto the Table of the Lord in this faith, fear, and love, being sorry for their offences, intending earnestly to lead a godly conversation in this vale of misery, do receive the fruit of the death of Christ, which fruit is our salvation.

I do understand (Spiritually) that as the outward man doth eat the material Bread which comforteth the Body, so doth the inward man (through Faith) eat the Body of Christ, believing that as the Bread is broken, so was

Christs Body broken on the Cross for our sins; which comforteth our Souls unto live everlasting, and signifying thereby, that even as that Bread was divided among them, so should his Body and fruit of his Passion be distributed unto as many as believed his words. But the Bread broken and eaten in the Supper, monetheth and putteth us in remembrance of his death, and so exciteth us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise God for the benefits of our Redemption.

And thus we there have Christ present; in the inward eye and sight of our Faith we eat his Body, and drink his Blood; that is, we believe surely that his Body was crucified for our sins, and his Blood shed for our salvation.

Christs Body and Blood is not contained in the Sacramental Bread and Wine, as the Papists have said, and as some yet do say, as ye read in these Scriptures following: First read in *8. Matth. 9. Luke 5. Matth. 24. and 26. Mark. 16. Luke 24. John 13. Luke 23.* in the end, *John 14. 15. 16. 17. Acts 1. 3. 9. Rom. 8. Psal. 8. 1. Corin. 10. 11. Exod. 12. Coloss. 1. Ephes. 1. 4. Phil. 2. 1. 1. Thess. 1. 4. Hebr. 1. 5. 8. 9. 10. 12. 1. Pet. 3. Psal. 11. 4. 7. 10. 3. 10.*

The gross
error of the
Papists in
the real be-
lieving of Christ
in the Sacra-
ment.

Christs material Body is not in all places, as these Scriptures do testify hereafter.

First, read *St. Matthew* the last, *Mark* the last, *Luke* the last, *John 11. 2. 3. 21.* These places of the Scriptures do plainly declare, that his Body, that was born of the Virgin Mary, cannot be in more places than one, and that is in Heaven, on the right hand of God, and not in the Sacrament, nor in all places, as the Papists have affirmed, and yet do affirm.

Christs Body
is not in
all places
at once.

Therefore whosoever they be that do worship the Creatures of Bread and Wine, do commit Idolatry, and make abominable Idols of them, and take the glory from God, and give it to his Creatures, which is contrary to the mind of God, as these Scriptures hereafter do testify, first in *Exod. 20. 22. 23. 24. Lev. 19. Dem. 4. 6. 32. Psal. 80. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. Mal. 2. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*

Idolatry to
the creatures
of Bread and
Wine.

John Denley.

Now to return to the Commissions again: they receiving these Prisoners afore-mentioned, after they saw they could little prevail with their own persuasions, sent them unto Bishop Boner to be handled after his fatherly and charitable discretion. Which how discreet and favourable it was, as well the history of others, as also the sequel of this doth manifestly declare. For the 28. of June then next following, he caused the said Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Packingham, to be brought into his Chamber within his house or palace, there examining them upon their Confessions (which Tyrel had found about them) objecting also unto them certain other Articles of his own. To the which they all answered in effect one thing, although Denley answered more largely than the others, and therefore I thought it enough only to manifest his, as sufficient, and in no part differing from the others, except that Packingham had one Article of no great force objected to him, which the rest had not.

This done, the Bishop used with them his accustomed persuasions, to the which Master Denley said; God save me from your counsel, and keep me in the mind that I am in, for that you count heretic, I take to be the Truth: and thereupon they were commanded to appear in the Bishops Consistory the fifth of July then next coming, in the afternoon, where these Articles were objected against them.

M. Denley
and his fel-
low Prison-
ers sent to
Bishop Boner

M. Denley
Newman,
and Pack-
ingham, had in
examination
before the
Bishop of
London.

The words
of M. Den-
ley to Bishop
Boner.

The Articles objected by Edmund Boner Bishop of London, against John Denley, John Newman, and Patrick Packingham, jointly and severally the 28. of June, 1555.

First that the said N. now is of the Diocese of London, and the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of London.

Articles ob-
jected.

Secondly, That the said N. hath not believed, nor doth

stander of
untruth.

Mass.

Auricular
Confession.

Popish A
solution.

Mattins, E
ven-song,
Aneling,
with other
rites of the
Popes
Church.
Two Sacra-
ments.

This Article
was only
objected a-
gainst Pa-
trick Pack-
ingham.

Their An-
swers.
The true
Catholick
Church not
denied,

A notice of
the true
Church.

The Church
of England
now is no
member of
the true
Catholick
Church, and
the reason
why.

1 Cor. 14:

The Pope
Service in
Tongue
which edi-
fied not
the People

The Answer of John Denley and the rest, to the Articles objected.

Alſo he ſaith, *Even ſo likewiſe when ye ſpeak with Tongues, except ye ſpeak words that haue ſignification, how ſhall it be underſtood what is ſpoken? for ye ſhall but ſpeak in the Air; that is as much to ſay, in vaine.* Alſo he ſaith, *Thou wouldeſt greeſt themſelues well, but the other is mended.* I thank ye God, I ſpeak with Tongues more than ye all: yet I had rather in the Congregation ſo ſpeak for your words with underſtanding, to the information of others than ten thouſand words with the Tongue. Alſo he ſaith, *Let all things be done to edification.*

To this fifth Article I answer, that I do believe as
I have afore-said, that unclean Confession is not good,
as it is now used. Touching my sins, whereto I have
offended God, I must look to him for remission there-
of, for our Saviour Christ faith in the 11. of S. Mark v.
Come unto me all ye that labour and are laden, I will ease
you. The righteous Son, Luke 15. *faith, I will give*
to my Father, and will, as to him, Father, I have
given against Heaven and before thee, and I am none
worthy to be called thy Son. Psalm 31. *I laid I will*
knowledge mine iniquities, and acle my self unto the
Lord, and thou shalt forgive me the wickedness of my sin,
Ec. Job 13. But I will remove mine own ways from
fight: He shall make me whole, and there may no hypo-
crite be before him. Synach 34. *faith, Who can be*
cleansed of the unclean? And there was but one of the
ten Lepers that were cleansed, that came to Christ to give
him thanks. Healed for the other nine. But if I have of-
fended my Neighbour, I must reconcile my self to my
Neighbour; and if he be a notorious Sinner, as the 15. and
24. admonition, it ought to be declared to the Congrega-
tion, and the Minister of the Congregation hath power by
the

the Word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as an Heathen person, not for a day, or 40. days, but unto such time as I do openly in the Congregation knowlege my fault, then the Minister hath power by the Word to preach to me or them the remission of our sins in the Blood of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the 13. of the Acts of the Apostles, and Mat. 18. Other confession I know none.

To this sixth Article, I the said John Denley have answered in the fifth.

To the seventh Article I answer, that as touching the Sacrament of Baptism, which is the Chriftening of Children, it is altered and changed; for S. John used nothing but the preaching of the Word and the Water, as it doth appear, when Christ required to be baptized of him, and others also which came to John to be baptized, as it appeareth, *Matth. 3. Mark 1. Luke 3. and Acts 8.* the Chancery said; *See here is Water, what letteth me to be Baptized?* It appeareth here that Philip had preached unto him; for he said *Here is Water.* We do not read that he asked for any Cream, nor Oyl, nor for Spittle, nor Conjured Water, nor conjured Wax, nor yet Croyson, nor Silt, for it seemeth that Philip had preached no such things to him; for he would as well have asked for them as for Water: and the Water was not Conjured, but even as it was afore. Also *Acts 10. Then answered Peter Can any man forbid Water that these should not be Baptized?* &c. *Acts 16. And Paul and Silas preached unto him the Word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house: and he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their wounds, and so was he Baptized, and all they of his household straightway.* Where ye see nothing out preaching the Word and the Water. The like also is to be said of the rest of the Ceremonies of your Church.

The Reformation good a Sacrament as forer of the Popish Sacraments.

To the eighth Article I answer shortly, that there be Sacraments no more but two; Baptism, and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, except ye will make the Rite now a Sacrament: for there is no Sacrament but hath a promise annexed unto it.

To the ninth Article I do answer you, that ye have my mind written already. For it was found about me when I was taken, and also ye know my mind in the fourth Article, plainly expressed concerning the Bodily presence: For Christs body is in heaven, and will not be contained in so small a piece of Bread. And as the words which Christ spake are true indeed, so must they also be understood by other of the Scriptures which Christ spake himself, and also the Apostles after him. And thus I make an end, &c.

By me John Denley.

The first day of the month of July, the said three prisoners were brought into the Consistory in Pauls Church, where he proceeded against them after the usual form and manner of Law, reading first their Confessions, Articles, and Answers, and then tempting them, sometime with fair promises, otherwhiles with threatnings, which were alwayes his chiefest arguments and reasons to persuade withall. In the end, seeing their unmovable constancy, upon the fifth of July he condemned them as Hereticks, and gave them unto the Sheriffs of London, as to his common executioners, who kept them until they were commanded by Writ to send them to their several places of suffering; which was for Mr. Denley, *Usbridge*: where the 8. day of August he was burned. And being set in the fire with the burning flame about him, he sing in it a Psalm.

The anger of the Lord kindled against him, and he left his fingering, and clapt both his hands on his face. Truly, quoth Dr. Story to him that hurried the Faggot, thou hast made a good old Song.

The said John Denley being yet still in the flame of the fire, put his hands abroad, and sung again, yielding at the last his spirit into the hands of God through his Son Jesus Christ.

The Martyrdom of Mr Denley at Usbridge, which was the 8 of August, suffered also not long after Patrick Packingham at the same Town of Usbridge, about the 28 of the said Month. This Packingham was charged

After the Martyrdom of Mr Denley at Usbridge, which was the 8 of August, suffered also not long after Patrick Packingham at the same Town of Usbridge, about the 28 of the said Month. This Packingham was charged

of Boner (as ye heard in the tenth Article before) for his behaviour shewed in the Bishops Chappell, who at the Mass time there standing, would not put of his Cap, which was taken for a heinous offence. The said Packingham also being much laboured by Boner to recant, protested in these words to the Bishop, that the Church which he believed was no Catholick Church, but was the Church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, &c.

Furthermore, as touching the other, which was John Newman Pewterer, dwelling at Maidstone in Kent, he was burned the last of August, at Saffron Walden in the County of Essex, whole examination and confession of his Faith and Belief, for the which he was cruelly burnt and persecuted, hereunder followeth.

The Examination of John Newman, Martyr.

John Newman first was apprehended in Kent dwelling in the Town of Maidstone, and there was examined before Dr. Thornton Suffragan, and others, at Tenterden. From thence he was brought to Boner, and there condemned with Mr. Denley and Packingham, and burned at Saffron Walden, as is before storied. But because his Examination and Answers before the Suffragan came not then to my hands I thought here in this place to bestow them, rather than they should utterly be suppressed. And first what his answer was by writing to the said Suffragan, after his apprehension, you shall hear by the tenor of his own words, as follow.

I may please you to understand, that for the space of all the time of King Edward's reign, we were diligently instructed with continual Sermons, made by such men, whose faith, wisdom, learning, and virtuous living, was commended unto all men under the Kings Hand and Seal and under the hands of the whole Council. These men taught diligently a long time, persuading us by the allegations of Gods Word, that there was no Transubstantiation, nor Corporal presence in the Sacrament. Their Doctrine was not believed of us suddenly, but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual prayer unto God, that we might never believe it. We weighed that they laboured with Gods Word, and we asked the advice of our friends, neither could we find that they preached false Doctrine. We considered also, as we did learn, that the Kings Grace and his Council, and the most part of the whole Realm believed as they taught, because no man preached the contrary. Also we knew that the Preachers were commanded by the King and Laws of the Realm, to preach unto us such Doctrine, as was to the authority of Gods Word agreeable, and no other, and by their diligent setting forth of it by the Kings commandment, and the whole consent of the whole Council, and by the authority of the Parliament, we embraced it, and received it as a very infallible Truth, taught unto us for the space of seven years. Wherefore, until such time as our Consciences are otherwise taught and instructed by Gods Word, we cannot with safeguard of our Consciences take it as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God that the Queens merciful highness, neither yet her most honourable counsel will in a matter of Faith use compulsion nor violence, because Faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, neither of mans Laws, neither at such time as men require it, but at such time as God giveth it.

The Examination and Answers of John Newman Martyr before Dr. Thornton, and others.

First, one of the Doctors, or one of the Bench, either the Archdeacon or Pewterer, or some other, whose name John Newman doth not express, beginneth asking in this wise.

Doctor. How say you to this: *This is my Body which is given for you.*

Newman. It is a figurative speech, one thing spoken, and another meant, as Christ saith; *I am a Vine, I am a Door I am a Stone, &c.* Is he therefore a material Stone, a Vine, or a Door?

Doth

Anno 1555.

The Martyrdom of John Newman at Saffron Walden, Aug. 31.

The Copy of John Newman's words in writing to Doctor Thornton.

The Examination and Answers of John Newman.

Anno
1555.

This Cup is
the new
Testament,
is a figura-
tive speech.

What is a
figurative
speech.

Collins rea-
soneth with
Newman.

Whether Je-
sus received
the Body of
Christ, or not

D. Thornton
reasoneth
with John
Newman.

The Omnip-
otency of
Christ doth
not prove
him to be
really in the Sacra-
ment.

Doff. This is no figurative speech. For he saith; *This is my Body which is given for you*, and so saith he not of the stone, vine, or Door; but that is a figurative speech.

New. Christ saith, *This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood*. If ye will have it so meant, then let them take and eat the Cup.

Doff. Nay, that is not so meant; for it is a common phrase of speech among our selves: We say to our friend drink a Cup of Drink, and yet we meant he should Drink the Drink in the Cup.

New. Why, if ye will have the one so understood, ye must so understand the other.

Doff. Nay, it is a common use of speech, to say, Drink a Cup of Ale or Beer. And therefore it is no figurative speech.

New. The often using of a thing doth not make that thing otherwise than it is; but whosoever one thing is spoken, and another meant, it is a figurative speech.

D. Well, we will not stand hereabout. How say ye of the real presence? Is not Christ's natural Body there that was born of the Virgin Mary?

New. No, I do not so believe, neither can I so believe; for the Soul of man doth not feed upon natural things as the Body doth.

Doff. Why, how then doth it feed?

New. I think the Soul of man doth feed as the Angels in Heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God: and so the Soul of man doth feed and eat, through Faith, the Body of Christ.

Collins. Yea, but if the Body do not feed upon natural things, the Soul cannot continue with the Body: therefore the Body must needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together.

New. I grant it to be true; but yet the Soul doth live otherwise than the Body which doth perish: therefore natural things do but feed the Body only. I pray you what did Judas receive at the Supper?

Col. Marry, Judas did receive the very Body of Christ, but it wato his damnation.

New. Why? was the Devil entered into him before? Then he had not the Devil and Christ in him at one time.

Col. Nay, the Devil did enter into him afterward.

New. Yea, and before too: what do ye think? Had he but one Devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of Devils at the latter end.

Col. Well, put case it be so: what say you to that?

New. Marry, if Christ and the Devil were both in Judas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?

Col. We grant that they were both in Judas at that time: for Christ may be where the Devil is, if he will; but the Devil cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ.

New. Christ will not be in an unclean person that hath the Devil.

Thornton. Why, will ye not believe that Christ was in Hell? and ye will grant that the Devil is there; and so might he be in Judas, if it pleased him.

New. Christ would not suffer Mary Magdalen to touch him which sought him at his grave, and did love him intirely; much less he will suffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean Body.

Thornt. Yes, seeing God may do all things, he may do what he list, and be where he will. And doth not the Psalm say; He is in Hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt of his being there?

New. Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prove that his Humanity is in all places.

Thornt. No, do you not believe that God is Omnipotent, and may do all things?

New. I do believe that God is Almighty, and may do all that he will do.

Thornt. Nay, but if he be Omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing unpossible for him to do.

New. I know God is almighty, and can do all that he will: but he cannot make his Son a liar, he cannot deny himself, nor can he restore Virginity once violated and defiled.

Thornt. What is that to your purpose? God doth not defile Virginity; we speak but of things that God doth.

New. Why, will ye have the Humanity of Christ in all places as the Deity is?

Thornt. Yea, he is in all places as the Deity is, if it please him.

New. I will promise you that seemeth to me a very great Heresie, for Heaven and Earth are not able to contain the Divine Power of God, for it is in all places, as here and in every place: and yet ye say, that where-ever the Deity is, there is also the Humanity, and so ye will make him no Body, but a fantastical Body, and not a Body indeed.

Thornt. Nay, we do not say he is in all places as the Deity is, but if it please him he may be in all places with the Deity.

New. I promise you, that seemeth to me as great an Heresie as ever I heard in my life, and I dare not grant it, lest I should deny Christ to be a very Man, and that were against all the Scriptures.

Thornt. Tush, what shall we stand reasoning with him? I dare say he doth not believe that Christ came out of his Mother, not opening the matrice. Do you believe that Christ rose from death, and came thorow the stone?

New. I do believe that Christ rose from death; but I do not believe that he came thorow the stone, neither doth the Scripture so say.

Thornt. Lo, how say you? he doth not believe that Christ came through the stone; and if he doth not believe this, how shall he believe the other? If he could believe this, it were easie for him to believe the other.

New. The Scripture doth not say he went thorow the stone, but it saith the Apostle of God came down, and rolled away the stone, and for fear of him the Keepers became even as dead men.

Thornt. Ah fool, fool, that was because the woman should see that he was risen again from death.

New. Well, the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you, and more too.

Thornt. Well let us not stand any longer about this. Back again to the real Presence. How say ye, is the Body of Christ really in the Sacrament, or no?

New. I have answered you already.

Thornt. Well, do ye not believe that it is there really?

New. No, I believe it not.

Thornt. Well, will ye stand to it?

New. I must needs stand to it, till I be perswaded by a further Truth.

Thornt. Nay, ye will not be perswaded, but stand to your own Opinion.

New. Nay, I stand not to mine own Opinion, God I take to witness, but only to the Scriptures of God, and that can all those that stand here witness with me, and nothing but the Scriptures: and I take God to witness, that I do nothing of presumption, but that that I do, is only my Conscience, and if there be a further Truth than I see, except it appear a Truth to me, I cannot receive it as a Truth. And seeing Faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man; for it is not you that can give me Faith, nor no man else: therefore I trust ye will bear the more with me, seeing it must be wrought by God, and when it shall please God to open a further Truth to me, I shall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it.

Thornt. had many other questions which I did not bear away; but as I do understand, these are the chiefest: as for Taunts, foolish and unlearned, he lacked none. Praise God for his gifts, and God increase in us strength.

The Arguments of John Newman.

If the Body of Christ were really and bodily in the Sacrament, then whosoever received the Sacrament, received also the Body.

The wicked receiving the Sacrament, receive not the Body of Christ.

Ergo, the Body of Christ is not really in the Sacrament.

E e

Argument.

Aburdity
in the Popes
Docrine.

The Homi-
ality of
Christ may
not be in
all places.

Note the
great igno-
rance of
this Suttan-
gan.

Argument
in the fi-
cond fig 12

Argument.

Ca- They which eat the Flesh, and drink the Blood of Christ, dwell in him, and be in them.
mes- The wicked dwell not in Christ, nor he in them.
res. Ergo, the wicked eat not the Flesh, nor drink the Blood of Christ.

Argument.

Ca- They that have Christ dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit, John 15. He that dwelleth in me, and, I in him bringeth forth much fruit.
mes- The wicked bring forth no fruit of goodness.
res. Ergo, they have not Christ's Body dwelling in them.

Argument

Da- Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the absence thereof.
ti- Remembrance of Christ's Body is in the Sacrament, Do this in remembrance of me, &c.
fi- Ergo, Christ's Body there is imported to be absent.

Marry they will say, we see him not with our outward eyes, but he is commended under the forms of Bread and Wine, and that we see is nothing but a quality or an accident: But let them shew me a quality or an accident without a substance, and I will believe them. And thus much concerning Newman's Examinations and Arguments.

The Lord of John Newman, dwelling at Maidston in Kent, who was by Occupation, a Pewterer.

The Lord is the Protector of my life. The just shall live by Faith, and if he withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.

MY Faith is, that there is one God, which is without beginning, and without ending. This God created all things visible and invisible. And after that he had made both Heaven and Earth, with all other Creatures, he made Man, and set him in the place which he had prepared for him, which place he called Eden: he gave to Adam his commandments and Precepts, and said, Whensoever thou dost the thing which I forbid, thou shalt surely die the death; yet did Man for all this disobey God his Creator, and after his sin, he fled from God, and himself, and was in a miserable desperate case. But God seeing man in his miserable estate, because he and all posterity should not continue in death, promised Adam that the woman's Seed should break the Serpents head, whereby is meant, that the Son of God should become man, and destroy the devil, which by his subtle persuasions had deceived Adam. Then did Adam, by Faith, take hold of God's promise, and became the servant of righteousness, through the Faith which he had in the promise of the Woman's Seed. So did Abel, Seth, Henoch, and Noah, with Faithful Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the rest of the faithful until Christ's time, as St. Paul saith; They did eat of one spiritual meat, and did all drink of one spiritual drink, they did drink of that spiritual rock that followed them, which rock was Christ that saveth us. And when the time was full come, God sent his Son, made of a woman, that is, he took flesh of the virgin Mary, and became man; not the shadow of a man, nor a fantastical man, as some falsely sign, but a very natural man in all points, sin only excepted, which God and man is Christ the promised Woman's Seed. This Christ was here conversant among men for the space of 30 years & more; and when the time was come that he should go to his Father, he gave unto us the mystery of our Redemption, that we through Faith should eat his Body, and drink his Blood, that we might feed on him through Faith to the end of the world. After this Christ offered up his Body on the Cross to pacify his Father, and to deliver us from the thralldom of the Devil, in the which we were through sin original and actual. And with that one sacrifice of his Body once offered on the Cross,

he hath made perfect for ever all them that are sanctified. He descended into hell, the third day he rose again from death, and was conversant at certain times with his Disciples for the space of 40 days after he rose from death. Then in the sight of all his Disciples he ascended into Heaven: and as his Disciples stood looking upward, and beholding him how he went into Heaven, two men stood by them in white apparel, which also said; Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into Heaven? This Jesus which is taken up from you into Heaven, shall so come even as ye have seen him go into Heaven. St. Peter also saith, that the Heavens must receive him, until the time that all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his Prophets since the world began, be restored again, which is the latter day, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I do Believe in the Holy Ghost, which is the Spirit of God, proceeding from the Father and the Son, which Holy Spirit is one God with them. I believe that there is an Holy Church, which is the company of the faithful and elect People of God, dispersed abroad throughout the whole world, which Holy Church or Congregation doth not look for Christ here, nor Christ there, neither in the desert, nor in the secret places whereof Christ warneth us, but as St. Paul saith, in Heaven; where he sitteth on the right hand of the Father; they set their affections on things that are above, and not on things that are on earth. For they are dead concerning the things of this world, and their life is hid with Christ in God: and when Christ, which is their life shall shew him self, then shall they also appear with him in glory. I believe that there is a communion of Saints, even the fellowship of the Faithful People which are dispersed abroad throughout all the whole world, and are of one mind: they follow Christ their Head, they love one another as Christ loved them, and are knit together in one, even in Christ; which Church or Congregation hath forgiveness of Sins through Christ, and shall enter without spot before the face of God into his glory. For as Christ, being their Head, hath entered pure and clean, so they entering by him, shall belike him in glory. And I am certain and sure, that all they which do die, shall rise again and receive their Bodies. In them shall they see Christ come in his glory, to judge the quick and the dead. At whose coming all men shall appear and give a reckoning of their doings: he shall separate the good from the bad, he shall say to them which are his elect; Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the beginning; but to the other that have always resisted his will, he shall say; Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire which is prepared for the Devil and his Angels.

Thus have I briefly declared my Faith, which were no Faith at all if I were in doubt of it. This Faith therefore I desire God to increase in me. Praise God for his gifts.

And thus have ye the Martyrdom with the Confession of the blessed man, and witnesses of the Lord's Truth, who for that gave his life, as is before declared.

Richard Hook.

Likewise Richard Hook about the same season, and for the same matter gave his life at Chichester.

The Examinations, Answers, and condemnation of William Coker, William Hooper, Henry Laurence, Richard Collier, Richard Wright, William Stere, before the Bishop of Dover, and Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Mention was made a little before in the story of Mr. Bland and Nicholas Sberden, of certain other Kentish-men, who being the same time with them called forth and examined by Thornton Bishop of Dover, Nich. Harpsfield, Rich. Fauces, and Robert Collins: yet notwithstanding, because the condemnation and execution of them was deferred a little longer, till the latter end of the month of August; coming therefore now to the time of suffering, we will briefly touch some part of their Examinations and Answers as we find them in the Register.

Anno 1555.

A.D. 1.

A.D. 1.

Mat. 24.

Coloss. 3.

Argument in the third figure.

1 Cor. 10.

1 Cor. 12.

Gen. 3.

1 Cor. 10.

Gal. 4.

1 John 22.

1 Cor. 12.

Heb. 10.

Six Martyrs in Kent, Harpsfield, Rich. Fauces, Nich. Collins, Perfection.

Anno Regis. The Names of these were *William Coker, Wil. Hopper, Henry Lawrence, Rich. Colliar, Rich. Wright, 1555. Wil. Stere.* What the Articles objected to Master Bland

and them were, ye heard before. To the which Articles they answered for themselves severally, in effect as followeth.

The burning of Six Godly Martyrs in one fire.



The Martyrdom of 6 Martyrs. M. Coker W. Hopper, Hen. Lawrence Rich. Colliar Rich. Wright. Wil. Stere. at Canterbury, A.D. 1555. Aug.

W. Coker condemned. First *William Coker* said, he would answer no otherwise then he had already answered; and being offered to have longer respite of six days after, he refused to take it, and so upon the same, sentence of condemnation was read against him, the eleventh of July.

W. Hopper condemned. *William Hopper* first seemed to grant to the faith and determination of the Catholick Church, after calling himself better to mind, constantly sticking to the truth, he was condemned the next week after, the 16. of July.

The words of Hen. Lawrence. **H**enry Lawrence examined the said 16 of July, and partly deferred to the 2 of August, answered to the Articles objected against him, first denying auricular confession, and that he neither had nor would receive the Sacrament, because, faith he, the order of the Holy Scriptures is changed in the order of the Sacrament.

Ex Wright. Moreover, the said Lawrence was charged for not putting off his cap, when the Suffragan made mention of the Sacrament, and did reverence to the same: the said Lawrence answering in these words, What? said he, ye shall not need to put off your cap: for it is not so holy that you need to put off your cap thereunto.

Christ gave his Body, as he said he was a Door. Further, being opposed concerning the verity of the Sacrament given to Christs Disciples, he affirmed, that even as Christ gave his very Body to his Disciples, and confessed it to be the same; so likewise Christ himself said, he was a Door, &c. adding moreover, that as he had said before so he faith still, that the Sacrament of the Altar is an Idol, and no remembrance of Christs passion, and contrary he knoweth not. At last required to put to his hand in subscribing to his answers, he wrote these words under the bill of their examinations, *Te are all of Antichrist, and him ye fol.* And here is hand was stayed to write any further: like he would have written out follow, &c. And so upon the same, sentence was given against him the second of August.

Richard Colliar of Ashford.

Rich. Colliar above mentioned, having the 16 of August to appear, examined of the Sacrament of the

Popish Altar; answered and said, that he did not believe, The words of Rich. Colliar. that after the Consecration there is the reall and substantial Body of Christ, but only Bread and Wine, and that it is most abominable, most detestable, and most wicked to believe otherwise, &c. Upon this the sentence was read against him, and he condemned the 16 of August. After his condemnation he sang a Psalm. Wherefore the Priests and their Officers railed at him, saying, he was out of his wits.

Richard Wright.

Richard Wright the same place and day, being the 16 of August, appearing, and required of the Judge what he believed of the reall presence in the Sacrament, answered again, that as touching the Sacrament of the Altar and the Mass, he was ashamed to speak of it or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was used in the Church. Against whom the sentence was also read the day and place aforesaid.

William Stere.

William Stere of the aforesaid Parish of Ashford, likewise detected and accused, was brought to appear the said 16 day of August, where he in the said Chapterhouse of Canterbury, being required to make answer to the positions laid unto him by the judge, made answer again, that he should command his dog, and not him: and further declared, that *Dick of Dover* had no Authority to sit against him in judgement, and asked where his Authority was? Who then shewed him certain Buls and Writings from Rome, as he said. *William Stere* denying that to be of sufficient force, the said *Dick* said also he had Authority from the Queen. Then the Martyr alleadging that the Bishop of Canterbury (who then was in prison) was his Diocesan, urged him to shew his Authority from the Archbishop, or else he denied his Authority to be sufficient. And as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, he found it not (he said) in the Scripture; and therefore he would not answer thereunto.

William Stere Martyr.

Dick of Dover, to they restored then Richard Wright Bishop of Dover

He meant, D. Cranmer imprisoned at Oxford

Re n

And

And moreover, the Judge speaking of the Sacrament of the Altar, with reverence thereof, and putting off his cap, he said, That he needed not to reverence that matter so highly. And thus (saying to the Judge, that he was a Bloody man, &c.) the sentence was pronounced against him; after which sentence being read, he said, that the Sacrament of the Altar was the most blasphemous Idol that ever was, &c.

And thus these six heavenly Martyrs and Witnesses-bearers to the truth, being condemned by the bloody Suffragan and Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, Master *Collins*, and Master *Faucet*, were burned all together in the same Town of *Canterbury*, at three stakes and one fire, about the later end of *August*.

The copy of their sentence condemnatory, you may find above in the story of *John Rogers*; for the Papists in their condemnations follow one manner of sentence of course commonly against all that be condemned through their unmerciful Tyranny.

The persecution of ten Martyrs together, sent by certain of the Council to Boner to be examined.

Sentence against Willelmus et al.

Ten Martyrs sent up together to Boner.

Apoc. 22.

Salute of the Pope making.

Ten Martyrs sent by the Commissioners.

After the burning of these six above named, next followeth the persecution of ten other true Servants and Saints of the Lord, not such Saints as the Pope maketh, or which are mentioned in *Legenda Sanctorum*, or in *Vita Patrum*, or in the fabulous book *De vita Sanctorum Wallensium*, &c. but such as are spoken of in the Holy *Apocalypsi*, of whom it is written, *Hi sunt qui sequuntur Agnum quocunque jerit, quique lavaverunt stolam suam in sanguine Agni*. These be they that follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, and which have washed their stoles in the Blood of the Lamb, &c. Thus these Saints be not of the Popes making, or rather, to say the truth, they are of the Popes making; of the Popes making (I say) in this respect, not that the Saints of God are made by the Pope, but that the Saints of God are tried and declared by the Pope: so, as by afflictions of Satan *Job's* patience was proved, by *Pharaoh's* Gods power declared, and by *Salinator Tarentum* was won (as *Tully* writeth,) for except he had lost it before, *Q. Fabius* could not have recovered it, so in like manner, unless by Antichrist good men had been destroyed, otherwise they had not been true Martyrs of Christ. The names of these were.

Elizabeth Warne,	William Hale,
George Tankerfield,	Thomas Lyes,
Robert Smith,	George Kings,
Stephen Harwood,	John Wade,
Thomas Fust,	Joan Lashford

The prisons of *London* beginning now to be replenished with Gods Saints, and still more and more coming in, the Council and Commissioners, thinking to make ready dispatch with the poor prisoners, caused these ten above named, to be sent with their letter directed to *Boner Bishop of London*, by him to be examined, and rid out of the way. The copy of which their letter, with their names subscribed, here followeth to be read and noted.

A Letter sent by the Commissioners to the Bishop of London, Doctor Boner.

The Letter of the Commissioners to Bishop Boner.

After our hearty commendations to your good Lordship, we send you here *John Wade*, *Wil. Hale*, *George King*, *Thomas Lyes* of *Thorpe* in *Essex*, *Thomas Fust* of *Holier*, *Robert Smith* of *Fainter*, *Stephen Harwood* of *Brewer*, *George Tankerfield* of *Cook*, *Elizabeth Warne*, *Joan Lashford* of *London*, *Sacramentaries*; all which we desire your Lordship to examine, and to order according to the Ecclesiastical laws: praying your Lordship to appoint some of your Officers to receive them at this bearers hand. And thus most heartily fare your Lordship well. From *London* this second of July.

Your Lordships loving Friends,

Nich. Hare,	Rich. Rede.
Will. Roper,	Will. Cooke.

The names of the Commissioners.

The History of Elizabeth Warne Widow, burnt at Stratford Bow.

Anno 1555.

Now severally to prosecute the stories of these ten Martyrs aforesaid: first we will begin with the history of *Elizabeth Warne*, who in this Month of *August* was burnt at *Stratford Bow*, nigh unto *London*, Widow, late the Wife of *John Warne* Upholster, and Martyr, who also was burned in the end of the Month of *May* last past, as before in his storie is recorded. This *Elizabeth* had been apprehended amongst others, the first day of *January*, in a house in *Bow Churchyard* in *London*, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that present was carried to the *Counter* (as is also above specified) where she lay as prisoner until the 11. day of *June*. At which time she was brought into *Newgate*, and remained there in the like case unto the second day of *July*. Then she was sent by the King and Queens Commissioners unto *Boner Bishop of London*, who the sixth day of the same month caused her with divers others (as *Robert Smith*, *George Tankerfield*, &c.) to be brought before him into his Palace, and there examined her upon sundry articles, such as of common order be ministred unto the poor Saints and Martyrs of God, as you may more plainly perceive by other more large and ample processe, as well before, as hereafter mentioned.

Elizabeth Warne, Martyr.

Elizabeth Warne brought to examination.

The chiefest objection that he used either towards her, or the most of those, was touching the real and corporal presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, as the chiefest ground and profitable foundation for their Catholicic dignity. Many other matters he objected against them, as for not coming to the Church, for speaking against the Mass, for despising their ceremonies and new found Sacraments, with divers other fond and trifling toys, not worthy any mentioning.

In the end, when he had been divers times brought before him and other his adherents, and there earnestly exhorted to recant, she said, Do what ye will. For if Christ were in an error, then am I in an error. Upon which answer, he was the 12. day of the same month of *July* adjudged and condemned as an Heretic, and so delivered unto the secular power, as they term it, to be by them (yet at the Clergies appointment) put to death, which thing was accomplished in her the same above mentioned.

The words of Elizabeth Warne at her examination.

The chief procurer of this her death was Doctor *Story*, being (as it is thought) of some alliance either to her the said *Elizabeth*, or else to her late Husband. Who, though he was at the first apprehension of his said kinswoman, a very earnest suter for her deliverance to Doctor *Martin*, then one of the King and Queens Commissioners in matters of Religion (himself being as yet not made Commissioner) and had by his sute obtained her deliverance for that present, as Doctor *Martin* himself (the author hereof) hath reported, yet afterwards, upon what occasion God only knoweth, except upon some burning charity, the said *D. Story* obtaining now the room of one of the Commissioners, caused not only the said *John Warne* but also his Wife, and afterwards his daughter to be again apprehended, never leaving them until he had brought them all to ashes. Such was the rage of that devout Catholic, and white Child of the Mother Church, that neither kindred nor any other consideration could prevail with him, although it did (at his request) with others, who in respect of him were but strangers unto them. The Lord, if it be his will, turn his heart, or else rid his poor Church from such an Hydra, as thanked be the Lord, now he hath.

A story of Doctor Story written upon the report of D. Martin's own words.

D. Story persecutes his kinsfolks.

George Tankerfield, a faithful Martyr and Witness of the Gospel, constantly suffering for the testimony of the same.

George Tankerfield of *London*, *Cook*, born in the City of *York*, about the age of 27. or 28. years was in King *Edwards* dayes a very Papist, till the time Queen *Mary* came in, and then, perceiving the great cruelty used of the Popes side, was brought into a misdoubt of their doings, and began (as he said) in his heart to abhor them. And as concerning the Mass, whereof he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much striving

The story of George Tankerfield, Martyr.

Anno 1555. Tankerfield purposed to go to know whether the Mass be good, or no. Tankerfield how he was first called to the knowledge of the Gospel.

with himself in that case; at length he fell to prayer, desiring God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thoroughly persuaded therein, whether it were of God, or no: If not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhor it: which according to his prayer the Lord mercifully heard, working daily more and more in him to detest and abhor the same: and so he was moved to read the Testament, whereby (as is said) the Lord lightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working lively Faith in him to believe the same, and utterly to detest all Popishry, and so he came no more to their doings: And not only that, but also this lively Faith, faith he, kindled such a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but utter it self by confession thereof, reproving his own former doings to his Friends, exhorting them likewise to convert and turn to the truth with him, and thus he began to be smelled out among them, till at the last he was sent for, as followeth.

The order and manner how Tankerfield was first apprehended by Beard.

It pleased God to strike him with sickness, whereby he lay long sick and on a certain day to take the ay abroad, he rose up, and went and walked into the Temple fields to see the shooters. In the mean season came Beard home to his House, and inquired for him, pretending to his Wife, that he came only to have him to come and dress a Banquet at the Lord Pages. The Wife, because of his apparel (which was very brave) took him to be some honest Gentleman, and with all speed prepared her self to fetch her Husband, having a good hope he should now earn some Money: and left this Gentleman should be noyed with tarrying; she fetch him a cushion to sit him soft, and laid a fair napkin before him, and set bread thereon, and came to her Husband; who when he heard it, said; A Banquet Woman? Indeed it is such a Banquet as will not be very pleasant to the flesh, but Gods will be done. And when he came home he saw who it was, and called him by his name, which when his Wife perceived, and wherefore he came, like a tall Woman would play Peters part, and instead of a Sword, took a Spit, and had run him thorow, had not the Confitable, which Beard had sent for by his man, come in withal, who refused him; yet he sent a Brickbat after him, and hit him on the back. And so Tankerfield was delivered to the Confitable, and brought to Newgate about the last day of February, Anno 1555. by the sayd Beard Yeoman of the Guard, and Simon Ponder Pewterer, Confitable of Saint Dunstons in the West, sent in by Roger Chomley Knight, and by Doctor Marlin.

A fifth Judge part of Beard.

Tankerfield thus being brought to prison by his Adversaries, at length with the other above named was brought to his examination before Boner. Who, after his accustomed manner, ordered his Articles and positions unto him; the copie and tenor of which his ordinary Articles ye may read above expressed.

Articles ordinary.

To these Articles, as above rehearsed, he answered again, constantly declaring his mind both touching Auricular confession, and also the Sacrament of the Popish Altar, and likewise of the Mass, &c. First, that he was not confessed to any Priest five years past, nor to any other but onely to God: and further denying that he would hereafter be confessed to any Priest, for that he found it not in Christs book, and took it only to be a Council.

Sacrament of the Altar.

And concerning the Sacrament, commonly called here in England of the Altar, he confessed that he neither had nor did believe, that in the said Sacrament there is the Reall Body and Blood of Christ, because that the Body is ascended into Heaven, and there doth sit at the Right Hand of God the Father.

The Mass abominable.

And moreover he said, that the Mass now used in the Church of England was naught, and full of Idolatry and Abomination, and against the Word of God; affirming also, that there are but two Sacraments in the Church of Christ, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, &c. And to these Assertions, he said, he would stand: and so he did to the end.

Two Sacraments.

And when at last the Bishop began to read the sentence, exhorting him before with many words to revoke his professed opinion (which they called Damnable and Heretical) he notwithstanding resisted all contrary persuasions, answering the Bishop again in this form of words; I will not, said he, forsake mine opinions, except you (my Lord) can refresh them by Scriptures; and I care

not for your Divinity: for you condemn all men, and prove nothing against them. And after many fair words of exhortation, which Boner then used (after his ordinary manner) to convert, or rather pervert him, he answered boldly again, saying moreover; That the Church, whereof the Pope is supreme head, is no part of Christs Catholick Church: and adding thereunto, and pointing to the Bishop, spake to the People saying, good People beware of him, and such as he is, for these be the People that deceive you, &c.

These with other words more he spake; whereupon the Bishop, reading the sentence of his Popish condemnation, gave him to the secular power.

And so this blessed Servant of God was had to St. Albans, and there with much patience and constancy ended his life, the 26. day of August, for the defence of the truth, which at length will leave the Victorie.

The words of Tankerfield as his condemnation/ Tankerfield gives the People warning of Boner. Tankerfield, condemned. The Martyrdom of George Tankerfield at St. Albans. an. 1555. Aug. 26.

Certain notes concerning George Tankerfield, after he came to suffer Martyrdom at Saint Albans.

Item, he was brought unto St. Albans by the high Sheriff of Hertfordshire, Master Edward Brackets Esquire, and one Fulter of Hitchen, which was under Sheriff.

Item their Inn was the cross-keyes, whereas there was great concourse of People to see and hear the prisoner: among the which Multitude some were fery to see so godly a man brought to be burned, others praised God for his constancie and prefeverance in the truth. Contrariwise, some there were which said, it was pity he did stand in such opinions; and others, both old Women and Men cried against him; one called him Heretick, and said it was pity that he lived. But George Tankerfield did speak unto them so effectually out of the Word of God, lamenting of their ignorance, and protesting unto them his unpotted Conscience, that God did mollifie their hardened hearts, inasomuch that some of them departed out of the Chamber with weeping eyes.

Item, there came unto him a certain School-master (which retained unto Sir Thomas Pope Knight) this man had a certain communication with George Tankerfield the day before he was coming towards St. Albans, as touching their Sacrament of the Altar, and other points of Popish Religion: but as he urged Tankerfield with the Authority of the Doctors, wresting them after his own will; so on the other side Tankerfield answered him mightily by the Scriptures, not wrested after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jesus, &c. So that as he would not allow such allegations as Tankerfield brought out of the Scriptures without the opinions of the Doctors; so again Tankerfield would not credit his Doctrine to be true, except he could confirm it by the Scriptures. In the end Tankerfield prayed him that he would not trouble him in such matters, for his Conscience was established, &c. and so he departed from him, wishing him well, and protesting that he meant him no more hurt than his own Soul.

Item, when the hour drew on apace that he should suffer, he desired the wine-drawer, that he might have a pint of Malmsey and a loaf, that he might eat and drink that in remembrance of Christs Death and Passion because he could not have it ministered unto him by others in such manner as Christ commanded, and then he kneeled down, making his confession unto the Lord with all which were in the chamber with him; and after that he had prayed earnestly unto the Lord, and had read the institution of the Holy Supper by the Lord Jesus out of the Evangelists, and out of St. Paul, he said; O Lord, thou knowest it, I do not this to derogate Authority from any man, or in contempt of those which are thy Ministers, but only because I cannot have it ministered according to thy word, &c. and when he had spoken these and such like words, he received it with giving of thanks.

Item, when some of his Friends willed him to eat some meat, he said he would not eat that which should do others good that had more need, and that had longer time to live than he.

Item, he prayed his Host to let him have a good fire in the chamber; he had so, and then he sitting on a form before the fire, put off his shoes and hose, and stretched out his leggs to the flame, and when it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his leggs, shewing how the flesh did perswade him one way, and the Spirit another way. The flesh said, O thou fool, wilt thou burn and needst not? The Spirit said, Be not afraid, for this is nothing in respect of fire eternal. The flesh said, Do not leave the company of thy Friends and acquaintance which love thee, and will let thee lack nothing. The Spirit said, The company of Jesus Christ and his glorious presence doth exceed all fleshly Friends. The flesh said, Do not shorten thy time, for thou mayest live if thou wilt much longer. The Spirit said, This life is nothing unto the life in heaven which lasteth for ever, &c. And all this time the Sheriffs were at a certain Gentlemans house at dinner, not far from the Town, whither also resorted Knights and many Gentlemen out of the Country, because his Son was married that day, and until they returned from dinner the prisoner was left with his Host to be kept and looked unto. And George Tankerfield all that time was kindly and lovingly intreated of his Host; and considering that his time was short, his saying was, That although the day was never so long, yet at the last it ringeth to evening song.

Item, about two of the Clock, when the Sheriffs were returned from dinner, they brought George Tankerfield out of his Inn unto the place where he should suffer, which is called *Romeland*, being a green place night unto the west end of the Abby Church: unto the which when he was come, he kneeled down by the stake that was set up for him, and after he had ended his prayers he arose, and with a joyful Faith he said, that although he had a sharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful Supper in Heaven.

Item, while the Fagots were set about him, there came a Priest unto him, and perswaded him to believe on the Sacrament of the Altar, and he should be saved. But George Tankerfield cried out vehemently, and said; I defie the Whore of *Babylon*, I defie the Whore of *Babylon*: Fie of that abominable Idol: Good People do not believe him, good People do not believe him. And then the Maior of the Town commanded to set fire to the Heretick, and said, If he had but one load of Fagots in the whole World, he would give them to burn him. There was a certain Knight by, who went unto Tankerfield, and took him by the hand, and said, Good Brother, be strong in Christ, this he spake softly; and Tankerfield said, O Sir, I thank you, I am so, I thank God. Then fire was set unto him, and he desired the Sheriff and all the People that they would pray for him; the most part did so. And so embracing the fire, he bathed himself in it, and calling on the name of the Lord Jesus he was quickly out of pain, &c.

After the Martyrdom was ended, and that he was fallen asleep in the Lord, there were some superstitious old Women who did blasphemously say, that the Devil was so strong with him and all such Hereticks as he was, that they could not feel any pain almost, nor yet be sorry for their sins.

The History and Examinations of Robert Smith, constantly maintaining the truth of Gods Word, and suffering for the same in the Month of August.

Robert Smith
of London,
Martyr.

Robert Smith
active in the
Art of painting.

Robert Smith was brought unto Newgate the fifth of November, in the first and second year of the King and Queen, by John Matthew Yeoman of the Guard of the Queens side, by the commandment of the Council. This Smith first gave himself unto Service in the house of Sir Thomas Smith Knight, being then Provost of Eaton: from thence he was preferred to Windsor, having there in the Collegiate a Clerkship of ten pound a year. Of stature he was tall and slender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the Art of painting, which many times, rather for his minds sake than for any living or lucre, he did practise and exercise. In Religion he was fervent, after he had once tasted the truth; wherein he was much confirmed by the preachings and readings of one Master Turner of Windsor, and

others. Whereupon at the coming of Queen Mary he was deprived of his Clerkship by her Visitors, and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Boner, as here followeth, written and testified with his own hand.

The first Examination of Robert Smith before Bishop Boner.

About 9. of the Clock in the Morning, I was among the rest of my Brethren brought to the Bishops house; and I first of all was brought before him into his chamber, to whom the Bishop said as followeth, after he had asked my name.

Boner. How long is it ago since the time that ye were conficted to any Priest?

Smith. Never since I had years of discretion. For I never saw it needful, neither commanded of God to come to shew my faults to any of that sinful number, whom ye call Priests.

Boner. Thou shewest thy self even at the first chop to be a rank Heretick, which being weary of painting, art entred into Divinity, and so fallen, through thy departing from thy Vocation, into Heresie.

Smith. Although I have understanding in the said occupation, yet (I praise God) I have had little need all my life hitherto to live by the fame, but have lived without the same in mine owne house as honestly in my Vocation, as ye have lived in yours, and yet used the same better than ever you used the Pulpit.

Boner. How long is it ago since ye received the Sacrament of the Altar, and what is your opinion in the same?

Smith. I never received the same since I had years of discretion, nor never will, by Gods grace; neither do esteem the same in any point, because it hath not Gods ordinance, neither in name, nor in other usage, but rather is set up and erected to mock God withall.

Bon. Do ye not believe that it is the very Body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, naturally, substantially, and really, after the words of Consecration?

Smith. I shewed you before it was none of Gods ordinances, as ye use it; then much less to be God, or any part of his substance, but only Bread and Wine erected to the use aforesaid: yet nevertheless, if ye can approve it to be the Body that ye spake of by the Word, I will believe it; if not, I will, as I do, account it a detestable Idol; not God, but contrary to God and his truth.

Bon. Then after many raging words and vain objections, he said, there was no remedy but I must be burned.

Smith. Ye shall do no more unto me, then ye have done to better men than either of us both. But think not thereby to quench the Spirit of God, neither thereby to make your matter good. For your fore is too well feen to be healed so privily with Blood. For even the very Children have all your deeds in derision; so that although ye patch up one place with Authority, yet shall it break out in forty to your shame.

Bon. Then after much ado, and many railing sentences, he said, throwing away the paper of mine examination; Well, even now, by my troth, even in good earnest, if thou wilt go and be shirven, I will tear this paper in pieces.

Smith. To which I answered; it would be too much to his shame to shew it to men of discretion.

After which Answer, I was carried down to the garden with my jayler, and there remained until my Brother Harwood was examined; and then being again brought up before the said Boner, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession, upon these Articles following.

Bon. What say you to the Catholick Church? Do ye not confess there is one in Earth?

Smith. Yes verily, I believe that there is one Catholick Church, or faithful congregation, which as the Apostle saith, is builded upon the Prophets and Apostles, Christ Jesus being the head cornerstone; which Church in all her words and works maintaineth the word, and bringeth the same for her Authority, and without it doth nothing, nor ought to do, of which I am assured I am by grace made a member.

Bon.

Anno
1555.

The first
examination
of Robert
Smith before
Bishop
Boner.

Rejection
of the
sacrament of
divine.

The Sacra-
ment of the
Altar.

Boner's argu-
ment to
prove the
Sacrament.

St. Harwood
examined
before the
Bishop.
Smith exam-
ined by the
Bishop.

ANNO 1555. *Ben.* Ye shall understand, that I am bound when my Brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation: now if your Church be the same, where may a man find it, to bring his Brother before the same?

Smith. It is written in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, that when the Tyrannie of the Bishops was so great against the Church in *Jury*, they were faine to congregate in houses and privie places, as they now do; and yet were they nevertheless the Church of God: and seeing they had their matters redressed being shut up in a corner, may not we do the like now adays?

Ben. Yea, their Church was known full well. For *S. Paul* writ to the *Corinthians*, to have the man punished and excommunicate, that had committed evil with his Fathers Will. Whereby we may well perceive it was a known Church; but yours is not known.

Smith. Then could you not persecute it as ye do: but as ye lay the Church of God at *Corinth* was manifest both to God, and *Paul*; even so is this Church of God in *England*, whom ye persecute, both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will not know their truth nor conversation; yea, and your sinful number have professed their veritie, and maintained the same a long season.

Ben. Well, thou sayest that the Church of God was only at *Corinth*, when *Paul* writ unto them, and so will I put in writing, shall I?

Smith. I do marvel greatly, my Lord, that ye are not ashamed to lay snares for your Brethren on this manner. This is now the third snare you have layed for me. First, to make me confesse that the Church of *England* is not the Church of Christ. Secondly, to say, it is not known. Thirdly, to say the Church of God is not universal, but particular: and this is not the office of a Bishop. For if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your best, I fee, to have intangled him.

Harp. Well Friend, quoth one of my Lords Chaplains, you are no innocent, as it appeareth.

Smith. By the grace of God, I am that I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain.

Ben. Well, quoth my Lord, laughing; tell me, how sayest thou of the Church?

Smith. I told you whereupon the true Church is builded, and I affirm in *England* to be the Congregation of God, and also in *enim terram*, as it is written; *Their found is gone forth into all lands*, and that this is the afflicted and persecuted Church, which ye cease not to imprison, slay, and kill. And in *Corinth* was not all the Congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect People of God. For neither *Paul* nor *Peter* were present at *Corinth* when they wrote, and yet were they of the Church of GOD as many thousands more, which also communicate in that Holy Spirit.

Ben. What call ye *Catholic*, and what call you Church?

Smith. *Catholic* is universal, and Church is a Congregation knit together in unity.

Then after much like vain talk, it was laid to my charge, that my fellow and I spake one thing. Whereof I praised God and was sent again to a garden. Where after a while as my Brother *Harwood* and I had been together, cometh one of my Lords Chaplains, that much desired to commune with me, demanding first if I were a prisoner.

Smith. I am in this flesh a prisoner, and subject to my Master and yours; but I hope yet the Lords free man through Christ Jesus.

Doct. I do much desire to talk with you lovingly, because ye are a man that I much lament, with many other sweet words.

To which I answered; *Sub melle later venenum*. And after much ado about his god, I compelled him to say, that it must needs enter into the belly, and so fall into the draught. To which he answered.

Doct. What Derogation was it to Christ, when the Jewes spit in his face?

Smith. If the Jewes, being his enemies, did spit in his face, and we being his Friends throw him into the draught, which of us have deserved the greatest damnation? Then by your argument, he that doth injury to Christ, shall

have a most plenteous Salvation.

Doct. Then that he away, and would have his humanity incomprehensible, making a comparison between our Soul and the Body of Christ, bringing in to favell turn, which way Christ came in among his Disciples, the Doors being shut?

Smith. Although it be said, that when he came the Doors were shut, yet have I as much to prove, that the Doors opened at his coming, as ye have to prove he came through the Door. For that mighty GOD that brought the Disciples out of prison, which yet when search came, were found shut, was able to let Christ in at the Door although it were shut: and yet it maketh not for your purpose; for they saw him, heard him, and felt him, and so can we not say ye do, neither is he in more then in one place at once. At which answer when he had made many scoffings, he departed away from me, and we were carried unto my Lords hall, where we were bailed of my Lords band, almost all the day, until our Keeper seeing their misorder, shut us up all in a fair chamber, while my Lord went into his Synagogue to condemn Master *Denly* and *John Newman*.

Then brought they up my Lord Mayor to hear our matter above in the chamber, and I first of all was called into the chamber, where my Lord intended to Sup. Where my Lord Mayor being set with the Bishop and one of the Sheriffs, wine was walking on every side: I standing before them as an out-cast, which made me remember how *Pilar* and *Herod* were made Friends, but no man was sorry for *Josephs* hurt. But after my Lord had well drunk, my Articles were sent for and read, and he demanded whether I said not, as was written?

Smith. That I have said, I have said, and what I have said, I do mean utterly.

Boner. Well, my Lord Mayor, your Lordship hath heard somewhat, what a stout Heretick this is, and that his Articles have deserved Death: Yet nevertheless for-much as they report me to seek Blood, and call me Bloody *Boner*, whereas God knoweth, I never sought any mans Blood in all my life, I have stayed him from the Confistory this day, whither I might have brought him justly: and yet here before your Lordship I desire him to turn, and I will with all speed dispatch him out of trouble; and this I profess before your Lordship and all this audience.

Smith. Why, my Lord, do ye put on this fair vifor before my Lord Mayor, to make him believe that ye seek not my Blood, to cloak your Murthers through my stoutness, as ye call it? Have ye not had my Brother *Tomkins* before you, whose hand when you had burned most cruelly, ye burnt also his Body; and not only of him but of a great many of the members of Christ, men that feared God, and lived virtuously, and also the Queens Majesties most true Subjects, as their goods and Bodies have made manifest? and seeing in these Saints ye have shewed so little mercy, shall it seem to my Lord and this audience, that ye shew me more favour? No, no, my Lord: But if ye mean as ye say, why then examine ye me of that I am not bound to answer you unto?

Boner. Well, what saist thou by the Sacrament of the Altar? is it not the very Body of Christ, flesh, Blood, and bone, as it was born of the Virgin?

Smith. I have answered, that it is none of Gods order, neither any Sacrament, but mans own vain invention; and shewed him the Lords institution. But when he was so earnest before the audience, declaring that we knew nothing, bringing out his *Hoc est corpus meum*, to lay in my dish, I proved before the audience, that it was a dead god, declaring the destination appointed between the two creatures of Bread and Wine, and that a Body without Blood hath no life. At which *Harpsfield* found himself much offended, and took the tale out of my Lords mouth saying,

Harp. I will approve by the Scriptures, that ye blaspheme God in so saying: for it is given in two parts, because there is two things shewed, that is to say, his Body and his passion, as saith *Saint Paul*: and therefore is the Bread his Body, and the Wine the representation of his Death and Bloodshedding.

Christ's face, and lips, which let him fall into the draught. Note one Catholick difference, which assemblith the Body of Christ, to the incomprehensible Sacrament, but what Christ is able to do in the Sacrament, but what he doth therein.

Robert Smith brought again before the Bishop and the Lord Mayor.

Boner examineth himself of Bloodiness.

Boner proved to be cruel and bloody.

By this question it may appear whether the Body of Christ be dead god, having Body without Blood.

Smith.

Smith. Ye falsitie the Word, and rack it to serve your purpose. For the wine was not only the shewing of his passion, but the bread also: for our Saviour saith, *So oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.* And Saint Paul saith, *So oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew the Lords death till he come.* And here is as much reverence given to the one, as to the other.

Even as the bread is the Body, so is the cup the Blood.

Wherefore if the bread be his Body, the cup must be his Blood, and as well ye make his Body in the cup, as his Blood in the bread. Then up rose my Lord, and went to the Table, where my Lord Mayor desired me to save my Soul. To whom I answered, I hope it was a ved through Christ Jesus, desiring him to have pity on his own Soul, and remember whole fword he carried.

Robert Smith committed of these into a Libbo.

At which I was carried into the garden, and there abode until the rest of my Friends were examined, and so were we sent away with many foul farewells to *Newgate* again, my Lord Bishop giving the Keeper a charge to lay me in Limbo.

Another examination of Robert Smith before the said Bishop.

Another examination of R. Smith.

I Pon Saturday at eight of the Clock, I was brought to his chamber again, and there by him examined, as followeth.

Boner beginneth with an untruth.

Bon. Thou Robert Smith, &c. saist that there is no Catholick Church here on earth.

Smith. Ye have heard me both speak the contrary, and ye have written as a witness of the same.

Bon. Yes, but I must ask thee this question: how saist thou?

The Church.

Smith. Must ye of necessity begin with a lie? it maketh manifest that ye determine to end with the same. But there shall no liars enter into the Kingdom of God. Nevertheless, if ye will be answered, ask mine Articles that were written yesterday, and they shall tell you that I have confessed a Church of God, as well in earth as in Heaven, and yet all one Church, and one mans members, even Christ Jesus.

Bon. Well, what saist thou to auricular confession? is it not necessary to be used in Christs Church, and wilt thou not be shiven of the Priest?

Auricular confession is but a pick-purse matter.

Smith. It is not needful to be used in Christs Church, as I answered yesterday. But if it be needful for your Church, it is to pick mens purses. And such pick-purse matters is all the whole rabble of your ceremonies: for all is but money matters that ye maintain.

Boner. Why, how art thou able to prove that confession is a pick-purse matter? Art thou not ashamed to say?

The incon- veniencies of Auricular confession:

Smith. I speak by experience. For I have both heard and seen the fruits of the same. For first it hath been, we see, a bewrayer of Kings secrets, and the secrets of other mens consciences; who being delivered, and glad to be discharged of their sins, have given to Priests great sums of money to absolve them, and sing Masses for their Souls health.

And for example, I began to bring in a Pageant, that by report was played at Saint Thomas of Acres, and where I was sometime a Child waiting on a Gentleman of Norfolk, which being bound in conscience through the perswasion of the Priest, gave away a great sum of his goods, and forgave unto Master Gresham a great sum of money, and to another as much. The Priest had for his part a sum, and the House had an annuity to keep him, the which thing when his Brother heard, he came down to London, and after declaration made to the Council, how by the subtilty of the Priest he had robbed his Wife and Children, recovered a great part again, to the value of two or three hundred pounds of Master Gresham and his other Friend; but what he gave to the House, could not be recovered. This tale began I to tell. But when my Lord saw it favored not to his purpose, he began to revile me, and said; By the Mass, if the Queens Majesty were of his mind, I should not come to talk before any man; but should be put into a sack, and a dog tied unto the same, and so should be thrown into the water.

Smith. To which I answered again, saying; I know

you speak by practice, as much as by speculation: for both you and your predecessors have fought all means possible to kill Christ secretly; record of Master Hunne, whom your predecessor caused to be thrust in at the nose with hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, and said the same Hunne to have hanged himself: and also a good Brother of yours, a Bishop of your profession, having in his prison an innocent man, whom because he saw he was not able by the Scriptures to overcome, he made him privily to be hanged, and his flesh to be torn and plucked away with a pair of pinfers, & bringing him before the People said, the Rats had eaten him. Thus according to your Oath is all your dealing, and hath been; and as you, taking upon you the office, do not without Oaths open your mouth, no more do you without murder maintain your traditions.

Boner. Ah, ye are a generation of liars; there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouths.

Smith. Yes, my Lord, I have said that Jesus Christ is dead for my sins, and risen for my justification, and this is no lie.

Boner. Then made he his man to put in my tale of the Gentleman of Norfolk, and would have had me recite it again: which when I would not do, he made his man to put in such fumes as he imagined. At the end of this cometh in Master Mordant Knight, and late do to hear my examination. Then said my Lord, how saist thou *Smith* to the seven Sacraments? Believest thou not that they be Gods order, that is to say, the Sacrament of &c.

Smith. I believe that in Gods Church are but two Sacraments, that is to say, the Sacrament of Regeneration, and the Sacrament of the Lords Supper: and as for the Sacrament of the Altar, and all your Sacraments, they may well serve your Church, but Gods Church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to answer them, nor you to examine me of them.

Boner. Why, is Gods order changed in Baptism? In what point do we dissent from the Word of God?

Smith. First, in hallowing your water; in conjuring of the same; in Baptizing Children with anointing and spitting in their mouths, mingled with salt, and with many other lewd ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in Gods order.

Boner. By the Mass this is the most unflattering'd Heretick that ever I heard speak.

Smith. Well sworn my Lord, ye keep a good watch.

Boner. Well, Mr. Controller, ye catch me at my words: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee.

Mordant. By my troth, my Lord, quoth Mr. Mordant, I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you my Lord, mark well his answer for Baptism. He disalloweth therein holy oymntment, salt, and such other laudable ceremonies, which no christian man will deny.

Smith. That is a shameful blasphemy against Christ, so to use any mingle mangle in Baptizing young Infants.

Boner. I believe, I tell thee, that if they die before they be Baptized, they be damned.

Smith. Ye shall never be saved by that belief. But I pray you my Lord, shew me, are we saved by water, or by Christ?

Boner. By both.

Smith. Then the water died for our sins; and so must ye say, that the water hath life, and it being our Servant, and created for us, is our Saviour: this (my Lord) is a good Doctrine, is it not?

Boner. Why, how understandest thou the Scriptures? *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.*

And again, *Suffer* (saith our Saviour) *these Children to come unto me:* and if thou wilt not suffer them to be Baptized after the laudable order, thou testest them to come unto Christ.

Smith. Where ye alledge Saint John, *Except a man, &c.* and will thereby prove the water to save, and so the deed or work to save and put away sins, I will fend you to Saint Paul, which asketh of the Galatians, *Whether they received the Spirit by the deeds of the Law or by the preaching of Faith?* and there concludeth, that the Holy Ghost accompanieth the preaching of faith, and

Anno 1555.

Example of terrible cruelty shewed upon a poor innocent.

Sir John Mordant Knight.

2. Sacraments

Baptism in what point it is abused by the Catholics.

This was spoken more to confound the opinion of water, then to see Children to have water.

A. 1555.

The water
or Baptism
and rise a
Sinner.

and with the word of faith entrench into the heart. So now if Baptism preach to me the walking in Christs Blood, so doth the Holy Ghost accompany it, and it is unto me as a Preacher, and not a Saviour. And where ye say, I let the Children to come unto Christ, it is manifest by our Saviours words, that ye let them to come, that will not suffer them to come to him without the necessity of water. For he saith, Suffer them to come unto me, and not unto water, and therefore if ye condemn them, ye condemn both the merits and words of Christ. For our Saviour saith, *Except ye turn and become as Children, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* And so brought I out many other examples, to make manifest, that Christ hath cleansed original sin, bringing in examples out of Scriptures for the same.

Boner. Then thou makest the water of none effect, and then put away water.

The element
of water in
Baptism,
bringeth not
the Holy
Ghost.The Holy
Ghost receiv-
ed of some
before Bap-
tism.

Smith. It is not (saith Saint Peter) the washing away of the filth of the flesh, but in that a good conscience contenteth unto God. And to prove that water onely bringeth not the Holy Ghost, it is written in the 8 of the Acts, that Simon received water but would have received the Holy Ghost for money. Also that the Holy Ghost hath come before Baptism; it is written that John had the Holy Ghost in his Mothers womb. Cornelius, Paul, and the Queen of Candace, servant, with many others, received the Holy Ghost before Baptism. Yea, and although your generation have set at naught the Word of God, and like swine turned his Words upside down; yet must his Church keep the same in that order which he left them, which his Church dare not break; and to judge Children damned that be not baptized, it is wicked.

Mord. By our Lady, Sir, but I believe that if my child die without water, he is damned.

Boner. Yea, and so do I, and all Catholick men, good Master Mordant.

Smith. Well, my Lord, such Catholick, such salvation.

Boner. Well Sir, what say you to the Sacrament of Orders?

The Sacra-
ment of
Orders.

Smith. Ye may call it the Sacrament of misorders: for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your shaving, anointing, greating, pollings, and rounding, there are no such things appointed in Gods Book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, my Lord, if ye had grace and intelligence, ye would not so disgrace your self as ye do.

Zeev sheweth
himself in
anger of
Rebels Smith

Boner. Saith thou so? now by my troth I will go shave my self to anger thee withall: and so sent for his Barber, which immediately came. And before my face at the Door of the next chamber he shaved himself, desiring me before he went, to answer to these Articles.

Holy Bread,
Holy water,
Anointing

Boner. What say you to Holy Bread and Holy Water, to the Sacrament of anointing, and to all the rest of such ceremonies of the Church?

Smith. I say, they be bables for fools to play withall, and not for the Children of God to exercise themselves in; and therefore they may go among the refuse. Then went away Master Mordant, and my Lord went to shaving, leaving there certain Doctors, as he called them, to assay what they could do, of whom I was baited for half an hour: of whom I also asked this question, Where were all you in the days of King Edward, that ye spake not that which ye speak now?

Talk be-
tween Zeev
Smith and
the Doctors

Doct. We were in England.
Smith. Yea, but then ye had the faces of men, but now ye have put on Lions faces again, as saith S. John, *Te shew your selves as full of malice as ye may be.* For ye have for every time a vizor; yea, and if another King Edward should arise, ye would then say, Down with the Pope, for he is Antichrist, and so are all his Angels.

Then was I all to reviled, and so sent away, and brought in again to come before these men; and one of them that baited me before, asked me if I disallowed confession?

Smith. To whom I answered, Look in mine Articles, and they shall shew you what I allow.

Doct. Your Articles confess that you allow not auricular confession.

Smith. I allow it not, because the word alloweth is not, nor commandeth it.

Doct. Why, it is written, thou shalt not hide thy sins and offences.

Smith. No more do I when I confess them to almighty God.

Doct. Why, ye cannot say that ye can hide them from God, and therefore you must understand the words are spoken to be uttered to them that do not know them.

Smith. Ye have made a good answer, then must the Priest confess himself to me, as I to him. For I know his faults and secrets no more then he knoweth mine. But if ye confess you to the Priest, and not unto God, ye shall have the reward that Judas had: for he confessed himself to the Priest, and yet went and hanged himself by and by; and so as many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are said to hide them.

Doct. What did they that came to John to be Baptized?

Smith. They came and confessed their sins unto almighty God.

Doct. And not unto John?

Smith. If it were unto John, as ye are not able to prove; yet was it to God, before John and the whole congregation.

Doct. Why, John was alone in the Wilderness.

Smith. Why, and yet the Scriptures say he had many Disciples; and that many Pharisees and Sadducees came to his Baptism. Here the Scriptures and you agree not. And if they confessed themselves to John, as ye say, it was to all the Congregation, as Saint Paul doth to Timothy, and to all that read his Epistle, in opening to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an Apostle, because he had been a Tyrant. But as for ear-confession, ye never heard it allowed by the Word. For the Prophet David maketh his confession unto God, and saith, *I will confess my sins unto the Lord.* Daniel maketh his confession unto the Lord; Judith, Toby, Jeremy, Manasseh, with all the forefathers did even so. For the Lord hath said, *Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee. Knock, ask, seek,* with such like; and this is the Word of God; Now bring some what of the Word to help your self withal. Then they raged, and called me dog, and said I was damned.

Smith. Nay, ye are dogs, that because holy things are offered, will slay your Friends. For I may say with Saint Paul, *I have fought with beasts in the likeness of men.* For here I have been baited these two days, of my Lord and his great Bulls of Basan, and in his Hall beneath have I been baited of the rest of his band. With this came my Lord from shaving, and asked me how I liked him?

Smith. Forsooth, ye are even as wise as ye were before ye were shaved.

Boner. How standeth it, Master Doctors, have ye done any good?

Doct. No by my troth, my Lord, we can do no good.

Smith. Then it is fulfilled which is written, *How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?*

Boner. Nay, naughty fellow, I fet these Gentlemen to bring thee home to Christ.

Smith. Such Gentlemen, such Christs; and as truly as they have that name from Christ, so truly do they teach Christ.

Boner. Well, wilt thou neither hear them nor me?

Smith. Yes I am compelled to hear you; but ye cannot compel me to follow you.

Boner. Well thou shalt be burnt at a stake in Smithfield if thou wilt not turn.

Smith. And ye shall burn in hell, if ye repent not: but my Lord, to put you out of doubt, because I am weary, I will strain courtly with you: I perceive you will not with your Doctors come unto me, and I am not determined to come unto you, by Gods grace. For I have hardened my face against you as hard as brass. Then after many railing sentences I was sent away. And thus have I left the truth of mine answers in writing (gentle Reader) being compelled by my Friends to do it: that ye may see how the Lord hath according to his promise given me a mouth and wisdom to answer in his cause, for which I am condemned, and my cause not heard.

Against
A. 1555.
cons. 2. 2.Confessing
unto John in
the Wilder-
ness, was
not to him,
but before
him to God.The marvel-
lous boldness
of Robert
Smith, given
him of God
against
Christians.

The last Examination of Robert Smith.

The last
examination
of R. Smith
before S.
Boner, with
his condem-
nation in
the Confi-
tory.

THe twelfth of July I was with my Brethren brought into the Confistory, and mine Articles read before my Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, with all the assistants; to which I answered, as followeth,

Boner. By my Faith, my Lord Mayor, I have shewed him as much favour as any man living might do: but I perceive all is lost, both in him and all his company.

Smith. At this word which he coupled with an Oath, came I in, and taking him with the manner, said, My Lord, it is written, *Te must not Swear.*

Boner. Ah Master controller, are ye come? Loe, my Lord Mayor, this is Master Speaker, pointing to my Brother Tankerfield, and this is Master Controller, pointing to me. And then beginning to read my Articles, he perlevered till he came at my Tale of the Gentleman of Norfolk, and then demanded of my Lord Mayor, if he heard of the same before. To which he answered, no. To whom I answered:

Smith. My Lord Mayor, will it please you to hear me recite it, as I heard it, and I told it, and then shall you hear the truth. For this tale that my Lord hath told, is untrue.

Boner. How say you good Master Mordant, spake he not this is here, as it is written? were ye not by?

Mord. Yes, my Lord, that it is: I heard him say it.

Smith. How heard you me say it, and were not present when I spake it? should such a man make a lie? it is manifestly proved that the Prophet saith; *Even as the King saith, so saith the Judge, that he may do him a pleasure again.* And so was brought out my goaler for trial therof, who there openly protested, that neither Mr. Mordant nor the Doctors before mentioned were present when I spake it. At which Master Mordant with blushing cheeks, said, he heard them read, and heard me affirm the same, which was also not true. Then proceeded my Lord with the rest of mine Articles, demanding of me, if I said not as was written. To which I answered, No:

and turning to my Lord Mayor, I said, I require you, my Lord Mayor, in Gods behalf, unto whom pertaineth your sword and justice, that I may herebefore your presence answer to these objections that are laid against me, and have the probation of the same; and if any thing that I have said or will say, to be proved (as my L. saith) Herein, I shall not onely with all my heart forsake the same, and cleave to the truth, but also recant wheresoever ye shall assign me, and all this audience shall be witnesses to the same.

Mayor. Why **Smith**, thou canst not deny, but this thou saidst.

Smith. Yes my Lord, I deny that which he hath written, because he hath both added to, and diminished from the same: But what I have spoken, I will never deny.

Mayor. Why, thou spakest against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar,

Smith. I denied it to be any Sacrament, and I do stand here to make probation of the same; and if my Lord here or any of his Doctors be able to approve either the name or usage of the same, I will recant mine error. Then spake my Brother Tankerfield, and defended the probation of things, which they called Herein: to the which the Bishop answered.

Bon. By my troth, Master Speaker, ye shall preach at a stake.

Smith. Well sworn, my Lord, ye keep a good watch.

Boner. Well, Master Controller, I am no Saint.

Smith. No, my Lord, nor yet good Bishop. For a Bishop, saith S. Paul, should be faultless, and a dedicate vessel unto God; and are ye not altham to sit in judgment, and be a blasphemer, condemning Innocents?

Bon. Well, Master Controller, ye are faultless.

Smith. My Lord Mayor, I require you in Gods Name, that I may have Justice. We be here to day a great

many of Innocents that are wrongfully accused of Herein. And I require you, if you will not seem to be partial, let me have no more favor at your hands, then the Apostles had at the hands of Festus and Agrippa, which being Heathen and Infidels, gave him leave onely to speak for himself, but also heard the probation of his cause. This require I at your hands, which being a Christian Judge, I hope will not deny me that right, which the Heathen have suffered: if ye do, then shall all this audience, yea, and the Heathen speak shame of your fact. For a City (saith our Saviour) that is builded on a hill cannot be hid: if they therefore have the truth, let it come to light. For all that will do, come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light.

Then my Lord Mayor hanging down his head, said nothing, but the Bishop told me, I should preach at a Stake, and so the Sheriff cryed, with the Bishop, away with me.

Thus came I in before them four times, desiring Justice, but could have none: and at length my Friends requiring with one voyce the same, and could not have it, we had sentence, and then being carried out, were brought in again, and had it every man severally given. But before the Bishop gave me sentence, he told me in derision of my Brother Tankerfield, a tale between a Gentleman and his Cook. To which I answered, My Lord, ye fill the Peoples eares with fantasies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at Blood; but if ye were a true Bishop, ye should leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God.

Boner. Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, M. Speaker, your companion the Cook, that my Chancellor should here instruct him, but he hath here-with great disdain forsaken it. How sayest thou, wilt thou have him instruct thee, and lead thee in the right way?

Smith. My Lord, if your Chancellor shall do me any good, and take any pains, as ye say, let him take mine Articles in his hands, that ye have objected against me, and either prove one of them Herein, or any thing that you do to be good: and if he be able so to do, I stand here with all my heart to hear him; if not, have noneed, I praise God, of his Sermon: for I come to answer for my life, and not to hear a Sermon.

Then began the sentence, *In Dei nomine.* To which I answered, that he began in a wrong name, requiring of him, where he learned in Scriptures to give sentence of death against any man for his conscience sake. To the which he made no answer, but went forward to the end, and immediately cried, Away with him. Then I turned me to the Mayor, and said, Is it not enough for you my Lord Mayor, and ye that are the Sheriffs, that ye have left the straight way of the Lord, but that ye must condemn Christ causeless?

Boner. Well, Master Controller, now ye cannot say, but I have offered you fair, to have instruction. And now I pray thee, call me Bloody Bishop, and say, I seek thy Blood.

Smith. Well, my Lord, although neither I, nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your fact, yet shall these stones cry it out, rather then it shall be hidden.

Boner. Away with him, away with him.

Woodroffe. Away with him, take him away.

Smith. Well, good Friends, ye have seen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and ye are all records that we have desired the probation of our cause by Gods Book, and it hath not been granted: but we are condemned, and our cause not heard. Nevertheless, my Lord Mayor, for as much as here ye have excused Gods sword causeless, and will not hear the right of the poor. I commit my cause to Almighty God, that shall judge all men according unto right, before whom we shall both stand without Authority; and there will I stand in the right, and have true judgment, to your great confusion, except ye repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will. And then was I with the rest of my Brethren carried away to Newgate.

Thus, gentle Reader, as near as I can, I have set out the truth of my examination, and the verity of mine unjust condemnation for the truth, requiring God that it may not be laid to the charge of thee, O England, requiring your hearty prayers unto God for his grace and

Anno

1555.

Here my

Brother

T. is held

to feel out

of his bo-

som a

testament.

requiring

judgement

by the same,

but it would

not be heard

This Sheriff

was Master

Woodroffe,

Justice requir-

ed in the

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The Bishop

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the Catho-

licks in the

Scripture to

put any to

death for

their confu-

sion sake?

Robert Smith

wrongfully

condemned

by the

Bishop. The

words of

Robert Smith

applied to the

Lord Mayor.

Sir John
Mordant
came in
after this
Story was
told.

The words
of Rob. Smith
to the Lord
Mayor.

Here my
Brother
Tankerfield
recited the
Story of my
L. Bishops
Cook.

Boner do
Saint.

This Mayor
Sir John Mordant

Anno 1555. and spirit of boldness; with hope even shortly to set to my Seal, at *Uxbridge*, the 8th of *August*, by Gods grace: pray that it may be his honour, my salvation, and your consolation, I pray you.

Da gloriam Deo.

Robert Smith.

Thus hast thou (good Reader) not only to note, but also to follow in this man a singular example of Christian fortitude, which so manfully and valiantly did stand in the defence of his Masters cause. And as thou seest him here boldly stand in examination before the Bishop and Doctors; so was he no less comfortable also in the Pri-

son among his fellows. Which also is to be observed no less in his other Prison fellows, who being there together cast in an outward house within *Newgate*, had godly conference with themselves, with daily praying and publick readings, which they to their great comfort used in that house together; amongst whom this forefaid *Smith* was chief doer. Whose industry was always sollicitous, not only for them of his own company, but also his diligence was careful for other Prisoners, whom he ceased not to dehort and dissuade from their old accustomed iniquity; and many he converted unto his Religion. Divers Letters he wrote there in Prison to sundry his Friends, partly in metre, and partly in prose. And first in metre as followeth.

The godly
behaviour
of Robert
Smith, and
his Fellowes
in Prison.



O ye that love the Lord, see that ye hate
the thing that is evil.

THe God that giveth life and light,
And leadeth into rest:
That breaketh bonds and bringeth out
The poor that are oppressed.

And keepeth mercy for the meek,
His treasure and his store:
Increase thy life in perfect love,
Both now and evermore.

That as thou hast begun to ground
In faith and fervent love:
Thou maiest be made a mighty Mount,
That never may remove.

That thou ensample may be stored
Among all thine increase:
That they may live and learn the like,
And pass their time in peace.

Thy salutations that were sent,
I heartily retain:
And send thee seventy times as much,
To thee and thine again.

And now because I know the goal,
That thou dost most desire:
I send thee here a paper full,
Is signed in the fire:

In hope thou wilt accept it well,
Although it be but small:
Because I have no other good,
To make amends withal.

For all thy free and friendly faiths,
Which thy good will hath wrought,
I send thee surely for a sinne

The thing that cost me nought.

Abstain from all ungodliness,
In dread direct your days:
Possess not sin in any wise,
Beware of wicked ways.

Hold fast your Faith unfeignably,
Build as you have begun:
And arm your self in perfect Faith,
To do as ye have done.

Left that the wicked make a mock,
That ye have taken in hand,
In leaving of the perfect Rock,
To build upon the Sand.

Beware these filthy Pharisees,
Their building is in Blood:
Eat not with them in any wise,
Their Leaven is not good.

Their Salt is all unseasonable:
And under good intents
They maintain all their knavery,
And murder innocents.

They seek to sit in Christ his seat,
And put him out of place:
And make all means that may be made
His doings to deface.

They keep him down with bills and bats,
That made the blind to see:
They make a god for Mice and Rats,
And say the same is he.

They shew like Sheep, and worst like Wolves,
Their baits be all for blood:
They kill and slay the simple Soules,
And rob them of their good.

And

The dark illusions of the Devil
Have dimmed so their eyes,
That they cannot abide the Truth,
To stir in any wise.

And if ye keep the perfect path,
(As I have hope you do)
Ye shall be sure to have such shame,
As they may put you to.

For, all that lead a godly life,
Shall surely suffer loss:
And eke the world will seek their shame,
And make them kiss the Cross.

Ye shall be killed all faith Christ,
Your sorrows shall not cease:
And yet in your afflictions,
I am your perfect peace.

For in the world ye shall have wo:
Because ye are unknown:
And eke because ye hate the world,
The world will love his own.

Be fervent therefore to the death,
Against all their decrees:
And God shall surely fight for thee
Against thine Enemies.

Commit your cause unto the Lord,
Revenge not any evil:
And thou shalt see the wicked want,
When thou shalt have thy will.

For all afflictions that may fall,
That they can say or do:
They are not sure of the wealth,
That we attain unto.

For I have seen the Sinners spread
Their branches like a Bay:
And yet ere one could turn his head,
Were withered clean away.

Beware that many make ye not
In riches to arise
Against the goodness of the Lord,
Among the worldly wise.

For many mischief it hath made,
That may not be exprest:
And many evils it hath begun,
Which may not be redrest.

For money maketh many a one,
In riches to rebel:
And he that maketh Gold a god,
He hath a Soul to sell.

It maketh Kings to kill and slay,
And waste their wits in war:
In leaving of the Wolf at home,
To hunt the Fox afar.

And where they should see justice done,
And set their Realm in rest:
By money they be made a mean
To see the poor oppressed.

It maketh Lords obey the Laws,
That they do ill and nought:
It maketh Bishops suck the Blood,
That God hath dearly bought.

And where they should be faithful friends,
And Fathers to their flock:
By money they do turn about,
Even like a Weather-cock.

The Priest doth make a money mean,
To have again his whores,
To put away his wedded Wife,
And Children out of doors.

It holdeth back the husbandman,
Which may not be forborn:
And will not suffer him to sow,
And cast abroad his Corn.

In like case it doth let again,
When that the seed they sow:
It choaketh up the Corn again,
So that it cannot grow.

The husband be would have a wife,
With Nobles new and old:
The wife would have the husband hang'd,
That she might have his gold.

It maketh murderers many a one,
And beareth much with blood:
The Child would see the Parents slain,
To seize upon their good.

And though it be a blessed thing,
Created in the kind:
It is a necessary evil,
Annexed to the mind.

For whose playeth with the Pitch,
His fingers are defiled:
And he that maketh Gold a god,
Shall surely be beguiled.

Be friendly to the fatherless,
And all that are oppressed:
Assist them always out of hand,
And see them set at rest.

In all your doings and your deeds
Let mercy still remain:
For with the measure that ye mete,
Shall ye be met again.

Be always lowly in your life,
Let love enjoy her own:
The highest Trees are seldom sure,
And soonest overthrown.

The Lions lack and suffer sore,
In hunger and in thirst:
And they that do oppress the poor,
Continue still accursed.

The Bee is but a little beast
In body or in sight:
And yet he bringeth more increase,
Than either Crow or Kite.

Therefore beware in any wise,
Keep well your watch always:
Be sure of Oil within your lamp,
Let not your light decay.

For Death despoileth them that lack,
And hateth them that have:
And treadeth down the rich and poor
Together in the grave.

Exhort your Children to be chaste,
Rebuke them for their ill:
And let them not at any wise
Be wedded to their will.

Laugh not with them, but keep them low,
Shew them no merry cheer:
Left thou do weep with them also,
But bring them up in fear.

And let your light and living shine,
That ye be not suspect:
To have the same within your self,
For which they are correct.

Be meek and modest in a mean,
Let all your deeds be done:
That they which are without the Law,
May see how right ye run.

Keep well the member in your mouth,
Your Tongue see that ye tame:
For out of little sparks of fire
Proceedeth out a flame.

And as the posson doth exprest,
The naivres of the Toad:
Even so the Tongue doth manifest
The heart that feareth God.

For therewith blest we God above,
And therewith curse we men:
And thereby murders do arise,
Through women now and then.

And seeing God hath given a Tongue,
And put it under power:
The surest way it is to set
A hatch before the door.

For God hath set you in a seat,
Of double low degree:
First unto God, and then to man,
A subject for to be.

I writenot that I see in you
These things to be suspect:
But only set before your face,
How sin should be correct.

For flesh and blood I know ye are,

Anno
1555.

As other women be:
And if ye dwell in flesh and blood,
There is infirmity.
Receive a warning willingly;
That to thy teeth is told:
Accomp the gift of greater price
Than if he gave thee gold.
A wise man, saith Solomon,
A warning will embrace:
A fool will sooner (as saith he)
Be smitten on the face.
And as your members must be dead
From all things that are vain:
Even so by baptism ye are born
To live with Christ again.
Thus farewell free and faithful friend:
The Lord that is above
Increase in thee a perfect faith,
And lead thee in his love.
And as I pray with perfect love,
And pour out bitter tears
For you and all that are at large
Abroad among the briers:
Even so I pray thee to prefer
My person and my hands,
Unto the everlasting God
That hath me in his hand.
That I may pass out of this pond,
Wherein I am oppress'd:
Inclosed in a clod of clay,
That here can have no rest.
That as he hath begun in me
His mercies many one,
I may attain to overtake,
My brethren that be gone.
That when the death shall do his worst
Where he shall point a place,
I may be able like a man
To look him in the face.
For though he catch away my cloak,
My body into dust:
Yet am I sure to have a soul,
When death hath done his worst.
And though I leave a little dust
Dissolved without blood:
I shall receive it safe again,
When God shall see it good.
For my Redeemer I am sure
Doth love for evermore,
And sitteth high upon the heavens,
For whom I hunger sore.
Even as the Deer with deadly wounds
Escaped from the snail,
Doth hast by all the means he may
To seek unto the foyl.
Of whom I hope to have a crown,
That always shall remain:
And eke enjoy a perfect peace,
For all my woe and pain.
The God that giveth all increase,
And seeketh still to save,
Abound in thee that perfect peace,
Which I do hope to have.
And I beseech the living God
To hold thee in his hands:
And with thee even with all my heart,
The blessing of my hands.
Which I esteem of higher price
Than pearl or precious stone:
And shall endure for evermore,
When earthly things are gone.
For though the fire do consume
Our treasure and our store:
Yet shall the goodness of the Lord
Endure for evermore.
And where thou art a friend to him
That is to me full dear,
That God of might make thee amends,
When all men shall appear.
That hath shewed mercy to the meek,
And rid them out of pain.

And thus the Lord possess thy spirit,
Till we do meet again.

If thou wilt have a recompence,
Abide still in obedience.

The Exhortation of Robert Smith unto
his Children, commonly set out
in the name of Mr. Rogers.

Give ear my Children to my words,
Whom God hath dearly bought:
Lay up my Law within your heart,
And print it in your thought.
For I your Father have foreseen
The frail and fleshy way,
Which flesh and blood would follow fain
Even to their own decay.
For all and every living beast,
Their cry do know full well:
But Adams heir, above the rest,
Are ready to rebel:
And all the creatures on the earth,
Full well can keep their way:
But man above all other beast,
Is apt to go astray.
For earth and ashes is his strength,
His glory and his reign:
And unto ashes at the length,
Shall he return again.
For flesh doth flourish like a flower,
And grow up like a grass,
And is consumed in an hour,
As it is brought to pass.
In me the image of your years,
Your treasure and your trust:
Whom ye do see before your face,
Dissolved into dust.
For as you see your fathers flesh
Converted into clay:
Even so shall ye my children dear,
Consume and wear away.
The sun and moon, and eke the stars,
That serve the day and night:
The earth and every earthly thing
Shall be consumed quite.
And all the worship that is wrought
That have been heard or seen,
Shall clean consume and come to nought
As it had never been.
Therefore that ye may follow me,
Your father and your friend,
And enter into that same life,
Which never shall have end.
I leave you here a little book,
For you to look upon:
That you may see your fathers face,
When I am dead and gone.
Who for the hope of heavenly things,
While he did here remain,
Gave over all his golden years,
In prison and in pain.
Where I among mine iron bands,
Enclosed in the dark,
Not many days before my death,
Did dedicate this work
To you mine heirs of earthly things
Which I have left behind:
That ye may read and understand,
And keep it in your mind.
That as you have been heirs of that
Which once shall wear away:
Even so ye may possess the part
Which never shall decay.
In following of your fathers foot:
In truth and eke in love:
That ye may also be his heirs
For evermore above.
And in example to your youth,
To whom I wish all good,
F f

Prov. 1.

Ezay 2.

Sap. 2.

Gen. 3.

2 Pet. 3.

Sap. 17.

Joha 7.

1 Cor. 2.

1 Th. 1.

Anno

1555.

I preach you here a perfect faith,
And seal it with my blood.
Have God always before your eyes,
In all your whole intents :
Commit not sin in any wise,
Keep his Commandements.
Abhor that arrant whore of Rome,
And all her blasphemies :
And drink not of her decretals,
Nor yet of her decrees.
Give honour to your mother dear,
Remember well her pain :
And recompence her in her age,
In like with love again.
Be always aiding at her hand,
And let her not decay :
Remember well your fathers fall,
That should have been her stay.
Grove of your portion to the poor,
As riches doth arise :
And from the needy naked soul
Turn not away your eyes.
For he that will not bear the cry
Of such as are in need :
Shall cry himself and not be heard
When he would hope to speed.
If God have given you great increase,
And blessed well your store :
Remember ye are put in trust,
To minister the more.
Beware of foul and filthy lust,
Let whoredom have no place :
Keep clean your Vessels in the Lord,
That he may you embrace.
Ye are the Temples of the Lord,
For ye are dearly bought :
And they that do defile the same,
Shall surely come to nought.
Possess not pride in any case,
Build not your nests too high :
But have always before your face,
That ye be born to dye.
Defraud not him that hired is,
Your labour : to sustain :
But give him always out of hand,
His penny for his pain.
And as ye would that other men
Against you should proceed :
Do ye the same again to them,
When they do stand in need.
And part your portion with the poor,
In money and in meat :
And feed the famished feeble soul,
With that which ye should eat.
That when your members lacketh meat
And clothing to your back :
Ye may the better think on them
That now do live and lack.
Ask counsel also at the wife,
Give ear unto the end :
Refuse not you the sweet rebuke
Of him that is your friend.
Be thankful always to the Lord,
With prayer and with praise :
Desire you him in all your deeds,
Eke to direct your ways :
And sin not like that swinish sort,
Whose bellies being fed,
Consume their years upon the earth
From belly unto bed.
Seek first I say the living God ;
Set him always before :
And then be sure that he will bless
Your basket and your store.
And thus if you direct your days
According to this book,
Then shall they say that see your ways,
How like me you do look.
And when you have so perfectly,
Upon your fingers ends,
Possessed all within your book,

Then give it to your friends.
And I beseech the living God,
Replenish you with grace,
That I may have you in the heavens,
And see you face to face.
And though the sword have cut me off
Contrary to my kind,
That I could not enjoy your love,
According to my mind :
Yet I do hope when that the heavens
Shall vanish like a smoke :
I shall receive your perfect shape,
In body and in soul.
And that I may enjoy your love,
And ye enjoy the land,
I do beseech the living God
To hold you in his hand.
Farewel my children from the world
Where ye must yet remain :
The Lord of Hosts be your defence,
Till we do meet again.
Farewel my love, and loving wife,
My children, and my friends :
I hope to God to have you all,
When all things have their end.
And if you do abide in God,
As ye have now begun :
Your course I warrant will be short,
Ye have not far to run.
God grant you so to end your years
As ye shall think it best :
That ye may enter into heaven,
Where I do hope to rest.

Written at the Request of a Lady in
her Book.

If you will walk the way
That Christ hath you assign'd :
Then learn this little verse,
Which I have left behind.
Be fervent in the truth,
Although it bear the blame :
And eke apply your youth,
To stick unto the same.
That when old age is come,
And death begins to call :
The truth may be your staff,
To stay you up withal.
And though it bring rebuke,
And cause you kiss the cross :
Yet is it a reward,
To all that suffer loss.
For here we do lay out
The thing : that be but vain :
But we are sure to reap
The thing : that do remain.
For all that ye do lose,
Is but a sinful slime,
And like unto a rose,
That tarrieth but a time.
But if ye carry Christ,
And walk the perfect way,
Ye shall possess the gold,
That never shall decay.
And all your fathers goods
Shall be your recompence :
If ye confess the word,
With double diligence.
Not only for to bear
His pure and perfect word,
But also to embrace
The fire and eke the sword.
And if ye keep this path,
And do not run a crook,
Then shall ye meet the man
That writ this in your Book.
In that eternal joy,
That always shall remain :
Thus farewel faithful friend,
Till we do meet again.

Legem

Anno

1555.

Legem ponc.

Teach me, O Lord, to walk thy ways,
My living to amend,
And I shall keep it all my days,
Even to my lives end.

Give me a mind to understand,
So shall I never start:
But I shall keep all thy precepts,
Even wholly with my heart.

Make me to go a perfect pace
In that I have begun:
For all my love and my delight,
Is in thy ways to run.

Encline my heart unto thy ways,
Set thou thereon my thoughts:
And let me not consume my days,
To cover that is naught.

O quicken me in all thy ways,
The world now to despise:
And from all fond and foolish toys,
Turn thou away mine eyes.

O plant in me thy perfect Word,
Which is to me so dear:
Lay up thy Law within my heart,
To keep me still in fear.

And rid me of that great rebuke
Which I do fear full sore:
For all thy judgments and thy law
Endure for evermore.

Behold, O Lord, in thy precepts,
Is all my whole delight:
O quicken me in all thy ways,
That I may walk aright.

To his Brother.

AS Nature doth me bind,
Because thou art my blood,
According to my kind
To give thee of my good.

That thou maist have in mind
How I have run my race,
Although thou bidst behind
But for a little space.

I give thee here a pearl,
The price of all my good,
For which I leave my life,
To buy it with my blood.

More worth then all the world,
Or ought that I can note,
Although it be yelad
In such a simple coat.

For when I had obtained
This pearl of such a price,
Then was I sure I gained
The way for to be wise.

It taught me how to fight,
My self for to despise,
To stick unto the light,
And eke to leave the lies.

In sending out my seed
With bonds and bitter tears,
That I might reap with joy
In everlasting years.

And have for all my loss
My travail and my pain,
A thousand times and more
Of better goods again.

And for because the good
That hath been got and gained,
And that the Lords elect
Hath evermore obtained,

Is closed in this book
Which I do give to thee:
Wherein I have my part,
As thou thy self maist see.

In which I hope thou hast
A stock also in store:
And wilt not cease to sail

Till God hath made it more.

I will thee to beware,
Be sure thou keep it well:
For if thou do it lose,
Thy part shall be in hell.

And here I testify
Before the living God,
That I desire to do
The things that are forbid.

And as my judgment is,
My body to be brent,
My heart is surely set
Thereunto to be consent.

And sith it is his will,
To put in me his power,
Upon his holy hill
To fight against this whore,

Full well I am content,
If be allow it so,
To stand with all my might
The whore to overthrow.

Even with a willing mind,
The death I will outface:
And as I am assured,
The battle to embrace.

That they which hear the truth,
How I have past the pike,
May set aside their youth,
And learn to do the like.

And though it be my lot, to let her suck my blood,
Yet am I well assured, it shall do her no good.

For she is set to kill the things she thinks accurst,
And shall not have her fill of blood until she burst.

And when as thou shalt see, or hear of my decease,
Pray to the living God, that I may pass in peace.

And when I am at rest, and rid out of my pain:
Then will I do the like for thee to God again.

And to my woful wife, and widow desolate,
Whom I do leave behind, in such a simple state,

And compassed with tears, and mournings many one;
Be thou her staying staff when I am dead and gone.

My mouth may not express the dolors of my mind:
Nor yet my heaviness to leave her here behind.

But as thou art my bone, my brother and my blood,
So let her have thy heart if it may do her good.

I took her from the world, and made her like the cross:
But if she hold her own, she shall not suffer loss.

For where she had before a man unto her make,
That by the force of fire was strangled at a stake,

Now shall she have a King to be her helping hand:
To whom pertain all things that are within the land.

And eke my daughter dear, whom I bequeath to thee,
To be brought up in fear, and learn the A B C.

That she may grow in grace, and ruled by the rod:
To learn and lead her life within the fear of God.

And always have in mind, thy brother being dead,
That thou art left behind a father in my stead.

And thou my brother dear, and eke my mothers son,
Come forth out of all fear, and do as I have done,

And God shall be thy guide, and give thee such increase,
That in the flames of fire thou shalt have perfect peace.

Into eternal joy, and pass out of all pain:
Where we shall meet with mirth, and never part again.

If thou wilt do my daughter good,
Be mindful of thy brothers blood.

To all which love God unfeignedly, and intend to lead a
godly life according to his Gospel, and to persevere in
his Truth unto the end: grace and peace from God the
Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

BE not afraid, most dearly beloved in our Saviour
Jesus Christ, at these most perilous days, wherein
by the sufferance of God, the Prince of darkness is bro-
ken loose, and rageth in his Members against the Elect of
God with all cruelty, to set up again the Kingdom of
Antichrist: against whom, see that ye be strong in faith
to resist his most devilish doctrine with the pure Gos-
pel

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pel of God, arming your selves with patience, to abide whatsoever shall be laid to your charge for the Truths sake, knowing that thereunto ye be called, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him. Oh how happy are ye that in the sight of God are counted worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ? Quiet therefore your selves, O my loving Brethren, and rejoyce in him for whom ye suffer: for unto you do remain the unspeakable joyes, which neither the eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, neither the heart of man is able to comprehend in any wife. Be not afraid of the bodily death, for your Names are written in the Book of Life. And the Prophets do record, that in the sight of the Lord, precious is the death of his Saints. Watch therefore and pray, that ye be not prevented in the day of temptation. Now cometh the day of your trial, wherein the waters rage, and the stormy winds blow. Now shall it appear, whether ye have builded upon the fleeting Sand, or upon the unmoveable Rock Christ, which is the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets: whereon every house that is builded, groweth into an holy Temple of the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost. Now approacheth the day of your battel, wherein it is required that ye shew your selves the valiant Souldiers of Christ Jesus, with the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand fast against all the crafty assaults of the Devil. Christ is your Captain, and ye be his Souldiers, whose cognifance is the Crofs, to the which he willingly humbled himself even unto the death, and thereby spoiled his enemies, and now triumpheth he over them in the glory of his Father, making intercession for them that here do remain to suffer the afflictions that are to be fulfilled in his Mystical Body. It behooveth therefore every one that he be counted his Scholar, to take up his own Crofs, and follow him, as ye have him for example: and I assure you that he being on your side, nothing shall be able to prevail against you. And that he will be with you even to the worlds end, ye have his promise in *Matthew 28*. He will go forth with his host as a Conqueror to make a conquest. He is the man that sitteth on the white horse, crowned with immortality, and ye Brethren, are his fellowship, whereof he is the Head. He hath your heart in his hand as a Bow bent after his godly will; he shall direct the same according to the riches of his glory, into all spiritual and heavenly cogitations. He is faithful and will not suffer you to be further assaulted, then he will give you strength to overcome, and in the most danger he will make a way, that ye may be able to bear it.

Shrink not therefore dear hearts, when ye shall be called to answer for the hope that is in you: for we have the Comforter, even the Spirit of Truth which was sent from the Heavens to teach us: He shall speak in us; he shall strengthen us: what is he then that shall be able to confound us? Nay, what Tyrant is he that now boasteth himself of his strength to do mischief, whom the Lord shall not with the same Spirit, by the mouth of his Servants, strike down to Hell fire? Yea, suddenly will the Lord bring down the glory of the proud *Philistines*, by the hands of his servant *David*. Their strength is in the spear and shield, but our help is in the name of the Lord which made both Heaven and Earth. He is our budder and wall, a strong tower of defence. He is our God, and we are his people. He shall bring the Counsels of the ungodly to nought. He shall take them in their own net. He shall destroy them in their own inventions. The right hand of the Lord shall work this wonder. His power is known among the Children of men. Their fathers have felt it, and are confounded. In like manner shall they know that there is no counsell against the Lord, when their secrets are opened to the whole world, and are found to be against the living God. Work they never so craftily, build they never so strongly; yet down shall their rabble fall, and the builders themselves shall then be fattered upon the face of the Earth, as accused of God. The just shall see this and be glad, and praise the name of the Lord, that so marvelously hath dealt with his Servants, as to bring their enemies under their feet. Then shall the fearful seed of *Cain* tremble and quake. Then shall the mocking *Ismaelites*, be cast out of door. Then shall the proud *Nemrob* for his labour lost. Then shall the Beasts of *Babylon* be troden under foot. Then shall the Scribes and Pharisees for madness fret and rage. Then shall their painted wisdom be

known, for extream folly. Then shall the bloody Dragon be void of his prey. Then shall the Whore of *Babylon* receive double vengeance. Then shall they scratch their Crowns for the fall of their *Millicres Harlot*, whom they now serve for filthy lucre; when no man will buy their wares any more. Then shall the Popish Priesthood cry weal away with care, even when the Lord shall help his Servants; which day is not far off, the day wherein the Kingdom of Antichrist shall have an end, and never rise any more. In the mean time, abide in certain and sure hope, cleaving unto the promises of God, which in their own time shall be fulfilled.

Acquit your selves like men against the enemies of God in all humbleness of mind, be strong in spirit to acknowledge one God, one holy Saviour Jesus Christ, one only, everlasting and sufficient Sacrifice for the remission of sins, even the precious Body of the Lord Jesus once offered for all and for ever. Which now fireth on the right hand of God, and from thence shall he come to judge both the quick and the dead at the last day; and until that time occupyeth the blessed Body none other place to dwell in, to be kept in, to be inclosed in, but only in the Heavens, even in the glorious Majesty of God, personally abiding there in the Flesh, not coming down from thence till the last hour. And as he never ceaseth to be man, so doth he never lose the similitude of man; his body there hath his lineaments, he leaveth them not, so hath that body there his highness, and shrinketh not, and his manly shape he altereth not at any time. He is in that he took of the Virgin *Mary*, a natural man in all conditions, except sin.

And what he took of his blessed Mother, by the working of the Holy Ghost, he took it for ever, and will not exchange the same for any other. He took the shape of a man with the substance of his manhood, in one sacred womb. There were they two coupled together by the Holy Ghost, never to be divided asunder. He retaineth the one with the other, inseparably. As he will not alter the substance of his flesh into the substance of bread, no more will he alter the shape of his body into the form of bread. There cannot be a greater absurdity against the truth, than to think that he would leave the shape that he took in the Virgins womb, being an accident unto his manhood, and joyn unto the same a Wafer-cake baked in an Oven, or between a pair of Irons. As he is in Heaven very man, one only Mediator between God and Man, even the Man Christ Jesus, he it is that is the Propitiation for our sins. Be bold therefore to confess this most pure and Apostolical Doctrine; and also that all favour, mercy, and forgiveness cometh only by him. He only of God the Father was made for us all wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. All these are the gifts of God the Father, freely given unto us by Christ Jesus God and Man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of men; Gifts they are, I say, freely given unto us of favour, without our desert, by believing, and not by deserving. To this do the Law and the Prophets bear witness.

This Doctrine have all the blessed Martyrs of Christs Church witnessed with their blood to be true. To this truth, have all the Consciences of all true Believers subscribed ever since the Ascension of Christ. This witness is not of Man, but of God. What better quarrel can ye then have to give your lives for, than the Truth it self? That man that giveth his Life for the Truth, taketh the readiest way to life. He that hath the Popes Curse for the Truth, is sure of Christs Blessing. Well then, my Brethren, what shall now let? but that ye go forward as ye have begun? Nay, rather run with the runners, that ye may obtain the appointed glory. Hold on the right way, look not back, have the eye of your heart fixed upon God, and so run that ye may get hold of it. Cast away all your worldly self, and worldly respects, as the favour of friends, the fear of men, sensual affection, respect of persons, honour, praise, shame, rebuke, wealth, poverty, riches, lands, possessions, carnal fathers and mothers, wife and children, with the love of your own selves; and in respect of that heavenly treasure ye look for, let all these be denied, and utterly refused of you, so that in no condition they do abate your zeal, or quench your love towards God. In this case make no account of them, but rather repute them as vile, in comparison of everlasting life. Away with them as thorns that choke the heavenly Seed of the Gospel,

Anno

1555.

Job 1.

Apoc. 12.

Apoc. 13.

Psalms 145.

1 Cor. 6.

1 Cor. 8.

Hebr. 9.

A.D. 5.

Hebr. 1.

1 Cor. 1.

Ephes. 1.

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Anno
 1555.
 1673.
 Luke 14.
 Rom 9.
 1 Cor 15.
 Gal 4.
 Phil 3.

Gospel, where they be suffered to grow. They are
 burndes of the Flesh, which encumber the Soul. Ex-
 change them therefore for advantage. Doth not he gain,
 that indureth heavenly and immortal treasure, for earthly
 and corruptible riches? Lo! that Man any thing, which
 of his carnal Father and Mother is forsaken, when there-
 fore he received of God the Father to be his Child and
 Heir in Christ? Heavenly for Earthly, for Mortal Im-
 mortal, for transitory things permanent, is great gains
 to a Christian Confiscance.

Thou, therefore, as I began, I exhort you in the Lord, not to be afraid. Shrink not my Brethren, mistrust not God, be good comfort, rejoice in the Lord, hold fast your faith, and continue to the end. Deny the World, and take up your Cross, and follow him which is your halfman, and is gone before if you suffer with him, you shall reign with him. What way can you glorify the Name of your Heavenly Father better, than by suffering death for his Sons sake? What a spectacle shall it be to the World to behold so godly a fellowship as you servants of God join to fight a quarrel as the Gospel of Christ is, with pure a Conscience, to strong a Faith, and so lively a hope, to offer your selves to suffer most cruel torments of the hands of Gods enemies, and to end your days in peace, to receive in the resurrection of the Righteous, life everlasting?

Feb. 11
1914
March 3.

Be strong therefore in your battle: The Lord God is
on your side, and his truth is your cause; and against
you be none, but the enemies of the Cross of Christ,
as the Serpent and his seed, the Dragon with his Tail,
the marked Men of the beast, the off-spring of the Pha-
rises, the congregation malignant, the generation of Vi-
cious, Murderers as their father the devil hath been from the
beginning. To conclude, since they are as the Lord God
hath always abhorred, and in all ages refuted and over-
thrown, God, from whom nothing is hid, knoweth what
they are. He that searcheth the Hearts of Men, he hath
found out them to be crafty, subtle, full of poison,
proud, disdainful, stiffnecked, devourers, ravengers, and
barkers against the truth, filthy and shameless; and there-
fore doth the Spirit of God, by the mouths of his holy
Prophets and Apostles, call them by the names of Foxes,

John 8.

Mat. 14.
Ecc. 4.

Jude 1.

Serpents, Cockatrices, Lions, Leopards, Bulls, Bears, Wolves,
 Dogs, Swine, Beasts, teaching us thereby to understand,
 that their natural inclination is: to deceive, Poison,
 and destroy (as much as in them lieth) the faithful and
 elect of God. But the Lord with his right Arm shall
 defend his little Flock against the whole rabblement of
 the Worldlings, which have conspired against him:
 he hath numbered all the hairs of his Childrens head,
 so that one of them shall not perish without his Fatherly
 Will. He keepeth the Sparrows, much more will he
 preserve them whom he hath purchased with the Blood
 of the immaculate Lamb. He will keep them unto the
 hour appointed, wherein the Name of God shall be
 glorified in his Saints. In the mean time let them work
 their Wills, let them envy, let them malign, let them flatter,
 burn, let them curse, ban, betray, whip, scourge, hang and
 persecute: for by these means God will try his elect as Gold
 in the Furnace; and by these fruits, shall he also bring
 themselves to be known what they be, for all their threats
 shall be as the noise of the Wind, and as the smoke of the
 Fire.

skins. For as he that is suffering patiently for the Gospel of God, is thereby known to be of Christ, even so likewise is the persecutor of him known to be a member of Antichrist. Besides this, their extreme cruelty shall be a means the sooner to provoke God to take pity upon his servants, and to destroy them that so tyrannically entreat his People, as we may learn by the histories, as well in the bondage of *Israel* under *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*, as also in the miserable captivity of *Judah* in *Babylon*: Where, when the people of God were in most extreme thraldom, then did the Lord stretch forth his mighty power to deliver his servants. Though God for a time suffer them to be exalted in their own pride, yet shall they not escape his vengeance: They are his rod, and when he hath worn them to the stumps, then will he cast them into the fire; this shall be their final reward. Our duty is the mean while patiently to abide the will of God, which worketh all things for the best.

2 Cor. 12.
Ephes. 3. 6.
Rom. 1.

mitted to the vast flander of his Gospel, whereby the Name of God was evilsoken of among his enemies: for the which he now punisheth us with his fatherly corrections in this World; that we should not be damned with the World. By this mean feeketh he his sheep that were lost, to bring them home to the fold again. By this way feeketh he to reform us, that we may be like unto him after the Image of his Son Jesus Christ, in all holiness and righteousness before him. Finally, this way ureth his Godly Wisdom, to make us thereby to know him, and our selves in him, that aforesaid had in a manner forgotten him, praised be his Name therefore. And as for those *Balaamites* which now molest us, commit them to the hands of God, give him the vengeance, and he will reward them. Fall ye to prayer, and let these belly-gods prate. For he is in Heaven, and sleepeeth not, that keepeth Israel. He is in Heaven that made the Seas calmy, when the Disciples were afraid. Let us now faithfully call upon him, and he will hear us. Let us cry unto the Lord, for he is gracious and merciful. We will say, that he will be gracious unto him that will deliver us, and he will glorify us. If we come unto him, we shall find him turned unto us. If we repent us of our wickedness done against him, then shall he take away the plague that he hath devised against us.

Let us therefore earnestly repent, and bring forth the worthy fruits of repentance. Let us study to be his, then shall we not need to fear what these hypocrites do against us, which with their pretended holiness deceive the hearts of the simple, and abuse the authority of God in his Princes, abusing them (by their procurement) to testify their ambitious Praelacy, and to erect up their Idol again with the Romish Mass. God in whose hands are the hearts of Kings, open the heart of the Queens Highness to clype them out what they be, and lo to weed them out, that they no longer be suffered to trouble the Congregation of God, and to payvion the Realm with Pope-holy Doctrine. God almighty for his Son Jesus Chrills sake deliver the Queens Highness and this her Church and Realm, from these proud Prelates, which are as profitable in the Church of Christ as a Polecat in the middelf of a warren of Conies.

To conclude, my brethren, I commit you to God, and to the power of his word: which is able to establish you in all truth. His spirit be with you, and work always that ye may be mindful of your duties towards him, whose ye are both Body and Soul. Whom fee that ye love, serve, dread, and obey above all worldly powers, and for nothing under the Heavens defile your Conscience before God. Diffemble not with his word; God will not be mocked, nay that which defemble with him, deceive themselves. Such shall the Lord deny, and cast out at the last day: such I say, as bear two faces in one hood, such as deny the known truth; such as ultimately rebel against him. All such with their partakers shall the Lord destroy. God defend you from all such, and make you perfect unto the end. Your sorrow shall be turned unto joy,

Mark. 12.
Matth. 10.
Apoc. 1.

John 16,

Another Letter sent to his Wife.

TH God our Father eternal, which brought again
from death our Lord Jesus Christ, keep thee, dear
Wife, now and ever, Amen, and all thy Parents and Friends.
I praise God for his mercy. I am in the same state thou
ye left me in, rather better than worse, looking daily for
the living God, before whom I hunger full sore to ap-
pear, and receive the glory, of which I trust thou art
willing to be a partaker. I give God most hearty thanks
therefore, desiring thee of all loves to stand in that faith
which thou hast received, and let no Man take away
the feed that Almighty God hath won in thee, but lay
hands of everlasting Life which shall ever abide, when both
the earth and all earthly friends shall perish, desiring thee
also to receive thankfully our trouble which is but
mententry and light, as thou shalt find, and worthy of
the things which shall be received on us; that we paitly
enjoying our Cross, may attain to the place where
our Saviour Christ is gone before, to the which I beseech
God of his mercy bring us speedily. I have been much
troubled about your deliverance, fearing much
periva-

perswasions of worldlings, and have found a friend, which will (I trust) find a mean for you if you be not already provided, desiring you in any case to abide such order, as those my friends shall appoint in God. And hear well in mind the words which I spake at our departing, that as God hath found us, and also elected us worthy to suffer with him; we may endeavour our selves to follow uprightly in this our vocation, desiring you to present my hearty Commendations to all our Friends, and especially to your Parents, keeping your matter close in any wife. Give most hearty thanks to my Friend, which only for our cause is come to *Windsor*. Continue in Prayer. Be faultless in all things. Beware of abominations. Keep you clean from sin. Pray for me, as I do for you. I have sent you a piece of Gold for a token, and most entirely desire you to send me word if ye lack any thing. The Lord Jesus preserve you and yours, Amen. From *Newgate* the 15th of April.

By your Husband here and in Heaven,
Robert Smith.

The martyr-
dom and
comfortable
death of
Robt. Smith at
Windsor,
An 1555.
Aug. 16.

The foresaid *Robert Smith* the valiant and constant Martyr of Christ, thus replenished, as ye have heard with the fortitude of Gods Spirit, was condemned at *London* by *Boner* their Bishop, the 12th day of July, and suffered at *Uxbridge* the 9th day of August, who as he had been a comfortable instrument of God before to all them that were in Prison with him: so now also being at the Stake, he did no less comfort the people, there standing about him, willing them to think well of his cause, and not to doubt but that his body dying in that quarrel, should rise again to life. And said he, I doubt not but that God will shew you some token thereof. At length he being well-nigh half burnt, and all black with fire, clutched together as in a lump like a black coal, all men thinking him for dead, suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and clapping the same together, declaring a rejoicing heart unto them; and so bending down again, and hanging over the fire, slept in the Lord, and ended this mortal life.

LETTERS.

A Sententious Letter of Robert Smith, to Anne Smith his Wife.

A Letter of
R. Smith to
his wife, full
of ghostly
instructions.

SEEK first to love God, dear Wife, with your whole heart, and then shall it be easie to love your Neighbour.

Be friendly to all Creatures, and especially to your own Soul.

Be always an enemy to the Devil and the World, but especially to your own Flesh.

In hearing of good things joyn the ears of your head and heart together.

Seek unity and quietness with all men, but specially with your Conscience; for he will not easily be intreated.

Love all men, but especially your Enemies.

Hate the sins that are past, but especially those to come.

Be good to
thy enemy.

Be as ready to further your Enemy, as he is to hinder you, that ye may be the Child of God.

Defile not that which Christ hath cleansed, lest his blood be laid to your charge.

A double
helmet to
the taught.

Remember that GOD hath hedged in your tongue with the teeth and lips, that it might speak under correction.

Cast out the
nause in
thine own
eye first.

Be ready at all times to look to your brothers eye, but especially in your own eye: For he that warneth other of that he himself is faulty, doth give his neighbour the clear wine, and keepeth the dregs to himself.

Correct not to
be rich.

Beware of riches and worldly honour: for without understanding, prayer, and fasting, it is a snare, and also poverty, all which are like to consuming fire, of which if a man take a little, it will warm him, but if he take too much, it will consume him. For it is hard for a man to carry fire in his bosom, and not to be burnt.

Blessed be
the merciful.

Shew mercy unto the Saints for Christs sake, and Christ shall reward you for the Saints sake. Among all

other Prisoners visit your own Soul: for it is inclosed in a perilous Prison.

If you will love God, hate evil; and ye shall obtain the reward of well doing.

Thus fare you well good *Anne*. Have me heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfeignedly. I beseech you have me in your prayer while I am living, and I am assured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my Children and yours in the fear of God, and then shall I not fail but receive you together in the everlasting Kingdom of God, which I go unto.

Your Husband, Robert Smith.

If ye will meet with me again,
For sake not Christ for any pain.

Another Letter sent to his wife Anne Smith.

THE Grace of Almighty God be always with you, and comfort, strengthen, and stablish you in all things, that what his blessed will is, ye may follow faithfully, to his honour, my comfort, and your own salvation, and the good ensample to our Posterity.

I have received your Letter, and I praise God, without any danger: nevertheless, if Gods marvellous goodness had not brought it to my hands by *Peter* the Keeper, there might have risen a great trouble upon the same. For well ye know *George* is a wicked man, utterly without all fear of God; and if he had gotten it, the Council sure had seen it. But *Peter* like an honest man never opened it. Wherefore I desire you from henceforth let your Letters be delivered at *Chancery-lane* end, to my Sister *Tankerfield*, and she may deliver them safe into my hand.

We are very streightly kept, I praise God of his mercy. Nevertheless Almighty God is always with us. I have sent you that ye wrote for. The two Nutmegs that should have gone by *Nicholas* to our Friends, I send now, and desire them to accept them as a poor Prisoners gift, until God give more largely. *Thomas Towson* sendeth you a Penny, I pray you give him thanks for the same, and *Dirick* also. I have sent you of that little that I have two pieces of Spanish money. The Lord Jesus have you in his custody, and send you good speed.

In any case keep your self close, I doubt much of your wallings. Have my hearty Commendations to your Parents, and desire them with you to have me in their Prayers. Be fervent in Prayer, pray, pray, pray, that God would of his mercy put up his Sword, and look on his People. Tell my Brother, with Commendations, that the next comer shall bring up the Epistle and Exhortation, I have written all this fortnight for my Lady, yea, and almost done nothing else. I would have sent him the Articles of *William Flower*, and my talk with him, if I could have delivered it from the Prison. The Holy Ghost keep you, I would ye could make a means, for your money, to send a Cheefe to *Peter*, for I find much kindness at his hands. Ye shall always hear of me at *Tankerfields* house. All the Congregation salute you. Fare you most heartily well.

I have not yet (tell my Brother) spoken with the person. There hath come so streight a Commandment, that no man might come to us, because *Tooley* cursed the Pope at the Gallows. They thought it to be our counsel.

Yours, and ever yours,
Robert Smith.

Another Letter sent to his Wife.

GRACE, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, dear Wife, now and ever, Amen, and prevent your ways to his will.

through his holy Spirit, that ye may in all your words and works please God, and eschew evil, to his honour and your salvation, that they which see your conversation may in all things learn to do like, even to the utter shame and confusion of the wicked and ungodly. Amen.

I sent you by Mr. *Alexander* a Purle with money. I have certain Tokens for you, sent by my Prison Fellowsto you, that is, from Mr. *Hawkes* 12 d. from Mr. *Simson*

Another
Letter of
R. Smith to
his wife.

Commenda-
tion of Peter
the Keeper.

Another
Letter of
R. Smith
to his wife.

Anno 1555. *Simon 12 d. from his Wife. 4 d. from Master Wals five new groats, from M. Audeley 12 d. from Master Bradford 12 d. which Men be all gone to death, except Maister Bradford, he abideth still. There is also gone to death Nicholas Chamberlaine, Thon. Ofmund, William Bamford. There is also Condemned this Monday Drinck Carver, Thomas Ioson, John Launder, and William Vassley is reprieved. Pray to God to have mercy upon his People, and bid my Brother, if he cannot well do it, let him abide at home. Have me heartily commended to your parents. I have sent each of them a token, a bowed groat, and desire them for Gods sake to help us with their Prayers. Have little Katherine in mind. Commend me unto all good friends. Continue in Prayer. Beware of vanity. Let not God be dishonoured in your conversation, but like a good Matron, keep your vessel in holiness. The peace of God rest with you for ever, Amen. My Brother Ioson sendeth to you a token, to your Mother a token, and to Katherine a token, three pence. John Launder sendeth you a piece of Spanish Money. Father Herault a piece of six pence. W. Andrews sendeth you a raft of Ginger, and I send your Mother one, and a Nutmeg. I send Katherine Comfits, for a token, to eat. I have sent you a key-clog for a token.*

Your husband Robert Smith,

A Letter sent to his friend.

Another Letter of Rob Smith to a friend or his. **T**HE eternal God keep you in his fear. I have hearty commendations unto you and your husband, beseeching Almighty God to preserve you in well doing, and in perfect knowledge of his Christ, that ye may be found faultless in the day of the Lord. I have heard say, that my friend is given over to vanity; it breaketh my heart, not only to hear that he so doth, but also reacheth other, that it is unprofitful to go to all abomination, which now stand in the Idols Temples. Nevertheless, dear friend, be ye not moved to follow sinners; for they have no inheritance with God and Christ. But look, that by going into the Idol Temple, ye defile not the Temple of God; for light hath no fellowship with darkness. But look what the Lord hath commanded, that do. For if not going to Church were without perfection, they would not learn you that lesson. But all things that is sweet to the Flesh, is allowed of the Fleshly. The Lord shall reward every Man according to his works, and he that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity, and he that by the Fleshly Man is led in the Flesh, shall of the Flesh reap corruption. The Lord Jesus give thee his holy Spirit, Amen.

I have sent thee an Epistle in metre, which is not to be laid up in my coffer, but in thy heart. Seek peace, and pursue it. Fear God, love God with all thy Heart, with all thy Soul, and with all thy strength.

Thy friend and all Mens in Christ Jesus, Robert Smith.

Scribled in much hast from N. the twelfth of May. Robert Smith to all Faithful Servants of Christ, exhorting them to be strong under Persecution.

Content thy self with patience,
With Christ to bear the Cross of pain,
Which can and will thee recompence,
A thousand fold with joyes again.
Let nothing cause thy heart to quail,
Launch out thy boat, bale up thy sail,

Put from the shore:
And beshou sure thou shalt attain,
Vnto the port that shall remain.

For evermore.

The burning of Stephen Harwood, and Thomas Fust, martyred for the testimony of the Gospel.

Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, Martyrs of God, that is to say, Stephen Harwood at Stratford, and Thomas Fust at Ware. Which both two, as they were about one time burned with the fore-

mentioned Robert Smith and George Tankerfield, although in sundry places, so were they also examined and openly Condemned together with them. Their parents, because it was joyed all in one, with the process of Robert Smith, and other of the same company above mentioned, I thought it superfluous again to repeat the same; save that of Thomas Fust this is to be added, that whereas he in his last appearing the 12. of July, was moved by the Bishop to revoke his opinion, thus he answered, No (said he) my Lord, for there is no truth cometh out of your Mouth, but all lies. Ye condemn Men and will not hear the Truth. Where can ye find any anointing or greasing in Gods Book? I speak nothing but the Truth, and I am certain that it is the Truth that I speak. This answer of him only I find noted by the Register; although how slenderly these Registers have dealt in uttering such matters, that is, in omitting those things which most worthy were to be known, by their doings it is safe to be seen. But to be short, after their answers made, both he and Thomas Fust were for their faithful perseverance Condemned together by the Bishop in his customary place, as hereticks to be burned, and so as before ye have heard, finished their Martyrdom, the one at Stratford, & the other at Ware, in the Month of August, and year above said.

The constant Martyrdom of William Hale, burned at Barnet.

OF the same company of these ten above recorded, which were sent up to Bishop Boner by Sir Nicholas Hale and other Commissioners, in the company of George Tankerfield and Robert Smith, was also William Hale of Thorp in the County of Essex, who likewise being examined with the rest, the 12. of July received with them also the sentence of Condemnation. Giving this exhortation withal to the lookers on: A good People, said he, beware of this Idolatry, and this Antichrist, pointing unto the Bishop of London, and so was he delivered to the Sheriffs as an heretic to be burned, who sent him to Barnet, where about the latter end of August he most constantly sealed up his Faith with the confining of his Body by cruel fire, yielding his Soul unto the Lord Jesus his only and most sure Redeemer.

George King, Thomas Lyes, John Wade, sickned in Prison, and were buried in the fields.

YE heard before of ten sundry persons sent out of Newgate by Master Hale and other Commissioners, to be examined of Boner Bishop of London. Of whom six already have been executed in several places, as hath been shewed; whose names were Elizabeth Warr, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, and William Hale. Other three, to wit, George King, Thomas Lyes, and John Wade sickned in Lollards Tower, were so weak that they were removed into sundry houses within the City of London, and there departed, and were cast out into the fields, and there buried by night of the faithful Brethren, when none in the day durst do it, proper metum Judaeorum. The last that remained of this forefild company was Joan Laysh of Layshford, the daughter-in-law to John Warr and Elizabeth Warr, Martyrs: but because she was reprieved to a longer day, her story and Martyrdom we will defer till the Month of January the next year following.

William Andrew.

THe like Catholick charity was also shewed upon William Andrew of Horsley, in the County of Essex, Carpenter, who was brought to Newgate the first day of April, Anno 1555. by John Morham Constable of Maulden in Essex. The first and principal promoter of him was the Lord Rich, who sent him first to Prison. Another great doer against him also seemeth to be Sir Richard Southwell Knight, by a Letter written by him to Boner, as by the Copy hereof appeareth.

The answer of Thomas Fust to Bishop Boner.

The execution and Martyrdom of George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, and William Hale.

William Hale Martyr.

Notes words to the People by Register.

Three Martyrs Richard in Prison and buried in the fields. George King, Thomas Lyes, John Wade, Martyrs.

William Andrew burned in the fields.

The Lord Rich the first sender up of William Andrew.

The Martyrdom of William Hale.



A Letter sent to Boner Bishop of London, from Sir Richard Southwell.

A Letter of
Sir Richard
Southwell to
Bishop Boner.

Plenish it your Lordship to understand, that the Lord Rich did about seven or eight weeks past, send up unto the Council, one William Andrew of Thorp, within the County of Essex, an arrogant Heretic. Their pleasure was to command me to commit him unto Newgate, where he remaineth, and as I am informed, hath infected a number in the Prison with his heresie. Your Lordship shall do very well, if it please you to convene him before you, and to take order with him, as his case doth require. I know the Council meant to have writ herein unto your Lordship, but by occasion of other business, the thing hath been omitted. Wherefore knowing their good pleasure, I did advise the Keeper of Newgate to wait upon you with these few lines. And so referring the rest to your vertuous consideration, I remain your good Lordships to command, this 12. of June, 1555.

Richard Southwell.

W. Andrew
twice before
Boner.
W. Andrew
through
strait handling,
died in
Newgate.
W. Andrew
buried in
the field.

This William Andrew being twice brought before Boner to Examination, there manfully stood in the defence of his Religion. At length through straight handling in the Prison of Newgate, there he lost his Life, which else his adversaries would have taken away by fire; and so after the Popish manner he was cast out into the field, and by night was privily buried by the hands of good Men and Faithful Brethren.

The Martyrdom of Robert Samuel, Preacher, suffering for the true defence of Christs Gospel.

Mr. Fyffer
Justice per-
secutor of
Christs Peo-
ple.

MAfter Fyffer, Justice, dwelling at Coldock in the County of Suffolke, and a little from Ipswich, being in continual hatred against the truth and the professors of the same, did not only not cease day nor night to study how to bring those in thrall and captivity, that were honest and godly inclined to Religion; but also whatsoever they were that once came in his claws, they easily escaped not without clog of Conscience, or else loss of Life, so greedily was there of Blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Samuel, in King Edwards days a very godly and right faithful Preacher of Gods Word, who for his valiant and constant behaviour in his Sermons, leaveth worthy of high admiration. He was

R. Samuel
in K. Ed-
wards days a
godly
Preacher.

A Picture describing the strait handling of the close prisoners in Lollards Tower.



Minister at Bayfield in Suffolke, where he taught faithfully and fruitfully that flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, so long as the time would suffer him to do his duty.

At the last being removed from the Ministry, and put from his Benefice (as many other good Pastors were beside) when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, yet would he not give over his care that he had for his Flock, but would teach them privily and by stealth, when he could not openly be suffered so to do. At what time order was taken by the Queen, to be published by the Commissioners, that all Priests which had married in King Edwards days, putting their wives from them, should be compelled to return again to their chastity and single life. This Decree would not Samuel stand unto, for that he knew it to be manifestly wicked and abominable; but determining with himself that Gods Laws were not to be broken for Mans traditions, kept his Wife still at Ipswich, and gave his diligence in the mean time to the instructing of other which were about him, as occasion served. At last Master Foster having intelligence hereof, being a great doer in those quarters, foresaw no time nor diligence, but oftsoons sendeth out his espials abroad, laying hard wait for Samuel, that if he came home to his Wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to Prison.

R. Samuel
removed
from the
Ministry.

R. Samuel
would not
consent to
the wicked
deceit of
Q. Mary to
put away his
Wife.

In conclusion, when such as should betray him espied him at home with his Wife, they bringing word to the Officer, came immediately flocking about his house, and beset it with a great company, and so took him in the night season, because they durst not do it in the day time, for fear of trouble and tumult; although good Samuel did nothing withstand them at all, but meekly yielded himself into their clutches of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipswich Jail, where he passed his time meekly among his Godly Brethren, so long as he was permitted to continue there. Howbeit not long after, being taken from thence, he was carried (through the malice of the wicked sort) to Norwich, where the said Bishop Doctor Hoper (whether he or Dr. Dunning his Chancellor) full like unmerciful Prelates exercised great cruelty against him, as indeed they were Men in that time of persecution, as had not their match, for strained and cruel tormenting the Bodies of the Saints among all the rest beside, especially through the peevish get Dr. Hoper. For although

R. Samuel
apprehended
in his
house by
night.

R. Samuel
put in
Ipswich Jail.

R. Samuel
removed to
Norwich.

The cruelty
of Hoper
and of
the bloody
Chancellor.

Anno 1555. the other were sharp enough in their Generation; yet could they be satisfied with imprisonment and death, and could go no farther. Neither did I ever yet hear of any besides these, which so far exceeded all bounds of pity and compassion in tormenting their poor Brethren, as this Bishop did; in such sort, that many of them he perverted, and brought quite from the truth, and some from their wits also.

The cruel
handling of
Rob. Samuel
in Prison.

The Bishop therefore, or else his Chancellor, thinking that he might as easily prevail with Samuel, as he had done with the other before, kept him in a very strait Prison at his first coming, where he was chained bolt-upright to a great Post, in such sort, that standing only on tip-toe, he was fain to stay up the whole poise or weight of his body thereby. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain that he suffered, they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirst; saying that he had every day allowed two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three spoonfuls of water, to the end rather that he might be reserved to further torment, than that they would preserve his life.

Rob. Samuel
famished in
Prison.

O worthy constancy of the Martyr! O pitiless hearts of Papists, worthy to be complained of, and to be accused before God and Nature! O the wonderful strength of Christ in his Members! Whose stomach, though it had been made of Adamant stone, would not have relented at the intolerable vexations, and extreme pains above Nature? How oftentimes would he have drunken his own water? But his body was so dried up with his long emptiness, that he was not able to make one drop of water.

Rob. Samuel
desirous to
drink his
own water,
and could
not.
Samuel
brought to
burning.

At the last, when he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in comparison of those pains that he had passed, certain there were that heard him declare what strange things had happened unto him during the time of his imprisonment: to wit, that after he had been famished or pined with hunger two or three days together, he then fell into a sleep, as it were one half

in a slumber; at which time one clad all in white seemed to stand before him, which ministered comfort unto him by these words; *Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good heart unto thee. For after this day shalt thou never be either hungry or thirsty.* Which thing came even to pass accordingly; for speedily after he was burned, and from that time till he should suffer, he felt neither hunger nor thirst. And this declared he to the end; as he said, that all men might behold the wonderful works of God. Many more like matters concerning the great comfort he had of Christ in his afflictions, he could utter, he said, besides this; but that shamefastness and modesty would not suffer him to utter it. And yet if it had pleased God, I would he had been less modest in that behalf, that the love and care that Christ hath of his might have the more appeared thereby unto us by such present Arguments, for the more plentiful comfort of the godly, though there be sufficient testimonies of the same in the holy Scriptures already.

Great con-
forts mini-
stered by the
Lord to Sa-
muel in his
painful pri-
sonment.

No less memorable it is, and worthy also to be noted, concerning the three Ladders which he told to divers he saw in his sleep, set up toward Heaven; of the which there was one somewhat longer than the rest, but yet at length they became one joining (as it were) all three together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, declaring undoubtedly the Martyrdom first of himself, and from the death of two honest women, which were brought forth, and suffered in the same Town anon after.

Another
memorable
Vision of
Samuel in
Prison.

As this godly Martyr was going to the fire, there came a certain Maid to him, which took him about the neck and kissed him, who being marked by them that were present, was sought for the next day after to be had to Prison and burned, as the very party her self informed me: Howbeit, as God of his goodness would have it, she escaped their fiery hands, keeping her self secret in the Town a good while after. But as this Maid, called *Rose Nottingham*, was marvellously preferred by the Providence of God; so there were other two honest women did fall into the rage and fury of that time. The

The outcome
of this maid
was *Rose
Nottingham*.

The cruell burning of Robert Samuel, Martyr.



The mar-
tyrdom of
Rob. Samuel
at Ipswich,
Anno 1555;
August 31.

Two godly women, the one a Brewers wife, the other was a Shoemakers wife, both together now espoused to a new Husband, Christ.

With these two was this Maid aforesaid very familiar and well acquainted, who on a time giving counsel to the one of them, that she should convey her self away while she had time and space, seeing she could not away with the Queens unjust proceedings, had this answer at her

hands again: I know well, saith she, that it is lawful enough to fly away, which remedy you may use, if you list. But my case standeth otherwise. I am tied to my Husband, and have beside a sort of young Children at home; and then I know not how my Husband, being a Carnal man, will take my departure from him; therefore I am minded, for the love of Christ and his Truth, to stand to the extremity of the matter.

This godly
wifes ex-
hortation
to fly, would
not do so,
having Hus-
band and
Children to
think on.

And

And so the next day after Samuel suffered, these two godly Wives, the one called *Anne Patten*, the other called *Jane Trunchfield*, the Wife of *Michael Trunchfield*, Shoemaker of *Ipswich*, were apprehended, and had both to Prison together. Which as they were both by Sex and Nature somewhat tender; so were they at first less able to endure the strictness of the Prison, and especially the Brewers Wife was cast into marvellous great agonies and troubles of mind thereby. But Christ beholding the weak infirmity of his Servant, did not fail to help her when she was in this necessity. So at the length they both suffered after Samuel, Anno 1536. Febr. 19. as shall be by the Lords grace declared hereafter. And these, no doubt, were those two Ladders, which being joynted with the third, Samuel saw stretched up into Heaven: This blessed Samuel, the Servant of Christ, suffered the 31 of August, Anno 1555.

The Lord
Je. 54. ready
help in time
of weakness

The report goeth among some that were there present, and saw him burn, that his Body in burning did shine as bright and white as new tised silver in the eyes of them that stood by, as I am informed by some which were there, and did behold the sight.

Letters of Robert Samuel, Preacher.

A Letter or Exhortation to the patient suffering of Afflictions for Christs Cause.

Eccl. 3.

Eccles. 4.

Id. 4.

Complaint
against Ex-
cess, and
that one un-
deserved.

Man. 1.
Eg. 1. & per-
ple rightly
reimbred
to the Go-
sp. 1.
Mark. 1.
Rom. 10.

Abundance
of Goods is
a thing pe-
rillous.
Gen. 19.

Man. 10.

Job 3.
Job 10.
God hath al-
ways a rem-
nant, whom
he will ob-
serve with
hard
adversities.
1 Cor. 10.

A Man knoweth not his time, but as the fish is taken with the Angle, and as the birds are caught with the snare; even so are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it cometh upon them. 'The time cometh; the day draweth near, *Ezekiel 7*. Better it were to die (as the Preacher saith) then to live and see the miserable works which are done under the Sun; such fudden and strange mutation, such woful, heinous, and lamentable divisions so fast approach, and none or very few thoroughly repent. Alas for this sinful Nation, a People of great iniquity and seed of ungraciousness, corrupting their ways. They have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the holy One of *Israel* to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in such security and rest, as though all dangers were clean overpast? Who now blindeth and buffeteth not Christ, which seeth me, and seeth me not? Yea, who liveth not now in such felicity, worldly pleasures and joyes, wholly seeking the world, providing and craftily flitting for the earthly clod and all carnal appetites, as though sin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hogghish *Gergeffers*, now are we more afraid and ashamed of Christ our Messias, fearing the loss of our filthy Pigs, I mean our transitory Goods, and disquieting of our sinful and mortal Bodies in this short, uncertain, and miserable life, then of a Legion of Devils, seducing and driving us from hearing, reading, and believing Christ Gods eternal Son, and his holy Word, the power to save our Souls, unto vanities, lies, and fables, and to this bewitching world.

Oh perilous abundance of goods, too much satirity of meats, wealth, and quietness, which destroyed with so many souls, those goodly Cities, *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*! *Jeroboam*, so long as he was but a poor man, not yet advanced to his dignity, lived in the Laws of God without reprehension; but brought once to wealth and prosperous state, he became a wicked and most shameful Idolater. And what made the covetous young man so loath to follow Christ, when he was bidden to forsake that worldly wealth which he then enjoyed? Wo be unto these false illusions of the World, baits of Perdition, hooks of the Devil, which have so shamefully deceived and seduced full many from the right path unto the Lord, into the High-ways of Confusion and Perpetual Perdition.

We might now worthily (dear Christians) lament and bewail our heavy state, miserable condition, and sorrowful chance: yea, I say, we might well accuse our selves, and with *Job* curse these our troublous, wicked, and bloody last days of this world, were it not that we both fee and believe, and find in Gods sacred Book, that a remnant God hath in all Ages reserved, I mean the faithful, as many as have been from the begin-

ning of the world, exercised, whetted, and polished with divers afflictions, troubles, and toffings, cast and dashed against all perils and dangers, as the very dross and out-casts of the Earth, and yet will in no wise halt between God and *Baal*; for God verily abhorreth two men in one: he cannot away with them that are between both, but casteth them away as a filthy vomit. Christ will not part spoil with his mortal enemy the Devil; he will have all, or lose all: he will not permit the Devil to have the service of the body, and he to stand contented with the heart and mind: but he will be glorified both in your bodies and in your spirits, which are his, as *S. Paul* saith, *1 Cor. 6*. For he hath made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as *S. Peter* saith, *With his own immaculate body hath he clean discharged your bodies from sin, death, and hell, and with his most precious blood paid your ransom and full price once for all and for ever*.

Now what harm, I pray you, or what loss sustain you by this? Why are you, O vain men, more afraid of Jesus your gentle Saviour, and his Gospel of Salvation, then of a Legion of cruel Devils, going about with false delusions utterly to destroy you both bodies and souls? Think you to be more sure then under your Captain, Christ? Do you promise your selves to be more quiet in Satans service, then in Christs Religion? Effect you more their transitory and pernicious pleasures, then God and all his heavenly treasures? Oh palpable darkness, horrible madness, and wilful blindness, without comparison, too much to be suffered any longer! We see and will not see; we know and will not know; yea, we smart and will not feel, and that our Conscience well knoweth. Oh miserable and brainless souls, which would for foolish pleasures and slippery wealth lose the Royal Kingdom and permanent joyes of God, with the everlasting glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world. The Children of the world live in pleasure and wealth; and the Devil, who is their God and Prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it. But let us which be of Christ seek and inquire for heavenly things, which by Gods promise and mercy in Christ shall be peculiar unto us. Let, I say, the *Cretians*, *Epicures*, and such other beastly Belials and Carnal People, pass for things that be pleasant for the body, and do appertain to this transitory life: *Tet shall they come* (as the Kingly Prophet saith) *run about the City of God, to and fro bowling like dogs, desiring one scrap of the joys of Gods Elect*, but all too late, as the rich Glutton did.

Let us therefore pass for those things that do pertain to the Spirit, and be Celestial. *We must be here* (saith *Paul*) *not as inhabitants, and home dwellers, but as strangers*: not as strangers only, but after the mind of *Paul*, as painful souldiers appointed of our Governour to fight against the Governour of darkness of this world, against spiritual craftiness in heavenly things. The time is come; we must to it; the judgment must begin first at the House of God. Began they not first with the green and foppy Tree? and what followed then on the dry branches? *Jeremy* speaking in the Person of God, saith; *In the City wherein my Name is invocated, will I begin to punish*: but as for you (meaning the wicked) shall you be as innocents, and not once touch. Nay, the dregs of Gods wrath, the bottom of all sorrows, are reserved unto them in the end: but Gods household shall drink the flower of the Cup of his Mercy. And therefore let us say with *Ezechias*; *Play the men, and shrink not*: *Let us comfort our selves, for the Lord is with us our helper, and fighteth for us*. *The Lord is* (saith he) *with you, when you be with him; and when you seek him, he will be found of you*: And again, when you forsake him, he will forsake you.

Wherefore we ought not to be dismayed, or discourage our selves, but rather to be of good comfort; not to be sad but merry; not sorrowful, but joyful, in that God of his goodness will vouchsafe to take us as his beloved Children, to subdue our sinful lusts, our wretched flesh and blood unto his glory, the promoting of his holy Word, and edifying of his Church. What if the earthly house of this our habitation (*Paul* meaning the body) be destroyed? We know assuredly we shall have

Two men in
one, God
abhorreth.
Apoc. 1.

1 Pet. 1.

No true
quietness in
Satans ser-
vice.

The misera-
ble audacity
of worldly
men be-
mused.

1 Cor. 13.
John 12.

Transitory
pleasures of
this life not
to be relied
upon.

Psalm 58.
Luke 16.

Coloss. 3.
Heb. 11.
John 7.

Ephes. 5.
1 Pet. 4.
Jerem. 17.

1 Par. 1.

1 Cor. 5.

Anno 1555. a building of God not made with hands, but everlasting in Heaven, with such joyes as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They pass all desires and wishes. Gotten they may be by Christ; esteemed they cannot be. Wherefore the more affliction and persecution the Word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abideth in Heaven. But the worldly peace, idle ease, wealthy pleasure, and this present and pleasant transitory life and felicity, which the ungodly foolishly imagine to procure unto themselves by

Samuel prophesied of the destruction of the persecutors. 1 Reg. 3.

Psalm.

To what end the persecutors do flourish in this world. Job 21. Mark 2.

The blood of Gods Martyrs preaches with more fruit than did their mouths.

Luke 2. God long looketh for repentance, and we wax worse and worse.

Isa. 3.

Wickedness of England declared. Isa. 3.

England worthily rebuked.

Jerem. 1. He bewaileth the state of England.

Lord, ye shall perish with sword, hunger, and pestilence.

Wherefore, let all the wicked enemies of Christ, and all the unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed with all hellish Furies, and clean without hope of Gods accounting day, which know not God in Christ to be their very righteousness, their life, their only salvation and alone Saviour, nor believe in him. They must, faith S. John, needs abide and perish with their sins in death and in eternal damnation. But we be the Children of Saints, as the elder Toby did answer, and look for another life, which God shall give to all them which change not their faith, nor shrink not from him. Rejoyce therefore ye Christian afflicted brethren, for they cannot take our souls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, which be kept as in the bottom of our most sweet and loving Father: and if we abide fast in Christ, and turn not away like Weather-cocks, surely we shall live forever. Christ affirmeth the same, saying, *My sheep hear my voice, I know them, they hearken unto me, and to no strangers, and I give them everlasting life, for they shall not be lost, and no man shall pluck them out of my hands:* no, nor yet this flattering world with all his vain pleasures, nor any Tyrant with his great threats and stout brags can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What consolation and comfort may we have more pleasant and effectuous than this? God is on our side, and fighteth for us; he suffereth, he smareth, and is afflicted with us. As the world can do nothing against his might, neither intaking away, or diminishing of his glory, nor putting him from his Celestial Throne; so can it not harm nor hurt any one of his Children without his good will. For we are Members of his Body, out of his Flesh, and of his Bones, and as dear to him as the Apple of his Eye.

John 8. Comfort to the afflicted brethren.

Matt. 10. John 10.

Christ himself suffered in this members afflicted. 1 Pet. 3.

Ephes. 1.

Gods promise is immutable.

1 Tim. 2. O merry last day.

Christe Jesus be here in Butchers hands. Psal. 6.

Precious is the death of Gods Saints.

Let us therefore with an earnest faith set fast hold and sure feeling upon the Promises of God in the Gospel, and let us not be fuddled from the same by any temptation, tribulation, or persecution. Let us consider the verity of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable, promising and giving us his faithful Souldiers life eternal. It is he only that hath deserved it for us: It is his only benefit, and of his only meere mercy, and unto him only must we render thanks. Let not therefore the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and foolish gauds and toys of the world, nor the crafty delutions of the Devil, drive and separate us from our hope of the Crown of Righteousness, that is laid up in store for us against the last day. Oh that happy and merry last day, I mean to the faithful, when Christ by his Covenant shall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and sit in seat with him, as he hath ascended and sitteth on Throne with his Father. The same body and soul that is now with Christ afflicted, shall then be with Christ glorified: now in the Butchers hands, as sheep appointed to dye; then sitting at Gods Table with Christ in his Kingdom, as Gods honourable and dear Children; where we shall have for earthly poverty, heavenly riches; for hunger and thirst, satiety of the pleasant presence of the glory of God; for sorrows, troubles, and cold irons, celestial joyes, and the company of Angels; and for a bodily death, life eternal. Oh happy souls! Oh precious death and evermore blessed, right dear in the eyes of God; to you the spring of the Lord shall ever be flourishing. Then (as faith Isa. 41) *The redeemed shall return and come again into Sion, praising the Lord, and eternal mercies shall be over their heads: they shall obtain mirth and solace; sorrow and we shall be utterly vanquished.* Yea, I am he, faith the Lord, that in all things giveth you everlasting consolation. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be glory and praise for ever, Amen.

Robert Samuel.

Another Letter written to the Christian Congregation by Robert Samuel, wherein he declares the Confession of his Faith.

The belief of the heart justifieth, and the knowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe, Rom. 10.

Fear

Fear not the curse of men, be not afraid of their blasphemies and revilings; for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool, but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation, Iſai. 51.

a Tim. 3.
Another
Letter of
Q. Samuel
containing
his faith.
1 Pet. 3.

Considering with my self these perillous times; perishing days, and the unconſtant and miſerable ſtate of man, the decay of our faith, the ſiniſter report and falſe ſlander of Gods moſt holy Word, theſe urgent cauſes in Conſcience do conſtrain me to confeſs and acknowledge my faith and meaning in Chriſts holy Religion, as S. Peter teacheth me, ſaying, *Beready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, and that with meekness and fear, having a good conscience, that when they backbite you as evil doers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely accused your good conversation in Christ.*

As touching my Doctrine, for that little Talent that God hath given me, God I take to record, I mine own Conſcience and mine Auditory knoweth, that I neither in doctrine nor manners willingly taught any other thing than I received of the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Chriſt, and his Apoſtles. For it were not only ſin, but alſo the very part of a curſed Miſcreant, to deny, bely, or betray the inſocency of that heavenly doctrine, or to be aſhamed to Chriſt planted it with his moſt precious blood, and all good men have more eſteemed the true and inſalſible Word of God, then all this tranſitory World, or their own mortal lives. And I believe this Doctrine of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, to be ſufficient and abſolutely perfect to inſtruct and teach me, and all the holy Church, of our duties towards God, the Magiſtrates, and our Neighbours.

Mark 3.

One God.

Three Persons.

First and principally I do aſſuredly believe, without any doubting, that there is one Deity or Divine Eſſence, and Infinite Subſtance; which is both called, and is indeed God everlaſting, unbodily, unpartible, unmeaſurable in power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, the Maker and Preſerver of all things, as well viſible as inviſible; and yet there be three diſtinct Perſons, all of one Godhead or Divine Being, and all of one power, coequal, conſubſtantial, coeternal, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

I believe in GOD the Father Almighty, &c. As touching God the Father of Heaven, I believe as much as holy Scripture teacheth me to believe. The Father is the firſt Perſon in the Trinity, firſt cauſe of our Salvation, which hath bleſſed us with all manner of bleſſings in heavenly things by Chriſt, which hath choſen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we ſhould be holy and without blame before him; who hath predeſtinate us and ordained us to be his Children of Adoption, through Chriſt Jeſus; in him, as it is ſaid, we live, we move, and have our being; he nourisheth, feedeth, and giveth meat to every Creature.

Ephes. 1.
Ad. 17.
Eph. 1. 17.

The ſecond Article.

Heb. 1.

And in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord. I believe that the Word, that is, the Son of God the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity, did take mans nature in the womb of the bleſſed Virgin Mary: So that there be in him two Natures, a Divine Nature, and a Humane Nature, in the unity of one Perſon inſeparable, conjoynd and knit in one Chriſt, truly God, and truly Man, the expreſs and perfect Image of the inviſible God, wherein the will of God the Father ſhineth apparently, and wherein man, as it were in a glaſs, may behold what he ought to do, that he may pleaſe God the Father.

Born of the Virgin Mary; truly ſuffering his paſſion, crucified, dead, and buried, to the intent to bring us again into favour with God the Father Almighty, and to be a Sacrifice, Hoſte, and Oblation, not only for Original ſin, but alſo for all Actual ſins of the whole generation of mankind. For all the works, merits, deſervings, doings, and obedience of man towards God, although they be done by the Spirit of God, in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validity, worthineſs, nor merit before God, except God for his mercy and grace account them worthy for the worthineſs and merits of Chriſt Jeſus.

The ſame Chriſt went down to the Hells, and truly

No merits of
salvation but
only in
Christ.
Wile. 2. 47.
Gen. 1. 12.
Rom. 11.
Ad. 1. 10.
Math. 4.

roſe again the third day, and aſcended into the Heavens, Anno
that he might there ſtill reign and have dominion over all
Creatures: And from thence ſhall come, &c. 1555.

I believe in the Holy Ghoſt, coequal with God the Father and the Son, and proceeding from them both; by whoſe virtue, ſtrength, and operation, the true Catholick Church, which is the Communion and Society of Saints, is guided in all truth and verity, and kept from all errors and falſe doctrine, the Devil, and all power of ſin. Which Church is ſanctified and hallowed with the precious blood and ſpirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; which hath alſo her ſign and mark, that ſhe heareth and followeth the voice of her only and true Paſtor Chriſt, and no ſtrangers. This Church alſo is the Houſe of God, the Congregation of the living God, the Pillar of Truth, the lively Body of Chriſts Church both in name and in deed.

The Catho-
lick Church
is the Com-
munion of
Saints.

John 14. 2.
Gal. 1. 1.
1 Tim. 2.

I believe the remiſſion of ſins, by the only means and merits of Chriſts death and paſſion; who is made ſin only by the merits of Chriſt apprehended by faith.

Remiſſion of
ſins only by
the merits of
Chriſt ap-
prehended
by faith.

I believe the Reſurrection of the Body, whereby in the laſt day all men ſhall riſe again from death, the ſouls joynd again to the bodies, the good to everlaſting life, the wicked to everlaſting pain and puniſhment. And nothing may more certainly ſtabliſh and confirm our faith, that we ſhall riſe again immortal both in body and ſoul, then the Reſurrection of Chriſt our Saviour, and firſt fruits of the dead. Now that Chriſt our Head is riſen, we being his Body and Members muſt follow our Head. Death, Hell, and Sin cannot ſunder nor pluck us from him. For as the Son cannot be divided nor ſundered from the Father, nor the Holy Ghoſt from them both, no more may we, being the faithful Members of Chriſt, be ſeparated from Chriſt. And for a confirmation of our Reſurrection, Chriſt would be ſeen after his Reſurrection in his moſt glorious body, his wounds being handled and felt, ſpeaking and teaching, eating and drinking, &c. We look (ſaith S. Paul) for Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, which ſhall tranſfigure our vile bodies, and conform them to his glorious body by the ſame power and vertue, wherewith he is able to ſubdue all things: even like as the grain of Wheat ſown in the ground is firſt purified and brought as into a thing of nought, yet after that it ſpringeth up freſhly with a more goodly colour, form, and beauty then it had before. The body is ſown in corruption, and riſeth in incorruption; it is ſown in diſhonour, and riſeth in honour.

Confirmati-
on of our
Reſurrection
John 1. 1.
Phil. 4.
John 14. 1.
1 Cor. 15.

Thus I verily know, and aſſuredly believe the Reſurrection of our bodies, and to have life eternal by Chriſt, and for Chriſts ſake. Verily, verily, I ſay unto you (ſaith Chriſt) he that heareth my word, and believeth on him that ſent me, hath everlaſting life, and ſhall not come into damnation, but is eſcaped from death to life. It is Chriſt that died once for our ſins, and is riſen again, never more to dye: It is he that ſwallowed up death, and hath caſt it under his feet for ever. What now can death do unto us? Verily nothing elſe, but for a little time ſeparate our precious ſouls from our wretched bodies, that divine ſubſtance from a maſs of ſin, that eternal life from a body of death, and ſo ſend our ſouls out of this miſerable, wretched, and ſorrowful life, cumbered with all calamities, unto that moſt bleſſed felicity and joyes eternal.

The ſing of
death pla-
ces out.

As concerning the holy and reverend Sacraments of Chriſts Church, which be in number two, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord. I believe them to be as S. Paul calleth them, Confirmations or Seals of Gods Promiſes, which have added to them a promiſe of grace; and therefore they are called Viſible ſigns of inviſible Grace.

His conſe-
crating the Sa-
craments.
Sacraments
are confir-
mations of
Gods grace
and accep-
tation.
The Sacra-
ment of
Baptiſm.

The Sacrament of Baptiſm is a mark of Chriſts Church, a Seal and Confirmation of our acceptance into the Grace and Favour of God for Chriſts ſake. For his Innocency, his Righteouſneſs, his Holineſs, his Juſtice, is ours, given us of God, and our Sins and Unrighteouſneſs, by his obedience and abating of himſelf to the death of the Croſs, are his, wherof Baptiſm is the ſign, ſeal, and confirmation.

Bap-

Anno 1555. Baptism is also a sign of Repentance, to testify that we be born to the waves of perils, and changes of life, to the intent that we should dye continually, as long as we live, from sin, and rise again like new men unto righteousness, Rom. 6.

The other Sacrament, which is the Supper and holy Maundy of our Saviour Christ, whereby the Church of Christ is known, I believe to be a remembrance of Christs Death and Passion, a seal and confirmation of his most precious body given unto death, even to the vile death of the Cross, wherewith we are redeemed and delivered from sin, death, hell, and damnation. It is a visible Word, because it worketh the same thing in the eyes, which the Word worketh in the ears. For like as the Word is a mean to the ears, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe, Rom. 10. so this Sacrament is a mean to the eyes, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe: it preacheth peace between God and man; it exhorteth to mutual love and all godly life, and teacheth to condemn the world for the life to come, when as Christ shall appear, which now is in Heaven, and no where else as concerning his Humane Body.

Yet do I believe assuredly, that his very Body is present in his most holy Supper at the contemplation of our spiritual eyes, and so verily eaten with the mouth of our Faith. For as soon as I hear these most comfortable and heavenly words spoken and pronounced by the mouth of the Minister: This is my Body which is given for you: when I hear (I say) this heavenly harmony of Gods infallible Promises and Truth: I look not upon, neither do I behold bread and wine; for I take and receive the words simply and plainly, even as Christ spake them. For hearing these words, my senses be wrapt and utterly excluded; for faith wholly taketh place, and not flesh, nor the carnal imaginations of our gross fleshly, and unconverted eating after the manner of our bodily food, which profiteth nothing at all as Christ witnesseth, John 6. but with a sorrowful and wounded Conscience, an hungry and thirsty Soul, a pure and faithful mind do fully embrace, behold, and feed, and look upon that most glorious Body of Christ in Heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, very God and very Man, which was crucified and slain, and his blood shed for our sins, there now making intercession, offering and giving his holy body for me, for my body, for my ransom, for my full price and satisfaction, who is my Christ, and all that ever he hath; and by this spiritual and faithful eating of this lively and heavenly bread, I feel the most sweet sap and taste of the fruits, benefits, and unspeakable joyes of Christs Death and Passion, fully digested into the bowels of my Soul. For my mind is quieted from all worldly adversities, turmoilings, and troubles, my Conscience is pacified from sin, death, hell, and damnation; my soul is full, and hath even enough, and will no more; for all things are but loss, vile dung, and dross, vain vanity, for the excellent knowledge sake of Christ Jesus my Lord and Saviour.

Thus now is Christs flesh my very meat indeed, and his blood my very drink indeed, and I am become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones. Now I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: yea, I dwell in him, and he in me; for through faith in Christ, and for Christs sake we are one, that is, of one consent, mind and fellowship with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Job. 17. Thus am I assured by Gods grace, my dwelling and resting place for body and soul, life and death. And thus I commit my cause unto Christ the righteous and just Judge, who will another day judge these debates and controversies; whom I humbly beseech to cast his tender and merciful eyes upon the afflicted and ruinous Churches, and shortly to reduce them into a godly and perpetual concord, Amen.

Thus do I believe, and this is my faith and my understanding in Christ my Saviour, and his true and holy Religion. And this whosoever is ashamed to do among this adulterous and sinful Generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy Angels.

Robert Samuel

William Allen, Martyr.

Now after the suffering of Robert Samuel, about the beginning of September, was burned William Allen in Walsingham, labouring man, servant sometime to John Houghton of Somerset. He being brought before the Bishop, and asked the cause why he was imprisoned; answered, That he was put in Prison, because he would not follow the Cross, saying; that he would never go on Procession.

Then being willed by the Bishop to return again to the Catholic Church; he answered, that he would turn to the Catholic Church, but not to the Romish Church; and said, That if he saw the King and Queen, and all other follow the Cross, or kneel down to the Cross, he would not. For the which, Sentence of Condemnation was given against him the 12. of August, and he burned at Walsingham about the beginning of September, who declared such constancy at his Martyrdom, and had such credit with the Justices, by reason of his upright and well tried conversation among them, that he was suffered to go united to his suffering, and there being fastened with a Chain, stood quietly without shrinking until he died.

The Martyrdom of Roger Coo of Melford in Suffolk, Sheerman, first examined before the Bishop of Norwich, and by him condemned, Anno 1555. August 12.

Roger Coo brought before the Bishop, first was asked why he was imprisoned. Coo. At the Justices commandment. Bish. There was some cause why. Coo. Here is my Accuser, let him declare. And his Accuser said, that he would not receive the Sacrament.

Bish. Then the Bishop said, that he thought he had transgressed a Law.

Coo. But Coo answered that there was no law to transgress.

Bish. The Bishop then asked, what he said to the law that then was?

Coo. He answered how he had been in Prison a long time, and knew it not.

No, said his Accuser, nor will not. My Lord, ask him when he received the Sacrament.

Coo. When Coo heard him say so, he said, I pray you my Lord let him sit down and examine me himself.

Bish. But the Bishop would not hear that, but said, Coo, why? will ye not receive.

Coo. He answered him, That the Bishop of Rome had changed Gods Ordinances, and given the people bread and wine in stead of the Gospel, and the belief of the same.

Bish. How prove you that?

Coo. Our Saviour said, My flesh is meat in deed, and my blood is drink in deed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood abideth in me, and I in him, and the bread and wine doth not so.

Bish. Well Coo, thou dost slander our holy Fathers. Did not Christ take bread, give thanks, and brake it, and said, This is my Body?

Coo. Yes, said he; and so he went further with the Text, saying, Which shall be given for you: do this in remembrance of me.

Bish. You have said the truth.

Coo. Then Coo replied further, and said, Christ willed to do this in remembrance of him, and not to say this in remembrance of him, neither did the Holy Ghost so lead the Apostles, but taught them to give thanks, and to break bread from house to house, and not to say as the Bishop said.

Bish. How prove you that?

Coo. It is written in the second of the Acts.

Then the Bishops Chaplain said it was true.

Bish. The Bishop asked him if he could say his Belief.

Coo. He answered yea, and so said part of the Creed, and then after he said, he believed more; for he believed the Ten Commandments, that it was meet for all such

Will. Allen Martyr.

The Martyrdom of Will. Allen at Walsingham, Anno 1555. Squinch.

Roger Coo Martyr.

Talk between Roger Coo and Hispyn Sp. of Remynd.

Roger Coo to his Accuser.

The Bishop of Rome.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

such as look to be saved, to be obedient unto them.

Bish. Is not the holy Church to be believed also?

Coo. Yes, if it be builded upon the Word of God.

Bish. The Bishop said to *Coo*, that he had charge of his soul.

Coo. Have ye so my Lord? Then if ye go to the Devil for your sins, where shall I become?

Bish. Do you not believe as your Father did? Was not he an honest man?

Daniel 9.

Coo. It is written, that after Christ hath suffered, There shall come a People with the Prince that shall destroy both City and Sanctuary. I pray you shew me whether this destruction was in my fathers time, or now?

Bish. The Bishop not answering his question, asked him whether he would not obey the Kings Laws.

Coo. As far as they agree with the Word of God, I will obey them.

Bish. * Whether they agree with the Word of God or not, we be bound to obey them, if the King were an Infidel.

* Well spoken, and like the Popes Clerk.

Coo. If *Syrach*, *Mysaac*, and *Abednago* had so done. *Nebuchodonsor* had not confessed the living God.

Bish. Then the Bishop told him, that these 22. years we have been governed with such Kings.

Coo. My Lord, why were ye then dumb, and did not speak or bark?

Bish. I durst not for fear of death: and thus they ended.

But after this done, it was reported that I railed; wherefore I called it to memory, and wrote this my railing, that light should not be taken for darkness, nor sin for holiness, and the Devil for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and ever, Amen.

The Martyrdom of Roger Coo at Yoxford, Anno 1555. Sept.

This *Roger Coo*, an aged Father, after his sundry troubles and conflicts with his Adversaries, at length was committed to the fire at *Yoxford* in the County of *Sussex*, where he most blessedly ended his aged years, Anno 1555. Mens. Septemb.

Thomas Cob of Haverhill, Butcher, Martyr.

Anno

1555.

Over and besides this foresaid *Roger Coo*, *William Allen*, *James Abbes of Stokenneyland*, *Robert Samuel*, *Thomas Cob of Haverhill*, Butcher, executed in the Month of *September* aforesaid. Who being brought and examined by *Michael Dunning*, the bloody Chancellor of *Norwich*; first, whether he believed that Christ is really and substantially in the Sacrament of the Altar; answered, That the Body of Christ, born of the blessed Virgin, was in Heaven, and otherwise (he said) he would not answer, because he had read it in the Scripture, that Christ did ascend, and did never descend since; and therefore said, that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Christ should be in the Sacrament.

The Real Presence of Christ only in Heaven.

Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the Laws of the Realm of *England*, made for the unity of faith, or no: he answered, That his body should be at the King and Queens commandment so far as the Law of God would suffer, &c. In fine, the said *Thomas Cob* being condemned the same 12. day of *August*, with the other his Fellow-Martyrs, was burned in the Town of *Thetford*, Anno 1555. Mens. Septemb.

The Martyrdom of Thomas Cob at Thetford, Anno 1555. Sep.

The Martyrdom of *George Catmer*, *Robert Streater*, *Anthony Burward*, *George Brodbridge*, and *James Tuty*.

Now from *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, to return again into the Diocets of *Canterbury*, we have to intreat of five worthy Martyrs, whose blood in the same year and month of *September* was spilt for the true testimony of Christ, and his Gospels cause. The Names of the which five Martyrs, were these:

George Catmer of *Hitch*.
Robert Streater of *Hitch*.
Anthony Burward of *Calate*.
George Brodbridge of *Bromfield*.
James Tuty of *Brenchley*.

The burning of five Martyrs at Canterbury.



Examination of these five Martyrs

Who upon the Third day of *August* were brought before *Thornon* the foresaid Bishop of *Dover* and his Complices, and there were both joyntly and severally examined upon certain Articles, touching the Sacrament of their Altar, Auricular Confession, and other such like.

Examination and answers of Catmer.

To the which the said *Catmer* (being first examined) made answer on this wise; Christ (quoth he)

sitteth in Heaven on the right hand of God the Father; and therefore I do not believe him to be in the Sacrament of the Altar: but he is in the worthy Receiver Spiritually, and the Sacrament, as you use it, is an abominable Idol.

Next unto him was called forth *Robert Streater* who being also asked, Whether he did believe the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, said,

Anno 1555. **U**nto this present time and month of September, Heretic and Idolatry (quoth he) in that ye teach to worship a false God in the Sacrament, enclosed in a Box. It is you that are the malignant Church; for in your Church there are twenty things used against the Law of God.

Second examined. The like objection was articulate also against *Anthony Barward*, who also said, that their Sacrament was made an Idol.

Broadbridge examined. After him was *George Broadbridge* demanded what he said to those Articles. Who answered, that he would not be confessed of a Priest, because he could not forgive his own sins. And further said, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the real Body of our Saviour Christ, but Bread given in the remembrance of him. Moreover, as for your holy Bread, your holy Water, and your Mass, I do (quoth he) utterly despise them.

John Tutty And last of all, did also *James Tutty* make and confirm their said former answers.

And therefore they were all five condemned to be burned as Heretics, and so were they all, in one fire at *Canterbury* aforesaid, about the sixth day of September then next following.

Thomas Hayward and John Goreway, Martyrs.

Th. Hayward, John Goreway, Martyrs. **A**lthough the rage and vehemency of this terrible Persecution in Queen *Maries* days did chiefly light in *London*, *Essex*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Kent*, as hath been partly already declared; yet notwithstanding, besides the same, we find but few parts of this Realm free from this fatal storm, but some good Martyrs or other there shed their blood. And first to begin

with the Diocess of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, there we find these two to be condemned and also burned about the middle of the said Month of September at the Town of *Litchfield*; whose names were *Thomas Hayward* and *John Goreway*.

The persecution and story of Mr. Robert Glover Gentleman, and of John Glover his Brother, in the Diocess of Litchfield.

The story of Mr. Robert Glover, Martyr, and of Mr. John Glover his brother. **U**nto this present time and month of September, pertaineth also the memorable Martyrdom of *Mr. Robert Glover* Gentleman, in the Diocess of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*. Of whose apprehension and troubles, because I cannot well intreat, but I must also intermix some mention of his Brother *John Glover*, forasmuch as this privy Commission was chiefly sent down for the said *John*, and not for *Robert Glover*, (albeit it pleased Almighty God, that *John* escaped, and *Robert* in his stead was apprehended.) I thought therefore in one story to comprehend them both, in describing some part of their virtuous institution and order of life: and first to begin with *John* the eldest Brother. Who being a Gentleman, and heir to his Father, dwelling in the Town of *Mancton*, was endued with fair Possessions of worldly Goods, but yet much more plentifully enriched with Gods heavenly grace and inward virtues. Which grace of God so working in him, he with his other Brethren, *Robert* and *William*, not only received and embraced the happy light of Christs holy Gospel, but also most devoutly zealously professed, and no less diligently in their living and conversation followed the same; much unlike unto our Table-Gospellers now adays, *Virtutem qui verba putant, ut lucum ligna*, as *Horace* saith.

And as touching this foresaid *John Glover* (who through his manifold afflictions seemed to have a deeper taste and contemplation of spiritual things, joynd with mortification from all worldly cares more than the other had) although sufficient relation be made before in our first edition to be seen; yet concerning his spiritual conflicts, and the Lords gracious working in him, because the consideration thereof is both worthy of memory, and the example may work experience peradventure to the comfort of the godly, it shall not be hurtful to rehearse some part of the same. So it pleased God to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous passions upon this man, that though he suffered not the

pains of the outward fire, as his Brother and other Martyrs did; yet if we consider what inwardly in spirit and mind this man felt and suffered; and that so long time, he may well be counted with his Brother *Robert* for a Martyr, being no less desirous with him of the same Martyrdom; yea, and in comparison may seem to be Chronicled for a double Martyr.

For as the said *Robert* was speedily dispatched with the sharp and extrem torments of the fire in a short time; so this no less blessed Saint of God, what and how much more grievous pangs, what sorrowful torments, what boiling heats of the fire of hell in his spirit inwardly he felt and sustained, no speech outwardly is able to express. Being young, I remember I was once or twice with him, who partly by his talk I perceived, and partly by mine own eyes saw to be so worn and consumed by the space of five years, that neither almost any brooking of meat, quietness of sleep, pleasure of life, yea and almost no kind of senses was left in him: And doubtless I have greatly wondered oftentimes at the marvellous works and operation of Christ shewed upon him, who unless he had relieved betimes his poor wretched servant so far worn; with some opportune consolation now and then betwixt, it could not possible be, that he should have sustained so intolerable pains and torments. And yet the occasion thereof was not of so great moment and weight: But this we see common among holy and blessed men, how the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspicion and mistrust they have of themselves; whereby it cometh to pass, that often they are so terrified and perplexed with small matters, as though they were huge Mountains; whereas contrary, others there be whom most heinous and very sore crimes indeed do nothing touch or stir at all.

The occasion of this was, That he being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the Gospel, and having received a wondrous sweet feeling of Christs heavenly Kingdom, his mind, after that, falling a little to some cogitation of his former affairs belonging to his vocation, began by and by to mislead himself upon the occasion of these words written in the seventh to the Hebrews; *For it cannot be that they which were once illumined, and have tasted the heavenly gift, &c.* Upon the consideration of which words, he fully persuaded himself that he had sinned verily against the Holy Ghost: even so much, that if he had been in the deepest pit of Hell, he could almost have departed no more of his salvation. Here readily every good man may judge of himself, what terrors, boilings, and convulsions tormented in the mean time in his woful breast: although it be hard for any man to judge the grievousness thereof, unless he which hath experience of the like.

In comparing now the torments of all Martyrs with his pains, I pray you what pains, punishment, and flames would not he willingly have suffered, to have had some refocillation and time of refreshing? Who in such intolerable griefs of mind, although he neither had nor could have any joy of his meat, yet was he compelled to eat against his appetite, to the end to defer the time of his damnation, so long as he might, thinking with himself no less, but that he must needs be thrown into Hell, the breath being once out of the body. Albeit Christ, he thought, did pity his case, and was sorry for him; yet he could not (as he imagined) help, because of the verity of the word, which said, *It cannot be, &c.*

And this I rehearse of him, not so much to open his wounds and sorrows, as for that by his example all we with him may glorify the Son of God, who suffereth none to be tempted above his strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the asperity of evils, that what seemeth to us intolerable, not only he doth alienate the same, that we may bear it, but also turneth it to our further commodity then we can think. Which well appeared in this good Servant of God, in no man more. Who albeit (as we have said) he suffered many years so sharp temptations and strong buffetings of Satan; yet the Lord, who graciously preserved him all the while, not only at last did rid him out of all discomfort, but also framed him thereby to such mortification of life, as the like lightly hath not been seen; in such sort as he being like one placed

The inward conflicts and exercise of John Glover, John Glover a double Martyr.

A heavy cross of inward torments laid upon John Glover.

The better confidence the sooner disquieted.

The first occasion of John Grovers inward affliction.

No grief like to the grief of confidence.

Hebr. 7.

John Glover by the grace of Christ rescued from temptations and hard distractions.

in Heaven already, and dead in this World, both in word and meditation led a life altogether Celestial, abhorring in his mind all prophane doings. Neither was his talk any thing discrepant from the fruits of his life, throwing out never any idle, vile or vain language. The most part of his Lands he distributed to the use of his Brethren, and committed the rest to the guiding of his Servants and Officers, whereby the more quietly he might give himself to his godly study, as to a continual Sabbath rest. This was about the latter end of King Henry's reign, and continued a great part of the time of King Edward the sixth.

After this, in the persecuting days of Queen Mary, as soon as the Bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John aforesaid, being so ardent and zealous in the Gospel of Christ, effusions he wrote his Letter to the Maior and Officers of Coventry to apprehend him as soon as might be. But it chanced otherwise by Gods holy Providence, disposing all things after his own secret pleasure, who feeng his old and trusty Servant to many years with so extreme and many torments broken and dried up, would in no wise heap too many sorrows upon one poor silly wretch: neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been already baked and scorched with the sharp fires of inward affliction, and had sustained so many burning darts and conflicts of Satan so many years: God therefore of his Divine Providence, thinking it too much that one man should be so much overcharged with so many plagues and torments, did graciously provide, that Robert his Brother being both stronger of body, and also better furnished with helps of learning to answer the Adversaries (being a Master of Art in Cambridge) should sustain that conflict, and even so it came to pass, as ye shall hear.

The Maior of Coventry sendeth a privy watch word to John Glover.

For as soon as the Maior of Coventry had received the Bishops Letters for the apprehending of Mr. John Glover, he sent forthwith a privy watch word to the said John to convey away himself: Who with his Brother William was not so soon departed out of his house, but that yet in the sight of the Sheriff and other, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the Bishops commandment.

Mr. Robert Glover apprehended lying sick in his Chamber.

But when the said John could in no place be found, one of the Officers going into an upper Chamber, found there Robert the other Brother lying on his bed, and sick of a long Disease; who was by him incontinent brought before the Sheriff. Which Sheriff notwithstanding favouring Robert and his cause, would indeed faine have dismissed him, and wrought what means he could, saying, That he was not the man for whom they were sent: Yet nevertheless being feared with the stout words of the Officer, contending with him to have him stayed till the Bishops coming, he was constrained to carry him away against his will, and so laid him fast while the Bishop came. And thus much by the way of preamble first concerning the worthy remembrance of Mr. John Glover.

Now to enter the matter which principally we have in hand, that is, to consider the Story and Martyrdom of Mr. Robert Glover, so far as the whole Narration of the same by his own record and testimony in writing was sent unto his Wife, concerning the manner of his ordering and handling: it shall therefore seem best for the more credit of the matter, to exhibit the said his own Letter, the words and contents whereof here ensue as followeth.

A Letter of Mr. Robert Glover to his wife, containing the whole discourse and description of his troubles sustained in prison, and of his sundry conflicts between the Bishop and him about Religion.

To my entirely beloved wife, Mary Glover.

A Letter of Mr. Robert Glover to his wife, certifying his troubles since his first apprehension.

THE Peace of Conscience which passeth all understanding, the sweet consolation, comfort, strength, and boldness of the Holy Ghost be continually increased in our hearts, through a fervent, earnest, and stedfast faith in our most dear and only Saviour Jesus Christ, Amen.

I thank you heartily (most loving Wife) for your

Letters sent unto me in my Imprisonment. I read them Anno with tears more than once or twice, with tears (I say) 1555. for joy and gladness, that God had wrought in you so merciful a work; first, an unfeigned repentance; secondly, an humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a willing submission and obedience to the will of God in all things. Which when I read in your Letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart; I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and these his great mercies poured upon you.

These your Letters, and the hearing of your most godly proceedings and constant doings from time to time, much relieved and comforted me at all times, and shall be a goodly testimony with you at the great day, against many worldly and dainty Dames, which set more by their own pleasure and self in this world, than by Gods glory, little regarding (as it appeareth) the everlasting health of their own souls or others. My prayer shall be whilst I am in this world, that God, which of his great mercy hath begun his good work in you, will finish it to the glory of his Name, and by the mighty power and inspiration of his holy Spirit so strengthen, stablish, and confirm you in all his ways to the end, that we may together shew forth his Praises in the world to come, to our unspeakable consolation everlastingly, Amen.

So long as God shall lend you continuance in this miserable world, above all things give your self continually to prayer, lifting up, as St. Paul saith, clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting, forgiving (as he saith also) if you have any thing against any man, as Christ forgiveth us. And that we may be the better willing to forgive, it is good often to call to remembrance the multitude and greatness of our sins, which Christ daily and hourly pardoneth and forgiveth us, and then we shall, as St. Peter affirmeth, be ready to cover and hide the offences of our Brethren, be they never so many. And because Gods Word teacheth us, not only the true manner of praying, but also what we ought to do or not to do in the whole discourse and practice of this life, what pleaseth or displeaseth God, and that, as Christ saith, *The Word of God that he hath spoken, John 12:1* *ken shall judge in the last day:* Let your prayer be to this end especially, That God of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart the true sense, knowledge, and understanding of his most holy Word, and give you grace in your living, to express the fruits thereof.

And so far as it is, as the Holy Ghost calleth it, the word of affliction, that is, it is seldom without hatred, persecution, peril, danger of loss of life and goods, and whatsoever seemeth pleasant in this world, as experience teacheth you in this time: call upon God continually for his assistance always, as Christ teacheth, casting your accounts what it is like to cost you, endeavouring your self, through the help of the Holy Ghost by continuance of prayer, to lay your foundation so sure, that no storm or tempest shall be able to overthrow or cast it down; remembering always (as Christ saith) *Lets* wife; that is, to beware of looking back to that thing that displeaseth God. And because nothing displeaseth God so much as Idolatry, that is false worshipping of God, otherwise than his Word commandeth: Look not back (I say) nor turn not your face to their idolatrous and blasphemous massing, manifestly against the word, practice, and example of Christ; as it is most manifest to all that have any taste of the true understanding of Gods Word, that there remaineth nothing in the Church of England at this present, profitable or edifying to the Church and Congregation of the Lord, all things being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the express commandment of the Holy Ghost.

They object that they be the Church, and therefore they must be believed. My answer was, The Church of God knoweth and acknowledgeth no other Head but Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom ye have refused, and chosen the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, Enemy to Christ, the Devils Deputy and Lieutenant, the Pope. Christs Church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by his word, as he saith, *My sheep hear my voice. If you abide in me, and my word in you, you be my Disciples.* Their Church

The worldly wisdoms commonly of English women noted.

Tim. 2. 8. Clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting, forgiving (as Christ saith) if you have any thing against any man, as Christ forgiveth us.

Pet. 4.

John 12:1

1 Cor. 12

Luke 17. Example of Lest wife.

Nothing useful in Queen Marys time profitable to edification.

The first note proving the Church of the Papists not to be the true Church.

2. Note. John 10: 10.

Anno Church repelleth Gods Word, and forceth all men to follow their Traditions.

1555. Christs Church dare not add or diminish, alter or change his blessed Testament; but they be not afraid to take away all that Christ instituted, and go a whoring (as the Scripture faith) with their own Inventions, *Et letari super operibus manuum suarum*; i. To glory and rejoyce in the works of their own hands.

4 Note to know the Church. The Church of Christ is, hath been, and shall be in all Ages under the Cross, persecuted, molested, and afflicted, the World ever hating them, because they be not of the world. But these persecute, murder, slay, and kill such as profess the true Doctrine of Christ, be they in learning, living, conversation, and other virtues never so excellent.

5 Note. John 5. Christ and his Church reserved the trial of their Doctrine to the Word of God, and gave the people leave to judge thereof by the same Word, *Search the Scriptures*: But this Church taketh away the Word from the people, and suffereth neither learned nor unlearned to examine or prove their Doctrine by the Word of God.

4 Note to know the Church. The true Church of God laboureth by all means to resist and withstand the Lusts, Desires, and Motions of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil: These for the most part give themselves to all Voluptuousness, and secretly commit such things, which (as *S. Paul* faith) it is shame to speak of.

By these, and such like manifest probations, they do declare themselves to be none of the Church of Christ, but rather of the Synagogue of Satan. It shall be good for you oftentimes to confer and compare their proceedings and doings with the practise of those whom the Word of God doth teach to have been true Members of the Church of God, and it shall work in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldness to withstand with suffering their doings. I likened them therefore to *Nemrod*, whom the Scripture calleth a mighty Hunter, or a stout Champion, telling them that that which they could not have by the Word, they would have by the Sword, and be the Church whether men will or no, and called them with good Conscience, as Christ called their Forefathers, the Children of the Devil; and as their Father the Devil is a liar and a murderer, so their Kingdom and Church (as they call it) standeth by lying and murdering.

Have no fellowship with them therefore, my dear wife, nor with their Doctrine and Traditions, lest you be partaker of their sins, for whom is reserved a heavy damnation, without speedy repentance. Beware of such as shall advertise you something to bear with the world as they do, for a season. There is no dallying with Gods matters, *It is a fearful thing* (as *S. Paul* faith) *to fall into the hands of God*. Remember the Prophet *Hielias*, *Why halt ye on both sides?* Remember what Christ faith, *He that putteth his hands to the Plough, and looketh back, is not worthy of me*. And seeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good Souldier in the foreward, play not the coward, neither draw back to the rearward.

3 Reg. 18. Luke 9. *S. John* numbred among them that shall dwell in the fiery Lake, such as be fearful in Gods cause. Set before your eyes always the examples of such as have behaved themselves boldly in Gods cause, as *Stephen, Peter, Paul, Daniel*, the three Children, the Widows sons, and in your days, *Anne Askew, Lawrence Saunders, John Bradford*, with many other faithful Witnesses of Christ.

Phil. 1. He exhorteth to be bold in Christ. *Be afraid in nothing* (saith *S. Paul*) *of the Adversaries of Christ: Doctrine, the which is to them the sign of perdition, but to you of everlasting salvation*. Christ commandeth the same, saying, *Fear them not*. Let us not follow the example of him which asked time first to take leave of his friends. If we do so, we shall find few of them that will encourage us to go forward in our business, please it God never so much. We read not that *James and John, Andrew and Simon*, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers and friends pleasure. But the Scripture faith, *They forsook all, and by and by followed Christ*.

Math. 13. Christ likened the Kingdom of God to a precious Pearl, the which whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it. Yea, whosoever hath but a little taste or glimmering how precious a Treasure the Kingdom of Heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods for the obtaining of it. But the most part now adays be like to *Esope*, Cock, which when he had found a precious stone, wished rather to have found a barley corn. So ignorant be they how precious a Jewel the Word of God is, that they chooseth rather the things of this world, which being compared to it, be less in value than a barley corn.

If I would have given place to worldly reasons, these might have moved me: First, the foregoing of you and my Children; the consideration of the state of my Children, being yet tender of Age, and young, apt and inclinable to virtue and learning, and so having the more need of my assistance, being not altogether destitute of gifts to help them withal; possessions above the common sort of men; because I was never called to be a Preacher or Minister; and (because of my sickness) fear of death in imprisonment before I should come to my answer, and so my death to be unprofitable.

But these and such like, I thank my heavenly Father (which of his infinite mercy inspired me with his holy Ghost, for his Sons sake my only Saviour and Redeemer) prevailed not in me: but when I had by the wonderful permission of God, fallen into their hands, at the first sight of the Sheriff, Nature a little abashed; yet ere ever I came to the Prison, by the working of GOD, and through his goodness, fear departed. I said to the Sheriff at his coming unto me, What matter have you Master Sheriff to charge me withal? He answered, You shall know when you come before the Masters; and so taking me with him, I looked to have been brought before the Masters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me withal: but contrary to my expectation, I was committed forthwith to the Goal, not being called to my Answer, little justice being shewed therein. But the less justice a man findeth at their hands, the more consolation in Conscience shall he find from God; for whosoever is of the world, the world will love him.

After I came into Prison, and had reposed my self there a while, I wept for joy and gladness, my belly full, musing much of the great mercies of God, and (as it were) saying to my self after this sort; O Lord, whom am I, on whom thou shouldst bestow this thy great mercy, to be numbered among the Saints that suffer for the Gospel sake? And so beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, unbleness, sinful misery, and unworthiness, and on the other side the greatness of Gods mercy, to be called to so high promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladness, concluding thus with my self in my heart; O Lord, thou shewest power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness; who shall let thee to choose where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealously loved the confession of thy Word, so ever thought I my self to be most unworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the same.

Not long after came unto me *Mr. W. Brasbridge*, *Mr. C. Phimeas*, *Mr. N. Hopkins*, travelling with me to be dismissed upon bonds. To whom my answer was to my remembrance) after this sort: Forasmuch as the Masters have imprisoned me, having nothing to burthen me withal, if I should enter into bonds, I should in so doing accuse my self; and seeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me pass without bonds, as with bonds.

Secondarily, If I shall enter bonds, covenant; and promise to appear, I shall do nothing but excuse, colour and cloak their wickedness, and endanger my self nevertheless, being bound by my promise to appear. They alledged many worldly persuasions to me to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture, if I brake promise: I said unto them, I had cast up my pennyworth by Gods help. They undertook also to make the bond ease.

And when they were somewhat importunate, I said to *Mr. Hopkins*, That liberty of Conscience was a precious thing, and took, as it were, a pause, lifting up my heart to God earnestly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might please him. And so when they had let their suit fall, my heart (me thought) was wonderfully comforted. *Mr. Dudley* communed with me in like manner; whom I answered in effect as I did before.

Afterward debating the matter with my self, these considerations came into my head; I have from time to time

Worldly Christians resembled to *Esop* Cocks.

Worldly also laments and motions of drawing back by Gods grace withstanded

Experienced in the Lords assistance in suffering his servants.

Mr. These committed to the Goal before any cause was declared. Gods righteousness consolation upon *R. Glover* in Prison.

Mr. Glover despatch for joy in prison.

Mr. Glover counselled to me in bonds. *R. Glover* refused to enter into bonds.

Worldly persuasions, not received

Mr. Glover again visited with Gods mercy a new

Mr. Glover refused to enter into bonds.

G 3 time

time with good Confidence (God I take to record) moved all such as I had conference withal to be no dalliers in Gods matters, but to shew themselves, after so great a light and knowledge, hearty, earnest, constant, and stable in so manifest a Truth, and not to give place one jot contrary to the same. Now thought I, if I shall withdraw my self, and make any shifts to pull my own neck out of the collar, I shall give great offence to my weak Brethren in Christ, and advantage to the Enemies to slander Gods Word. It will be said, He hath been a great boldner of others to be earnest and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himself will give no such example.

Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and Man, being (as it were) by the great goodness of God marvelously called and appointed herunto, to set aside all fear, perils and dangers, all worldly respects and considerations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the measure of my small gift within the compass of my vocation and calling, from the bottom of my heart unfeignedly moved, exhorted and perswaded all that profess Gods Word, manfully to persist in the defence of the same, not with sword and violence, but with suffering and loss of life, rather than to defile themselves again with the whorish abomination of the Romish Antichrist; so the hour being come, with my fact and example to ratify, confirm, and protest the same to the hearts of all true Believers: and to this end, by the mighty assistance of Gods holy Spirit, I resolved my self, with much peace of Confidence, willingly to sustain whatsoever the Romish Antichrist should do against me, and the rather because I understood the Bishops coming to be at hand, and considered that poor mens Conferences should be then sharply assaulted. So remained I prisoner in Coventry by the space of ten or eleven days, being never called to my answer of the Masters, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, they having neither Statute, Law, Proclamation, Letter, Warrant, nor commandment for my apprehension. They would have laid all the matter upon the Sumner: who being examined, denied it before their faces (as one of my friends told me) saying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreame doings against me to their charge at the great day.

The second day after the Bishops coming to Coventry, Mr. Warren came to the Guildhall, and willed the chief Jaylor to carry me to the Bishop. I laid to Mr. Warrens charge the cruel seeking of my death; and when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not wipe his hands so; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

And so he departed from me, saying, I needed not to fear if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes if it be his will, and give him grace to believe this, which he and all of his inclination shall find (I fear) too true for their parts; that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciously, and spitefully persecute, molest, and afflict the Members of Christ for their Confidence sake, and for the true testimony of Christs Word, and cause them most unjustly to be slain and murdered, without speedy repentance, shall dwell with the Devil and his Angels in the fierce lake everlastingly, where they shall with desire, cry and call, but in vain (as their right Companion Epulo did) to be refreshed of them, whom in this world they contemned, despised, disdained, as Slaves, Misers, and Wretches.

When I came before the Bishop in one Dentons house, he began with this Proclamation, that he was my Bishop for lack of a better, and willed me to submit my self.

I said to him, I am not come to accuse my self; what have you to lay to my charge?

He asked me whether I was learned? I answered, finally learned.

Master Chancellor standing by, said, I was a Master of Arts in Art.

Then my Lord laid to my charge my not coming to the Church.

Have I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, forasmuch as I had not been for a long fra-

son in his Diocesi, neither was any of the Citizens able to prove any such matter against me. Norwithstanding I answered him through Gods merciful help, that I never had nor would come at their Church as long as their Mals was used there, to save (if I had them) five hundred lives. I willed him to shew me one jot or title in the Scriptures for the proof and defence of the Mals.

He answered, he came to teach, and not to be taught. I was content (I told him) to learn of him, so far as he was able to teach me by the Word of God.

Bish. Who shall judge the Word?

Glover. Christ was content that the people should judge his Doctrine by searching the Scriptures, and so was Paul; me thinketh ye should claim no further privilege nor preeminence than they had.

Thus spake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he was content the Primitive Church next to the Apostles time, should judge betwixt the Bishop and him. But he refused also to be judged by that. Then he said he was his Bishop, and therefore he must believe him.

Glover. If you say black is white, my Lord (quoth Glover) must I also say, as you say, and believe the same because you say it is so? Master Chancellor here noted me to be arrogant, because I would not give place to my Bishop.

Glover. If you will be believed because you be a Bishop, why find you fault with the people that believed Mr. Latimer, Mr. Ridley, Mr. Hooper, and the residue of them that were Bishops?

Bish. Because they were Hereticks.

Glover. And may not you err (quoth I) as well as they? I looked for learning at my Lords hand to perswade me, and he oppressed me only with his Authority. He said I differed from the Church, and asked me where my Church was before King Edwards time?

I desired him to shew me where their Church was in Helias's time, and what outward shew it had in Christs time.

Bish. Helias's complaint was only of the Ten Tribes that fell from Davids house, whom he called Hereticks.

Glover. You be not able to shew any Prophets that the other two Tribes had at that same time.

My Lord making no answer to that, Mr. Rogers, one of the Masters of the City, cometh in the mean season, taking upon him as though he would answer to the Text. But my Lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to some Tower, if they had any besides the Common Goal, saying, He would at the end of his Visitation of his Diocesi, weed out such Wolves. Mr. Rogers willed him to content himself for that night, till they had taken further order for me. Even where it pleased you, said I to my Lord, I am content; and so I was returned at that time to the Common Goal again from whence I came.

On the Friday morning, being the next day after, I had warning by one of the Prisoners to prepare my self to ride with my Fellow-Prisoners the same day to Litchfield, there to be bestowed at the Bishops pleasure. Which tydings at the first something discouraged me, fearing lest I should by the means of my great ticknets, through extreame handling (which I looked for) have dyed in the Prison before I should come to my answer: But I he should be rebuked immediately with Gods Word this infidelity in my self, and by the same corrected mine own mistrust and fantasie after this manner. What make I of God? Is not his Power as great in Litchfield as in Coventry? Doth not his Promise extend as well to Litchfield as to Coventry? Was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel, Micaiah, and Jeremy, in their most dangerous imprisonments? He knoweth what things we have need of. He hath numbred all the hairs of our head. The Sparrow falleth not on the ground, without our heavenly Fathers will; much more will he care for us if we be not faithless, whom he hath made worthy to be witnesses of his Truth. So long as we put our trust in him, we shall never be destitute of his help, neither in prison, neither in sickness, nor in health, neither in life, nor in death, neither before Kings, nor before Bishops, nor the Devil himself, much less

Mr. Glover reasoning with himself.

Mr. Glover taken courage, all fear and danger set aside.

Mr. Glover relieved in himself to abide the utmost to the Gods cause.

The Papists proceed with Mr. Glover against the Realm. Commandment given to the Sumner against John Glover, and not against Mr. Glover. This Bishop came with Dr. Bancroft, Mr. Warren of Coventry persecuted Mr. Glover. A Lesson for all perfects.

Take it.

R. Glover brought before the Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. Mr. R. Glover of Art in Art. R. Glover charged for the Church.

Anno 1555.

The Bishop refused to be judged by the Primitive Church.

Where was the Church before King Edwards time? The Bishop could not shew where Gods Church was in that time where any Prophet was in that time.

R. Glover somewhat discouraged at the first hearing that he should be removed from Coventry to Litchfield. R. Glover comforted again with the mediation of the Scripture, and Gods promise.

Anno
1555.
Mr. Glover
 cheerful &
 gain and

less one of his Ministers shall be able to prevail against us. With such like Meditations I waxed cheerful, of good consolation and comfort: so that hearing one say that they could not provide horses enough for us, I said, let them carry us in a Dung-cart for lack of horses, if they list; I am well content for my part.

Notwithstanding, at the request of my Friends, I wrote to Master Maior, and his Brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make answer here to such things as should be laid to my charge: The Contents of which Letter were these.

A Letter of Mr. Robert Glover to the Maier of Coventry and his Brethren.

I beseech you to understand, that it is not unknown, as well to the Keeper of the Goal, as to the Inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a man subject to very great sickness, and have been by the space of fifteen years and more, so that it is not like that I shall be removed without peril and danger of life. And because I was here committed to ward by your appointment, I would gladly here answer to such things as should be laid to my charge. If I may obtain this of you, I have cause thankfully to acknowledge your indifferency; if otherwise, I pray God it be not laid to your charge at the great day, where every man shall have just judgment without respect of person.

*Your prisoner in the Lord, always mind-
ful of you in my poor prayer,*

Robert Glover.

But I received no answers of my Letters to nor fro. I conjectured, that when the Bishop and the Chancellor had seen them, it moved them the rather to have me away, being more desirous (as I suppose) to have had me dispatched privily in Prison, then to come openly to my answer. The manner of intreating and using me at my first coming to Prison, did partly declare the same.

R. Glouster
his fellow
prisoners removed
from
County
to
Litchfield
in the face
of the open
market.

Clerk and Sergeants and Countables of County, being appointed to have the conveying of us to Litchfield, to be delivered there to one Ephraim the Chancellors man, sent from County with us for the same purpose, we were commanded to horsback about eleven or twelve of the clock on Friday, being Market day, that we might be the more gazed and wondered at: and to kindle the peoples hearts more against us, they did proclaim a Letter concerning a Proclamation made for calling in, and disannulling of all such Books as truly expound and interpret the Scriptures. We came to Litchfield about four of the clock at night, and had leave to repose our selves for our Supper time. We Inned at the sign of the Swan, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

Against the Chancellor's servant.

After Supper *Hephseth* repaired to us, whom we entertained that upon *Sureties* we might relieve our felves that night, being unprovided of any thing to help our felves withal in the Prison at that present. He was content at the first (as he seemed) but afterwards, whether it was by perjury, or rather (as it seemed to me) he did but of policy put off the time till he had gathered a multitude to flare and wonder upon us, and also that we should provide nothing to ease our felves withall; he revoked his promise, and so by consent we were had to the Prison, the Multitude wondering at us. I willed *Hephseth* before to excuse his Office with mercy, telling him that they should have judgement without mercy, that shewed no mercy. And this mercy I found at his hand.

Fopple keeps no promise.

He put me into a Prison that fame night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next to the Dungeon, narrow of rooms, strong of building and very cold, with small light, and there allowed he me a bundle of straw, in stead of my bed, without chair, form, or any other thing else to ease my self wickhal. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, so that if it had been his pleasure, I could have been contented to have ended my life: But *Jehovah* and one *Persy* the Bishops man, which afterwards was my continuall Keeper for the next part, came to me in the mornings, to whom I said, This is a great extremity, God lend us patience, and more.

Then they were content that I should have a bed of mine own procurement. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithstanding my great sickness; nor yet paper, pen nor ink, or books, saving my New Testament in Latin, and a Prayer-Book which I privily stole in.

Within two days after, Master Chancellor, and one *Temsey* a Prebendary there, came to me into my Prison. Master Chancellor exhorted me to conform my self to my Lord and to the Church. He wished to my Soul no more hurt than to his own, belike because I had laid to his charge at *Coventry* the seeking of my blood unjustly and wrongfully.

Now thus the second time I answered Mr. Chancellor to his Exhortation, That I refused not to be ruled by that Church that was content to be ordered and governed by the Word of God.

Chan. He asked me how I knew the Word of God ,
but by the Church.

Glossar The Church sheweth which is the Word of God, therefore the Church is above the Word of God. This is no good reason in learning, said I to Master Chancellor. For it is like unto this; *John* shewed the people who was Christ; *Ergo, John* was above Christ. Or else, I have a man that knoweth not the King, and I tell him who was the King: am I therefore above the King?

Mr. Chance said, he came not to reason with me, and be departed. So remained I without any further conference of any man by the space of eight days, and till the *Bilphos* coming: In the which time I gave my self continually to prayer, and meditation of the merciful promises of God, made unto all, without exception of person, that call upon the Name of his dear Son Jesus Christ. I found in my self daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, by the help of his holy Spirit, and sometimes as I were a taste and glimmering of the life to come; as I for his only Son Jesus Christ sake: to him be all praise for ever and ever,

The Enemy needed not many times fund ways to
affail me, often obliecting to my Confidence mine own
unworthiness, through the greatness of the benefit to be
counted among the number of them that should suffer
for Christ, for his Gospel sake. Against him I replied
with the Word of God on this sort, What were all those
whom God had chosen from the beginning , to be his
witnesses, and to carry his name before the world? Were
they not men, as Paul and Barnabas said, *Similiter obnoxii peccato*, as well subject to wickedness, sin, and im-
perfections, as other men be? Even such were Noah, A-
braham, David, and all the rest. *Quis prior delit*, as
Paul faith, *Who gave first unto him?* And also speaking to
every man, *What hast thou that thou receivest not?*

Likewise *John*, *All have received of his fulness*; they were no bringers of any goodness to God, but altogether receivers. They chose not God first, but he chose them. They loved not God first, but he loved them first. Yea, he both loved and chose them when they were his enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness.

Talk between Mr. Glover and the Chancellor in prison.

The Church
gived wi
nets whi
be the true
books and
writings of
the Apostle
as also the
old Syna-
gogue of th
law doth

which be the true books of the holy Prophets: yet followeth not thereby that the Jews have authority over the Scripture. The comforts and sweet feeling of Mr. G. is in

prison,
Mr. Glover
assaulted by
the Enemy
in prison
concerning
unworthi-
ness.

Act 24.

Rom. 11

John 1

John 1.
Gods elect
on bound :
no worthi-
ness of
person.
Rom. 10.

Plat. 14

It is no ar-
rogancy to
presume up-
on Gods
promise.

Mr. Glover replied against the temptation of the *Lord* in that he is a sinner.

I answered the enemy also on this manner; I am a sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witness of this truth. What then? Must I deny his Word, because I am not worthy to profess it? What bring I to pass in so doing, but add sin to sin? What is greater sin than to deny the truth of Christs Gospel? as Christ himself beareth witness, *He that is ashamed of me or of my words, of him I will be also ashamed before my Father and all his Angels.* I might also by like reason forbear to do any of Gods Commandments.

When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may say to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I shall not pray: and so in like manner of all the Commandments, I shall not forbear swearing, stealing, murdering, because I am not worthy to do any Commandment of God. These be the delusions of the Devil, and Satans suggestions, which must be overcome by continuance of Prayer, and with the Word of God applied, according to the measure of every mans gift, against all assaults of the Devil.

Mr. Glover brought again before the *Bishop*.

At the Bishops first coming to *Litchfield*, after mine imprisonment, I was called into a By-chamber next to my Prison, to my Lord. Before whom, when I came and saw none but his Officers, Chaplains and Servants, except it were an old Priest, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and assistance.

Reasoning between Mr. Glover and the Bishop.

My Lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment, I proceeded to persuade me to be a Member of his Church, which had continued so many years. As for our Church (as he called it) it was not known he said, but lately in King Edwards time.

I profess my self to be a Member of that Church (said I) that is builded * upon the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ being the Head corner stone, and so alleged the place of St. Paul to the Ephesians. And this Church hath been from the beginning (said I) though it bear no glorious show before the world, being ever, for the most part, under the Cross and Affliction, contemned, despised and persecuted; My Lord on the other side, contended that they were the Church.

Glover. So cried all the Clergy against the Prophets of *Jerusalem*, saying, *Templum Domini, Templum Domini, The Church, the Church, &c.*

Bishop. And always when I was about to speak anything, my Lord cried, Hold thy peace; I command thee by the virtue of obedience to hold thy peace, calling me a proud arrogant Heretic.

Reasoning between Mr. Glover and the Bishop.

more, sometimes less, sometimes very little, sometimes nothing at all, according as the Perfection is. Nevertheless, the Truth of the Church abideth always one. Neither doth it go by number of men, but by soundness of truth. Many agreeing in one maketh an unity: but the verity of the word maketh the church, whether it be in few or in many.

Glover. I willed my Lord to burthen me with some specialities, and then to convince me with some Scriptures and good Learning.

Then my Lord began to move certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requiring that I might make my answer openly. He said I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point until he said, I thought to prison again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had answered him.

Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the Doctrine of his most holy Word.

Bish. The first question was this, How many Sacraments Christ instituted to be used in the Church?

Glover. The Sacrament of Baptism, said I, and the Sacrament that he instituted at his last Supper.

Bish. No more, said he?

Glover. To all those that declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a sure hope, trust and confidence in the death of Christ, to such, Ministers (I grant) have authority to pronounce, by the power of Gods Word, the remission of sins.

Here interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a Sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, because that matter was of no great weight or importance; although he in so doing did me wrong, for I called it not a Sacrament.

He asked me further, whether I allowed their confession?

I answered, No.

Bish. Then he would know my mind what I thought of the presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament.

Glover. I answered, that their Mass was neither Sacrifice nor Sacrament, because (said I) you have taken away the true institution, which when you restore again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Christs Body in the Sacrament.

And thus much did this worthy Martyr of God leave behind him by his own hand in writing concerning the manner of his using and intreating in Prison, and also of his conflicts had with the Bishop and his Chancellor. More Examinations he had (no doubt) with the Bishop in the publick Confinitory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which also he would have left unto us if either length of life, or leisure of time, or haste of execution had permitted him to finish that he intended; but by reason of the Writ of his burning being come down from London, lack of time neither did serve him so to do, neither yet could I get the Records of his last Examinations, wherefore they are become.

Only this which I could learn by relation of one *Austen Bernier*, a Minister, and a familiar friend of his, concerning the going to his death; I can report, that the said blessed Servant of the Lord, *Mr. Robert Glover*, after he was condemned by the Bishop, and was now at a point to be delivered out of this world, it so happened, that two or three days before his heart being humbled and desolate of all spiritual consolation, felt in himself no appetites nor willingness, but rather a heaviness and dulness of spirit, full of much discomfort to bear the bitter Cross of Martyrdom ready to be laid upon him.

Whereupon fearing in himself lest the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, made his moan to this *Austen* his friend above remembered, signifying unto him how earnestly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no motion nor sense of any comfort from him.

Unto whom the said *Austen* answering again, willed and desired him patiently to wait the Lords pleasure, and howsoever his present feeling was, yet seeing his cause was just and true, he exhorted him constantly to stick to the same, and to play the man, nothing mifdoubting but the Lord in his good time would visit him, and satisfy his desire with plenty of consolation, whereof (he said) he was right certain and sure, and therefore desired him whensoever any such feeling of Gods heavenly mercies should begin to touch his heart, that then he should shew some signification thereof, whereby he might witness with him the same, and so departed from him.

The next day when the time came of his Martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was now come to the sight of the Stake, although all the night before praying for strength and courage he could feel none, suddenly he was so mightily replenished with Gods holy comfort and heavenly joyes, that he cried out, clapping his hands to *Austen*, and saying in these words, *Austen, he is come, he is come, &c.* and that with such joy and alacrity, as one seeming rather to be risen from some deadly danger to liberty of life, than as one passing out of the world by any pains of death. Such was the change of the marvelous working of the Lords hand upon that good man.

Cornelius Bungey, Fellow Martyr with Master Robert Glover.

In the same fire with him was burned also *Cornelius Bungey*, a Capper of Coventry, and condemned by the said *Radulph* Bishop of Coventry and *Litchfield*. As concerning the Articles which were to him objected, the effect thereof was this.

First, It was articulated against him, that these three years last, in the City of Coventry and *Litchfield*, and other places about, he did hold, maintain, argue and teach, that the Priest hath no power here to absolve any sinner from his sins.

Secondly, That by Baptism sins be not washed away, because he said that the washing of the flesh purgeth the flesh outwardly, and not the soul.

Thirdly,

Anno 1555.

Questions.

Mr. Glover desired for a time of the Lords comfort.

The Lord for a time may withdraw his comforts, but at length he visiteth his servants.

Mr. Glover received again comfort of the Lord.

Articles objected to *Mr. Bungey*.

Anno 1555. Thirdly, That there be in the Church only two Sacraments, that is; Baptism and the Lords Supper.

Fourthly, That in the Sacrament of the Popish Altar, was not the real Body and Blood of Christ, but the Substance of Bread and Wine there remaining still, because St. Paul calleth it Bread and Wine, &c.

Fifthly, That he within the compass of the said years and time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the

Pope is not the Head of the Visible Church here on Earth, &c.

Sixthly, That he was of the Diocesis and Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, &c.

Seventhly, That the Premises are true, manifest and notorious, and that upon the same there hath been and is a publick voice and fame, as well in the places above rehearsed, as in other quarters also about, &c.

The burning of Master Robert Glover, and Cornelius Bungy, at Coventry.



The burning of William Wolsey and Robert Pygok Martyrs.



His Answer.

Unto the which Articles he answered again: To the first he granted, and to every part thereof, meaning after the Popish manner of Absolution.

To the second he granted first, after revoked the same.

To the third also he granted, adding withal that in Scripture there be no more contained.

To the fourth, touching the Sacrament, he granted, and to every part thereof.

To the fifth, concerning the Pope likewise.

Also to the sixth he granted, and likewise to the seventh.

Upon these Articles and his Answers to the same, the said Radulph the Bishop read the Sentence, and so committed him also after condemnation of Mr. Robert Glover, to the Secular Power.

Thus this foresaid Cornelius, falsely condemned by the Bishop before mentioned, suffered at the same Stake with the Christian Martyr Mr. Robert Glover at Coventry, about the twentieth day of September.

Here followeth the Story of John Glover and William Glover, how they were Excommunicate and cast out after their death, and buried in the Fields.

Now that we have discoursed the Story of Mr. Robert Glover, something also would be touched of his other two Brethren, John and William Glover. Who albeit they were not called to finish their course by like kind of Martyrdom in the fire, as the other did; yet because for their constant profession of Gods Gospel unto the later end, they were exempted after their death, and cast out of the same Church, as the other was, I thought them not unworthy therefore in the story to be joyned together, which in one cause and the same profession were not sundred one from the other.

And first concerning Mr. John Glover the eldest Brother, what inward storms and agonies he sustained by the ghostly Enemy, partly ye heard before described: now what his bodily Enemies wrought against him, remaineth to be declared. Whose rage and malice, although God restrained, that they could little prevail against him so long as his life endured, yet after his decease, having power upon him, what they did ye shall now understand.

After the Martyrdom of Mr. Robert Glover, although John Glover, seeing his Brother to be apprehended for him, had small joy of his life for the great sorrow of his heart, wherewith he was sore oppressed, and would gladly have put himself in his Brothers stead, if Friends had not otherwise perswaded him, shewing that in so doing he might intangle himself, but should do his Brother no good: He thus in great care and vexation endured, yet notwithstanding rubbed out as well as he could, till at length about the later end of Queen Mary, there was a new search made for the said John Glover.

Whereupon the Sheriffs, with their under Officers and Servants, being sent to seek him, came into his House where he and his wife were. It chanced as he was in the Chamber by himself, the Officers bursting into the house, and searching other rooms, came to the Chamber door where this John Glover was, who being within, and holding the latch softly with his hand, perceived and heard the Officers busking about the door, amongst whom, one of the said Officers having the string in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the same.

In the mean time another coming by (whose voice he heard and knew) bade them come away, saying they had been there before. Whereupon they departing thence, went to search other corners of the house, where they found Agnes Glover his wife, who being had to Lichfield, and there examined before the Bishop, at length, after much ado, was constrained to give place to their tyranny: John Glover in the mean time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the Woods where he

A new search made for J. Glover.

The providence of God again to saving John Glover, Agnes Glover wife to John Glover, apprehended.

did

did lye, took an Ague, whereupon not long after he left his life, which the cruel Papists so long had fought for.

Thus by the mighty protection of the Almighty Lord, how *John Glover* was delivered and defended from the hands of the persecuting Enemies during all the time of his life, ye have heard. Now what befell after his death both to him, and *William* his brother, it is not unworthy to be remembered. Who after that he was dead, and buried in the Church-yard without Priest or Clerk,

Dr. *Dracot* then Chancellor, six weeks after, sent for the Parson of the Town, and demanded how it chanced that he was there buried. The Parson answered that he was then sick, and knew not of it. Then the Chancellor commanded the Parson to go home, and to cause the body of the said *John Glover* to be taken up, and to be

calf over the Wall into the High-way: The Parson again answered, that he had been six weeks in the Earth, and so smelled, that none was able to abide the favour of him. Well, quoth Dr. *Dracot*, then take this Bill, and pronounce him in the Pulpit a damned Soul, and a twelve month after take up his bones (for then the flesh will be consumed) and cast them over the Wall, that Carts and Horses may tread upon them, and then I will come and hallow again that place in the Church-yard where he was buried. Recorded by the Parson of the Town, who told the same to *Hugh Burrows*, dwelling at *Rynden* in *Dash Bury*, and to Mr. *Robert Glovers* wife, by whose creation information we received the same.

Not much unlike usage was practised also by these Catholicke Children of the Mother Church upon the body of *William* the third brother. Whom after it had pleased Almighty God about the same season to call out of this vale of misery, the good disposed people of the Town of *Weme* in *Shropshire*, where he died, brought the body unto the Parish Church, intending there to have it buried. But one *Bernard* being then Curate of the said Church (and yet is, as I hear, to this day) to stop the burial thereof rode to the Bishop, named *Ralph Baines*, to certify him of the matter, and to have his advice therein. In the mean time the body lying there a whole day, in the night time one *Richard Morice* a Taylor, would have entered him. But then came *John Thorlyne* of *Weme* with other more, and would not suffer the body to be buried; expressing to us the contrary examples of good *Toby*: for as he was religious in burying the dead, so that after he had lain there two days and one night, cometh the foresaid *Bernard* the Curate with the Bishops Letter, the Contents of which Letter being copied out word for word, here followeth.

A Copy of the Bishops Letter writen to the Parish of *Weme*.

Understanding that one *Glover* an Heretick is dead in the Parish of *Weme*, which *Glover* hath for all the time of my being in this Country been known for a Rebel against our holy Faith and Religion, a contemner of the holy Sacraments and Ceremonies used in the holy Church, and hath separated himself from the holy Communion of all good Christian men, and never required to be reconciled to our Mother holy Church, nor in his last days did call for his Ghostly Father, but died without all rites belonging to a Christian man; I thought it good not only to command the Curate of *Weme*, that he should not be buried in Christian mans burial, but also will and command all the Parish of *Weme*, that no man procure, help, nor speak to have him buried in holy ground: but I do charge and command the Churchwardens of *Weme* in special, and all the Parish of the same, that they assist the said Curate in defending and letting, and procuring that he be not buried either in the Church, or within the Wanybles of the Church-yard: and likewise I charge those that brought the body to the place, to carry it away again, and that at their charge, as they will answer at their peril. At *Ecclesesh* this sixth of September, Anno 1558.

By your Ordinary, Radulph Coventry and Litchfield.

By the virtue of this foresaid Letter, so it fell out, Anno that they which brought the Corps thither, were fain at 1558. their own Charges to carry it back again. But for so much as the body was corrupted, and smelt so strongly that uneth any man might come near it, they were forced to draw it with Horses into a Broom-field, and there was he buried.

Witnesses of the godly end of the said *William Glover*, dying in the true Faith and Confession of Christ, Mr. *Nowell* Dean of *Litchfield*, *George Wilestone* and his Wife, *Thomas Constanine*, *Roger Wyabouffe*, *John Prynn*, *George Torpelle*, &c.

The like example of charitable affection in these Catholicke Church-men, is also to be seen and noted in the burying of one Mr. *Edward Burton* Esquire, who in the same Diocese of *Chesfer*, departing out of this world the very day before Queen *Elizabeth* was crowned, required of his friends, as they would answer for it, that his body should be buried in his Parish Church (which was *S. Chad's* in *Shrewsbury*) so that no Maligner should be present thereat. Which thing being declared to the Curate of that Parish, named Sir *John Marshall*, and the Body being withal brought to the burial, upon the same day when the Queen was crowned, the Curate being therewith offended, said plainly, That he should not be buried in the Church there. Whereunto one of his friends, named *George Torpelle*, answering again, said, That God would judge him in the last day, &c. Then the Priest, Judge God (faith he) or Devil, the body shall not come there. And so they buried him in his own Garden, where he is no doubt as near the Kingdom of Heaven, as if he had been buried in the midst of the Church.

Moreover, in the said County of *Salop*, I find that one *Oliver Richardine* of the Parish of *Whitchurch* was burned in *Hartford-west*, Sir *John Igone* being Sheriff the same time, which seemeth to be about the latter year of King *Henry* the Eighth. Whose name, because it was not mentioned before, I thought here to give some little touch of him, having now in hand to speak of the Persecution within the Diocese of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*.

The Martyrdom of William Wolsey, and Robert Pygot Painter.

After the suffering of Mr. *Robert Glover*, and *Cornelius Bungey* at *Coventry*, followeth next the condemnation of other two blessed Martyrs, which were judged and condemned at *Ely*, by *John Fuller* the Bishops Chancellor of *Ely*, Dr. *Shaxton* his Suffragane, *Robert Steward* Dean of *Ely*, *John Christopherson* Dean of *Norwich*, Anno 1555. October 9. the names of which Martyrs, were *William Wolsey* and *Robert Pygot*, dwelling both in the Town of *Whitchurch*, which *William Wolsey* being a Constable, dwelling and inhabiting in the Town of *Well*, was there brought to death by the means and procurement of one *Richard Everard* Gentleman, a Justice appointed for those days, who extremely handled the same *William Wolsey*, and bound him to the good abearing, causing him to put in Sureties upon his good behaviour, until the next General Sessions holden within the life of *Ely*: and so the said *Wolsey* being dispatched of his Office, and brought in trouble, removed his house and dwelling place, coming to dwell in the Town of *Whitchurch*. Then being called again at the next Sessions, he was still constrained to put in new Sureties, which at the length he refused to do, and so was commanded to the Jail, at the Size holden at *Ely* in Lent.

In the *Easter* week following, there repaired to confer with him, Dr. *Fuller*, the Chancellor, with *Christopherson*, and one Dr. *Tong*, who laid earnestly to his charge that he was out of the Catholick faith, willing him to meddle no further with the Scriptures, than it did become such a Lay-man as he was, to do. The said *William Wolsey* standing still a great while, suffering them to say their pleasures, at the last answered in this wise: Good Mr. Doctor, what did our Saviour Christ mean when he spake these words written in the 23. Chap. of *St. Matthews* Gospel, *Wo be unto you Scribes and Pharisees,*

Dr. Dracot
not suffering
John Glover
to be buried
in the
Ch. church.

John Glover
is not his
death p. de-
ed or Dr.
Dracot to be
a damned
soul.

Testimony
of the story

The manner
of handling
the body of
Wolsey after
his death.

Bernard a
Popish Cu-
rate of
Weme.

John Thorlyne
against the
burying of
Wol. Glovers
body.

The Letter
of Ralph
Baine Bp. of
Cusler, for
the not bur-
ying of
W. Glovers
body.

1558.
The dead
Corps of W.
Glover
dragged
with horse
into the
fields.

Mr. Ed. Burton
was not suf-
fered to be
buried in
his Parish
church, the
same day
when Queen
Elizabeth
was crown-
ed.

Oliver Ri-
chardine in
Hartford-
west, Martyr.

W. Wolsey
and R. Pygot
Martyrs.

R. Everard
extream
against W.
Wolsey.

W. Wolsey
commanded
to the Jail.

Dr. Fuller,
Christopherson
and Dr. Tong
came
to confer
with Wolsey.

Wolsey pos-
sesses a ques-
tion to the
Doctors

And ye shal be shut up the Kingdom of Heaven be-
cause ye will not enter in, neither suffer ye them
that come to enter in.

Yea, faith Dr. Fuller, you must understand, that Christ
spake to the Scribes and Pharisees.

Nays, Master Doctor (saith Wolfey) Christ spake even
to you, and your fellows here present, and to all other
such like as you be.

Away Master Doctor (saith Christopher) for you can
do no good with this man. Yet faith Dr. Fuller, I will
leave thee a Book to read, I promise thee of a learned
mans doing, that is to say, of Dr. Watsons doing (who
was then Bishop of Lincoln).

Wolfey receiving the same Book, did diligently read it
over, which in many places did manifestly appear con-
trary to the known truth of Gods Word. At the length,
a fortnight or three weeks following, the said Dr. Fuller,
reforting again to the Prison-house to confer with the
said Wolfey, did ask him how he did like the said Book
(thinking that he had won him by the reading of the
same) who answered him and said, Sir, I like the Book no
otherwise than I thought before I should find it. Where-
upon the Chancellor taking his Book, departed home.

At night when Dr. Fuller came to his Chamber to look
on it, he did find in many places, contrary to his
mind, the Book rased with a Pen by the said Wolfey.
The which he seeing, and being vexed therewith, said,
Oh this is an obnoxious Hereticke, and hath quite marred
my Book.

Then the Sizess holden at Wisbich drawing nigh,
Dr. Fuller cometh again to the said Wolfey, and speak-
eth unto him on this manner; Thou doest much trouble
my Conscience, wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule
thy tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of thee,
and come to the Church when thou wilt, and if thou be
complained upon, so far as I may, I promise thee I will not
hear of it.

Master Doctor (quoth Wolfey) I was brought hither
by a Law, and by a Law I will be delivered.

Then being brought to the Sessions before named,
Wolfey was laid in the Cattle at Wisbich, thinking to
him and all his friends, that he should have suffered there
at that present time, but it proved nothing so.

Then Robert Pygot the Painter, being at liberty, was
there presented by some evil disposed persons (sworn
men as they called them) for not coming to the Church.

The said Pygot being called in the Sessions, would
not absent himself, but there did plainly appear before
Sir Clement Hyggam being Judge, who said unto him;
Ah, are you the holy Father the Painter? How chance
ye came not to the Church? Sir, quoth the Painter, I am
not out of the Church, I trust in God.

No Sir, said the Judge? This is no Church, this is a
Hall. Yea Sir, said Pygot, I know very well it is a Hall;
but he that is in the true Faith of Jesus Christ, is never
absent, but present in the Church of God.

Ah Sirra, said the Judge, you are too high learned for
me to talk withal: wherefore I will send you to them
that be better learned than I, straight-ways commanding
him to the jail where Wolfey lay. So the Sessions being
broken up and ended, the said Wolfey and Pygot were
carried again to Ely into Prison, where they both did re-
main till the day of their death.

In the mean time certain of their Neighbours of
Wisbich aforesaid, being at Ely, came to see how they
did.

There came thither also a Chaplain of Bishop Good-
rikes a Frenchman born, one Peter Valentin, who said
unto the said Wolfey and Pygot; My Brethren, accord-
ing to mine Office I am come to talk with you, for I
have been Amner here these twenty years and above.
Wherefore I must desire you, my Brethren, to take it in
good part that I am come to talk with you, I promise
you, not to pull you from your Faith. But I both require
and desire in the Name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to
the truth of the Gospel and Word, and I beseech the Al-
mighty God, for his Son Jesus Christs sake, to preserve
both you and me in the same unto the end. For I know
not my self (my Brethren) how soon I shall be at the
same point that you now are. Thus with many other
like words he made an end, causing all that were there

present to water their cheeks, contrary to the hope they
all had in him, God be praised thereto.

Then within short time after, Pygot and Wolfey were
called to Judgment about the ninth day of October, before
Dr. Fuller then Chancellor, with old Dr. Shaxton,
Christopher, and others in Commission, who laid ear-
nfully to their charge for their belief in divers Articles,
but especially of the Sacrament of the Altar. Where-
unto their answer was, That the Sacrament of the Altar
was an Idol, and that the natural body and blood of
Christ was not present really in the said Sacrament, and
to this opinion they said they would stick, believing per-
fectly the same to be no heresie that they had affirmed,
but the very truth, whereunto they would stand. Then
said the Doctors, that they were out of the Catholick
Faith.

Then Dr. Shaxton said unto them; Good Brethren, re-
member your selves, and become new men, for I my
self was in this fond Opinion that you are now in, but I
am now become a new man.

Ah, said Wolfey, are you become a new man? Wo-
be to thee thou wicked new man, for God shall justly
judge thee.

Dr. Fuller then spake, saying, This Wolfey is an obli-
viate Fellow, and one that I could never do good upon.
But as for the Painter, he is a man quiet and indifferent
(as far as I perceive) and is soon reformed, and may very
well be delivered for any evil Opinion I find in him.

Then Christopher called for Pen and Ink, and
wrote these words following; I Robert Pygot do believe,
that after the words of Consecration spoken by the Priest,
there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very
body and blood of Christ really and substantially, the
self same that was born of the Virgin Mary; and read-
ing it to the Painter, he said thus, Dost thou believe all
this according as it is written?

Pygot. No, Sir, said the Painter, that is your Faith, and
not mine.

Christopher. Lo, Master Dr. Fuller, you would have
let this Fellow go, he is as much an Hereticke as the o-
ther. And so immediately Judgment was given upon
them to dye. Which done, after the Sentence read, they
were sent again to the Prison, where they did lye till the
day of their death. At which day, one Peacock Barche-
lor of Divinity, being appointed to preach, took his Text
out of the first Epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians, Ch. 5,
of one that had lived inordinately, by abusing his Fa-
thers wife; likening the said Pygot and Wolfey to the
same man, oftentimes saying, that such Members must be
cut off from the Congregation, most maliciously report-
ing the said Wolfey to be clean out of the Faith, and in
many places quite denying the Scripture.

So his Sermon being ended, the forenamed Pygot and
Wolfey being brought to the place of Execution, and so
bound to the Stake with a Chain, thither cometh one Sir
Richard Collinson a Priest, at that time destitute of any
biding place or stay of Benefice, who said unto Wolfey;
Brother Wolfey, the Preacher hath openly reported in his
Sermon this day, that you are quite out of the Catholick
Faith, and deny Baptism, and that you do err in the holy
Scripture; wherefore I beseech you for the certifying of
my Conscience, with others here present, that you de-
clare in what place of the Scripture you do err or find fault.

Wolfey. I take the eternal and everlasting God to wit-
ness, that I do err in no part or point of Gods Book, the
holy Bible, but hold and believe in the same to be most
firm and sound Doctrine in all points most worthy for my
salvation, and for all other Christians to the end of the
world. Whatsoever mine Adversaries report by me, God
forgive them therefore. With that cometh one to the
fire with a great thirt knit full of Books to burn, like as
they had been New Testaments. O said Wolfey, give me
one of them, and Pygot desired another, both of them
clapping them close to their breasts, saying the 106
Psalm, desiring all the People to say Amen, and so recei-
ved the fire most thankfully.

Witnesses and Informers hercof,

Robert Scotred, Robert Kendall,
Robert Crane, Richard Best,
Edward Story, &c.

Con-

Dr. Watson
Book of
Sermons
Hou. Ver.
Dr. Fuller
again refer-
eth to Wal-
Wolfey.

The Chan-
cellor giv-
eth leave to
Wolfey to
depart.

W. Wolfey
laid in the
Cattle of
Wisbich.

Rob. Pygot
Painter, pre-
sented for
not coming
to the Church.
Talk be-
tween Sir
Clement
Hyggam
Judge, and
Rob. Pygot.

Rob. Pygot
brought to
the jail
where W.
Wolfey lay.
Wolfey and
Pygot re-
turned to E-
ly to prison.

The Good-
riches, Bishop
of Ely.
The Bishop
Chaplain &
Frenchman,
conducing
the Prison-
ers in the
truth.

Pygot and
Wolfey called
to judgment
about the ninth
day of October
before Dr. Fuller
then Chancellor
& others in Com-
mission.

The words
of the Priest
spoken to the
Priests.
Wolfey an-
swered to the
Priest.

Mr. Christo-
pher writ-
teth what
he would
have Pygot
consent of the
Sacra-
ment.

Mr. Peacock
appointed to
preach at the
burning of
Wolfey
and Pygot.

W. Wolfey
cleareth
himself
in the
points of
the Scrip-
ture be-
longing to
his salvation.

Books
burned with
Wolfey and
Pygot.

Concerning the Story of *William Wolsey*, I received moreover from the University of Cambridge, by a credible person, and my faithful friend *William Fulke*, this Relation which I thought in this place not unmeet to be notified unto the Reader in order and form as followeth.

There were burned at *Ely* two godly Martyrs, the one called *Wolsey*, the other *Pygot*. In these two appeared a divers disposition of spirit. *Pygot* was mild, humble and modest, promising that he would be conformable to his Persecutors, if they could persuade him by the Scripture. The other, *Wolsey* was stout, strong, and vehement, as one having *anaspaspas* of the Spirit, and detested all their doings, as of whom he was sure to receive nothing but cruelty and tyranny. He was wonderful jealous over his Companion, fearing lest his gentle nature would have been overcome by the flattering enticements of the world, and therefore the same day that they were burned, when they would have talked with him alone, he pulled him away from them almost by force. He was so desirous to glorify God with his suffering, that being wonderful sore tormented in the Prison with the Tooth-ach, he feared nothing more than that he should depart before the day of Execution (which he called his glad day) were come.

This *Wolsey* being in Prison at *Ely*, was visited by *Thomas Hadlo* Beer-Brewer in *Ely*. To him he delivered certain money to be distributed (as he appointed) part to his Wife, and part to his Kinsfolks and Friends, and especially six shillings eight pence to be delivered to one *Richard Denton*, Smith, dwelling at *Wells* in *Cambridgeshire*, within the Jurisdiction of the Isle of *Ely*, with his Commendation, that he marvelled that he tarried so long behind him, seeing that he was the first that delivered him the Book of Scripture into his hand, and told him that it was the Truth, desiring him to make haste after as fast as he could.

This *Thomas Hadlo*, both to avoid the danger of the time, and to have a witness of his doings herein, delivered the said sum of Money to one Mr. *Lawrence*, Preacher in *Essex* (who then resorted often to his house) to be distributed as *Wolsey* had appointed; which thing he performed, riding from place to place. And when this six shillings eight pence was delivered to *Richard Denton* with the Commendation aforesaid: His answer was this, I confess it is true, but alas I cannot burn. This was almost one whole year after *Wolsey* was burned. But he that could not burn in the Cause of Christ, was afterward burned against his will, when Christ had given peace to his Church. For in the year of our Lord 1564. on Tuesday being the eighteenth of April, his house was set on fire, and while he went in to save his goods, he lost his life, with two other that were in the same house.

Witnessed by *Thomas Hadlo*
and *William Fulke*.

Not much unlike to this, was also the example of *M. West*, Chaplain to Bishop *Ridley*, who refusing to dye in Christ's Cause with his Master, said Mass against his Conscience, and soon after died.

Dr. Nicholas Ridley, and *Mr. Hugh Latimer*, both Bishops, Preachers, and Martyrs of Christ, with their doings, conferences, and sufferings described.

The same year, month and day which the foresaid two Martyrs, *William Wolsey* and *Thomas Pygot* suffered at *Ely*, the which was Anno 1555. Octob. 16. followed also at *Oxford* the slaughter of two other special and singular Captains and principal Pillars of Christ's Church, *Mr. Ridley* Bishop of *London*, and *Mr. Hugh Latimer*, Bishop sometime of *Worcester*, of whose famous doings and memorable learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, joyned with no less commendable sincerity of life, as all the Realm can witness sufficiently; so it needeth not greatly that we should stand exactly at this time in setting forth a full description of the same, but only to comprehend briefly in a few words, touching the order of their lives, so much as necessarily serveth to the due instruction of the Rea-

der, and maketh to the use of this present History, in Anno declaring first their beginning and bringing up, then their studies and acts in the University, their preferences also by their studies to higher dignity, at last their trouble and travel in setting forth Religion, and in maintaining the same to the shedding of their blood. And first to begin with the life of *Mr. Ridley*, whose story here ensueth.

Among many other worthy and sundry Histories and notable Acts of such as of late days have been troubled, murdered, and martyred for the true Gospel of Christ in Queen *Maries* reign, the tragical story and life of *Dr. Ridley*, I thought good to commend to Chronicle, and leave to perpetual memory; beleeving thee (gentle Reader) with care and study well to peruse, diligently to consider, and deeply to print the same in thy breast, seeing him to be a man beautified with such excellent qualities, so ghostly inspired and godly learned, and now written doubtless in the Book of Life, with the blessed Saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned amongst the glorious Company of Martyrs. First, descending of a stock right worshipful, he was born in *Northumberlandshire*, who being a Child, learned his Grammar with great dexterity in *Newcastle*, and was removed from thence to the University of *Cambridge*, where he in short time became so famous, that for his singular aptness, he was called to higher functions and offices of the University, by degree attaining therunto, and was called to be Head of *Pembroke Hall*, and there made Doctor of Divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to *Paris*, who at his return was made Chaplain to King *Henry the Eighth*, and promoted afterwards by him to the Bishoprick of *Hereford*; and so from thence translated to the See and Bishoprick of *London* in King *Edwards* days.

In which calling and offices he so travelled and occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome Doctrine of Christ, that never good Child was the fruitful more singularly loved of his dear Parents, than he of his Flock and Diocese. Every Holiday and Sunday he lightly preached in some one place or other, except he were otherwise letted by weighty affairs and business, to whose Sermons the people resorted swarming about him like Bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome joyce of the fruitful Doctrine, which he did not only preach, but shewed the same by his life, as a glittering Lanthorn to the eyes and senses of the blind, in such pure order and chastity of life (declining from evil desires and concupiscences) that even his very enemies could not reproove him in any one jot thereof.

Besides this, he was passively well learned, his memory was great, and he of such reading withal, that of right he deserved to be comparable to the best of this our Age, as can testifie as well divers his notable Works, pithy Sermons, and sundry his Disputations in both the Universities, and also his very Adversaries, all which will say no less themselves.

Besides all this, wife he was of counsel, deep of wit, and very politick in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obstinate Papists from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleness to win them to the Truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of *Dr. Heath*, late Archbishop of *York*, being Prisoner with him in King *Edwards* time in his house one year, sufficiently declareth. In fine, he was such a Prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and ghostly a man, that *England* may justly rue the loss of so worthy a Treasure. And thus hitherto concerning these Publick Matters.

Now will I speak something further particularly of *Mr. Ridley* his person and conditions. He was a man right comely and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and incaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour from his heart, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences of others against him. He was very kind and natural to his Kinsfolks, and yet not bearing with them any thing otherwise than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea to his own Brother and Sister, that they doing evil should seek or look for nothing

The nature
of *Wolsey*
and *Pygot*
described.

W. Wolsey
described, &c.
His nature
Wolsey call-
eth the day
of his Mar-
tyrdom his
glad day.

Th. Hadlo
Beer-Brew-
er in *Ely*
witness of
the story.

Rich. Denton
first conver-
ter of *Wol-*
sey.

Money first
by *Wolsey* to
Denton.
Wolsey ex-
horting *R.*
Denton to
perish in
the truth.
Denton a-
gainst of
burning.
R. Denton
burned in
Newow
house which
before
would not
burn for
Christ, Anno
1564. April
18.

1555.

John Ridley
born in *North-*
umberland.
Rich. Ridley
learned at
Newcastle.
Rich. Ridley
Master of
Frankley
Hall in
Cambridge.
Rich. Ridley
made Dr. of
Divinity.
Rich. Ridley
King Henry's
Chaplain.
Rich. Ridley
made Bp. of
Hereford.
Rich. Ridley
made Bp. of
London.

The fruitful
diligence of
Mr. Ridley in
preaching
Gods word.

Mr. Ridley of
great me-
mory and
readings.

Mr. Ridley
comely of
proportion
and comple-
xion.
The fair
conditions
of *Mr. Ridley*,
tender to his
kindness, yet
no otherwise
than truth
and right
req. c. 2.

Anno
1555.Bishop Ridley
a great mortifier
of himself.The order
of his study
and diet.

nothing at his hand, but should beas strangers and aliens unto him, and they to be his Brother and Sister, which used honestly, and a godly trade of life.

He using all kinds of ways to mortifie himself, was given to much prayer and contemplation : For duly every Morning, so soon as his apparel was done upon him, he went forthwith to his Bed-chamber, and there upon his knees prayed the space of half an hour ; which being done, immediately he went to his Study (if there came no other business to interrupt him) where he continued till ten of the Clock, and then came to the Common Prayer, daily used in his house: The prayers being done, he went to dinner ; where he used little talk, except otherwise occasion by some had been ministred, and then was it sober, discreet and wife, and sometime merry, as cause required.

The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts talking, or playing at the Chess : That done, he returned to his Study, and there would continue, except Suters or business abroad were occasion of the contrary, untill five of the Clock at Night, and then would come to Common-Prayer, as in the fore-noon : which being finished, he went to Supper behaving himself there as at his dinner before. After Supper recreating himself in playing at Chess the space of an hour, he would then return again to his Study ; continuing there till 11 of the Clock at Night, which was his common hour to go to Bed, then saying his prayers upon his knees as in the Morning when he rose. Being at his Manor of Fulham, as divers times he used to be, he read daily a Lecture to his Family at the Common-Prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going thorow all the Epistles of S. Paul, giving to every man that could read a New testament, hiring them besides with money to learn by heart certain principal Chapters, but especially the 13 Chapter of the Acts, reading also unto his household oftentimes the 101 Psalm, being marvellous careful over his Family, that they might be a spectacle of all vertue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but vertue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kindly pity in the usage of an Old woman called Mrs. Boner, Mother to Dr. Boner sometime Bishop of London, which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemency of Dr. Ridley, as the unworthy inhumanity and ingratefull disposition again of Dr. Boner, Bishop Ridley being at his Manor of Fulham, always went for this said Mrs. Boner, dwelling in a house adjoining to his house, to dinner and Supper, with one Mrs. Mungey, Boners Sister, saying, Go for my Mother Boner, who coming, was ever placed in the Chair at the Tables end, being so gently intreated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own Body, being never displaced of her seat, although the Kings Council had been present, saying, when any of them were there (as divers times they were) By your Lordships favour this place of right and custom is for my Mother Boner.

But how well he was recompensed for this his singular gentleness, and pitiful pity after, at the hands of the said Dr. Boner, almost the least Child that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward was more enemy to Ridley, than Boner and his? Who more went about to seek his destruction than he? recompensing this his gentleness with extreme Cruelty ; As well appeared by the strait handling of Ridelys own Natural Sister, and George Shipside her Husband from time to time : whereas the gentleness of the other did suffer Boners Mother, Sister, and other of his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had of Boner, but also entertained them in his house, shewing much courtesie and friendship daily unto them : whereas on the other side, Bishop Boner being restored again, would not suffer the Brother and Natural Sister of Bishop Ridley, and other his friends not only not to enjoy that which they had by the said their Brother Bishop Ridley, but also curiously without all order of Law or honesty, by extort power wrested from them all the Livings they had.

And yet being not therewith satisfied, he sought all the means he could to work the death of the foresaid

Shipside, saying, that he would make twelve Godfathers to go upon him ; which had been brought to pass indeed, at what time he was Prisoner at Oxford, had not God otherwise wrought his deliverance by means of Dr. Heath, then the Bishop of Worcester. Teste Georgio Shipside.

Whereby all good indifferent Readers notoriously have to understand, what great diversity was in the disposition of these two Natures. Whereof as the one excelled in mercy and piety, so the other again as much or more excelled in churlish ingratitude, and despitefull disdain. But of this matter enough.

Now concerning Gods vocation, how Dr. Ridley was first called to the favouring and favouring of Christ and his Gospel, partly by his disputation before, and other his Treatises it may appear, that the first occasion of his Conversion, was by reading of Bertrams Book of the Sacrament, whom also the conference with Bishop Crammer, and with Peter Martyr did not a little confirm in that behalf. Who now by the grace of God, being thorowly won and brought to the true way, as he was before blind and zealous in his old ignorance, so was he constant and faithful in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him (as well appeared by his preachings and doings during all the time of King Edward) and so long did much good, while Authority of exten power might defend and hold up the peace of the Church, and proceedings of the Gospel. But after that it so pleased the heavenly will of the Lord our God to bereave us of our stay, and call from us King Edward that precious Prince, as the whole state of the Church of England was left desolate and open to the enemies hand : to this Bishop Ridley, after the coming in of Queen Mary, effoon and with the first was laid hands upon, and committed to Prison, as before hath sufficiently been expressed : first in the Tower, then after translated from thence with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Latimer to Oxford, was with them inclosed in the Common Gaol, and Prison of Bocardo, while at length, being delivered from them, he was committed to custody in the house of one Irlish, where he remained till the last day of his death and Martyrdom, which was from the year of our Lord, 1554, till the year 1555, and 16 day of October.

Furthermore, as touching his disputations and conflicts had at Oxford, and also of his determination had at Cambridge, also his travels in perswading and instructing the Lady Mary before she was Queen, his reasons and conference likewise had in the Tower at the Lieutenants Boord, enough hath been said already. Beside this, other conferences he had in Prison both with Dr. Crammer, and Mr. Latimer, as here followeth to be read.

A Conference had betwixt Mr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer in Prison, upon the Objections of Antonian, meaning by that name some Popish Persecutor, as Winchester, alluding thereby to the story of Victor. lib. 3. De persecut. Aphri.

IN writing again ye have done me an unspeakable pleasure, and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in that day. For I have received great comfort at your words : but yet I am not so filled withal, but that I thirst much more now than before, to Drink more of the Cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable with pleasant. I pray you, good Father, let me have one draught more to comfort my stomach. For surely except the Lord assist me with his gracious aid, in the time of his service, I know I shall play but the part of a white-livered Knight. But truly my trust is in him, that in mine infirmity he should try himself strong, and that he can make the Coward in his cause to fight like a man.

Sir, now I daily look when Diotrephes with his warriors shall assault me : wherefore I pray you good Father, for that you are an old Souldier, and an expert Warriour, and God knoweth I am but a young Souldier, and as yet of small experience in these feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harness. And now I would have you to think, that these darts are cast at my Head of some one of Diotrephes, or Antonius Souldiers.

The Objection of the Antonian.

All men marvel greatly, why you, after the liberty you have granted unto you, more than the rest, do not go to Maf, which is a thing (as you know) now much esteemed of all men, yea of the Queen herself.

The Answer

Because no man that layeth hand on the plough and looketh back is fit for the Kingdom of God, and also for the self same cause why St. Paul would not suffer Titus to be circumcised, which is, that the Truth of the Gospel might remain with us uncorrupt, Galat. the second: And again, If I build again the things which I destroyed I make my self a Trefpaffer. This is also another cause: I should seem by outward fact to allow the things, which I am perswaded is contrary to sound Doctrine, and so should be a stumbling stock unto the weak. But we be unto him by whom offence cometh: it were better for him that a Mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the midst of the Sea.

Except the Lord help me, ye say. Truth it is. For without me, faith he, ye can do nothing, much less suffer death of our Adversaries, through the bloody Law now prepared against us. But it followeth, If you abide in me, and my word abide in you, ask what you will, and it shall be done for you. What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make answer your self so well, that I cannot better it. Sir, begin now to smell what you mean by travelling thus with me, you use me as Bilney did once, when he converted me, pretending as though he would be taught of me, he sought ways and means to teach me, and so do you. I thank you therefore most heartily. For indeed you minister armour unto me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, saying that I give my self to prayer for my refuge.

What is it then that offendeth you so greatly in the Maf that you will not vouchsafe once either to hear it or see it? And from whence cometh this new Religion upon you? have not you used in times past to say Maf your self?

I confess unto you my fault and ignorance; but know you that for these matters I have done penance long ago, both at Pauls Crofs, and also openly in the Pulpit at Cambridge, and I trust God hath forgiven me this mine offence: for I did it upon ignorance. But if you be desirous to know and will vouchsafe to hear what things do offend me in the Maf, I will rehearse unto you those things which be most clear, and seem to repugn most manifestly against Gods word, and they be these: the strange Tongue; the want of the shewing of the Lords Death; the breaking of the Lords Commandment of having a Communion; the Sacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the Word of the Lord; the sign is fervently worshipped for the thing signified; Christs Passion is injured, forasmuch as this Maf-sacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of sins; to be short, the manifold superstitions, and trifling fondness which are in the Maf, and about the same.

Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much; you shall prevail more with praying, than with studying, though mixture be best, for so one shall alleviate the tediousness of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my Faith given: for it shall be but in vain. They will say, as their Fathers said, when they have no more to say: We have a Law, and by our Law he ought to die. Be ye steadfast and unmovable, faith St. Paul: and again Persevere, Stand fast: And how oft is this repeated, If ye abide, if ye abide? &c. But we shall be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not? so that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with such men.

But you know how great a Crime it is to separate your self from the Communion or fellowship of the Church, and to make a Schism, or division. You have been reported to have hated the Sect of the Anabaptists, and always to have impugned the same. Moreover, this was

the pernicious error of Novatus, and of the Hereticks called (Cathari) that they would not communicate with the Church.

I know that the Unity of the Church is to be retained by all means, and the same to be necessary to salvation. But I do not take the Maf, as it is at this day, for the Communion of the Church, but a Popish device, whereby both the Commandment and Institution of our Saviour Christ, for the oft frequenting of the remembrance of his Death, is eluded, and the People of God are miserably deluded. The Sect of the Anabaptists, and the Herefie of the Novatians ought of right to be condemned, forasmuch as without any just or necessary cause they wickedly separated themselves from the Communion of the Congregation, for they did not alledge that the Sacraments were unduly ministered, but turning away their eyes from themselves, wherewith according to St. Pauls rule they ought to examine themselves, and calling their eyes ever upon others, either Ministers, or Communicants with them, they always reproved something for the which they abstained from the Communion, as from an unholly thing.

I remember that Calvin beginneth to confute the Interim after this sort with this saying of Hilary, The name of Peace is beautiful, and the Opinion of Unity is fair: but who doubteth that to be the true and only Peace of the Church, which is Christ? I would you had that little Book, there should you see how much is to be given to Unity. St. Paul when he requireth Unity, he joyneth straight-withal, secundum Jesum Christum, Rom. 15. according to Jesus Christ, no further. Diotrephes now of late did ever harp upon Unity, Unity. Yea Sir (quoth I) but in Verity, not in Popery. Better is diversity, than an Unity in Popery. I had nothing again but scornful Taunts, with commandment to the Tower.

But admit there be in the Maf, that peradventure might be amended, or at least made better: yea, seeing you will have it so admit there be a fault; if you do not consent thereto, why do you trouble your self in vain? do you not know both by Cyprian and Augustine that Communion of Sacraments doth not defile a man, but consist of deeds?

If it were any one trifling Ceremony, or if it were some one thing of it self indifferent (although I would wish nothing should be done in the Church, which doth not edifie the same) yet for the continuance of the common quietness I could be content to bear it. But forasmuch as things done in the Maf tend openly to the overthrow of Christs Institution, I judge that by no means either in word or deed I ought to consent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the Fathers, I acknowledge it to be well spoken, if it be well understood. But it is meant of them which suppose they are defiled if any secret vice be either in the Ministers, or in them that communicate with them, and is not meant of them which do abhor superstition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon themselves, or upon the Church in stead of Gods Word and the Truth of the Gospel.

The very Marrow-bones of the Maf are altogether detestable, and therefore by no means to be born withal: so that of necessity the mending of it is to abolish it for ever. For if you take away oblation and adoration, which do hang upon Consecration and Transubstantiation, the most Papists of them all will not set a Button by the Maf, as a thing which they esteem not, but for the gain that followeth thereon. For if the English Communion, which of late was used, were as gainful to them, as the Maf hath been heretofore, they would strive no more for their Maf; from thence growth the grief.

Consider into what dangers you cast your self, if you forsake the Church; and you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to go to Maf. For the Maf is the Sacrament of Unity; without the Ark there is no salvation. The Church is the Ark and Peters Ship. Ye know this saying well enough; He shall not have God to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the Church to be his Mother. Moreover without the Church, (faith S. Augustine) be the life never so well spent, it shall not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.

The

Anno

1555.

N. Ridley
Answ.H. Latimer
Hilarius
contra Arian

Anton. ob.

Jed. 4.

Cyp. L. 1. ep.
2. Aug. ep.
123.N. Ridley
Answ.

H. Latimer.

Anton. ob.

Jed. 1.

Aug. lib. 1.
de Sim. 10.
In ep. post.
coll. contra
Donat.

Anno

1555.

N. Ridley's

1 Tim. 7.

Apoc. 21.

Ephel. 1.

Gal. 6.

Phil. 2.

Apoc. 21.

John 3.

Gal. 4.

In op. im.

bon. 49. in

Matto.

1 Cor. 10.

R. Latimer.

1 Cor. 6.

1 Tim. 6.

Anon. ob-

ject 6.

The Holy Catholick or universal Church, which is the communion of Saints, the Houfe of God, the City of God, the Spouse of Christ, the Body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth; this Church I believe; according to the Creed. This Church I do reverence; and honor in the Lord. But the rule of this Church is the Word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I say with Saint Paul, Peace be upon them; and upon Israel which pertaineth unto God. The guide of this Church is the Holy Ghost. The marks whereby this Church is known unto me in this dark World, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these: The sincere preaching of Gods Holy Word, the due administration of the Sacraments, charity, and faithful observing of Ecclesiastical discipline, according to the Word of God. And that Church or congregation which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem, which consisteth of those that be born from above. This is the Mother of us all, and by Gods grace I will live and die the Child of this Church. Forth of this (I grant) there is no salvation; and I suppose the residue of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this Church only. In times past (saith Chrysostome) there were many ways to know the Church of Christ, that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by Doctrine, by ministering the Sacraments. But from that time that Heresies did take hold of the Church, it is only known by the Scriptures which is the true Church. They have all things in outward shew, which the true Church hath in truth. They have Temples like unto ours.

And in the end concluded. Wherefore only by the Scriptures do we know which is the true Church. To that which they say, that the Mass is the Sacrament of Unity, I answer; The Bread which we break, according to the institution of the Lord, is the Sacrament of the Unity of Christs mystical Body. For we being many, are one Bread and one Body, forasmuch as we all are partakers of one Bread. But in the Mass the Lords institution is not observed; for we are not all partakers of one Bread, but one devoureth all, &c. So that (as it is used) it may seem a Sacrament of singularity, and of a certain special privilege for one sect of People, whereby they may be discerned from the rest, rather than a Sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is represented.

Yea, what fellowship hath Christ with Antichrist? Therefore is it not lawful to bear the yoke with Papists. Come forth from among them, and separate your selves from them, saith the Lord. It is one thing to be the Church indeed, another thing to counterfeit the Church. Would God it were well known what is the forsaking of the Church. In the Kings days that dead is, who was the Church of England? The King and his fautors, or Mass-mongers in corners? If the King and the fautors of his proceedings, why be not we now the Church abiding in the same proceedings? If clancular Mass-mongers might be of the Church, and yet contrary to the Kings proceedings, why may not we as well be of the Church contrary the Queens proceedings? Not all that be covered with the title of the Church, are the Church indeed. Separate thy self from them that are such, saith S. Paul; from whom? The text hath before, If any man follow other Doctrine, &c. he is put up, and knoweth nothing, &c. Weigh the whole text, that ye may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputes: But wherefore are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old Verities,

Hoc est nefcive, sine Christo plurima scire:
S; Christum bene scis, satis est, si cetera nescis.

That is, This is to be ignorant, to know many things without Christ. If thou knowest Christ well, thou knowest enough, though thou know no more. Therefore would S. Paul know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified, &c. As many as are Papists and Mass-mongers, they may well be said to know nothing. For they know not Christ, forasmuch as in their making they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ.

That Church which you have described unto me is in-

visible, but Christs Church is visible and known. For else why would Christ have said, *Die Ecclesies*, Tell it unto the Church. For he had commanded it vain to go unto the Church, if a man cannot tell which it is.

The Church which I have described is visible, it hath members which may be seen; and also I have afore declared, by what marks and tokens it may be known. But if either our eyes are so dazled, that we cannot see, or that Satan hath brought such darkness into the World, that it is hard to discern the true Church; that is not the fault of the Church, but either of our blindness, or of Satans darkness. But yet in this most deep darkness there is one most clear candle, which of it self alone is able to put away all darkness. Thy Word is a candle unto my feet, and a light unto my steps.

The Church of Christ is a Catholick or universal Church, dispersed throughout the whole World; this Church is the great house of God, in this are good men and evil mingled together, goats and sheep, corn and chaff; it is the net which gathereth all kind of fishes: this Church cannot err, because Christ hath promised it his Spirit, which shall lead it into all truth, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; that he will be with it unto the end of the World; whatsoever it shall loose or bind upon earth, shall be ratified in heaven, &c. This Church is the pillar and stay of the truth; this is it for the which Saint Augustine saith, he believeth the Gospel: But this universal Church alloweth the Mass, because the more part of the same alloweth it. Therefore, &c.

I grant that the name of the Church is taken after three divers manners in the Scriptures. Sometimes for the whole multitude of them which profess the Name of Christ, of the which they are also named Christians. But as S. Paul saith of the Jew, not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, &c. Neither yet all that be of Israel, are counted the seed; even so not every one which is a Christian outwardly is a Christian indeed. For if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. Therefore that Church which is his Body, and of which Christ is the head, standeth only in living stones, and true Christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But forasmuch as this Church (which is the second taking of the Church) as touching the outward fellowship, is contained within the great house, and hath with the same, outward society of the Sacraments and ministry of the Word, many things are spoken of that Universal Church (which S. Augustine calleth the mingled Church) which cannot truly be understood, but only of that pure part of the Church. So that the rule of Ticonius concerning the mingled Church, may here well take place; where there is attributed unto the whole Church that which cannot agree unto the same, but by reason of the one part thereof; that is, either for the multitude of good men, which is the very true Church indeed; or for the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant Church and Synagogue of Satan. And there is also a third taking of the Church, of the which, although there be seldom mention in the Scriptures, in that signification, yet in the World, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendom, this Church hath born the greatest swinge. This distinction presupposed of the three sorts of Churches, it is an easie matter, by a figure called *Synecdoche*, to give to the mingled and Universal Church, that which cannot truly be understood but only of the one part thereof. But if any man will stiffly affirm, that Universal doth so pertain unto Church, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the Church, it must needs be understood of that, I would gladly know of the same man, where that Universal Church was in the times of the Patriarchs and Prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moses, (at such time as the People would have stoned him) of Helias, of Jeremy, in the times of Christ, and the dispersion of the Apostles, in the time of Arrins, when Constantius was Emperour, and Felix Bishop of Rome succeeded Liberius. It is worthy to be noted, that Lyra writeth upon Matthew; The Church (saith he) doth not stand in men by reason of their power or dignity, whether it be Ecclesiastical or Secular. For many Princes and Popes, and other inferiours, have been found to have fallen away from God. Therefore the Church consisteth in those persons,

R. Ridley's

Anon. ob-

R. Ridley's

Apoc. 21.

Exod. 17.

3 Reg. 19.

Jeremi. 6.

2 Thim. 2.

1 Tim. 2.

ca. 15. 61.

Lyra in Mat.

H h 2

persons,

sons, in whom is true knowledge and confession of the faith, and of the truth. Evil men (as it is in a gloss of the decrees) are in the Church in name, and not indeed.

De pœnit.
dist. 1. cap.
eccl. l. 1.
2. cap.

And Saint *Augustine*, contra *Crescentium grammaticum*, f. 14; Whosoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness of this question, let him ask Counsel at the same Church of it; which Church the Scripture doth point out without any doubtfulness. All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such Authors as I have read in this matter, and such like, are come into the hands of such, as will not let me have the least of all my written books; wherein I am enforced to complain of them unto God: for they spoil me of all my labours, which I have taken in my study these many years. My memory was never good, for help whereof I have used for the most part to gather out notes of my reading, and so to place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be Gods will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poor learning I had (as me thought) in store, to the intent that I now definite of that, should from henceforth learn only to know with *Paul*, Christ, and him crucified? The Lord grant me herein to be a good young Scholar, and to learn this lesson so well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor wo, &c. make me ever to forget that, *Amen, Amen.*

1 Cor. 2.

H. Latimer.

Mel. de, ecc.
cl. cl.

I have no more to say in this matter; for you yourself have said all that is to be said. That same vehement saying of Saint *Augustine*, I would not believe the Gospel, &c. was wont to trouble many men; as I remember, I have read it well qualified of *Philip Melancthon*; but my memory is altogether slippery. This it is in effect; The Church is not a judge, but a witness. There were in his time that lightly esteemed the testimony of the Church, and the outward ministry of Preaching, and rejected the outward word it self, sticking onely to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drove Saint *Augustine* into that excessive vehemency. In the which after the bare found of the words, he might seem to such as do not attain unto his meanings, that he preferred the Church far before the Gospel, and that the Church hath a free Authority over the same; but that godly man never thought so. It were a saying worthy to be brought forth against the Anabaptists, which think the open ministry to be a thing not necessary, if they any thing esteemed such testimonies. I would not stick to affirm, that the more part of the great house, that is to say, of the whole Universal Church, may easily err. And again, I would not stick to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the Name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a Mass of the Holy Ghost going before. For in the first Christ ruleth, in the later the Devil beareth the swing; and how then can any thing be good that they go about? From this later shall our six Articles come forth again into the light, they themselves being very darkness. But it is demanded, whether the founder or better part of the Catholick Church may be seen of men, or no? Saint *Paul* saith; The Lord knoweth them that are his. What manner of speaking is this in commendation of the Lord, if we knew as well as he who are his? Well, thus is the text: The sure foundation of God standeth still, and hath this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his; and let every man that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity. Now how many are there of the whole Catholick Church of *England* which depart from iniquity? How many of the Noble men, how many of the Bishops or Clergy, how many of the rich men, or Merchants, how many of the Queens Councillors, yea, how many of the whole Realm? In how small room then I pray you is the true Church within the Realm of *England*? And where is it? And in what state? I had a conceit of mine own well grounded (as they say) when I began, but now it is slain by the way.

A question
Answer.

General Councils represent the Universal Church, and have this promise of Christ; Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. If Christ be present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude, &c. But in general Councils Mass hath been approved and used: Therefore, &c.

Of the Universal Church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think; Whensoever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the same, and to whom the whole mystical Body of Christ doth obey, are the lively members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of his Word, and go before the flock towards everlasting life, then undoubtedly Councils gathered together of such guides and pastors of the Christian flock, do indeed represent the Universal Church, and being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guiding of his Spirit into all truth. But that any such Council hath at any time allowed the Mass, such an one as ours was of late, in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions; that I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impossible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darkness, between Christ and *Belial*; so surely superstition and the sincere Religion of Christ, will worship and the pure worshipping of God, such as God requireth of his, that is, in Spirit and truth, can never agree together. But ye will say, where so great a company is gathered together, it is not credible but there be two or three gathered in the name of Christ. I answer; If there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad (forasmuch as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices) what can the less number of voices avail? It is a known thing; and a common Proverb; Oftentimes the greater part overcometh the better.

Anno
1555.

N. Ridley
answer.

2 Cor. 6.

John 42

A proverb

H. Latimer.

The inco-
ficiency of the
English Par-
liament and
Convoca-
tions.

Death is the
best Phy-
sician to the
sins of the
flesh.

Answer. ob-
ject. 2.

Nich. Ridley
answer.
Epist. 5.

Luke 12.
11. 12. 13.

Rom. 10.

Luke 11.

11. 12. 13.

to

As touching general Councils, at this present I have no more to say, then you have said. Onely I refer you to your own experience, to think of our Country Parliaments and Convocations, how and what ye have seen and heard. The more part in my time did bring forth six Articles; for then the King would so have it, being seduced of certain. Afterward the more part did repel the same, our good *Josias* willing to have it so. The same Articles now again (alas) another great, but worse part hath restored. O what an uncertainty is this? But after this sort commonly are many proceedings, God be merciful unto us. Who shall deliver us from such torments of mind? Therefore is death the best Physician, but unto the faithful, whom he together and at once delivereth from all griefs. You must think this written upon this occasion, because you would needs have your paper blotted.

If the matter should go thus, that in general Councils men should not stand to the more number of the multitude (I mean of them which ought to give voices) then should no certain rule be left unto the Church; by the which controversies in weighty matters might be determined; but it is not to be believed, that Christ would leave his Church destitute of so necessary a help and safeguard.

Christ, who is the most loving spouse of his spouse the Church, who also gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it unto himself, did give unto it abundantly all things which are necessary to salvation; but yet so, that the Church should declare it self obedient unto him in all things, and keep it self within the bounds of his commandments, and further not to seek any thing which he teacheth not, as necessary unto salvation. Now further, for determination of all controversies in Christs Religion, Christ himself hath left unto the Church not onely *Moses* and the Prophets, whom he willeth his Church in all doubts to go unto, and ask Counsel at, but also the Gospels, and the rest of the Body of the New Testament; in the which whatsoever is heard of *Moses* and the Prophets, and whatsoever is necessary to be known unto salvation, is revealed and opened.

So that now we have no need to say, Who shall climb up into heaven, or who shall go down into the depth, to tell us what is needful to be done? Christ hath done both, and hath commended unto us the Word of faith, which also is abundantly declared unto us in his Word written; so that hereafter if we walk earnestly in this way, to the searching out of the truth, it is not to be doubted, but through the certain benefit of Christs Spirit, which he hath promised unto his, we may find it, and obtain everlasting life. Should men ask Council of the dead for the living, saith *Ishai*? Let them go rather

Anno
1555.

John 5.

Hier. 23. in
blas.

Rom. 12.

Eph. 4.

H. Latimer.

2 Tim. 5.

Galat. 5.

1 Cor. 3.

Rom. 9.

Phil. 113.

1. dem. ob.

jud. 10.

2. Q. d. y's

Anwer.

See Ecluf.

hlt lib.

See Ecluf.

hlt lib.

24. 32.

Theo. lib.

439. 14.

Objection.

to the Law and to the Testimony, &c. Christ sendeth them that be desirous to know the Truth, unto the Scriptures, saying, *Search the Scriptures.* I remember a like thing well spoken of Hieron; *Ignorance of the Scriptures, is the mother and cause of all Errors.* And in another place, as I remember in the same Author; *The knowledge of the Scriptures, is the food of everlasting life.* But now me thinketh I enter into a very broad Sea, in that I begin to shew, either out of the Scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient Writers, how much the holy Scripture is of force to teach the Truth of our Religion. But this is it, that I am now about that Christ would have the Church his Spouse in all doubts to ask counsel at the Word of his Father written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Testaments, the Old and New. Neither do we read, that Christ in any place hath laid so great a burthen upon the members of his Spouse, that he hath commanded them to go to the Universal Church. *Whatsoever things are written, faith Paul, are written for our learning.* And it is true, that Christ gave unto his Church, some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Shepherds and Teachers, to the edifying of the Saints, till we come all to the unity of Faith, &c. But that all men should meet together out of all parts of the world, to define of the Articles of our Faith, I neither find it commanded of Christ, nor written in the word of God.

There is diversity betwixt things pertaining to God or Faith, and Politick and Civil matters. For in the first we must stand only to the Scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they well be understood. And they offer themselves to be well understood only to them, which have good wills, and give themselves to study and prayer. Neither are there any men less apt to understand them, then the prudent and wise men of the World. But in the other, that is, in Civil or Politick matters oftentimes the Magistrates do tolerate a less evil, for avoiding of a greater, as they which have this saying oft in their mouths; *Better an inconvenience than a mischief.* And it is the property of a wise man, faith one, to dissemble many things; and he that cannot dissemble, cannot Rule. In which sayings they bewray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, what is not. Wherefore forsooth as mans laws, if it be but in this respect only, that they be devised by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are enforced of necessity to suffer many things out of square, and are compelled sometime to wink at the worst things: seeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwise, they doordain that the more part shall take place. You know what these kinds of speeches mean, I speak after the manner of men; ye walk after the manner of men, all men are liars. And that of S. Augustine, *If ye live after mans reason, ye do not live after the will of God.*

If ye say, that Councils have sometime erred, or may err, how then should we believe the Catholick Church? for that Councils are gathered by the authority of the Catholick Church.

From may be, to be indeed, is no good Argument; but from being, to may be, no man doubteth but it is a most sure Argument. But now that Councils have sometime erred it is manifest. How many Councils were there in the East parts of the World, which condemned the *Nicene* Council; and all those which would not forsake the same, they called by a slanderous name (as they thought) *Homoians*. Was not *Achanasius*, *Chrysostom*, *Cyril*, *Eusebius*, men very well learned, and of godly life, banished and condemned as famous Hereticks, and that by wicked Councils? How many things are there in the Canons and Constitutions of the Councils, which the Papists themselves do much dislike? But here peradventure one man will say unto me; We will grant you this in provincial Councils, or Councils of some one Nation, that they may sometimes err, forsooth as they do not reprehend the Universal Church; but it is not to be believed, that the general and full Councils have erred at any time. Here if I had my Books of the Councils, or rather such notes as I have gathered out of those Books, I could bring something which should serve for this purpose. But now

seeing I have then not, I will recite one place only out of S. *Austin*, which (in my judgment) may suffice in this matter in stead of many. Who knoweth not (faith he) that the holy Scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it, and that the Letters of Bishops may be reproved by other mens words, and by Councils, and that the Councils themselves which are gathered by Provinces and Countries, do give place to the authority of the general and full Councils; and that the former and general Councils are amended by the later; when as by some experience of things, either that which was shut up, is opened, or that which was hid, is known. Thus much out of *Austin*. But I will plead without *Anton*. upon matter contested. Here with us when as Papistry reigned, I pray you how doth that Book, which was called the Bishops Book, made in the time of King Henry the Eighth, whereof the Bishop of Winchester is thought to be either the first Father, or chief gatherer; how doth it (I say) sharply reprove the *Florentine* Council, in which was decreed the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and that with the content of the Emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in those days our learned ancient Fathers and Bishops of England did not stick to affirm, that a general Council might err. But me think I hear another man despising all that I have brought forth, and saying, These which you have called Councils, are not worthy to be called Councils, but rather Assemblies, and Conventicles of Hereticks. I pray you Sir, why do you judge them worthy of so slanderous a name? Because (faith he) they decreed things Heretical, contrary to true godliness and sound Doctrine and against the Faith of Christian Religion. The cause is weighty, for the which they ought of right to be called. But if it be so that all Councils ought to be defined, which decree any thing contrary to sound Doctrine, and the true Word, which is according to godliness, forsooth as the Mass, such as we had here of late, is openly against the Word of God; forsooth it must follow of necessity, that all such Councils, as have approved such Masses, ought of right to be held and despised, as Conventicles and Assemblies of men that stray from the Truth.

Another man alledgeth unto me the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, without which, neither can the Councils (faith he) be lawfully gathered, neither being gathered determine any thing concerning Religion. But this Objection is only grounded upon the ambitious and shameless maintenance of the *Romish Tyranny* and usurped dominion over the Clergy; which *Tyranny* we English men long ago, by the consent of the whole Realm, have expelled and abjured. And how rightly we have done it, a little Book set forth *de utraque Potestate* (that is, of both the Powers) doth clearly shew. I grant that the *Romish* ambition hath gone about to challenge to it self and to usurp such a Privilege of old time. But the Council of Carthage, in the year of our Lord 457. did openly withstand it, and also the Council at Milev, in the which S. *Austin* was present, did prohibit any appellations to be made to Bishops beyond the Sea.

S. *Austin* faith, the good men are not to be forsaken for the evil, but the evil are to be born withal for the good. Ye will not say (I trow) that in our Congregations all be evil.

I speak nothing of the goodness or evilness of your Congregations; but I fight in Christs quarrel against the Mass, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that maketh the strick, shall be broken down. Now to the place of S. *Austin*, for bearing with the evil for the goods sake, there ought to be added other words, which the same writer hath exprestly in other places; that is, if those evil men do cast abroad no seeds of false Doctrine, nor lead other to destruction by their example.

It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the Church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perilous is it to commit any act, unto the which the example of the Prophets, of Christ, and of the Apostles are contrary? But unto this your fact, in abstaining from the Church by reason of the Mass, the Example of the Prophets, of Christ, and of the Apostles are clean contrary:

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Therefore, &c. The first part of the Argument is evident, and the second part I prove thus. In the times of the Prophets, of Christ, and his Apostles, all things were most corrupt. The People was miserably given to superstition, the Priests despised the Law of God; and yet notwithstanding we read not that the Prophets made any Schisms or divisions, and Christ himself haunted the Temple, and taught in the Temple of the Jews. Peter and John went up into the Temple at the ninth hour of Prayer; Paul after the reading of the Law, being desired to say something to the People, did not refuse to do it. Yea further, no man can shew, that either the Prophets, or Christ, and his Apostles did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice, or to be partakers of the Sacrament of Moses Law.

I grant the former part of your Argument, and to the second part I say, that although it contain many true things as of the corrupt state in the times of the Prophets, of Christ, and the Apostles, and of the Temple being haunted of Christ and his Apostles; yet notwithstanding the second part of your Argument is not sufficiently proved. For ye ought to have proved, that either the Prophets, either Christ or his Apostles did in the Temple communicate with the People in any kind of worshipping, which is forbidden by the Law of God, or repugnant to the Word of God. But that can no where be shewed. And as for the Church, I am not angry with it, and I never refused to go to it, and to pray with the People, to hear the Word of God, and to do all other things whatsoever may agree with the Word of God. S. Austin speaking of the Ceremonies of the Jews (I suppose in the Epistle ad Januarius) although he grant they grievously oppressed that People, both for the number, and bondage of the same, yet he calleth them burdens of the Law, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not presumptions of men, which notwithstanding if they were not contrary to Gods Word, might after a sort be born withal. But now, seeing they are contrary to those things which are in the Word of God written, whether they ought to be born of any Christian or no, let him judge which is spiritual, which seareth God more then man, and loveth everlasting life more then this short and transitory life. To that which was said, that my fact lacketh example of the godly Fathers that have gone before, the contrary is most evident in the history of Tobie. Of whom it is said, that when all other went to the golden Calves, which Jeroboam the King of Israel had made, he himself alone fled all their Companies, and got him to Jerusalem unto the Temple of the Lord, and there worshipped the Lord God of Israel. Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues both unto the Priests of Bethel, and to the Altar which Jeroboam had there made after his own fantasie? Which plagues King Josias the true Minister of God, did execute at the time appointed. And where do we read, that the Prophets or the Apostles did agree with the People in their idolatry, when as the People went a whoring with their Hill-altars? For what cause I pray you did the Prophets rebuke the People so much, as for their false worshipping of God after their own minds, and not after Gods Word? For what was so much as that was? Wherefore the false Prophets ceased not to malign the true Prophets of God: therefore they beat them, they banished them, &c. How else, I pray you, cut you understand that S. Paul alledgeth, when he saith, what concord hath Christ with Belial? Either what part hath the Believer with the Infidel? or how agreeeth the Temple of God with Images? For ye are the Temple of the living God, as God himself hath said; I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my People. Wherefore, come out from among them, and separate your selves from them (saith the Lord) and touch none unclean thing; so will I receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my Sons and Daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

Judas that holy Woman, would not suffer her self to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the Saints of God, which truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do any thing which they knew to be contrary to Gods Laws, have chosen to die, rather then to forsake the Laws of their God. Wherefore the Machabees put themselves in danger of death for the defence

of the Law, Yea and at length died manfully in the defence of the same. If we do praise (saith Saint Augustine) the Machabees, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand even unto death, for the Law of their Country; how much more ought we to suffer all things for our Baptism, for the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, &c.? But the Supper of the Lord, such a one (I mean) as Christ commandeth us to celebrate, the Mass utterly abolisheth, and corrupteth most shamefully.

Who am I that I should add any thing to this which you have so spoken? Nay I rather thank you that have vouchsafed to minister so plentiful armour to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed, saying that he cannot be left destitute of help, which rightly trusteth in the help of God. I only learn to die in reading of the New Testament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that he will be an helper unto me in time of need.

Seeing you are so obstinately set against the Mass, that you affirm, because it is done in a Tongue not understood of the People, and for other causes, I cannot tell what; therefore is it not the true Sacrament ordained of Christ? I begin to suspect you, that you think not catholically of Baptism also. Is our Baptism, which we do use in a Tongue unknown unto the People, the true Baptism of Christ, or no? If it be, then doth not the strange Tongue hurt the Mass. If it be not the Baptism of Christ, tell me how were you Baptized. Or whether will ye (as the Anabaptists do) that all which were Baptized in Latin, should be Baptized again in the English Tongue?

Although I would with Baptism to be given in the vulgar Tongue for the Peoples sake which are present, that they may the better understand their own profession, and also be more able to teach their Children the same, yet notwithstanding there is not like necessity of the vulgar Tongue in Baptism, as in the Lords Supper. Baptism is given to Children, who by reason of their Age are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, what Tongue soever it be. The Lords Supper is, and ought to be given to them that are waxen. Moreover, in Baptism which is accustomed to be given to Children in the Latin Tongue, all the substantial points (as a man would say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that Baptism to be a perfect and true Baptism; and that it is not only not needful, but also not lawful for any man to christened, to be christened again. But yet notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the Catechism of the Christian Faith, when they shall come to years of discretion; which Catechism whosoever despiseth, or will not devoutly embrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a Christian man. But in the Popish Mass are wanting certain substantial, that is to say, things commanded by the Word of God to be observed in the Ministration of the Lords Supper; of the which there is sufficient declaration made before.

Where you say (I would wish) surely I would wish that you had spoken more vehemently, and to have said, it is of necessity, that all things in the Congregation should be done in the vulgar Tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present, notwithstanding that the Child itself is sufficiently Baptized in the Latin Tongue.

Forasmuch as I perceive you are so stiffly, I will not say obstinately bent, and so wedded to your Opinion, that no gentle Exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of means can call you home to a better mind, there remaineth that which in like cases was wont to be the only remedy against stiffnecked and stubborn persons, that is you must be hampered by the Laws, and compelled either to obey whether ye will or no, or else to suffer that which a Rebel to the Laws ought to suffer. Do you not know that whosoever refuseth to obey the Laws of the Realm, he bewrayeth himself to be an enemy to his Country? Do you not know that this is the readiest way to stir up Sedition and Civil war? It is better that you should bear your own sin, than that through the example of your breach of the common Laws, the common quiet should be disturbed. How can you say, you will be the Queens true subject, when as you do openly profess that you will not keep her Laws?

Anno

1555.

Cont. Epist.

Gauden in

Cap. 12.

H. Latimer

Phil. 9.

Anon. ob.

Jed. 15.

N. Ridley

answer.

Anon. ob.

Jed. 14.

Anno

1555.

M. Ridley
A. Latimer.

O heavenly Father, the Father of all wisdom, understanding, and true strength, I beseech thee for thy only Son our Saviour Christ's sake, look mercifully upon me wretched Creature, and send thine holy Spirit into my breast, that not only I may understand according to thy wisdom, how this pestilent and deadly dart is to be born off, and with what answer it is to be beaten back, but also when I must joyn to fight in the field for the glory of thy Name, that then I being strengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully stand in the Confession of thy Faith, and of thy Truth, and continue in the same unto the end of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable, that he which by words and gentleness cannot be made to yield to that is right and good, should be bridled by the strict correction of the Laws: that is to say, he that will not be subject to Gods Word, must be punished by the Laws. It is true that is commonly said, He that will not obey the Gospel, must be tamed and taught by the rigour of the Law. But these things ought to take place against him, which refuseth to do that is right and just according to true Godliness, not against him, which cannot quietly bear Superstitions, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the Name of God. To that which ye say, a transgressor of the common Laws bewrayeth himself to be an enemy of his Country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the Laws, what manner of Laws they be which are broken. For a faithful Christian ought not to think alike of all manner of Laws. But that saying ought only truly to be understood of such Laws as be not contrary to Gods Word. Otherwise, whosoever love their Country in Truth (that is to say, in God) they will always judge if at any time the Laws of God and man be the one contrary to the other (that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they that think otherwise, and pretend a love to that Country forsooth as they make their Country to fight as it were against God, in whom consisteth the only way of their Country, surely I do think that such are to be judged most deadly enemies, and traitors to their Country. For they that fight against God which is the safety of their Country, what do they else but go about to bring upon their Country a present ruine and destruction? But they that do so are worthy to be judged enemies to their Country, and betrayers of the Realm. Therefore, &c.

But this is the readiest way (ye say) to stir up Sedition, to trouble the quiet of the Common-wealth; therefore are these things to be ceased in time by force of Laws. Behold, Satan doth not reprove to practise his old guiles, and accustomed subtleties. He hath ever this darts in a readiness to hurl against his Adversaries, to accuse them of Sedition, that he may bring them (if he can) in danger of the Higher Powers. For so hath he by his Minister always charged the Prophets of God. *Abah* said unto *Elias*; *Art thou he that troublest Israel*? The false Prophets also complained to their Princes of *Jeremy*, that his words were seditious, and not to be suffered: Did not the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* falsely accuse Christ as a Seditious person, and one that spake against *Caesar*? Did they not at the last cry, *If you let this man go, ye are not *Caesars* Friends*? The Orator *Tertullus*, how doth he accuse *Paul* before *Felix* the high Deputy? *We have found this man, saith he, a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer of Sedition, unto all the Jews in the whole world, &c.* But I pray you were these men, as they were called, Seditious persons? Christ, *Paul* and the Prophets? God forbid. But they were of false men falsely accused. And wherefore I pray you? but because they reproved before the People their guiles, superstition, and deceits. And when the other could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accused them as Seditious persons, and troublers of the Common-wealth, that being by this means made hateful to the People and Princes, they might the more easily be snatched up to be tormented, and put to death. But how far they were from all Sedition, their whole doctrine, life, and conversation doth well declare. For that which was objected last of all, that he cannot be a faithful subject to his Prince, which professeth openly that he will not observe the Laws which

the Prince hath made; here I would wish that I might have an indifferent Judge, and one that feareth God, to whose Judgment in this cause I promise I will stand. I answer therefore, A man ought to obey his Prince, but in the Lord, and never against the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his Prince against God, doth not a duty to the Prince, but is a deceiver of the Prince, and an helper unto him to work his own destruction. He is also unjust, which giveth not to the Prince that is the Prince, and to God that is Gods. Here cometh to my remembrance, that notable saying of *Valentinianus* Theod. Re- the Emperour for choosing the Bishop of *Millain*. Set clus. hist. him (saith he) in the Bishops seat, to whom if we (as be- ete- him) do offend at any time, we may submit our selves. clus. hist. *Polycarpus* the most constant Martyr, when he stood lib. 4. c. 4. before the chief Rulers and was commanded to blaspheme Niceph. Christ, and to swear by the fortune of *Caesar*, &c. he lib. 3. cap. 31. answered with a mild spirit; We are taught (saith he) to give honour unto Princes: and those powers which be of God; but such honour as is not contrary to Gods Religion.

Hitherto ye see (good Father) how I have in words only made as it were a flourish before the fight, which I shortly look after, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversary of Christ, and to muse with myself how the darts of the old enemy may be born off, and after what fort I may smite him again with the Sword of the Spirit. I Ephet. 6. learn also hereby to be in ure with armour, and to assay how I can go armed. In *Tindal* where I was born, not far from the *Scottish* Borders, I have known my Country-men to watch night and day in their hamlets, such as they had, that is, in their Jacks, and their Spears in their hand (you call them Northern-gads) especially when they had any privy warning of the coming of the *Scots*. And so doing, although at every such bickering some of them spent their lives, yet by such means, like pretty men, they defended their Country. And those that so did, I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their off-spring and Progeny all the Country loved them the better for their Fathers sake. And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of his own Divine Ordinances, by the which he giveth unto us life and immortality; yea, in the quarrel of Faith, and Christian Religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall we not watch? shall we not go always armed? ever looking when our Adversary (which like a roaring Lion 2 Pet. 2. seeketh whom he may devour) shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulness? yea, and we be unto us, if he can oppress us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us sleeping. Let us awake therefore. For if the good man of the house knew at what hour the thief should come he would surely watch, and not suffer his house to be broken up. Let us awake therefore, I say: Let us not suffer our house to be broken up. Rediff the Devil, saith Saint *James*, and he will fly from you. Let James 4. us therefore resist him manfully, and taking the Cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our Captain Christ, who by his own Blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlasting joys. 1 Tim. 6. Let us follow, I say, whithersoever he calleth and allureth us, that after these afflictions which last but for a moment, whereby he trieth our Faith, as gold by the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and that through the same our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom with the Father and the holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever, Amen, Amen.

Good Father, forsooth as I have determined with myself, to pour forth these my cogitations into your bosom, here, me thinketh, I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your Prophetical countenance, and speaking unto me, with these or like words; Trust not, my Son (I beseech you vouchsafe me the honour of this name; for in so doing I shall think myself both honoured, and beloved of you.) Trust not, I say, my Son, to these word-weapons; for the Kingdom of God is not in words but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord. Do not imagine beforehand, what and how

Satan and his Ministers do always charge the godly with Sedition.
Reg. 19.
Jerem. 26.
Luke 23.
John 18.
Acts 14.

Math. 24.

1 Tim. 6.

1 Cor. 4.

Matt. 10.
Mark 11.

how you will speak: for it shall be given you even in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you. I pray you therefore, Father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and trust upon him in all perils. For I know, and am fully persuaded, that whatsoever I can imagine or think beforehand, it is nothing, except he assist me with his Spirit when the time is. I beseech you therefore, Father, pray for me, that such a compleat harness of the Spirit, such boldness of mind may be given unto me, that I may out of a true Faith say with David; *I will not trust in my Bow, and it is not my Sword that shall save me. For he hath no pleasure in the strength of an Horse, &c. But the Lords delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy.* I beseech you pray, pray, that I may enter this fight only in the Name of God, and that when all is past, I being not overcome through his gracious aid, may remain and stand fast in him, till that day of the Lord, in the which to them that obtain the victory shall be given the lively Manna to eat, and a triumphant Crown for evermore.

Apost. 2.

Now Father, I pray you help me to buckle on this gear a little better. For ye know the deepness of Satan, being an old Souldier, and you have collared with him ere now: blessed be God, that hath ever aided you so well. I suppose he may well hold you at the bay. But truly he will not be so willing (I think) to joyn with you as with us younglings: Sir, I beseech you, let your servant read this my babbling unto you, and now and then, as it shall seem unto you best, let your pen run on my Book; spare not to blot my Paper: I give you good leave.

R. Latimer.

Sir, I have caused my Man not only to read your Armour unto me, but also to write it out. For it is not only no bare Armour, but also well buckled Armour. I see not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and my prayer shall you not lack, trusting that you do the like for me; For indeed there is the help, &c. Many things make confusion in memory. And if I were learned as well as St. Paul, I would not bestow much amongst them, further than to gail them, and spur-gail too, when and whereas occasion were given, and matter came to mind; for the Law shall be their shoot-anchor stay, and refuge. Therefore there is no remedy; Namely, now when they have the master bowl in their hand, and rule the royl, but patience. Better it isto suffer what cruelly they will put upon us, than to incur Gods holy indignation. Wherefore (good my Lord) be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration what he requirith of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common Enemy shall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, &c. Be at a point what ye will stand unto; stick unto that, and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kill the Body, which otherwise is of it self mortal. Neither yet shall they do that when they list, but when God will suffer them, when the hour appointed is come. To use many words with them it shall be but in vain, now that they have a bloody and deadly Law prepared for them. But it is very requisite that ye give a reasonable account of your Faith, if they will quietly hear you; else ye know in a wicked place of judgment a man may keep silence, after the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their sophistical Sophisms and fallacies; you know that false things may have more appearance of Truth, than things that be most true: therefore Paul giveth us a watch-word, Let no man deceive you with likeliness of speech. Neither is it requisite that with the contentious ye should follow strife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and the vain bragging and ostentation of the Adversaries. Fear of death doth most pervert a great number. Be well ware of that Argument; for that perwaded Shaston (as many men thought) after that he had once made a good profession openly before the judgment seat. The flesh is weak, but the willingness of the Spirit shall refresh the weakness of the flesh.

Apost. 6.

Phil. 1.

The number of the Criers under the Altar must needs be fulfilled; for that perwaded thertunto, happy be we. That is the greatest promotion that God giveth in this world, to be such *Philippians*, to whom it is given not

only to believe, but also to suffer, &c. But who is able to do these things? Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency is of God. He requirith and promitteth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it shall be requisite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire.

Anno
1555.

When that number is fulfilled, which I ween shall be shortly, then have at the Papists, when they shall fly peace, all things are safe, when Christ shall come to keep his great Parliament to the redress of all things that be amiss. But he shall not come as the Papists feign him, to hide himself, and to play bo-peep as it were under a piece of Bread; but he shall come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all Papists; but to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for him. Comfort your selves one another with these words.

Lo Sir, here have I blotted your Paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously; but so I thought better than not to do your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me, pray for me, I say, pray for me, I say. For I am sometime so fearful, that I would creep into a Moule-hole; sometime God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, lest I should rob him of his due, as many do, and almost all the world. Fare ye well.

What credence is to be given to Papists, it may appear by their wracking, writing, wrinceling, and monstrously injuring of Gods holy Scripture, as appeareth in the Popes Law. But I dwell here now in a School of oblivionists. Fare you well once again, and be you stedfast and unmoving in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellous well, notwithstanding he saith unto him; *Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the Gospel*; and again, *Harden thy self to suffer afflictions. Be faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a Crown of life*, saith the Lord.

1 Cor. 15.
2 Tim. 2.

Here followeth the Letters of the Reverend Bishop and Martyr, Nicholas Ridley.

A Letter sent from Bishop Ridley, and his Prison-fellows unto Mr. Bradford and his Prison-fellows, in the Kings-Bench in Southwark, Anno 1554.

Well beloved in Christ our Saviour, we all with one heart wish to you, with all those that love God in deed and Truth, grace and health, and especially to our dearly beloved Companions which are in Christs cause, and the cause both of their Brethren, and of their own salvation, to put their neck willingly under the yoke of Christs Cross. How joyful it was to us to hear the report of Dr. Taylor, and of his godly Confession, &c. I assure you, it is hard for me to express.

Blessed be God, which was and is the giver of that, and of all godly strength and stomach in the time of adversity. As for the rumours that have or do go abroad, either of our relenting or melting, we trust, that they which know God and their duty towards their Brethren in Christ, will not be too light of credence. For it is not the slanderers evil Tongue, but a mans evil deed that can with God defile a man; and therefore with Gods grace, ye shall never have cause to do otherwise than ye say ye do, that is, not to doubt but that we will, by Gods grace, continue, &c. Like rumour as ye have heard of our coming to London, hath been here spread of the coming of certain learned men Prisoners, hither from London; but as yet we know no certainty whether of these rumours is, or shall be more true. Know you that we have you in our daily remembrance, and wish you and all the rest of our fore-said companions well in Christ.

It should do us much comfort, if we might have knowledge of the State of the rest of our most dearly beloved, which in this troublesome time do stand in Christs cause, and in the defence of the Truth thereof. Somewhat we have heard of Mr. Hoopers matter; but of the rest never a deal. We long to hear of Father Crome, of Mr. Sands, Mr. Saunders, Veron, Beacon, Rogers, &c. We are in good health, thanks be to God, and yet the manner of our intreating doth change as snow doth in summer. It is reported to us of our Keepers, that

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Anno
1555.

Whichever
fault is
done, the
cause will
upon the
poor Chris-
tians.

Mr. Ridley
and his fel-
low prisoner
in Bocardo,
restrained of
their liber-
ty.

The ingrati-
tude of the
Scholars in
not visiting
the Bishop
in Bocardo.
"Bocardo a
College of
Quondams."

The good-
ness of
Mistress
Wilkin
and Anna
Warney to
help the Bi-
shops in Bo-
cardo.

the University beareth in buru l. A cole danced to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floor, and no more harm was done, the Bayliffs servant sitting by the fire. Another night there chanced (as Mr. Bayliffs told us) a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the same he was set in Bocardo. Upon these things (as is reported) there is risen a rumour in the Town and Country about, that we should have broken the prison with such violence, as that if Master Bayliffs had not plac'd the pretty men, we should have made a scape. We had out of our prison a wall that we might have walked upon, and our servants had liberty to go abroad in the Town or fields, but now both they and we are restrained of both.

My Lord of Worcester passed by throw Oxford, but he did not visit us. The same day began our refrains to be more, and the book of the Communion was taken from us by the Bayliffs at the Mayors commandment, as the Bayliffs did report to us. No man is licensed to come unto us; afore they might, that would see us upon the wall, but that is so grudging at, and so evil reported, that we are now restrained. O Sir, blessed be God, with all our evil reports, grudges, and restraints, we are merry in God, all our care and care is and shall be (by Gods grace) to please and serve him, of whom we look and hope, after these temporall and momentary miseries, to have eternal joy and perpetual felicity with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Peter and Paul, and all the heavenly company of the Angels in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

As yet there was never learned man, nor any Scholar or other that visited us since we came into Bocardo, which now in Oxford may be called a College of "Quondams." For as ye know, we be no fewer than three, and I dare say every one well contented with his portion, which I do reckon to be our heavenly Father's fatherly, good and gracious gift. Thus fare you well. We shall by Gods grace one day meet together, and be merry. The day assuredly approacheth apace; the Lord grant that it may shortly come. For before that day come, I fear me the World will wax worse and worse. But then all our enemies shall be overthrown, and trodden under foot; Righteousness and truth then shall have the victory, and bear the bell away, whereof the Lord grant us to be partakers, and all that love truly the truth.

We all pray you, as we can, to cause all our commendations to be made unto all such as ye know did visit us and you, when we were in the Tower, with their friendly remembrances and benefits. Mistress Wilkin and Mistress Warcup have not forgotten us, nor ever since we came to Bocardo, with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us: not that else we did lack (for God be blessed, he ever hitherto hath provided sufficiently for us) but that is a great comfort, and an occasion for us to bless God, when we see that he maketh them so friendly to tender us, whom some of us were never familiarly acquainted withall.

Yours in Christ, Nich. Ridley.

A Letter of Master Ridley, sent to a Cousin of his.

Gods Holy Spirit be with you now and ever, Amen.

When I call to remembrance (beloved Cousin) the state of those that for fear of trouble, either for loss of goods, will do in the sight of the World those things that they know and are assured are contrary to the will of God, I can do no less but lament their case, being assured the end thereof will be so pitiful (without speedy repentance) that I tremble and fear to have it in remembrance. I would to God it lay upon some earthly burden, so that freedom of conscience might be given unto them. I wote (as God knoweth) not of presumption, but only lamenting the state of those, whom I thought now in this dangerous time should have given both you and me comfortable instruction. But alas, instead thereof we have instructions to follow (I lament to rehearse it) superstitious Idolatry. Yea, and that worst of all is, they will seek to prove it by the Scriptures. The Lord for his mercy turn their hearts, Amen. Commend me, &c.

Yours, Nicholas Ridley.

To Master Bradford.

Brother Bradford, I wish you and your company in Christ, yea, and all the Holy Brotherhood, that now with you in divers prisons suffereth and beareth patiently Christs Cross for the maintenance of his Gospel, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

Sir, considering the state of this chivalry and warfare, wherein I doubt not but we be set to fight under Christs banner, and his Cross, against our ghostly enemy the Devil, and the old Serpent Satan, me think I perceive two things to be his most perillous and most dangerous engines, which he hath to impugne Christs verity, his Gospel, and his faith; and the same two also to be the most massy posts, and most mighty pillars, whereby he maintaineth and upholdeth this Satanical Synagogue. These two, Sir, are they, in my judgement: the one, his false Doctrine and Idolatrical use of the Lords Supper, and the other, the wicked and abominable usurpation of the primacy of the See of Rome. By these two Satan semeth to me principally to maintain and uphold his Kingdom; by these two he driveth down mightily (alas I fear me) the third part of the stars in heaven. These two poisonous rotten posts he had so painted over with such pretence and colour of Religion, of Unity in Christs Church, of the Catholick faith, and such like, that the wily Serpent is able to deceive (if it were possible) even the elect of God. Wherefore John faith not without great cause; If any man know not Satans subtilties and the profundities thereof, I will wysp him no other burden to be laden withall.

Sir, because these be his principal and main posts whereupon standeth all his falshood, craft, and treachery, therefore according to the poor power that God hath given me, I have bended mine Artillery to shoot at the same. I know it to be but little (God knoweth) that I can do, and of my shot I know they pass not. Yet I will not (God willing) cease to do the best that I can, to shake those cankered and rotten posts. The Lord grant me good success, to the glory of his Name, and the furtherance of Christs Gospel. I have now already (I thank God) for this present time spent a good part of my powder in these scribblings, whereof this bearer shall give you knowledge. The Good Brother Bradford, let the wicked fumes and fumes what they list; know you for a certainty, by Gods grace, without all doubt, that in Christs Gospels cause, against the and upon the afore said Gods enemies, I am fully determined to live and die. Farewell (dear Brother) and I beseech you and all the rest of our Brethren to have good remembrance of the condemned Hereticks (as they call them) of Oxford, in your prayers. The bearer shall certify you of our state. Fare well in the Lord. From Bocardo

Yours in Christ, Nich. Ridley

Another Letter of Master Ridley unto Master Bradford, and other his prison-fellowes, Anno, 1555.

Early beloved, I wish you grace, mercy, and peace.

According to your mind; I have run over all your papers, and what I have done (which is but small) therein may appear. In two places I have put in two loose leaves. I had much ado to read that was written in your great leaves. And I wene somewhere I have altered some words, because I could not read perfectly that which was written. Sir, what shall be best done with these things, now ye must consider; for if they come in sight at this time, undoubtedly they must to the fire with their Fatherland as for any safeguard that your custody can be unto them, I am sure you look not for it. For as you have been partner of the work, so I am sure you look for none other, but to have and receive like wages, and to drink of the same cup. Blessed be God, that hath given you liberty in the mean season, that you may use your pen to his glory, and the comfort (as I hear say) of many. I bless God daily in you, and all your whole company, to whom I beseech you commend me heartily. Now I love my country-man in deed and in truth. I mean D Taylor

Another
worthy let-
ter of Bi-
shop Ridley
to M. Brad-
ford.

Two massy
pillars hold-
ing up the
Synagogue of
Satan.
1. False do-
ctrine in the
Sacrament.
2. The Popes
primacy.
Apoc. 18.
Satan's por-
tion painted
over with
fair preten-
ces of Reli-
gion.
Apoc. 18.

Mr. Ridley
purpose to
live and dye
upon the
enemies of
Christ, and
of the Gos-
pel.

Another
Letter of
Mr. Ridley
answering to
M. Bradford.
This was
written of the
Lords Supper
with other things
which
Mr. Bradford
sent to him
to peruse,
and to judge
thereof.

not

Commen-
dation of
Ridley
Taylor.

not for my earthly countries sake, but for our heavenly Fa-
thers sake, and for Christs sake, whom I heard say, he
did stoutly in time of perill confesse, and yet also for our
countries sake, and for all our Mothers sake; but I mean
of the Kingdom of Heaven, and of heavenly *Jerusa-
lem*, and because of the Spirit, which bringeth forth
in him, in you, and in our company such blessed
fruits of boldness in the Lords cause, of patience and con-
fancy. The Lord which hath begun this work in you
all, perform and perfect this his own deed, until his own
day come. Amen.

And yet I perceive ye have not been baited, and the
cause thereof God knoweth, which will let them do no
more to his, than is his pleased will and pleasure to suffer
them to do for his own glory, and to the profit of them
which be truly his. For the Father, which doth guide
them that be Christs to Christ, is more mighty than all
they, and no man is able to pull them out of the Fathers
hands: except, I say, it please our Father, it please our
Master Christ to suffer them, they shall not stir one hair
of your heads.

My Brother P. the bearer hereof, and Master Hoopers
Letters; would that we should say what we think good
concerning your "minds that is, not to answer, except
ye might have somewhat indifferent Judges; We are (as
ye know) separated, and one of us cannot in anything
consult with another, and much strait watching of the
Bayliffs is about us, that there be no privy conference a-
mongst us. And yet, as we hear, the Scholars bear us
more heavily than the Townsmen. A wonderful thing, a-
mong so many, never yet Scholar offered any of us (so
far as I know) any manner of favour, either for or in
Christs cause.

Now as concerning your demand of your Counsell,
for my part I do not mislike that which I perceive ye are
minded to do. For I look for none other, but if ye an-
swer afore the same Commissioners that we did, ye shall
be served and handled as we were; though ye were as well
learned as ever was either Peter or Paul. And yet fur-
ther I think, that occasion afterward may be given
you, and the consideration of the profit of your auditory
may perchance move ye to do otherwise.

Finally, determinately to say what shall be best, I am
not able; but I trust he, whose cause ye have in hand,
shall put you in mind to do that which shall be most for
his glory, the profit of his flock, and your own salvation.
This Letter must be common to you and Master Hooper,
in whom and in his prison-fellow good Father C. I bless
God, even from the bottom of my heart; for I doubt
not but they both do to our Master Christ, true, accept-
able, and honorable service, and profitable to his flock;
the one with his pen, and the other with his fatherly ex-
ample of patience and confancy, and all manner of true
godliness. But what shall I need to say to you? Let this be
common among your Brethren, among whom (I dare
say) it is with you as it is with us, to whom all things
here are common, meat, money, and whatsoever any
of us hath, that can or may do another good. Although
I bid the Bayliffs and our Hosts straitly watch us, that we
have no conference or intelligence of any thing abroad,
yet hath God provided for every one of us instead of our
servants, faithful fellows, which will be content to hear
and see, and to do for us whatsoever they can. It is Gods
work surely, blessed be God for his unspeakable goodness.
The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God,
and the communication of the Holy Ghost be with you
all, Amen, Amen.

As far as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have
received of late, both meat, money, and shirts, not on-
ly from such as are of our acquaintance, but of some
(whom this bearer can tell) with whom I had never to
my knowledge any acquaintance. I know for whose sake
they do it; to him therefore be all honour, glory, and due
thanks.

And yet I pray you do so much as to shew them, that
we have received their benevolence, and (God be blessed)
have plenty of all such things. This I desire you to do, for
I know they be of Master Hoopers and your familiar ac-
quaintance. Master Latimer was crazed; but I hear
now (thanks be to God) that he amendeth again.

Nicholas Ridley.

Another Letter of M. Ridley unto Master Bradford.

OH dear Brother, seeing the time is now come, where-
in it pleaseth the heavenly Father for Christ our
Saviour his sake, to call upon you, and to bid you to come,
happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be found
awake at the Lords calling. *Eugē serve bone & fidelis,
quia super pauca fuisi fidelis, super multa te constituat, &
intra bis in gaudium Domini.* Well done good and faith-
ful servant, because thou hast been truly in small matters,
he shall set thee over great things, and thou shalt enter
into the joy of thy Lord.

O dear Brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent
into your own native Country? The wisdom and policy
of the World may mean what they will, but I trust God
will so order the matter finally by his fatherly providence,
that some great occasion of Gods gracious goodness shall
be plentifully powred abroad amongst his, our dear Bre-
thren in that Country, by this your Martyrdom, where
the Martyrs for Christs sake shed their Blood, and lost
their lives. Oh what wondrous things hath Christ after-
ward wrought to his glory, and confirmation of their
Doctrine? If it be not the place that sanctified the man,
but the holy man doth by Christ sanctify the place, Brother
Bradford, then happy and holy shall be that place where-
in thou shalt suffer, and shall be with thy ashes in Christs
cause sprinkled over withall. All thy Country may rejoice
of thee, that it ever brought forth such a one, which would
render his life again in his cause, of whom he had received
it. Brother Bradford, so long as I shall understand thou
art in thy journey, by Gods grace I shall call upon our
heavenly Father for Christs sake, to set thee safely home:
and then, good Brother, speak you, and pray for the
remnant which are to suffer for Christs sake, according
to that thou then shalt know more clearly.

We do look now every day when we shall be called
on, blessed be God. I woe I am the weakest many ways
of our company; and yet I thank our Lord God and
heavenly Father by Christ, that since I heard of our
dear Brother Rogers departing, and stout confession of
Christ and his truth even unto the death, my heart (blessed
be God) rejoiced of it, that since that time (I say)
I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as I
grant I have felt sometimes before. Oh good Brother,
blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that ever
I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

Your Brother in Christ, Nicholas
Ridley; Brother farewell.

To the Brethren remaining in captivity of the flesh, and
dispersed abroad in sundry prisons, but knit together in
Unity of Spirit and Holy Religion in the bowels of the
Lord Jesus.

GRace, peace, and mercy be multiplied among you.
What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord
for you my Brethren, namely, for the great consolation
which through you we have received in the Lord, who
notwithstanding the rage of Satan that goeth about by
all manner of subtle means to beguile the World, and also
busily laboureth to restore and set up his Kingdom again,
that of late began to decay and fall to ruine; ye remain
yet still unmoveable, as men surely grounded upon a
strong rock. And now, albeit that Satan by his souldiers
and wicked ministers, daily (as we hear) draweth num-
bers unto him, so that it is said of him, that he
plucketh even the very Stars out of heaven, whilst he
driveth into some men the fear of death, and loss of all
their goods, and sheweth and offereth to overcome the
pleasant baits of the World: namely, riches, wealth, and
all kind of delights and pleasures, fair houses, great re-
venues, fat benefices, and what not; and all to the intent
they should fall down and worship, not the Lord, but the
Dragon, the old Serpent, which is the Devil, that great
Beast and his Image, and should be incited to commit for-
nication with the Strumpet of *Babylon*, together with
the Kings of the earth, with the lesser Beast and with
the false Prophets, and so to rejoice and be pleas-
ant with her, and to be drunken with the wine of her
fornication;

Anno
1555.

This letter
of B. Ridley
was written
to M. Brad-
ford soon
after his con-
demnation.
when it was
thought that
he should be
had to
Langbaine.
Mat. 25.

The rejoy-
cing of B.
Ridley at the
constancy
of M. Rogers

A Letter of
B. Ridley to
the prisoners
of Christ,
written in
Latin, and trans-
lated into
English.

Apoc. 12.

Apoc. 14.

Commen-
dation of
Saints in
Bishop Ridley,
Bishop Hooper,
D. Taylor,
and o-
ther.
Gods provi-
dence for his
Saints.

The Chris-
tian charity
of certain
godly Bre-
thren of Lan-
den, toward
the prisoner
Bishops in
Oxford.

The pro
ducts of
Satan.
Apoc. 2,

1 Pet:35

Communion
and Unity
of Saints,
Phil. 2.

4. 4005

And as for the darkness that Satan now bringeth upon the Church of England, who needeth to doubt thereof? Of late time our Saviour Christ, his Apostles, Prophets, and Teachers spake in the Temple to the People of England in the English Tongue, so that they might be understood plainly, and without any hardnesse, of the godly and such as sought for heavenly knowledge in matters, which of necessity of salvation pertained to the obtaining of eternal life; but now those things, which once were written of them for the edifying of the Congregation, are read in a strange Tongue without interpretation, manifestly against St. Pauls commandment, so that there is no man able to understand them, which hath not learned that strange and unknown Tongue.

Of late days those heavenly Mysteries, whereby Christ hath ingrafted us into his Body, and hath united us one to another, whereby also being regenerate, and born anew unto God, he hath nourished, increased and strengthened us, whereby moreover, either he hath taught and set forth an order amongst them which are whole, or else to the sick in Soul or Body, hath given, as it were, wholsom medicines and remedies; those (I say) were all plainly set forth to the People in their own language; so that what great and exceeding good things every man had received of God, what duty every one owed to another by Gods Ordinance, what every one had professed in his vocation, and was bound to observe, what remedy was to be had for the wicked and feeble, he to whom God hath given a desire and willing heart to understand those things, might soon perceive and understand. But now all these things are taught and set forth in such sort, that the People redeemed with Christs Blood, and for whose sakes they were by Christ himself ordained, can have no manner of understanding thereof at all.

Of late (forasmuch as we know not how to pray as we ought) our Lord Jesus Christ in his Prayer, whereof he would have no man ignorant, and also the Holy Ghost in the Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs which are set forth in the Bible, did teach and instruct all the People of England in the English Tongue, that they might ask such things as are according to the will of the Father, and might join their hearts and lips in Prayer together; but now all these things are commanded to be hid and shut up from them in a strange Tongue, whereby it must needs follow, that the People can neither tell how to pray, nor what to pray for; and how can they join their hearts and voice together, when they understand no more what the voice signifieth, than a brute Beast?

Finally, I hear say, that the Catechism which was lately set forth in the English Tongue, is now in every Pulpit condemned. Oh devilish malice, and most spitefully injurious to the salvation of Mankind purchased by Jesus Christ! Indeed Satan could not long suffer that so great light should be spread abroad in the world; he saw well enough that nothing was able to overthrow his Kingdom so much, as if Children being godly instructed in Religion, should learn to know Christ whilst they are yet young; whereby not only Children, but the Elder sort also and aged Folks that before were not taught to know Christ in their Childhood, should now even with Children and Babes be forced to learn to know him. Now therefore he roareth, now he rageth. But what else do they (Brethren) which serve Satan, and become his ministers, and slaves in maintaining of his impiety, but even the same which they did, to whom Christ our Saviour threatneth this Curse in the Gospel; Wo unto you which shut up the Kingdom of Heaven before men, and take away the Key of knowledge from them: ye your selves have not entered in, neither have ye suffered them that would enter, to come in.

And from whence shall we say (Brethren) that this horrible and mischievous darkness proceedeth, which is now brought upon the world? From whence, I pray you, but even from the smoke of the great furnace of the bottomless Pit, so that the Sun and the Air are now darkened by the smoke of the Pit? Now, even now (out of doubt) Brethren the Pit is opened against us, and the Locusts begin to swarm, and Abaddon now reigneth.

Yet therefore (my Brethren) which pertain unto Christ, and have the Seal of God marked in your Fore-

heads: that is to wit, are Sealed with the earnest of the Spirit to be a peculiar People of God, quit your selves like men, and be strong; for he that is in us, is stronger than he which is in the World; and ye know that all that is born of God overcometh the World, and this is our victory that overcometh the World, even our Faith. Let the World fret, let it rage never so much, be it never so cruel, and bloody, yet be ye sure that no man can take us out of the Fathers hands, for he is greater than all; who hath not spared his own Son, but hath given him to death for us all; and therefore how shall he not with him give us all things also? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of Gods elect? It is God that justifieth, who then shall condemn? It is Christ that is dead, yea rather which is risen again, who also is at the right hand of God, and maketh request also for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? I the rest ye know, Brethren. We are certainly persuaded with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that no kind of thing shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. Which thing, that it may come to pass by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the comfort both of you and of us all, as we for our parts will continually (God willing) pray for you; so (dear Brethren in the Lord) with all earnest and hearty request we beseech you, even in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye will not cease to pray for us. Fare ye well dear Brethren. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all evermore, Amen.

A Letter of Bishop Ridley, answering to a certain Letter of one Mr. Wylf sometime his Chaplain.

I Wish you grace in God, and love of the Truth, without the which truly established in mens hearts: by the mighty hand of the Almighty God, it is no more possible to stand by the Truth in Christ in time of trouble, than it is for the wax to abide the heat of the fire. Sir you know this, that I am (blessed be God) persuaded that this World is but transitory, and (as St. John saith) The World passeth away, and the lust thereof: I am persuaded Christs words to be true; whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven: And I believe that no earthly Creature shall be saved, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the World shall before his Father deny. This the Lord grant, that it may be so glorified, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present nor to come, high or low, life nor death, be able to remove me thence. It is a goodly wish, that you wish me deeply to consider the things pertaining unto Gods glory; but if you had wished also, that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly prosperity should let me to maintain Gods word and his Truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would have liked me well. You desire me for Gods sake to remember my self. Indeed Sir, now it is time to do so; for so far as I can perceive, it standeth me upon no less danger, than of the loss both of Body and Soul; and I trust, when it is time for a man to awake, if any thing will awake him. He that will not fear him that threatneth to cast both Body and Soul into everlasting fire, whom we shall fear? With this fear, O Lord, fasten thou together our frail flesh, that we never sever from thy Laws. You say, you have made much fate for me. Sir, Gods grace that you have not in swing for my worldly deliverance, impaired and hindered the furtherance of Gods Word and his Truth.

You have known me long indeed; in the which time it hath chanced me, as you say, to mislike some things. It is true, I grant; for sudden changes without substantial and necessary cause, and the ready setting forth of extremities, I did never love. Confession unto the Minister which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant Conscience, indeed I ever thought might do much good in Christs Congregation, and so I assure you, I think even at this day. My Doctrine and my Preaching you say you have heard often, and after your judgment have thought it godly, saving only for the Sacrament, which thing at the time it was of me reverently handled, and a great deal

Readings proving the Religion in Queens Marys time not to be of God.

Comparison between the Religion in King Edwards time, and the Religion in Queens Marys time.

Scriptures in King Edwards time, known in Queens Marys time, known.

In King Edwards time the People knew what they prayed. In Queens Marys time they neither knew what, nor to whom they prayed.

The Catechism set forth in King Edwards time for Children, in Queens Marys time forbidden.

Matt. 23. The Pharisees neither enter them selves, nor will suffer other to enter Gods Kingdom. Apoc. 9.

The Pit of Locusts opened.

Anno 1555.

Apoc. 7.

1 John 2.

Revelation

to stand con-

stant in

Christ and

his Truth.

Rom. 8.

Another Letter of B. Ridley, answering to one Mr. Wylf, sometime his Chaplain.

1 John 2.

Matt. 10.

No Creature can be saved, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the World shall before his Father deny.

What it is for a man for will to remember himself.

Luke 12.

Woe fear God.

Bishop Ridley rebuketh those who have false hope for him.

Confession to the Minister in the way of asking could not be omitted.

A Rejoinder to a Reverend brother of the Sacrament

Anno 1555.
 deal better than of the rest (as you say) yet in the Margent you write warily, and in this world Wisely; and yet me thought all sounding not well. Sir, but that I see so many changes in this world, and so much alteration, else as this your saying I would not a little marvel. I have taken you for my Friend, and a man whom I fancied for plainness and faithfulness, as much I assure you, as for your learning; and have you kept this so close in your heart from me unto this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and will not say all that I think. But what need you to care what I think, for any thing I shall be able to do unto you, either good or harm? You give me good Lessons to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain-glory. Truly Sir, I herein like your counsel very well, and by Gods grace I intend to follow it unto my very end.

To write unto those whom you name, I cannot see what it will avail me. For this I would have you know, that I esteem nothing available for me, which also will not further the glory of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeal and desire of my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly misery, if I should not bear you a good heart in God again, methink I wereto blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lords will be fulfilled how soon soever it shall come. I know the Lords words must be verified on me that I shall appear before the incorrupt Judge, and be countable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercies is my Shoot-anchor of eternal salvation, yet am I persuaded, that whosoever willingly neglecteth and regardeth not to clear his Conscience, be cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conscience therefore moveth me, considering you were one of my Family, and one of my household, of whom then I think I had a special Cure, and of all them which were within my house, which in deed ought to have been an example of godliness to all the rest of my Cure, not only of good life, but also in promoting of Gods Word to the uttermost of their power, (but alas, now when the trial doth separate the Chaff from the Corn, how small a deal it is, God knoweth, which the wind both not blow away) this Conscience (I say) doth move me to fear, lest the lightness of my Family shall be laid to my charge for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction, which should have been done. But blessed be God which hath given me grace to see this my default and to lament it from the bottom of my heart, before my departing hence.

This Conscience doth move me also now to require both you and my Friend Dr. Harvey, to remember your promises made to me in times past, of the pure setting forth and Preaching of Gods Word and his Truth. These promises, although you shall not need to fear to be charged with them of me hereafter before the world, yet look for none other (I exhort you as my Friends) but to be charged with them as Gods hand. This Conscience and the love that I bear unto you, biddest me now say unto you both in Gods Name; Fear God, and love not the world: for God is able to cast both Body and Soul into Hell-fire. When his wrath shall suddenly be kindled, blessed are all they that put their trust in him. And the saying of St. John is true, All that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world, and the world passeth away and the lust thereof, but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever. If this gift of grace (which undoubtedly is necessarily required unto eternal salvation) were truly and unfeignedly grafted and firmly established in mens hearts, they would not be so light, so suddenly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the Truth as is now (alas) seen so manifestly of so many in these days. But here peradventure you would know of me, what is the Truth. Sir, Gods Word is the Truth, as St. John saith, and that even the same that was heretofore. For albeit man doth vary and change as the Moon, yet Gods Word is stable, and abideth one for evermore: and of Christ it is truly said, Christ yesterday and to day, the same is also for ever.

When I was in office, all that were effected learned in Gods Word, agreed this to be a Truth in Gods Word written, that the Common Prayer of the Church should

be had in the Common Tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I assure you, I never found any (so far as I do remember) neither old nor young, Gospeller nor Papist of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a Truth of Gods Word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? If it cannot, why then do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this Truth received once of us all? For what is it, I pray you, else to confess or deny Christ in this world, but to maintain the Truth taught in Gods Word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from the same? This one thing have I brought for an example; other things be in like case, which now particularly I need not rehearse. For he that will forsake willingly, either for fear or gain of the world, any one open Truth of Gods Word, if he be constrained, he will assuredly forsake God and all his Truths; other than he will endanger himself to lose or to leave that he loveth better indeed, than he doth God and the Truth of his Word.

I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say, I must either agree or die, and I think that you mean of the bodily death, which is Common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make such an agreement, by the which I could never escape this death which is common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damnation? Lord, grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement so long as I live. And because (I dare say) you wrote of friendship unto me this short earnest advertisement, and I think verily, wishing me to live and not to die, therefore bearing you to my heart no less love in God, then you do me in the world, I say unto you in the Word of the Lord (and that I say to you, I say to all my Friends and lovers: of us in God) that if you do not confess and maintain to your power and knowledge that which is grounded upon Gods Word, but will either for fear or gain of the world shrink and play the Apostate, indeed you shall die the death; you know what I mean. And I beseech you all true Friends and lovers in God, remember what I say, for this may be the last time peradventure that ever I shall write unto you.

From Bocardo in Oxford the
8. day of April, 1555.

Master Grindal now Archbishop of Canterbury, being in the time of exile in the City of Frankford, wrote to Dr. Ridley then Prisoner, a certain Epistle, wherein first he lamenteth his captivity, exhorting him withal to be constant. Secondly, he certifieth him of the state of the English Exiles being dispersed in Germany, and of the singular providence of God in stirring up the favour of the Magistrates and Rulers there towards them. Thirdly, he writeth to know his mind and will concerning the printing of his Book against Transubstantiation, and of certain other Treatises and his dispositions. Whereunto Bishop Ridley answereth again in order, as followeth

The Answer of Dr. Ridley to the Letter above said.

Blessed be God our heavenly Father which inclined your heart to have such a desire to write unto me, and blessed be he again which hath heard your request, and hath brought your Letters safe unto my hands; and over all this I bless him through our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the same, of the knowledge of your state and of other our dearly beloved Brethren and Country-men in those parts beyond the Sea.

Dearly beloved Brother Grindal, I say to you and all the rest of our Brethren in Christ with you, rejoice in the Lord, and as you love me, and the other my Reverend Fathers and Concaptives, (which undoubtedly are Gloria Christi) lament not our state, but I beseech you and them all to give to our heavenly Father for his boundless mercies and unspeakable benefits even in the midst of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For Know ye, that as the weight of his Cross hath increased upon us, so he hath not nor doth not cease to multiply his mercies to strengthen us; and I trust, yet by his

What it is to
confess
Christ.

He that de-
nied an o-
pen Truth
against
Gods Word
for worldly
danger, will
be as ready
to deny
God himself.

Death com-
mon to
good and
bad.
Dammable
agreement.

Apostate
was he who
fell from
his Captain
to the ene-
my.
He was also
so called,
that depar-
ted from
the Christi-
ans to the
Jews or
Gentiles.
The sum of
Grindals
Letter to
Bishop Ridley.

An answer
of Dr. Ridley
to Mr. Grin-
dals Letter
sent from
Frankford.

What is
John 17.
Eccles 57.
Heb 15.

Common-
Prayer in
the common
Tongue.

Experience
of Gods
strength to-
wards his
Salves in
their ingre-
ssion.

grace I doubt nothing, but he will so do for Christ our Masters like even to the end. To hear that you and other Brethren do find in your exile favour, and grace with the Magistrates, Ministers, and Citizens at *Tigury, Frankford*, and elsewhere, it doth greatly comfort (I dare say) all here that do indeed love Christ and his true Word. I ensure you, it warmed my heart, to hear you by chance to name some, as *Scary* and *Cox*, &c. Oh that it had come in your mind to have said somewhat also of *Cheek*, of *Turner*, of *Leaver*, of *Sampson*, of *Chambers*, but I trust in God they be all well. And Sir, seeing you say, that there be in those parts with you of Students and Ministers so good a number, now therefore care you not for us, otherwise than to wish that Gods glory may be set forth by us. For whenever God shall call us home (as we look daily for none other, but when it shall please God to say, Come) you, blessed be God, are enow through his word, to light, and set up again the Lantern of his Word in *England*. As concerning the Copies ye say ye have with you. I wonder how ever they did and could find the way to come to you. My disposition, except ye have that which I gathered my self after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithal the whole manner after the which I was used in the disputation.

As for the Treatise in English, *Contra transubstantiationem*, vix possum adducere ad eam operam preteritam fore ut in *Latium* transferatur. Ceterum, quicquid sit nullo modo volumus ut quidquam quocumque modo meo nomine edictum, donec quid de nobis Dominus, constitutum fieri, vobis prius certo committeretur; and thus much unto your Letters. Now although I suppose you know agood part of our state here (for we are forth-coming, even as when ye departed, &c. You shall understand that I was in the *Tower* about the space of two months close Prisoner, and after that had granted to me without my labour, the liberty of the *Tower*, and so continued about half a year, and then, because I refused to allow the Mass with my presence, I was shut up in Prison again.

The last Lent have one: it chanced by reason of the tumult stirred up in *Kent*, there were so many Prisoners in the *Tower*, that my Lord of *Canterbury*, *M. Latimer*, *M. Bradford*, and I were put all together in one Prison, where we remained till almost the next *Easter*, and then we three, *Canterbury*, *M. Latimer*, and I, were suddenly sent a little before *Easter* to *Oxford*, and were suffered to have nothing with us, but that we carried upon us. About the *Whitsontide* following was our disputation at *Oxford*, after the which was all taken from us, as *Pen*, *Ink*, &c. Our own servants were taken from us before, and every one had put to him a strange man, and we each one appointed to be kept in several places, as we are unto this day.

Blessed be God, we three at the writing hereof were in good health, and (in God) of good cheer. We have looked long ago to have been dispatched, for we were all three on one day within a day or two of our disputations, of *Dr. Wosten* being the head Commissioner, condemned for Hereticks, and since that time we remain as we were of him left. The Lords will be fulfilled in us, as, I do not doubt but by his grace it shall be to his glory, and our endless salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Likewise the Lord hath hitherto preserved above all our expectation, our dear Brother, and in Christs cause a strong Champion, *John Bradford*. He is likewise condemned, and is already delivered to the Secular Power, and Writs (as we have heard say) given out for his execution, and called in again.

Thus the Lord, so long as his blessed pleasure is, preserveth whom he listeth, notwithstanding the wonderful raging of the world. Many (as we hear say) have valiantly suffered confessing Christs Truth, and nothing yielding to the Adversary, yea not for the fear or pains of death.

Names of
Martyrs.

The names of them which I knew, and have now suffered, are these: *Farrar* the Bishop of *S. Davids*, *Hooper* the Bishop of *Worcester*, *Rogers* *tuus olim* *comprobandarius*, *Dr. Taylor* of *Hadley*, *M. Sanders*, and one *Tomkins* a Weaver, and now this last day *M. Cardmaker*, with another, were burnt in *Smithfield* at *London*,

and many other in *Essex* and *Kent*, whose names are written in the Book of Life, whom yet I do not know.

Wells, your old companion and sometime mine Officer (alas) hath relented (as I have heard) but the Lord hath shortened his days, for anon after he died, and is gone. *Grembold* was caught by the heels, and cast into the *Marshalsea*, but now is at liberty again, but I fear me he escaped not without some becking or bowing (alas) of his knee unto *Baal*.

My dear Friend *Thomas Ridley* of the *Bull-head* in *Cheap*, which was to me the most faithful Friend that I had in my trouble, is departed also unto God. My Brother *Shipside* that hath married my sister, hath been almost half a year in Prison, for delivering (as he was accused) of certain things, I ween, from me; but now, thanks be to God, he is at liberty again, but so that the Bishop hath taken from him his *Parish*.

Of all us three Concupives at *Oxford*, I am kept most strait, and with least liberty, *Vel quia Vire*, in cuius edibus ego custodior, uxor dominatur (licet modo sit *Præfatus* *Civitatis*) mulier vetula, morosa, & superstitiosa, qua etiam hoc sibi laudi ducit quod me dicatur arctissime & cautissime custodire; vir autem ipse, iustitiam nomine, missi satis est omnibus, uxori vero plusquam obsequens. Licet uxorem (ut nostri) nunquam haberem, tamen ex hac quotidiana consuetudine, quam cum istis conjugibus habeo, videor mihi nonnulli posse intelligere, quam grave malum & intolerabile iugum sit cum mala muliere in conjugio collocari. Resiste ergo sapienti dicit, uxor bona donum Dei; & iterum, mulieris bonæ beatus vir. Vel hæc inquam, causa est, vel quia a magnis Magistratibus (nescio quas ob causas) illud est, ut ita fieret, ipsi mandatum: idque illi, si quando de mea nimia servitute apud eos conquerer, sedulo sepe rursus mihi inculcant.

At *Cambridge* (as I hear say) *Omnes studiorum & flatorum reformationes nuper factæ nunc sunt denuo deformatæ & deletæ, & omnia sunt in pristinum chaos & in antiquum Papismum redacta: omnes Collegiorum Præfati qui sinceritati Evangelij favebant, vel qui conjugati erant loco moti sunt, & alij Papistice factionis in eorum loca surrogati, quod & de Sociis Collegiorum qui noluerunt steterere genu *Baal* factum est audis. Nec mirum, nam idem passim factum est in universis regno Angliæ, in omnibus Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Decanis, Prebendis, Sacerdotibus Ecclesiæ, & in tota Clero: and to tell you much naughty matter in few Words; *Papismus* apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.*

The Lord be merciful, and for Christs sake pardon us our old unkindness and unthankfulness: for when he poured upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favours, (alas) we did not serve him nor render unto him thanks according to the same. We Pastors many of us were too cold, and bare to much (alas) with the wicked world; our Magistrates had abuse, to their own worldly gain, both Gods Gospel and the Ministers of the same. The People in many places was wayward and unkind. Thus of every side and of every sort we have provoked Gods anger and wrath to fall upon us: but blessed might he be that hath not suffered his to continue in those ways which so wholly have displeased his Sacred Majesty, but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his own Sons Cross, unto his glory and our endless salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

My daily Prayer is (as God doth know) and by Gods grace shall be so long as I live in this world, for you, my dear Brethren that are fled out of your own Country, because you will rather forsake all worldly things than the Truth of Gods Word. It is even the same that I use to maketo God, for all those Churches abroad thorough the world, which have forsaken the Kingdom of Antichrist, and professed openly the purity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; that is that God our eternal Father, for our Saviour Christs sake, will daily increase in you the gracious gift of his heavenly Spirit, to the true setting forth of his glory and of his Gospel, & make you to agree Brotherly in the Truth of the same, that there arise no root of bitterness among you that may infect that good seed which God hath sown in your hearts already; and finally that your life may be so pure and so honestly, according to the rule of Gods Word and according to that vocation whereunto

Anno
1555.

This was
when he
had released
and laid
M. Ridley
his Conscience,
docetly
after
away, and
died for
favour.

* Note how
zone here
required the
kindness of
B. Ridley
deserted, as
his Mother.

B. Ridley
found in the
Tower half
a year, and
more.

Canterbury,
Ridley, Latimer,
Bradford, Prison-
ers together
in the Tower
&c.

Canterbury,
Latimer re-
moved to
Oxford.

Dr. Wosten
condemned
of *Canterbury*,
Ridley and
Latimer.

Writs for
burning of
J. Bradford
called in a-
gain.

Unthankful
of Gods great
gifts and
graces,
Goldness of
Pastors, con-
tempt of
Magistrates,
wayward-
ness of the
People pro-
voked Gods
wrath.

The Prayer
of B. Ridley
for the
Christians
abroad,
which open-
ly profess
the Gospel
of Jesus
Christ.

Anno
1555

we are called by the Gospel of Christ our Saviour, that the honesty and purity of the same may provoke all that shall see or know it to the love of your Doctrine; and to love you for your honesty and virtues sake, and so both in brotherly Unity of your true Doctrine, and also in the godly virtue of your honest life, to glorifie our Father which is in heaven.

B. Ridley
preyeth for
Queen Mary

Ex nostratibus magni aliquot Magistratus, Cancellarius Wini. Comes Arundellus, & Dominus Pachetus jam legatione funguntur, una cum Cardinalis Polo, in partibus transmarinis, ad componendam (ut aiunt) pacem inter Imperatorem, Regem nostrum, & Francorum Regem. Post illorum Magistratum nostrorum reditum, & partium Regine, quem jam quotidie expectamus, & jam aliquandiu expectavimus, quemque Deus pro sui nominis gloria dignetur bene illi fortunare; nos tunc statim nihil aliud quam nostrae confessionis de hoc nostro antiquo triumphales in Domino coronas expectamus.

Omnium vestrum precibus me humilime ex toto corde commendo; In primis, tuis O charissim in Christo frater, & dilectissim Grindalle, & charissim fratrum & unice mihi in Domino dilectorum, Cbeci, Coxii, Turnerii, Leverii, Sampsonis, Chaberi, & omnium fratrum nostrorum & conterraneorum qui apud vos degunt, & diligunt Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum in veritate. Commendo etiam vobis reverendissim Patres & conceptivos meos in Domino Thomam Cranmerum jam veri magni Pastoris & Archiepiscopi nomine dignissim, & veteranum illum Christum & nostrae gentis Anglicanae verum Apostolum Hugonem Latimerum. Condona mihi, frater, harum prolixitatem, non enim post hac credo, charissime frater, meis literis jam amplius aliquando turbaberis, Oxonijs.

N. R.

To Augustine Bernher.

A Letter of
B. Ridley to
one Austin
Bernher.

Brother Augustine, I bless God with all my heart in his manifold merciful gifts, given unto our dear Brethren in Christ, specially to our Brother Rogers, whom it pleased him to set forth first, no doubt out of his gracious goodnes and fatherly favour towards him. And likewise blessed be God in the rest, as Hooper, Sanders, and Taylor, whom it hath pleased the Lord likewise to set in the forefront of the battel against his Adversaries, and hath endued them all so far as I can hear to stand in the confession of his truth, and to be content in his cause, and for his Gospels sake to lose their life. And evermore and without end blessed be even the same our heavenly Father for our dear and entirely beloved Brother Bradford, whom now the Lord (I perceive) calleth for: for I ween he will no longer vouchsafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this World. I do not doubt but that he (for those gifts of grace which the Lord hath bestowed on him plentifully) hath holpen those which are gone before in their journey, that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keep the high way, & sic currere, ut tandem acciperent premium. The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt, and I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had such a one in my house. And yet again I bless God in our dear Brother, and of this time Protomartyr Rogers, that he was also one of my calling to be a Prebendary Preacher of London. And now because Grindall is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath and knoweth wherein he will bestow him) I trust to God, it shall please him of his goodnes to strengthen me to make up the trinity out of Paul's Church, to suffer for Christ whom God the Father hath anointed, the Holy Spirit doth bear witness unto, Paul and all the Apostles preached. Thus fare you well, I had no paper, I was constrained thus to write.

Besides these Letters of Bishop Ridley, divers other tractations also were written by him, partly out of prison, partly in prison: as namely among certain other, there remain in my hands certain notes answering to the two notable Sermons of Doctor Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, &c.

Here beginneth the life, acts, and doings of Master Hugh Latimer, the famous Preacher and worthy Martyr of Christ and his Gospel.

Now consequently after the life of Bishop Ridley, with other his Letters, which partly we have expressed, and partly we have deferred to our latter appendix, followeth likewise the life and doings of the worthy Champion, and old practised Souldier of Christ, Master Hugh Latimer: of whose acts and long travels even from his first years and tender age, to begin here to chitreat: first, he was the Son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thirkeston in the County of Liecester, a Husbandman of right good estimation; with whom also he was brought up until he was of the age of four years or thereabout. At which time his Parents (having him as then left for their only son, with six other daughters) seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition, and knowledge of good literature; wherein he so profited in his youth, at the common Schools of his own Country, that at the age of 14. years, he was sent to the University of Cambridge. Where, after some continuance of exercises in other things, he gave himself to the study of such School Divinity, as the ignorance of that age did suffer.

Zealous he was then in the Popish Religion; and therewith so scrupulous, as himself confessed, that being a Priest, and using to say Mass, he was so servil an observer of the Romish Decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water; and moreover: that he should never be damned, if he were once a professed Friar, with divers such superstitious fantasies. And in this blinde zeal he was a very enemy to the Professors of Christs Gospel; as both his Oration made, when he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity, against Philip Melancthon, and also his other works did plainly declare. But especially his Popish zeal could in no case abide in those days good Master Stafford, Reader of the Divinity Lectures in Cambridge, most faithfully railing against him, and willing the youth of Cambridge in no wise to believe him.

Notwithstanding, such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, that when he saw his good time, by the which way he thought to have utterly defaced the professors of the Gospel, and true Church of Christ, he was at length himself by a member of the same prettily caught in the blessed net of Gods Word. For M. Thomas Bilney (whose story is before described) being at that time a trier out of Satans subtilties, and a secret overthrower of Antichrists Kingdom, seeing Master Latimer to have a zeal in his ways (although without knowledge) was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and betrougth by what means he might best win this zealous ignorant Brother, to the true knowledge of Christ. Wherefore, after a short time, he came to Master Latimers study, and desired him to hear him make his confession. Which thing he willingly granted; by hearing whereof, he was (through the good Spirit of God) so touched, that hereupon he forsook his former studying of the School Doctors, and other such fopperies, and became an earnest student of true Divinity, as he himself, as well in his conference with Master Ridley, as also in his first Sermon made upon the *Pater noster*, doth confess. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his old manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kinde of conferring, both with Master Bilney and others, and came also to Master Stafford before he dyed, and desired him to forgive him.

After this his winning to Christ, he was not satisfied with his own conversion only, but like a true Disciple of the blessed Samaritane, pitied the misery of other, and therefore became both a Publick Preacher, and also a private instructor to the rest of his Brethren within the University, by the space of three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue, among the learned, and partly amongst the simple People in his natural and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Satan never sleepeth when he seeth his Kingdom to begin to decay, so likewise now, seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd

The story of
M. Hugh
Latimer,
Martyr.M. Latimer
first set to
School.M. Latimer
sent to Cam-
bridge.M. Latimer
a long time
was a cru-
elous and pe-
ricious Papist.M. Latimer
declared
himself
against
Melancthon.Latimer con-
verted by
Bilney.Paul M.
Latimer
own con-
fession in his
first Sermon
upon the
Pater noster.M. Latimer
a Papist con-
verted to a
zealous
Christian.
M. Latimer
becometh
a preacher
in Cam-
bridge.

shaker thereof he raised up his impious Imps to molest and trouble him.

Enemies
Bred in
Cambridge
against
Mr. Latimer

Mr. Latimer
preaching
in the Church
in Cambridge

Th. difference
between true
and false;

Amongst these there was an *Augustine* Friar who took occasion upon certain Sermons that Mr. Latimer made about Christmas 1529. as well in the Church of St. Edward, as also in St. *Augustines*, within the University of Cambridge to envy against him, for that Mr. Latimer in the said Sermons (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the People certain Cards out of the 5, 6, 7. Chapters of S. *Matthew*, whereupon they might, not only then, but always else, occupy their time. For the chief triumph in the Cards he limited the Heart, as the principal thing that they should serve God withal, whereby he quite overthrow all hypocritical and external Ceremonies, not tending to the necessary furtherance of Gods holy Word and Sacraments. For the better attaining hereof, he wished the Scriptures to be in *English*, whereby the Common People might the better learn their duties, as well to God as their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied of him, that not only it declared a singular towardness of wit in the Preacher, but also wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of Popish superstition, and setting up of perfect Religion.

This was upon the Sunday before Christmas day; on which day coming to the Church, and causing the bell to be tolled to a Sermon, he entered into the Pulpit, taking for his text the words of the Gospel aforesaid, read in the Church that day; *Tu quis es? &c.* In delivering the which Cards (as is aforesaid) he made the Heart to be triumph, exhorting and envying all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward Heart and true affection, and not with outward Ceremonies: adding moreover to the praise of that triumph, that though it were never so small, yet it would take up the best Coat Card beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the King of Clubs, &c. meaning thereby how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of Heart and verity, wherein consisteth true Christian Religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glittering shew of mans Traditions, or Pardons, Pilgrimages, Ceremonies, Vows, Devotions, voluntary Works, and works of Supererogation, Foundations, Oblations, the Popes Supremacy, &c. so that all these either were needless, where the other is present; or else were of small estimation, in comparison of the other.

The tenor and effect of these his Sermons, so far as they could come to our hands, here follow.

The tenor and effect of certain Sermons made by Master Latimer in Cambridge, about the Year of our Lords, 1529.

TU quis es? Which words are as much to say in *English*, *Who art thou?* These be the words of the *Pharisees*, which were sent by the *Jews* unto St. *John Baptist* in the Wilderness, to have knowledge of him, who he was; which words they spake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Christ, and so they would have had him done with their good wills, because they knew that he was more carnal, and given to their Laws, than Christ indeed should be, as they perceived by their old Prophecies: and also, because they marvelled much of his great Doctrine, Preaching and Baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Christ or not: wherefore they said unto him, *Who art thou?* Then answered S. *John*, and confessed that he was not Christ. Now here is to be noted, the great and prudent answer of S. *John Baptist* unto the *Pharisees*, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly answer of himself, what he was himself; but he said he was not Christ, by the which saying he thought to put the *Jews* and *Pharisees* out of their false opinion, and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exercise the office of Christ, and so declared further unto them of Christ, saying, *He is in the midst of you, and amongst you, whom ye know not, whose latchet of his shoe I am not worthy to unloose, or undo.* By this you may perceive that St. *John* spake much in the laud and praise of Christ his Master, professing himself to be in no wise like unto him. So like-

wife it shall be necessary unto all men and women of this world, not to ascribe unto themselves any goodness of themselves, but all unto our Lord God, as shall appear hereafter, when this question aforesaid (*Who art thou?*) shall be moved unto them: not as the *Pharisees* did unto S. *John*, of an evil purpose, but of a good and simple mind, as may appear hereafter.

Now then, according to the Preachers mind, let every Man and Woman, of a good and simple mind, contrary to the *Pharisees* intent, ask this question (*Who art thou?*) This question must be moved to themselves, what they be of themselves, on this fashion, What art thou of thy only and natural generation between Father and Mother, when thou camest into the world? What substance, what virtue, what goodness art thou of by thyself? Which question if thou rehearse oftentimes unto thyself, thou shalt well perceive and understand, how thou shalt make answer unto it: which must be made on this wise; I am of my self, and by my self, coming from my natural Father and Mother, the Child of the ire and indignation of God, the true Inheritor of Hell, a lump of sin, and working nothing of my self, but all towards Hell, except I have better help of another, than I have of my self. Now we may see in what late we enter into this world, that we be of our selves the true and just inheritors of Hell, the Children of the ire and indignation of Christ, working all towards Hell, whereby we deserve of our selves perpetual damnation, by the right judgment of God, and the true claim of our selves: which unthriftly state that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deserts, as proveeth well this example following.

Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might please the Kings Grace now being, to accept into his favour a mean man, of simple degree and birth, not born to any possession; whom the Kings Grace favoureth, not because this person hath of himself deserved any such favour, but that the King casteth his favour unto him of his own mere motion and fancy, and because the Kings Grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto this said man a thousand pounds in Land, to him and his heirs, on this condition; that he shall take upon him to be the chief Captain and Defender of his Town of *Calice*, and to be true and faithful to him in the custody of the same, against the *French-men* especially, above all other enemies.

This man taketh on him this charge, promising his fidelity thereunto; It chanceth in process of time, that by the singular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this Captain with the *French-men*, these *French-men* give unto the said Captain of *Calice* a great sum of money, so that he will be but content and agreeable, that they may enter into the said Town of *Calice* by force of arms, and so thereby possess the same unto the Crown of *France*: upon this agreement the *French-men* do invade the said Town of *Calice*, alone by the negligence of this Captain.

Now the Kings Grace hearing of this Invasion, cometh with a great puissance to defend this his said Town, and so by good policy of war overcometh the said *French-men*, and entrench again into his Town of *Calice*. Then he being desirous to know how these Enemies of his came thither, he maketh profound search and inquiry, by whom this Treason was conspired; by this search it was known and found his own Captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying of it. The King, seeing the great infidelity of this Person, discharged this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thousand pounds possessions. Think you not that the King doth use justice unto him, and all his posterity and heirs? Yes truly: the said Captain cannot deny himself, but that he had true justice, considering how unfaithfully he behaved himself to his Prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promise: So likewise it was of our first Father *Adam*. He had given unto him the spirit and science of knowledge, to work all goodness therewith; this said spirit was not given alone unto him, but unto all his heirs and posterity. He had also delivered him the Town of *Calice*, that is to say, Paradise in earth, the most strong and surest Town in the world, to be in his custody: He nevertheless by the infidelity of these *French-men*, i.e. the temptation of the Fiend, did obey unto their desire

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Anno 1555. and so he brake his promise and fidelity, the commandment of the everlasting King his Master, in eating of the Apple by him inhibited.

Now then, the King seeing this great treason in his Captain, deposited him of the thousand pounds of possessions, that is to say, from everlasting life in glory, and all his heirs and posterity: for likewise as he had the spirit of science and knowledge, for him and his heirs; so in like manner when he lost the same, his heirs also lost it by him, and in him. So now, this example proveth, that by our Father *Adam* we had once in him the very inheritance of everlasting joy; and by him, and in him again we lost the same.

The Heirs of the Captain of *Calice*, could not by any manner of claim ask of the King the right and title of their Father, in the thousand pounds possessions, by reason the King might answer, and say unto them, that although their Father deserved not of himself to enjoy so great possessions, yet he deserved by himself to lose them, and greater, committing so high treason, as he did against his Princes commandments; whereby he had no wrong to lose his title, but was unworthy to have the same, and had therein true justice; let not you think which be his heirs, that if he had justice to lose his possessions, you have wrong to lose the same: In the same manner it may be answered unto all men and women now being, that if our Father *Adam* had true justice to be excluded from his possession of everlasting glory in Paradise, let us not think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in losing also the same; yea, we have true justice and right. Then in what miserable estate we be, that of the right and just title of our own deserts have lost the everlasting joy and claim of our selves to be true inheritors of Hell? For he that committeth deadly sin willingly, bindeth himself to be an inheritor of everlasting pain: and so did our Fore-father *Adam* willingly eat of the Apple forbidden. Wherefore he was cast out of the everlasting joy in Paradise, into this corrupt world amongst all vilenes, whereby of himself he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleasant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections and beastly appetites, transformed into the uncleanness and variablest nature that was made under heaven, of whose seed and disposition all the world is lineally descended, inasmuch that this evil Nature is so diffused and shed from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living, that can of themselves wash away this abominable vilenes: and so we must needs grant of our selves to be in like displeasure unto God, as our Father *Adam* was; by reason hereof, as I said, we be of our selves the very Children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of Hell, and working all towards Hell, which is the answer to this question, made to every man and woman by themselves, *Who art thou?*

And now the world standing in this damnable state, cometh in the occasion of the Incarnation of Christ; the Father in Heaven perceiving the frail nature of man, that he by himself and of himself could do nothing for himself, by his prudent wisdom sent down the second person in Trinity, his Son Jesus Christ, to declare unto man his pleasure and commandment: and so at the Fathers will Christ took on him humane Nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miserable way, and was content to suffer cruel passion in shedding his blood for all mankind, and so left behind for our safeguard, Laws and Ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlasting life, as the Evangelists, the Sacraments, the Commandments, and so forth: which if we do keep and observe according to our profession, we shall answer better unto this question, *(Who art thou?)* than we did before: for before thou didst enter into the Sacrament of Baptism, thou wert but a natural Man, a natural Woman; as I might say, A man, a woman. But after thou takest on thee Christs Religion, thou hast a longer name: for then thou art a Christian man, a Christian woman. Now then, seeing thou art a Christian man, what shall be the answer of this question, *Who art thou?*

The answer of this Question is, when I ask it unto my self, I must say that I am a Christian man, a Christian woman, the Child of everlasting joy, through the merits of the bitter Passion of Christ. This is a joyful an-

swer. Here we may see how much we be bound, and in danger unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and saved us that were damned: which great benefit we cannot well consider, unless we do remember what we were of our selves before we medled with him or his Laws: and the more we know our feeble nature, and set less by it, the more we shall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us: and the more we know what God hath done for us, the less we shall set by our selves; and the more we shall love and please God; so that in no condition we shall either know our selves or God, except we do utterly confess our selves to be meer vilenes and corruption. Well, now it is come unto this point, that we be Christian men, Christian women; I pray you what doth Christ require of a Christian man, or of a Christian woman? Christ requireth nothing else of a Christian man or woman, but that they will observe his Rule. For likewise as he is a good *Augustine* Frier that keepeth well *St. Augustine's* rule, so is he a good Christian man that keepeth well Christs Rule.

Now then, what is Christs Rule? Christs Rule consisteth in many things, as in the Commandments, and the works of Mercy, and so forth. And because I cannot declare Christs Rule unto you at one time, as it ought to be done, I will apply my self according to your custom at this time of Christmas, I will, as I said, declare unto you Christs Rule, but that shall be in Christs Cards. And where you are wont to celebrate Christmas in playing at Cards, I intend by Gods grace to deal unto you Christs Cards, wherein you shall perceive Christs Rule. The game that we will play at shall be called the Triumph, which if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall win; the Players shall likewise win; and the standers and lookers upon shall do the same; inasmuch that there is no man that is willing to play at this Triumph with these Cards, but they shall be all winners, and no losers.

Let therefore every Christian man and woman play at these Cards, that they may have and obtain the Triumph; you must mark also that the Triumph must apply to fetch home unto him all the other Cards, whatsoever suit they be of. Now then take ye this first Card, which must appear and be shewed unto you as followeth. You have heard what was spoken to men of the old Law, *Thou shalt not kill*; whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of Judgment. But I say unto you of the new Law, faith Christ, that whosoever is angry with his neighbour, shall be in danger of Judgment, and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, *Racha*, that is to say, Brainles, or any other like word of rebuking, shall be in danger of a Council; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Fool, shall be in danger of Hell-fire. This Card was made and spoken by Christ, as appeareth in the 5th Chap. of *St. Matthew*.

Now it must be noted, that whosoever shall play with this Card, must first before they play with it, know the strength and virtue of the same; wherefore you must well note and mark terms how they be spoken, and to what purpose: Let us therefore read it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

Now behold and see, this Card is divided into four parts: The first part is one of the Commandments that was given unto *Moses* in the old Law, before the coming of Christ, which Commandment we of the new Law be bound to observe and keep, and it is one of our Commandments. The other three parts spoken by Christ, be nothing else but expositions unto the first part of this Commandment: for in very effect of all these four parts be but one Commandment, that is to say, *Thou shalt not kill*: yet nevertheless, the three last parts do shew unto thee how many ways thou maist kill thy neighbour contrary to this Commandment: yet for all Christs exposition, in the three last parts of this Card, the terms be not open enough to thee that dost read and hear them spoken. No doubt, the *Jews* understood Christ well enough when he spake to them these three last sentences, for he spake unto them in their own natural terms and tongue: wherefore seeing that these terms were natural terms of the *Jews*, if shall be necessary to expound them, and compare them unto some like terms of our natural speech, that we in like manner may understand Christ as well as the *Jews* did. We will begin first with the first part of this Card, and then after with the other three parts: you must therefore

understand that the *Jews* and the *Pharisees* of the old Law, to whom this first part, this commandment, *Thou shalt not kill*, was spoken, thought it sufficient and enough for their discharge not to kill with any manner of material weapon, as Sword, Dagger, or with any such weapon, and they thought it no great fault whatsoever they said or did by their neighbour, so that they did not harm or meddle with their corporal bodies, which was a false Opinion in them, as prove well the three last other Sentences following the first part of this Card,

Now as touching the three other Sentences, you must note and take heed what difference is between these three manner of offences, To be angry with your neighbour, To call your neighbour brainless, or any such word of disdain, Or to call your neighbour Fool: whether these three manner of offences be of themselves more grievous one than the other, it is to be opened unto you. Truly, as they be of themselves divers offences, so they kill diversly one more than the other, as you shall perceive by the first of these three, and so forth: A man which conceiveth against his neighbour or Brother, ire, or wrath in his mind, by some manner of occasion given unto him, although he be angry in his mind against his said neighbour, he will peradventure express his ire by no manner of sign, either in word or deed; yet nevertheless he offendeth against God, and breaketh this Commandment in killing his own Soul; and is therefore in danger of judgment.

Now to the second part of these three; That man that is moved with ire against his neighbour, and in his ire calleth his neighbour brainless, or some other like word of displeasure, as a man might say in a fury I shall handle thee well enough, which words and countenances do more repress and declare ire to be in this man, than in him that was but angry, and spake no manner of word nor shewed any countenance to declare his ire: wherefore as he that so declareth his ire either by word or countenance, offendeth more against God, so he both killeth his own Soul, and doth that in him is to kill his neighbours Soul in moving him unto ire, wherein he is faulty himself, and so this man is in danger of a Council.

Now to the third offence, and last of these three; That man that calleth his neighbour Fool, doth more declare his angry mind toward him, than he that calleth his neighbour brainless, or any such words moving ire: but for to call a man Fool, that word representeth more envy in a man, than brainless doth. Wherefore he doth most offend, because he doth most earnestly with such words express his ire, and so he is in danger of Hell-fire: wherefore you may understand now these three parts of this Card to be three offences, and that one is more grievous to God than the other, and that one killeth more the Soul of man than the other.

Now peradventure there be some that will marvel that Christ did not declare this commandment by some greater faults of ire, than by these which seem but small faults, as to be angry and speak nothing of it, to declare it and to call a man brainless, and to call his neighbour Fool; truly these be the smallest, and the least faults that belong to ire, or to killing in ire. Therefore beware how you offend in any kind of ire: seeing that the smallest be damnable to offend in, see that you offend not in the greatest. For Christ thought, if he might bring you from the smallest manner of faults, and give you warning to avoid the least, he reckoned you would not offend in the greatest and worst, as to call your neighbour thief, Whoreson, Whore, Drab, and so forth, into more blasphemous names, which offences must needs have punishment in Hell, considering how that Christ hath appointed these three small faults, to have three degrees of punishment in Hell, as appeareth by these three terms, Judgment, Council, and Hell-fire; these three terms do signify nothing else but three divers punishments in Hell, according to the offences: Judgment is less in degree than Council, therefore it signifieth a lesser pain in Hell, and it is ordained for him that is angry in his mind with his neighbour, and doth express his malice neither by word, nor countenance: Council is a less degree in Hell, than Hell-fire, and is a greater degree in hell than judgment; and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour brainless, or any such word, that declareth

his ire and malice: wherefore it is more pain than Judgment. Hell-fire is more pain in Hell, than Council, or Judgment; and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour Fool, by reason that in calling his neighbour Fool, he declareth more his malice, in that it is an earnest word of ire. Wherefore Hell-fire is appointed for it, that is, the most pain of the three punishments.

Now you have heard that to these divers offenders of ire and killing, be appointed punishments according to their degrees: for look as the offence is, so shall the pain be: if the offence be great the pain shall be according: if it be less, there shall be less pain for it. I would not now that you should think because that there are but three degrees of punishment spoken of, that there be no more in Hell: no doubt Christ spake of no more here but of these three degrees of punishment, thinking they were sufficient enough for example, whereby we might understand, that there be as divers and many pains as there be offences: and so by these three offences, and these three punishments, all other offences and punishments may be compared with each other: yet I would satisfy your minds further in these three terms, of Judgment, Council, and Hell-fire. Where you might say, what was the cause that Christ declared more the pains of Hell by these terms, than by any other terms? I told you afore that he knew well to whom he spake them; these terms were natural and known well amongst the *Jews* and the *Pharisees*. Wherefore Christ taught them with their own terms, to the intent they might understand the better his Doctrine: and these terms may be likened unto three terms which we have common and usual amongst us, that is to say, the Sessions of enquirence, the Sessions of deliverance, and the Execution day: Sessions of enquirence is like unto Judgment: for when Sessions of enquiry is, then the Judges cause Twelve men to give verdict of the Felons crime, whereby he shall be judged to be edited: Sessions of deliverance, is much like Council: for at Sessions of deliverance, the Judges go among themselves to Council to determine sentence against the Felon.

Execution day is to be compared unto Hell-fire: for the *Jews* had amongst themselves a place of Execution, named Hell-fire: and surely when a man goeth to his death it is the greatest pain in this world: wherefore you may see that there are degrees in these our terms, as there be in those terms. These evil disposed affections and sensualities in us are always contrary to the rule of our salvation. What shall we do now or imagine to thrust down these *Turks*, and to subdue them? It is a great ignominy and shame for a Christian man to be bond and subject unto a *Turk*: Nay, it shall not be so, we will first cast a Trump in their way, and play with them at Cards who shall have the better, let us play therefore on this fashion with this Card. Whensoever it shall happen these foul passions and *Turks* to rise in our stomachs against our Brother, or neighbour, either for unkind words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary unto our mind, straightways let us call unto our remembrance, and speak this question unto our selves, Who art thou? The answer is, I am a Christian man. Then further we must say to our selves, What requireth Christ of a Christian man? Now turn up your Trump, your Heart (Hearts is Trump as I said before) and cast your Trump, your Heart, on this Card, and upon this Card you shall learn what Christ requireth of a Christian man, not to be angry, nor moved to ire against his Neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor other ways, by word or deed. Then take up this Card with your Heart, and lay them together; that done, you have won the game of the *Turks*, whereby you have defaced and overcome by true and lawful play: but alas for pity, the *Rhodes* are won and overcome by these false *Turks*, the strong Castle Faith is decayed, so that I fear it is almost impossible to win it again.

The great occasion of the loss of this *Rhodes* is by reason that Christian men do so daily kill their own Nation, that the very true number of Christianity is decayed: which murder and killing one of another, is increased specially two ways, to the utter undoing of Christendom, that is to say, by example and silence. By example as thus: When the Father, the Mother, the Lord, the Lady, the Master, the Dame, be themselves over-

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come

Anno 1555. come with their *Turks*, they be continual swearers, adulterers, disposers to malice, never in patience, and so forth in all other vices: Think you not when the Father, the Mother, the Master, the Dame, be disposed unto vice or impatience, but that their Children and Servants shall encline and be disposed to the same? No doubt, as the Child shall take disposition natural of his Father and Mother, so shall the Servants apply unto the vices of their Masters and Dames; if the Heads be false in their faculties and crafts, it is no marvel if the Children, Servants, and Apprentices do joy therein. This is a great and shameful manner of killing Christian men, that the Fathers, the Mothers, the Masters, and the Dames, shall not alone kill themselves, but all theirs, and all that belongeth unto them, and so this way is a great number of Christian linage murdered and spoiled. The second manner of killing is silence. By silence also is a great number of Christian men slain, which is on this fashion: although that the Father and Mother, Master and Dame of themselves be well disposed to live according to the Law of God, yet they may kill their Children and Servants in suffering them to do evil before their own faces, and do not use due correction according unto their offences; the Master teach his Servant or apprentice take more of his neighbour than the Kings Laws, or the order of his faculty doth admit him, or he suffered him to take more of his neighbour than he himself would be content to pay if he were in like condition: thus doing, I say, such men kill willingly their Children and Servants, and shall go to Hell for so doing; but also their Fathers and Mothers, Masters and Dames, shall bear them company for so suffering. Wherefore I exhort all true Christian men and woman to give good example unto your Children and Servants, and suffer not them by silence to offend: every man must be in his own house, according to St. *Augustines* mind, a Bishop, not alone giving good example, but teach according to it, rebuke and punish vice, not suffering your Children and Servants to forget the Laws of God: you ought to see them have their belief, to know the commandments of God, to keep their holy-days, not to lose their time in idleness; if they do so, you shall all suffer pain for it, if God be true of his saying, as there is no doubt thereof: and so you may perceive that there be many one that break this Card, *Thou shalt not kill*, and playeth therewith offensive, at the blind Trump, whereby they be no winners, but great losers, but who be those now a days that can clear themselves of these manifest murders used to their Children and Servants? I think not the contrary, but that many have these two ways slain their own Children unto their damnation, were not the great mercy of God ready to help them when they repent therefore.

Wherefore considering that we be so prone and ready to continue in sin, let us cast down our selves with *Mary Magdalen*, and the more we bow down with her toward Christs feet, the more we shall be afraid to rise again in sin, and the more we know and submit our selves, the more we shall be forgiven, and the less we know and submit our selves, the less we shall be forgiven, as appeared by this example following.

Christ when he was in the world amongst the *Jews* and *Pharisees*, there was a great *Pharisee* whose name was *Simon*; this *Pharisee* desired Christ on a time to dine with him, thinking in himself that he was able and worthy to give Christ a dinner: Christ refused not his dinner, but came unto him. In time of their dinner it chanced there came into the house a great and a common sinner named *Mary Magdalen*. As soon as she perceived Christ, she cast herself down, and called unto her remembrance what he was of her self, and how greatly she had offended God, whereby she conceived in Christ great love, and so came near unto him, and washed his feet with bitter tears, and shed upon his head precious ointment, thinking that by him she should be delivered from her sins; this great and proud *Pharisee* seeing that Christ did accept her oblation in the best part, had great indignation against this woman, and said to himself, if this man Christ were a holy Prophet, as he is taken for, he would not suffer this sinner to come so nigh him. Christ understanding the naughty mind of this *Pharisee* said to him, *Simon*, I have somewhat to say unto thee: Say

what you please (quoth the *Pharisee*.) Then said Christ, I pray thee tell me this: If there be a man to whom is owing twenty pound by one, and forty by another, this man to whom this money is owing, perceiveth these two men be not able to pay him; he forgiveth them both. Which of these two debtors ought to love this man most? The *Pharisee* said, That man ought to love him best that had most forgiven him: Likewise said Christ, it is by this woman. She hath loved me most, therefore most is forgiven her, she hath known her sins most, whereby she hath most loved me; and thou hast least loved me, because thou hast least known thy sins, therefore because thou hast least known thine offences, thou art least forgiven. So this proud *Pharisee* had an answer to allay his pride: and think you not, but that there be amongst us a great number of these proud *Pharisees*, which think themselves worthy to bid Christ to dinner, which will perk and presume to sit by Christ in the Church, and have disdain of this poor Woman *Magdalen*, their poor Neighbour, with an high disdainous and solemn countenance, and being always desirous to climb higheth in the Church, reckoning their selves more worthy to sit there than another, I fear me poor *Magdalen* under the Board, and in the Belfrey, hath more forgiven of Christ than they have: for it is like that these *Pharisees* do less know themselves and their offences, whereby they less love God, and so they be less forgiven.

I would to God we would follow this example, and be like unto *Magdalen*. I doubt not but we be all *Magdalens* in falling into sin, and in offending: but we be not again *Magdalens* in knowing our selves, and in rising from sin. If we be the true *Magdalens*, we should be as willing to forsake our sin, and rise from sin, as we were willing to commit sin, and to continue in it, and we then should know our selves best, and make more perfect answer than ever we did, unto this question, *Who art thou?* To the which we might answer, that we be true Christian men and women: and then I say you should understand, and know how you ought to play at this Card, *Thou shalt not kill*, without any interruption of your deadly enemies the *Turks*, and so triumph at the last, by winning everlasting life in glory, Amen.

It would ask a long discourse to declare what a stir there was in Cambridge, upon this preaching of M. Latimer. Belike Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men of arms.

First came out the Prior of the Black Friars called *Buckeneham*, otherwise surnamed *Domine labia*, who thinking to make a great hand against Mr. Latimer, about the same time of Christmas, when Mr. Latimer brought forth his Cards to deface belike the doings of the other, brought out his Christmas Dice, casting there to his audience *cinqve* and *quater*, meaning by the *cinqve* five places in the new Testament, and the four Doctors by the *quater*; by which his *Cinqve quater*, he would prove that it was not expedient the Scripture to be in English, lest the ignorant and vulgar sort through the occasion thereof, might haply be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or else to run into some inconvenience: as for example.

The Plowman when he heareth this in the Gospel, Note these! No man that layeth his hand on the Plough and looketh back, is meet for the Kingdom of God; might peradventure hearing this, cease from his Plough. Likewise the Baker, when he hears that a little Leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough, may peradventure leave our Bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the simple man, when he heareth in the Gospel, If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee, may make himself blind, and so fill the world full of beggars. These with other more this Clerky Frier brought out, to the number of five to prove his purpose.

Mr. Latimer hearing this Frierly Sermon of Dr. *Buckeneham*, cometh again the afternoon, or shortly after to the Church, to answer the Frier, where referred to him a great multitude, as well of the University as of the Town, both Doctors and other Graduates, with great expectation to hear what he could say: among whom also, directly in the face of Latimer underneath the Pulpit,

Great reason of the Catholics, why the Scriptures should not come in English.

face

late *Bucknham* the foresaid Frier, Prior of the Black-Friers, with his Black Friers coul about his Shoulders.

Answer of
M. Latimer
to D. Buck-
nham's Sec-
m. 14.

Then Master *Latimer* first repeating the Frierly reasons of Doctor *Bucknham*, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar People to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, so refuted the Frier, so answered to his objections, so dallied with his bald reason of the Ploughman looking back, and of the Baker leaving his Bread unleavened, that the vanity of the Frier might to all men appear, well proving and declaring to the People, how there was no such fear nor danger for the Scriptures to be in English, as the Frier pretended; at least requiring this, that the Scripture might be so long in the English tongue, till Englishmen were so mad, that either the Ploughman durst not look back, or the Baker should leave his bread unleavened. And proceeding moreover in his Sermon, he began to discourse of the mytical speeches, and figurative phrases of the Scripture: which phrases he said were not so diffuse and difficult, as they were common in the Scripture, and in the Hebrew tongue are commonly used and unknown: and not only in the Hebrew tongue, but also every speech (saith he) hath his like metaphors and figurative significations, so common and vulgar to all men, that the very Painters do paint them on walls, and on houses.

As for example (saith he, looking toward the Frier that fate over against him) when they paint a Fox preaching out of a Friers coul, none is so mad to take this to be a Fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to point out unto us, what hypocrites, crafts, and subtle dissimulation lieth hid many times in these Friers couls, willing us thereby to beware of them. In fine, Frier *Bucknham* with this Sermon was so dashed, that never after he durst peep out of the pulpit against M. *Latimer*.

Answer
making
Frier against
M. Latimer.

Besides this *Bucknham*, there was also another nailing Frier, not of the same coat, but of the same note and faction, a gray Frier and a Doctor, an Outlandishman called Doctor *Venerus*, who likewise in his brawling Sermons raised and ragged against Master *Latimer*, calling him a mad and brainless man, and willing the People not to believe him, &c. To whom Master *Latimer* answering again, taketh for his ground the words of our Saviour Christ, *Matthew 5*. Thou shalt not kill, &c. But I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his neighbour shall be in danger of judgement; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, *Racha* (or any other like words of rebuking, as brainless) shall be in danger of Council: And whosoever shall say to his neighbour, Fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.

Meth. 1.

Answer of
M. Latimer
to another
nailing Frier

In discussing of which place, first he divideth the offence of killing into three branches: One to be with hand, the other with heart, the third with word. With hand, when we use any weapon drawn, to spill the life of our neighbour: With heart, when we are angry with him: With word, when in word or countenance we disdainfully rebuke our neighbour, or despitefully revile him. Words of rebuking are, when we speak any opprobrious or uncleanly thing, whereby the patience of our neighbour is moved, as when we call him mad (saith he) or brainless, or such like, which are guilty of Council: Words of spite, or reviling are, when we call him Fool; which Christ saith is guilty of hell fire, &c.

Sup. 11.

Thus M. *Latimer* in handling and trimming this matter, after that with the weight of Christs words, and the explaining of the same, he had sufficiently born the Frier clean down, then he turned to the fifth Chapter of the Book of Wisdom. Out of the which Chapter he declared to the audience, how the true Servants and preachers of God in this World commonly are scorned and reviled of the proud enemies of Gods Word, which account them here as mad men, fools, brainless, and drunken: so did they (saith he) in the Scripture call them which most purely preached, and set forth the glory of Gods Word. But (saith he) what will be the end of these jolly fellows, or what will they say in the end? *Nos in inferis, nos in inferis, &c.* We mad men, we mad fools, we, we our selves, &c. And that will be their end except they repent. And thus ending his Sermon, he so confounded the poor Frier, that he drove him not only out of coun-

tenance, but also clean out of the University.

But what should I here stand deciphering the names of his Adversaries, when whole swarms of Friers and Doctors flockt against him on every side, almost thorow the whole University, preaching likewise and barking against him? Amongst whom was Doctor *Watson*, Master of *Christs Colledge*, whose Scholar *Latimer* had been afore. Doctor *Notaries*, Master of *Clare-hall*, Doctor *Philo*, Master of *Michael-house*, Doct. *Mercalfs*, Master of *St. Johns*, Doctor *Blube* of the *Kings-Hall*, Doctor *Bullock*, Master of the *Queens Colledge*, Doctor *Cliffe* of *Clement-House*, Doctor *Donnes* of *Jesuss Colledge*, Doctor *Psalm*, M. of *St. Nicholas Hostel*, *Bain*, *Rud*, and *Greenwood*, Bachelor of Divinity, all three of *St. Johns Colledge*. Also *Brikenden* Bachelor of Divinity of the same house, and Scholar sometimes to the said *Latimer*. Briefly, almost as many as were Heads there of houses, so many impugnors did this worthy Standard-bearer of Christs Gospel sustain.

Then came at last Doctor *Wesl*, Bishop of *Ely*, who preaching against M. *Latimer* at *Barwell Abbey*, forbade him within the Churches of that University to preach any more. Notwithstanding, to the Lord provided, that Doctor *Barnes*, Prior of the *Augustine* Friers, did licence Master *Latimer* to preach in his Church of the *Augustines*, and he himself preached at the Church by, called *Saint Edwards Church*, which was the first Sermon of the Gospel, which Doct. *Barnes* preached, being upon *Christsmas* Even upon a Sunday. Whereupon certain Articles were gathered out of his Sermon, and were commenced against him by Master *Tirell*, Fellow of the *Kings Hall*, and so by the Vice-chancellor presented to the Cardinal, as in his story before hath been declared.

This M. *Latimer* (as you have heard) being baited by the Friers, Doctors, and Masters of that University, about the year aforesaid, 1529. notwithstanding the mangre and malice of these malignant Adversaries, continued yet in *Cambridge* preaching the space of three years together with favour and applause of the godly, also with such admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the Bishop himself coming in, and hearing his gift withheld himself to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the same.

So M. *Latimer*, with M. *Bilney*, after this continued yet in *Cambridge* a certain space, where he with the said *Bilney* used much to confer and company together, inasmuch that the place where they most used to walk in the fields, was called long after, the Heretics hill.

The society of these two, as it was much noted of many in that University, so it was full of many good examples, to all such as would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, in relieving the needy, in feeding the hungry, whereof somewhat is before mentioned in the history of Master *Bilney*, in a place of his Sermons. Master *Latimer* maketh mention of a certain history which happened about this time in *Cambridge* between them two, and a certain woman then prisoner in the *Castle* or *Tower* of *Cambridge*, which I thought here not unworthy to be remembered. The history is this: It so chanced, that after Master *Latimer* had bin so acquainted with the foresaid Master *Bilney*, he went with him to visit the Prisoners in the *Tower* in *Cambridge*, and being there, among other prisoners there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her own child, which she plainly and steadfastly denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore sought all means he could to make her away. The matter was thus:

A child of hers had been sick a whole year, and at length died in harvest time, as it were in a consumption. Which when it was gone, she went to have her neighbours to help her to the burial, but all were in harvest abroad, whereby she was enforced with heaviness of heart, alone to prepare the child to the burial. Her husband coming home, and not loving her, accused her of murdering the child. This was the cause of her trouble, and Mr. *Latimer*, by earnest inquisition, of confidence thought the woman not guilty. Then immediately after, was he called to preach before King *Henry* the Eighth at *Windsor*, where

Anno
1555.

Wesl Bish
of Ely for-
bidding M.
Latimer to
preach

Bilney and
Latimer joy-
ned com-
panions.

A story of a
certain
woman con-
demned,
who was
died by M.
Latimer.

where, after his Sermon, the Kings Majesty sent for him, and talked with him familiarly. At which time Master *Latimer* finding opportunity, kneeled down, opened this whole matter to the King, and begged her pardon, which the King most graciously granted, and gave it him at his return homeward. In the mean time the woman was delivered of a child in the prison, whose Godfather was *M. Latimer*, Mistress *Cheek* Godmother. But all the while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her confess the truth of the matter. At length the time came when she should look to suffer, and Master *Latimer* came as he was wont to instruct her: unto whom she made great lamentation and moan, to be purified before her suffering, for the thought to be damned if she should suffer without purification.

Purification
 of women.

Then Master *Bilney* being with Master *Lasimer*, both told her that that Law was made to the Jews, and not to us, and that women be as well in the favour of God before they be purified, as after; and rather it was appointed for a civil and politick law, for natural honesty sake, than that they should any thing the more be purified from Sin thereby, &c. So thus they travelled with this woman, till they had brought her to a good trade, and then at length shewed her the Kings pardon, and let her go.

This good sort among many other, at this time happened in *Cambridge* by *Master Latimer*, and *Master Bilney*. But this was not alone, for many more like matters were wrought by them; if all were known, whereof partly some are touched before, such especially as concern *Master Bilney*, mention whereof is above expressed. But as it is commonly seen in the naturall course of things, that as the fire beginneth more to kindle, so the more smoke ariseth withal, in much like sort it happened with *Master Latimer*; who towards the more it began to spring, his vertues to be seen, and his doings to be known, the more his Adversaries began to spurn and kick against him. Concerning these Adversaries, and such as did molest him, partly their names be above expressed. Among the rest of this number was *Doctor Redman*, of whom mention is made before in the reign of King *Edward*, a man favouring at that time somewhat more of superstition, then of true Religion, after the zeal of the Pharisees, yet not so malignant or harmful, but of a civil and quiet disposition, and also so liberal in well doing, that few poor Scholars were in that University, which fared not better by his purse. This *D. Redman* being of no little Authoritie in *Cambridge*, perceiving and understanding the bold enterprise of *M. Latimer*, in setting abroad the word and Doctrine of the Gospel, at this time, or much about the same, writeth to him, feeling by perswasion to revoke the said *Latimer* from that kind and manner of teaching; to whom *M. Latimer* maketh answer again in few words: The sum and effect of both their letters, translated out of Latine, here followeth to be seen.

D. Redman
against M.
Laurier.

The sum of the Epistle written by D. Redman to M. Latimer.

A letter of
D. Redman
to M. Latt
1881

GRACE be with you, and true peace in Christ Jesus. I beseech you heartily, and require most earnestly, even for charities sake, that you will not stand in your own conceit with a mind so indurate, nor prefer your own singular judgement in matters of Religion and controversies before so many learned men, and that more is, before the whole Catholick Church, especially considering that you neither have any thing at all in the word of God to make for you, nor yet the testimony of any authenticall Writer. Nay, nay! I beseech you rather consider that you are a man, and that lying and vanity may quickly blear your eyes, which doth sometime transform it self into an Angel of light.

Judge not so rashly of us, as that wicked Spirit hath tickled you in the ear. Wit you well that we are careful for you, and that we wish you to be saved, and that we are careful also for your own salvation. Lay down your stomach I pray you, and humble your Spirit, and suffer not the Church to take offence with the hardness of your heart, nor that her unity and Christs coat without seam (as much as lyeth in you) should be torn asunder. Con-

The sum of M. Latimers answer to Doctor Redman.

R Everend Master *Redman*, it is even enough for me, that Christs Sheep hear no mans voice but Christs; and as for you, you have no voice of Christ against me, whereas for my part I have a heart that is ready to hearken to any voice of Christ that you can bring me. Thus fare you well, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God.

Answer of
M. L. Davis
to a letter
1848.

After M. Laimmer had thus travelled in preaching and teaching in the University of Cambridge about the space of three years, at length he was called up to the Cathedral for Hereford, by the procurement of certain of the said University, where he was content to subscribe, and grant to such Articles as then they propounded unto him, &c.

After that he returned to the University again, where shortly after by the means of Doctor *Burr*, the English Physician, a singular good man, and a special favourite of good proceedings, he was in the number of the which laboured in the cause of the Kings supremacy. Then went he to the Court, where he remained a certain time in the said Doctors Chappell, preaching then in *London* very often. At last being weary of the Court, having a Benefice offered by the King, at the suite of the *L. Cromwell*, and Doctor *Burr* was glad thereof, knowing by that means to be rid out of the Court, wherewithin he could not well agree; and to having a grant of the Benefice, (containing in the mind of *D. Burr*, he would needs depart, and be resident at the same.

This Rehearsal was in *Wilshire*, under the Dioc. of *Sarum*, the name of which Town was called *Wyl-Kirke-Hen*, where this good Preacher did exercise himself, and not only to them his diligence extended, but also to all the Country about it, his diligence was so great, his Preaching so mighty, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that there in like fort he could not escape without enemies. So true it is that *S. Paul* foretelleth us, *Whosoever will live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution*. It is fancied, that whereas he Preaching upon the blessed Virgin *Christis Mother* whom we call our Lady had thereupon declared his mind, referring and reducing all honor only to Christ our only Saviour, certain Popish Priests, being thereoff offended, fought and wrought much against him, drawing out Articles and impositions, which they unrightly, falsely and uncharitably imposed upon him: First, that he should preach against our Lady, for that he reproved in a sermon the superstitious rudeness of certain blinde Priests, which he held together upon that blessed Virgin, as though she never had a sin, nor were saved by Christ the only Saviour of the whole World.

M. Latimer
 Pen and Ink
 Workery
 West, Jan

M. Lattimer
trouble us
p each.
Christ only
to be our
Saviour, and
not our
Lady.

The Super-
stitious r. Je-
nety of blued
Priests.

Matter de-
vised against
M. Lamer
by Popish
Priests.

Item, that he should say, that Saints were not to be worshipped.

Item, that *Ave Maria* was a salutation only, and no prayer.

Item, that there was no material fire in hell.
Item, that there was no Purgatory, in saying, that

Touching the whole discourse of which Articles, with

his reply and answer to the same, hereafter shall follow
(by the Lords assistance) when we come to his let-
ters

The chief impugnors were molesters of him, besides these Country Priests, were Doct. *Pozuel* of *Salisbury*, *Wilson* sometime of *Cambridge*, *M. Hubbard*, and *D. Sherwood*. Of whom some preached against him, some also did write against him; insomuch that by their procurement he was cited up and called to appear before *W. Warrham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *John Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, Anno 1531 Jan. 29. the copie of which citation here followeth.

Doct. Wilkin,
Doct. Pomeroy,
D. Sherwood,
Habberdine,
Dr. Warrham
Archb: of
Cantr.
Dr. Staefly,
B. of Londer,
troublers of
M. L. A. 1787.

Anno
1555.

The Copy of a Citation sent to the said M. Latimer by the Chancellor of Sarum, at the intercession of the Bishop of London.

Richardus Hilley decretorum Doctor, Reverendissimi in Christo Patris & Domini, Domini Laurentii Dei gratia Sarum Episcopi, in remotis extra regnum Anglie agentis Vicarius in spiritualibus generalis, universis & singulis Rectoribus, Vicariis, Capellanis, Curatis, Clericisque & literatis per Dioecesim Sarum ubilibet constitutus, salutem in auctore salutis. Vobis conjunctim & divisim committimus ac firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus citetis, vel citari faciatis peremptorie Magistrum Hugonem Latimer Vicarium de Westkington in archidiacono Wilf. Sarum Dioecesis, quod compareat coram Reverendo in Christo Patre, & Domino domino Johanne, Dei gratia London. Episcopo, aut ejus Vicario in spiritualibus generalis, seu commissario in Ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli London, in loco consistoriali ibidem, die Lunae, videlicet 29. die mensis Januarii jam instantis, inter horam 9. & 11. ante meridiem ejusdem diei, certis articulis seu interrogatoriis, crimina seu excessus graves infra jurisdictionem London. per ipsum commissum concernentibus personaliter respondere, ulteriusque satisfieri & recepturi. quod iustitia in ea parte suadebit: & quid in premisis feceritis, vos circa 22. diem ejusdem mensis Januarii, vel in eo apud Sarum debite certificari curetis, ut nos certificatorium huiusmodi supradicti Reverendo Patri, Domino London. Episcopo erga dictum 22. diem transmittere valeamus. prout idem Reverendus Pater nos in iuris subsidium ac mutae vicissitudinis obtentu rogavit, & etiam requisivit. Datum Sarum, sub sigillo antedicti Reverendissimi Patris ad causas, 10. die mensis Januarii, Anno 1531.

Against this Citation, although Mr. Latimer did appeal to his own Ordinary, requiring by him to be ordered, yet that notwithstanding, he was had up to London before Warham the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, where he was greatly molested, and detained a long space from his Cure at home. There he being called thrice every week before the said Bishops, to make answer for his Preaching, had certain Articles or Propositions drawn out and laid to him, wherunto they required him to subscribe. At length he not only perceiving their practical proceedings, but also much grieved with their troublesome unquietness, which neither would preach themselves, nor yet suffer him to preach and do his duty, writeth to the forsaide Archbishop, partly excusing his Infirmitie, whereby he could not appear at their commandment, partly expostulating with them for so troubling and detaining him from his duty doing, and that for no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against certain vain abuses crept into Religion, much needful to be spoken against. Which all may appear by his Epistle sent to a certain Bishop or Archbishop, whose name is not expressed; the Copy of which Epistle in Latin is this.

The Copy of the Epistle written by Mr. Latimer to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Non licet, Reverendissime Praeul, per super-venientem negotiationem ad tuum Palatium venire, non novam quidem illam, sed inveteratam, et si novus occasionibus super exasperatam. Certe quantum videre videor, & quantum conjecturis ducor, bodie non licebit, circa meum exspectare adventum diutius tua dominatio frustra: en hanc qualemque schedulam mea manu oblitam ad tuam amplitudinem mitte, velut excusationis nostrae certissimum iudicem. In qua utinam vel per temporis importunitatem, vel per capitis gravedinem, iustam aliquam expostulationem liceat tecum facere, qui me, curam animarum habentem, ab earundem curatione debita tam diu detines invitam, & hac quidem tempestate detines, quae Pastores cum gregibus adesse oportet vel maxime. Quid ni enim expostulem, si modo tam vili muncipio cum tanto Patre expostulare sit licitum? Nam si Petrus arbitrabatur iustum esse ratione officii sui, quem diu in hoc foret Tabernaculo, ut populum adnecneret & docere nequaquam cessare, & quo precipis morti hoc insentiam: ergo non potest non iurari iniustum, si qui bodie neque decet ipse (ut jam nihil miror si non ante docuerant) neque cupientes docere permittunt, nisi quos habue-

runt votis per omnia & in omnibus obsecundantes. Primum liberum erat meipsum amplitudinis vestrae praesentare & offerre, sed inde meipsum eripere & extricare, parum nunc quidem videtur mihi liberum esse. Et dum aliud in principio praetenditur, aliud in progressu tam longo temporis tractu agitur, nostri negotii quis aut qualis sit futurus exitus non immerito dubitatur; sed veritatem in seculum liberabit, super quo quid scribis Hieronymus utinam nunquam memoria excideret. Non poterat me molestare quicquid esset pro veritate passurus; sed vivit Deus, & ipse cura est de nobis. Tum modo ad Lond. missus sum, ceterum coram Cant. interdum multis formidandis patribus stipato geruntur omnia. Res velut cancellos quosdam & limites habet, ab eo qui me misit praestitutus, verum sic tractatur causa, & ambagibus ducitur, quasi in infinitum abiura, nullo tandem claudenda termino, dum sine modo & fine, alia post alia ad me, seu pertinentia, seu impertinentia, nunc ab hoc, nunc ab illo interrogantur, si non egomet modo, & si forte incivilliter, ac non imprudenter tamen (ni fallor) modum imponere, veritus ne inter multa dum multis respondet unus, unum aliquid (ut fit) ex inconsulto erumperet, quod casum lederet, aliqui iustissimam: & me malum ostendat oportet nemini volentem male moliri, si quid in conscientia est erroris: & meminisse omnino illud oportet, nempe ad Gebennam edificare, contra conscientiam facere, his sat fuerit sua profiteri, sua assertere, sua defendere: mihi vero assertiones alienae obtruduntur, nescio quo iure asserenda. Sine exemplo, opinor, hoc fit mihi, qui tamen intratibilis fere videor, dum nihil aliud quam inquis effugiationibus (quod ego iudico) acquirere deinceps. Adversus predicationes meas si quis quid intenter conabatur, tanquam vel obcurior, vel parum caute pronuntiatus, paratus sum predicationes predicationibus illustrare, qui nihil adversus veritatem, nihil adversus decreta Patrum, nil non Catholica (quod sciam) praedicavi unquam. Id quod per adversarium & eloquentium testimonia commonstrare poteram esse verum. Optavi & opto iudicium vultu reparari. Optavi & opto discrimen rerum deprehendi, & sua dignitate, suo loco, & tempore, suo gradu & ordine, unumquamque verum polere, gaudere, ut ingenie ciant omnes permutum inter se ea quae praeparavit Deus, ut in eis ambularemus, quaeque vocationis opera sedulo faceretur, postquam quae omnibus sunt communia pari fidelitate sunt facta, & inter ea quae spontanea sunt, ut in quibus non nisi nos propterea morte obambulemus. Imaginibus autem licet peregrinari licet, sanctis invocare licet, animarum in purgatorio residentium memores esse licet: sed si temperanda sunt, quae voluntaria sunt, ut praeccepta Dei factu necessaria quae facientibus vitant aeternam, non facientibus aeternam mortem afferunt iustitiae estimatione non preceunt, ne praepostere diligenter Deum fuisse devoti, Deum contra experiri non redamantem nos, sed ad potius profectum; cum hoc esse Deum vere diligere mirum praeccepta Dei diligenter servare, iuxta illud Christi: Qui habet praeccepta mea & facit ea, bis est qui diligit me, ne qui tam vilita reputat praeccepta Dei vocationem concernentia, in suis potius adventionibus aberraturus, cum in fine ante tribunal Christi secundum illa, non secundum has, omnes ad unum iudicabimur, iuxta illud Christi, Sermo quem locutus sum, ipse iudicabit in novissimo die. Et quis potest unum praecceptum Dei nullis additis inveniri quamlibet aut multis, aut speciosis compensare. O si essemus ad ea quae Deo sunt peragenda tam propensius, quam sumus ad nostra excoGITamenta exercenda sedulo & devoti. Multa sunt quae simplicis fide facta non improbat Deus, sed probat utcumque saltem quorundam infirmitati indulgens, quae tamen antequam fierent interrogatus, nec praeciperet, nec consuleret fieri, utpote quae iustius toleranda sunt, dum sic sunt, quam praedicanda ut fiant; ne occasione predicationis (ut fit) omittantur, quae periculo damnationis fieri debeant. Et quid magis indecorum, quam ad id praedicationem convertere, quod Deus ipse nec praeciperet, nec consuleret fieri, saltem quam diu negligenter sunt quae praecipuntur facienda. Proinde ego ex parte mandatorum Dei sto haecenus immobilis; sic non meum sed Christi iurum, non meam sed Dei gloriam queram, & donec respirare licebit, stare non desinam, sic Germanos verbi praecones, quosque haecenus fuerim cunctatus. Intolerabiles sane sumi, & diu fuisse quorundam rerum abusus,

Mr. Latimer
appealed
from the Bi-
shop of Lon-
don citation,
to his own
Ordinary.
Mr. Latimer
molested by
Ven. an
Archb. of
Canterbury
& the
Bishop of
London.

M. Latimer
Letter to
the Archb.

Indigna E-
piscoporum
vilita contra
Latimerum.

Quid in re-
ligione ecc-
lesiam.

Diffricari
inter man-
data Dei, &
praeccepta
hominum.

Multa tole-
rat Deus quos
capies non
erant praec-
ptum ut de-
reant.

abusus,

Anno 1555. quosque hactenus fuerunt amitturus. Intolerabiles sane sunt, & diuturne quorundam rerum abusu, ut nemo Christianus in gloria stultus potest, nisi ubi libis rerum multo citius magis improbat, res ipsae, & suggestu proba e: quae si rarius fissent (ne dicam nunquam) modo hac occasione aux mandatum a Deo fieri fissent officiosius, aut

That Pilgrimages and Oblations done to the Sepulchres and Reliques of Saints are meritorious.

That they which have vowed perpetual chastity may not marry, nor break their Vow, without the dispensation of the Pope.

That the Keys of binding and loosing delivered to *Peter*, do still remain with the Bishops of *Rome*, his Successors, although they live wickedly, and are by no means nor at any time committed to Laymen.

That men may merit and deserve at Gods hand by fasting, Prayer, and other good works of piety.

That they which are forbidden of the Bishop to preach, as suspect persons, ought to cease until they have purged themselves before the said Bishop, or their Superiors, and be restored again.

That the fast which is used in Lent, and other fasts prescribed by the Canons, and by custom received of the Christians (except necessity otherwise require) are to be observed and kept.

That God in every one of the seven Sacraments giveth grace to a man, rightly receiving the same.

That consecrations, sanctifyings, and blessings by use and custom received in the Church, are laudable and profitable.

That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable Images of the Crucifix and other Saints, should be had in the Churches as a remembrance, and to the honour and worship of Jesus Christ, and his Saints.

That it is laudable and profitable to deck and to cloath those Images, and set up burning lights before them to the honour of the said Saints.

To these Articles whether he did subscribe or no, it is uncertain. It appeareth by this Epistle above written to the Bishops, that he durst not consent unto what he the wriether in these words, *Hic ego vultis sententias subscribere non quoad quæ popularis superstitionis datus duraturæ, quæque pollicentur, immortales esse vobis, &c.* But whether he was compelled afterwards to agree, to the cruel handling of the Bishops, it is obscure. By the words and the title in *Tompas* Register prefixed before the Articles, it may seem that he did subscribe. The words of the Register be these: *Hugo Laniæmus in sacra Theologia Baccal. in Universitate Cantabrigiæ, coram Cant. Archiepisc. Johan. Lond. Episcopo, reliquisque concione apud Westmon. vocatus, confessus esse & recognovisse suam seipsum sic sentiendo atque inquitur in his articulis. 2. die Martii Anno 1531.* If these words be true, it may be so thought that he subscribed. And whether he so did, no great matter nor marvel, the iniquity of the time being such, that either he must needs do so, or else abide the Bishops blessing that is, cruel sentence of death, which he at that time (as he himself confessed preaching at *Stamford* was loath to sustain for such matters as these were, unless it were for Articles necessary, of his belief; by which his words I conjecture rather that he did subscribe at length, albeit it was long before he could be brought to do. Yet this by the way is to be no

M. Latimer,
whether he
subscribed
or not, it is
uncertain.

The crafty
handling of
the Bishops
in examin-
ing M. Lat-
mer.
Ex verbis
Latmeri.

In this forelaide Epistle (as ye hear) he maketh mention of certain Articles or Propositions, whereunto he was required by the Bishops to subscribe. The Copy and effect of those Articles or rude Propositions (as he calleth them) be these.

Articles devised by the Bishops, for M. Latimer to subscribe unto.

Articles
propounded
to M. I. after

I Believe that there is a Purgatory to purge the Souls of the dead after this life.

That the Souls in Purgatory are holpen with the Masses, Prayers, and Alms of the living.

That the Saints do pray as Mediators now for us in Heaven.

That they are to be honoured of us in Heaven.

That it is profitable for Christians to call upon the Saints, that they may pray as Mediators for us unto God.

There

There was amongst the Bilshops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and took him for my great Friend, an aged man, and he fate next the tables end.

Then amongst all other questions he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, and such an one indeed, as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer; I pray you Mr. Latimer, said one, speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off. I marvelled at this, that I was bidden speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and, Sir, there I heard a pen was king in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers; for they made sure, that I should not start from them: there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answer, I could never else have escaped it. The question to him there and then objected was this; Whether he thought in his Conscience, that he hath been suspected of Heresie. This was a captious question. There was no holding of peace would serve; for that was to grant him self faulty. To answer, it was every way full of danger; But God, which alway giveth in need what to answer helped him, or else (as he confessed himself) he had never escaped their Bloody hands. Albeit what was his answer, he doth not there express. And thus hitherto you have heard declared the manifold troubles of this godly Preacher, in the time not onely of his being in the Univerfity, but especially at his Benefice, as partly in his own words above mentioned, and partly by his own Letters hereafter following, may better appear.

In these so hard and dangerous straits, and such snares of the Bilshops, hard it had been for him and impossible to have escaped and continued so long, had not the Almighty helping hand of the highlest, as he stirred him up, so preserved him through the favour and power of his Prince; who with much favour embraced him, and with his meer power sometime rescued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. Moreover, at length also, through the procurement partly of Doctor *Bais*, partly of good *Cromwel* (whose story ye heard before) he advanced him to the dignity and degree of a Bilshop, making him the Bilshop of Worcester, which he continued a few years, instructing his Diocess, according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant Pastor, with wholesome Doctrine and example of perfect conversation duly agreeing to the same. It was a long matter to stand particularly upon such things as might here be brought to the commendation of his pains; as study, readines, and continual carefulness in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability could serve, or else the time would bear. But the dayes then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do that he would. Yet what he might do, that he performed to the uttermost of his strength, so that although he could not utterly extinguish all the sparkling reliques of old superstition, yet he so wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they should be used with as little hurt, and with as much profit as might be. As for example in this thing, and in divers other it did appear, that when it could not be avoided, yet so he prepared and instructed them of his Diocess, with such informations and lessons, that in receiving thereof superstition should be excluded, and some remembrance taken thereby, reaching and charging the Ministers of his Diocess, in delivering the Holy water and the Holy Bread, to say these words following.

Words spoken to the People in giving them Holy Water.

Remember your promise in Baptism.
Christ his meere, and Blood-shedding.
By whose meere Holy sprinkling,
Of all your sins you have free pardoning.

What to say in giving Holy Bread.

Of Christs Body this is a token,
Which on the Cress for our Sins was broken.

Wherefore of your sins you must be forsaker,
If of Christs death ye will be partaker.

By this it may be considered what the diligent care of this Bilshop was in doing the duty of a faithful Pastor among his flock. And moreover it is to be thought that he would have brought more things else to pass, if the time then had answered to his desire; for he was not ignorant how the institution of Holy Water and Holy Bread, not onely had no ground in Scripture, but also how full of prophane, exorcisms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the Gospel. Thus this good man behaved himself in his Diocess. But (as before) both in the Univerfity, and at his Benefice, he was toft and turnmiled by wicked and evil disposed persons; So in his Bilshoprick also he was not all clear and void of some that fought his trouble. As among many other evil willers, one especially there was, and that no small person, which accused him then to the King for his Sermons. The story because he himself sheweth in a Sermon of his before King *Edward*. I thought therefore to use his own words, which be these:

In the Kings days that is dead, a great many of us were called together before him, to say our minds in certain matters. In the end, one kneeleth down and accuseth me of sedition: and that I had preached seditious Doctrine. A heavy salutation, and a hard point of such a mans doing, as if I should name, ye would not think. The King turned to me, and said; What say you to that Sir?

Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to my accuser, and required him; Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me, in preaching before a King? would you have me preach nothing as concerning a King in the Kings Sermon? have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach? besides this, I asked him divers others questions, and he would make no answer to any of them all; he had nothing to say.

Then I turned me to the King, and submitted my self to his Grace, and said; I never thought my self worthy, nor did I ever sue to be a Preacher before your Grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you mislike me) to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your Graces pleasure so to allow them for Preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your Grace allow me for a Preacher, I would desire your Grace to give me leave to discharge my Conscience, give me leave to frame my Doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your Realm, as I preach before your Grace.

And I thank Almighty God (which hath always been my remedy) that my sayings were well accepted of the King; for like a gracious Lord he turned into another communication. It is even as the Scripture saith; *Cor Regis in manu Domini*, i. The Lord directeth the Kings heart. Certain of my Friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I should have been in the Tower the same night.

Besides this, divers other confidants and combats this godly Bilshop sustained in his own Country and Diocess, in taking the cause of right and equity against oppression and wrong. As for another example, there was at that time not far from the Diocess of Worcester a certain Justice of Peace, whom here I will not name, being a good man afterward, and now deceased. This Justice in purchasing of certain land for his Brother, or for himself, went about to wrong or damage a poor man, who made his complaint to Mr. Latimer. He first hearing, then tending his rightful cause, wrote his letter to the Gentleman, exhorting him to remember himself, to consider the cause, and to abstain from injury. The Justice of Peace not content withal (as the fashion of men is when they are told of their fault) sendeth word again in great displeasure, that he would not so take it at his hands, with such threatening words, &c. Master Latimer hearing this, answered again by writing to a certain Gentleman: the Copy whereof among his Letters hereafter followeth in the sequel of this story to be seen.

It were a large and long procees to storry out all the doings, travels, and writings of this Christian Bilshop, neither

A Heretic
and captious
question put
to Mr. Latimer
by the
Bishops.

M. Latimer
replied by
the King.

M. Latimer
advanced to
the Bilshop-
rick of Wor-
cester by the
King.

The Pastoral
duty of
M. Latimer
in this
Diocess.
The time
unstable for
Bishop
Latimer to
work in.

Words used
in B. Latimer's
Diocess
in giving
Holy water.

Words used
in giving
Holy bread.

Anno
1555.

The behav-
our of B. Latimer
in his
Office.

Heretic
of B. Latimer
in his
Bishoprick.

Exorcism
Latimer, pro-
cessus.
B. Latimer
accused to
King Henry
for his pre-
dilection.

M. Latimer
discreet
his accuser.

The words
of B. Latimer
to the King.

The Kings
heart relin-
quish toward
Bishop Latimer.

B. Latimer
told the
poor mans
part against
his oppres-
sion.

Anno 1555.
neither yet have we expressed all that came to our hands; but this I thought sufficient for this present. Thus he continued in this laborious Function of a Bishop the space of certain years, till the coming in of the six Articles. Then being distressed through the freightness of time, so that either he must lose the quiet of a good Conscience, or else forsake his Bishoprick, he did of his own free accord resign his Pastorship. At which time *Shaxton* the Bishop of *Salisbury* resigned likewise with him

his Bishoprick. And so these two remained a great space unbishopped, keeping silence till the time of King *Edward* of blessed memory. At what time he first put off his *Rocket* in his Chamber among his Friends, suddenly he gave a skip in the floor for joy, feeling his shoulder so light, and being discharged (as he said) of such an heavy burden. Howbeit neither was he so lightened, but that troubles and labours followed him where, soever he went. For a little after he had renounced his

Mr. Latimer kept silence till the time of King Edward.

The whole life of Mr. Latimer full of tribulation.



Mr. Latimer almost slain with the fall of a Tree. Then coming up to London for remedy, he was molested and troubled of the Bishops, whereby he was again in no little danger, and at length was cast into the Tower, where he continually remained Prisoner, till the time that blessed King *Edward* entered his Crown, by means whereof the golden mouth of this Preacher, long shut up before, was now opened again. And so he beginning afresh to set forth his Plough again, continued all the time of the said King, labouring in the Lords Harveit most fruitfully, discharging his Talent as well in divers other places of this Realm, as in *Stamford*, and before the Duches of *Suffolk* (whose Sermons he extant and set forth in print) as also at London in the Convocation-house, and especially before the King at the Court: In the same place of the inward Garden, which was before applied to lascivious and courtly Pastimes, there he dispensed the fruitful Word of the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ, preaching there before the King and his whole Court, to the edification of many.

In this his painful travel he occupied himself all King *Edward's* days, preaching for the most part every Sunday twice, to no small shame of all other loytering and unpreaching Prelates, which occupy great rooms, and do little good; and that so much more to their shame, because he being a fore bruised man by the fall of a Tree, mentioned a little before, and above 67 years of age, took so little ease and care of sparing himself, to do the people good. Now to speak here of his indefatigable travel and diligence in his own private studies, who notwithstanding both his years, and other pains in preaching, every morning orderly, Winter and Summer, about two of the Clock in the morning, was at his Book most diligently. How careful his heart was of the preservation of the Church, and the good success of the Gospel, his Letters can testify, wherewith he admonished such as

as then were in authority of their duty, and assisted them with his godly counsel.

As the diligence of this man of God never ceased all the time of King *Edward*, to profit the Church both publicly and privately, so among other doings in him to be noted, this is not lightly to be overlooked, but worthy to be observed, that God not only gave unto him his Spirit plentifully and comfortably to preach his word unto his Church, but also by the same Spirit he did so evidently foreshew and prophecy of all those kinds of Plagues afore, which afterward ensued, that if *England* ever had a Prophet, he might seem to be one. And as touching himself, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the Gospel would cost him his life, to the which he no less cheerfully prepared himself, than certainly was persuaded that *Winchester* was kept in the Tower for the same purpose, as the event did too truly prove the same. For after the death of the said blessed King *Edward*, not long after Queen *Mary* was proclaimed, a Pursivant was sent down (by the means no doubt of *Winchester*) into the Country, to call him up, of whose coming, although Mr. Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premonished about six hours before by one *John Careles* (whose story hereafter followeth) yet so far off was it that he thought to escape, that he prepared himself towards his journey before the said Pursivant came to his House.

At the which thing when the Pursivant marvelled, seeing him so prepared towards his journey, he said unto him, My Friend, you be a welcome Messenger to me. And be it known unto you, and to all the World, that I go as willingly to London at this present, being called by my Prince to render a reckoning of my Doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his Word before two excellent Princes, so will be able me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort or discomfort eternally, &c. At the which time the Pursivant

Mr. Latimer prophesied what plagues were to come in Queen *Mary's* time.

Mr. Latimer called up to London by Winchester, Mr. Latimer being premonished before, yet refused to escape.

Mr. Latimer was to be the Queen's Parson.

Latimer, when he had delivered his Letters, departed, abating that he had Commandment not to tarry for him. By whose sudden departure it was manifest that they would not have him appear, but rather to have fled out of the Realm. They knew that his constancy should deface them in their Popery, and confirm the godly in the Truth.

Thus Mr. Latimer being sent for, and coming up to London, thorow *Smithfield* (where merrily he liked, That *Smithfield* had long groaned for him) was brought before the Council, where he patiently bearing all the mocks and taunts given him by the scornful Papists, was cast again into the *Tower*, where he being assisted with the heavenly Grace of Christ, sustained most patient imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruel and unmerciful handling of the lordly Papists, which thought then their Kingdom would never fall; yet he shewed himself not only patient, but also cheerful in and above all that which they could or would work against him; yea, such a valiant Spirit the Lord gave him, that he was able not only to despise the terrible of Prisons and Torments, but also to deride and laugh to scorn the doings of his Enemies. As it is not unknown to the ears of many, what he answered to the Lieutenant being then in the *Tower*. For when the Lieutenants man upon a time came to him, the aged Father kept without fire in the frosty Winter, and well nigh starved for cold, merrily bade the man tell his Master, That if he did not look the better to him, perchance he would deceive him.

The Lieutenant hearing this, berought himself of these words, and fearing lest that indeed he thought to make some escape, began to look more straightly to his Prisoner, and so coming to him, beginneth to charge him with his words, reading the same unto him which his man had told him before; How that if he were not better looked unto, perchance he would deceive him, &c. Yea, Mr. Lieutenant, so I said, quoth he, for you look, I think, that I should burn; but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am like here to starve for cold.

Many such like Answers and Reasons, merry, but favourable, coming not from a vain mind, but from a constant and quiet reason, proceeded from that man, declaring a firm and stable heart, little passing for all this great blustering of their terrible threats, but rather deriding the same.

Thus Mr. Latimer passing a long time in the *Tower*, with as much patience as a man in his case could do, from thence was transported to *Oxford*, with Dr. *Crammer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Mr. *Ridley* Bishop of *London*, there to dispute upon Articles sent down from *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, as is before touched, the manner and order of which Disputations between them and the University Doctors, is also before sufficiently expressed. Where also is declared, how and by whom the said Latimer with his other Fellow-prisoners were condemned after the Disputations, and so committed again to the Prison, and there they continued from the Month of *April* above mentioned, to this present Month of *October*; where they were most godly occupied, either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing.

Albeit Mr. Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his Age, wrote least of them all in this later time of his imprisonment; yet in Prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to rise without help: And amongst other things, these were three principal matters he prayed for.

First, That as GOD had appointed him to be a Preacher of his Word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his Doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart blood for the same.

Secondly, That God of his mercy would restore his Gospel to *England* once again; and these words once again, once again, he did so inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face.

The third matter was, to pray for the preservation of the Queens Majesty that now is, whom in his Prayer he was wont accustomed to name, and even with tears

desired God to make her a comfort to this comfortless Realm of *England*. These were the matters he prayed for so earnestly. Neither were these things of him desired in vain, as the good success thereof after following did declare; for the Lord most graciously did grant all those his requests.

First, Concerning his constancy, even in the most extremity the Lord graciously assisted him. For when he stood at the Stake without *Beardo-gate* at *Oxford*, and the Tormentors about to set the fire to him, and to the learned and godly Bishop Mr. *Ridley*, he lifted up his eyes towards Heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words, *Fidelis est Deus, qui non sinit nos tentari supra id quod possumus*; God is faithful, which doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength; and so afterward by and by shed his blood in the cause of Christ, the which blood ran out of his heart in such abundance, that all those that were present, being godly, did marvel to see the most part of the blood in his body to be gathered to his heart, and with such violence to gush out, his body being opened by the force of the fire; by the which thing God most graciously granted his request, which was, That he might shed his heart blood in the defence of the Gospel.

How mercifully the Lord heard his second Request, in restoring his Gospel once again unto this Realm, these present days can bear record. And what then shall *England* lay now for her defence, which being so mercifully visited and refreshed with the Word of God, so slenderly and unthankfully considereth either her own misery past, or the great benefit of God now present? The Lord be merciful unto us, Amen.

Again, Concerning his third Request, it seemeth likewise most effectually granted, to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his Gospel, and to the unspeakable comfort of this Realm. For whether at the request of his Prayer, or of other Gods holy Saints, or whether God was moved with the cry of his whole Church, the truth is, that when all was deplorable and in a desperate case, and so desperate that the Enemies mightily flourished and triumphed, Gods Word was banished, Spaniards received, no place left for Christs Servants to cover their heads, suddenly the Lord called to remembrance his mercy, and forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of all these miseries, and wrought a marvellous change of things; at the change whereof the said Queen *Elizabeth* was appointed and anointed, for whom this gray-headed Father so earnestly prayed in his imprisonment: through whose true, natural, and imperial Crown, the brightness of Gods Word was set up again to confound the dark and false vized Kingdom of Antichrist, the true Temple of Christ re-edified, the captivity of sorrowful Christians released, which so long was wished for in the Prayers of so many good men, specially of this faithful and true servant of the Lord, Mr. Latimer.

The same God, which at the requests of his holy and faithful Saints hath poured upon us such benefits of his mercy, peace, and tranquillity, assist our most virtuous and christian Prince, and her Subjects, that we may every one in his state and calling serve to his glory, and walk in our Vocation, that we lose not that which they have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulness, to build and keep up the House and Temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glory, and our everlasting comfort in him. And thus much concerning the doings and laborious travels of Mr. Latimer. Now after these things thus finished and discoursed pertaining to the story of his Life, let us come to his Letters, which he wrote at divers and sundry times from the first beginning of his preaching, all which here to comprehend which he wrote both in English and Latin, lack of space and place at this present will not permit: nevertheless certain we will take, and first concerning the Articles above mentioned, for the which he was troubled by the Priests of the Country about his Benefice at *West-Kington*; which he writeth thereof to Mr. *Morice*, the Copies whereof followeth.

Mr. Latimer
to Dr. Crammer
and Mr. Ridley

Mr. Latimer
to Dr. Crammer
and Mr. Ridley

Mr. Latimer
to Dr. Crammer
and Mr. Ridley

The answer
of Mr. Latimer
to the Lieutenant

Mr. Latimer
with Dr. Crammer
and Mr. Ridley
removed to
the Tower
in 1555

Ob. Latimer

Three
times
Mr. Latimer
prayed

Once again
Once again

Mr. Latimer
prayer for
the Queens Majesty

Anno
1555

All three re-
quest of M.
Latimer
granted of
the Lord.

The un-
thankfulness
of England.

Gods gra-
tious help in
time of
need, upon
the Realm
of England.

Acts 2.
Q. Elizabeth
granted of
God to
England.

God for
Christs sake
to grant.

Anno
1555.Articles untruly, falsely, uncharitably imputed to
me by Dr. Powell of Salisbury.

First that our Lady was a Sinner.

Occasioned of some, not only Lay-men, but also Priests and Beneficed-men, which gave so much to our Lady of Devotion without Judgment, as though she had not needed Christ to save her: to prove Christ her Saviour, to make Christ a whole Saviour of all that be, or shall be saved: I reasoned after this manner: That either she was a sinner, or no sinner; there is no mean: if she were a sinner, then she was redeemed or delivered from sin by Christ, as other sinners be: If she were no sinner, then she was preserved from sin by Christ; so that Christ saved her, and was her necessary Saviour, whether she sinned or no. Now certain Authors (said I) as *Chrysostom*, *Tbeophilus*, and others, writeth as though she had been something faulty in her time. Also I said that certain Scriptures standeth something to the same, unless they be the more warily understood and taken, (as in the 3. ro. 20.) All have declined, that every mouth be stopped, and all the world be bounden or in danger to God. And after in the same Chapter, All have sinned, and need the glory of God. And in the fifth, And so death passed thorough into all men and women, forasmuch as all have sinned. But to these Scriptures I said it might be answered that the privilege of one, or of a few, doth not derogate or diminish the verity of a universal Exposition in Scriptures.

And as to the Doctors, I said, that other more faith-
otherwise; and forasmuch as now it is universally and constantly received and applied that she was no sinner, it becometh every man to stand and agree to the same, and so will I, quoth I, nor any man that wife is, will the contrary: But to my purpose it is neither to nor from, to prove neither this nor that; for I will have her saved, and Christ her Saviour, whether ever she was, &c.

And to that, what need you to speak of this? I answered great need, when men cannot be content that she was a Creature saved, but as it were a Saviour, not needing Salvation, it is necessary to set her in degree to the glory of Christ, Creator and Saviour of all that be or shall be saved. Good Authors have written that she was not a sinner: but good Authors never wrote that she was not saved: for though she never sinned, yet she was not so impeccable, but she might have sinned, if she had not been preserved: It was of the goodness of God that she never sinned: it had come of her own illness if she had sinned: there was difference betwixt her and Christ: And I will give as little to her as I can (doing her no wrong) rather than Christ her Son and Saviour shall lack any parcel of his glory; and I am sure that our Lady will not be displeased with me for so doing, for our Lady sought his glory here upon Earth, she would not defraud him now in Heaven: But some are so superstitiously religious, or so irreligiously superstitious, so preposterously devout toward our Lady, as though there could not too much be given to her: such are zeals without knowledge and judgment to our Ladies displeasure.

No doubt our Lady was, through the goodness of God, a good and a gracious Creature, a devout Handmaid of the Lord, indued with singular gifts and graces from above, which through the help of God she used to Gods pleasure, according to her duty, so giving us ensample to do likewise, so that all the goodness that she had, she had it not of herself, but of God the Author of all goodness: the Lord was with her favourably, and poured graces unto her plentifully, as it is in the *Ave Marie*. The Son of God, when he would become man, to save both man and woman, did choose her to his Mother, which love he shewed to her alone, and to none other, of his benign goodness, by the which she was the natural Mother of Christ: and through faith in Christ she was the spiritual Sister of Christ, saved by Christ, blessed by hearing Christs Word, and keeping the same. It should not availed her to Salvation, to have been his natural Mother, if she had not done the will of his heavenly Father: By him she was his Mother, by him she did the will of his Father: she the first woman, he the Lord. The Handmaiden did magnify her Lord, the Handmaiden would that all should magnify

the Lord, to whom he honoureth and glorifieth.

To honour him worthily, is not to dishonour him: for he is able to preserve from sin, as to deliver from sin, he was then subject to *Joseph*, his Father in Law, his Mothers Husband; *Joseph* is now subject to him. He never dishonoured *Joachim* and *Anna*, his Grandfather and Grandmother, and yet I have not read that he preserved them from all sin.

To say that *Peter* and *Paul*, *David* and *Mary Magdalen*, were sinners, is not to dishonour them: for their Scripture doth dishonour them. It had not been for our profit to have preserved all that he could have preserved:

For remembrance of that fall and uprising, keepeth us in our fall from despairing: both is of God, to have not sinned, and to have forsaken and left sin. And as sure is this of Heaven, as that, and this more common than that, and to us that have been sinners more comfortable.

It hath been said in times past, without sin, that our Lady was a sinner: but it was never said, without sin, that our Lady was not saved, but a Saviour: I go not about to make our Lady a sinner, but to have Christ her Saviour. When mine Adversaries cannot reprove the thing that I say, then they will bely me, to say the thing that they can reprove. They will sin to make our Lady no sinner, to prove that, that no man dieth. So that provers, and so cold probations say you never. It were better unproved, than so weakly proved. But they be devout towards honouring of our Lady, but to sin to have our Lady no sinner, or to say she was no sinner.

I would be loath to dishonour our Lady as they, I pray God we may honour her as she would be honoured; for verily she is worthy to be honoured.

To make a pernicious and a damnable lye, to have our Lady no sinner, is neither honour, nor yet pleasure to our Lady, but great sin, to the dishonour and displeasure both of God and our Lady.

They should both please and honour our Lady much better, to believe their sinful living, and keep themselves from sinfulness, as our Lady did, than so sinfully to lye to make our Lady no sinner; which if they do not, they shall go to the Devil certainly, though they believe that our Lady was no sinner never so surely.

And for the *Ave Marie* they lye falsely, I never denied it: I know it was a heavenly saluting or greeting of our Lady, spoken by the Angel *Gabriel*, and written in holy Scripture of *S. Luke*. But yet it is not properly a Prayer, as the *Pater noster* is. Saluting or greeting, lauding or praising, is not properly praying. The Angel was sent to greet our Lady, and to annunciate and shew the good will of God towards her, and therefore it is called The Annunciation of our Lady, and not to pray her, or to pray to her properly: Shall the Father of Heaven pray to our Lady? When the Angel spake it, it was not properly a Prayer. And is it not the same thing now that it was then? Nor yet he that denieth the *Ave Marie* to be properly a Prayer, denieth the *Ave Marie*; so that we may salute our Lady with *Ave Marie*, as the Angel did, though we be not sent of God so to do, as the Angel was. So though we may so do, yet we have no plain bidding of God so to do, as the Angel had; so that the Angel had been more to blame peradventure to have left it unsaid than we be. Forasmuch as he was appointed of God to say it, and not we: But as I deny not, but as we may say the *Pater noster*, and the *Ave Marie* together, that to God, this to our Lady, so we may say them sundrily, the *Pater noster* by itself, and the *Ave* by itself; and the *Pater noster* is a whole and a perfect Prayer, without the *Ave Marie*; so that it is but a superstition to think that a *Pater noster* cannot be well said without an *Ave Marie* at his heel. For Christ was no fool, and when he taught the people to say a *Pater noster* to God, he taught them not to say, neither *Pater noster*, neither *Ave Marie* to our Lady, nor yet *Pater noster* to *S. Peter*, as *M. Hieronimus* saith: Therefore to teach to say twenty *Ave Marias* for one *Pater noster*, is not to speak *Sermones Dei*, in *Sermone Dei*; the Word of God as the Word of God. And one *Ave Marie* well said, and devoutly with attention, is far more understanding, is better than 27 ill spoken, thoughtless, and it is not like, but our Lady said many times the *Pater noster*, forasmuch as her Son Christ, whom she loved and honoured most, did make it, and taught it to be said, whether

Our Lady is
not displeased
to have
God honoured.

she made an *Ave Marie* with all, or ten or twenty *Ave Marias* for one *Pater noster*, I will leave that to great Clerks, as *Hubberdin* and *Powell* to discuss and determine: she was not fared by often saying of the *Ave Marie*, but by consenting to the will of him, that sent the Angel to salute her with *Ave Marie*: wherefore if the praying of them which decline their ear from hearing the Law of God is execrable in the sight of God, yea, though they say the *Pater noster*, I doubt not but the salvation of them hath been unpleasant to our Lady in her fight, for whatsoever pleaseth not her Son, pleaseth not her; for she hath delight and pleasure in nothing, but in him, and in that that delighteth and pleaseth him. Now we will be Traytors to her Son by customable sinful living, and yet we shall think great perfection and holiness in numbering every day many *Ave Marias* to our Lady, and so we think to make her our Friend and Patroness, and then we care not for God: for having our Lady of our side, we may be bold to take our pleasure: for we fantasie as though the very work and labour of humming the *Ave Marie* is very acceptable to our Lady, and the more, the more acceptable, not passing how they be said, but that they be said, if the *Pater noster* which Christ both made, and bid us say it, may be said to Christs displeasure, much more the *Ave Marie*, which neither Christ nor our Lady bid to be said, may be said to our Ladies displeasure, and better never once said, then often to said. So that I would have a difference betwixt well saying and often saying, and betwixt that that Christ bid us say, and that that he bid not say: and whether *Ave Marie* be said in Heaven or no, who can tell but *Dr. Powell*? and if it be said alway there without a *Pater noster*, why may not *Pater noster* be said here without *Ave Marie*; and whether doth our Lady say it in Heaven or no? which thing I speak not to withdraw you from saying of it, but to withdraw you from superstitious and unfruitful saying of it. So that by occasion of false faith and trust that ye have in the daily saying of it, you set not aside imitation and following of holy living, which will serve at length, when superstitious greetings, will neither serve nor stand in strength: It is meet that every thing be taken, esteemed and valued as it is.

We salute also and greet well the Holy Cross, or the Image of the Holy Cross, saying, All hail Holy Cross, which hath deserved to bear the precious Talent of the World: and yet who will say that we pray properly to the Holy Cross? whereby it may appear that greeting is one thing, praying another thing. The Cross can neither hear nor speak again, no more then this Pulpit: therefore we do salute it, not properly pray to it.

The Angel spake also to *Zachary*, before he spake to our Lady. *Ne times Zacharia, &c.* Be not afraid *Zachary*, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife *Elizabeth* shall bring thee forth a child, which shall be called *John*, and great joy and gladness shall be at his birth, and he shall be great and full of the Holy Ghost from the womb of his mother, &c.

What if a man should say these words every day, betwixt the *Pater noster*, and the *Ave Marie* in the worship of St. *Zachary*, which I think is a Saint in Heaven, and was e're ever our Lady came therefore to be honoured, I think he might please and honour Saint *Zachary*, as well some other way, and better too, though they be words sent from God, spoken of an Angel, and written in holy Scripture of the Evangelist *Luke*.

And yet if it were once begun and accustomed, I warrant some men would make it more then Sacrilege to leave it off, though the Devil should sow never so much Superstition by process of time unto it.

Christ made the *Pater noster* for a Prayer, and bid his people say it to his heavenly Father, one God in Trinity of Persons, one Father and Comforter, one worker and doer of all things here in this World, saying unto us *vos autem sic orabitis*; so or after such manner, shall ye pray, *Pater noster, &c.* God sent his Son amongst other things to teach his people to pray: God sent his Angel to greet our Lady, not to teach his people to pray. For neither Christ nor the Angel said to the people, this shall ye pray, *Ave Marie*. When the Apostles said to Christ, *Domine docenas orare*, teach us to pray; Christ said, *Cum oratis, dicite, Pater noster*; when you pray, say *Pater noster*: he said

not when you pray, say *Ave Maria*. wene Christ could teach to pray, as well as *Dr. Powell* and *Mr. Hubberdin*. I say that the *Ave Maria* was before the *Pater noster*; *Dr. Powell* saith, it shall endure after the *Pater noster*: I can prove my saying by Scripture, so cannot he his: yet as it is no good Argument, the *Ave Mary* was before the *Pater noster*, Ergo it is properly a Prayer: so it is no good Argument, the *Ave Mary* shall last after the *Pater noster*; Ergo it is properly a Prayer, without the Antecedent be impossible, which is not credible to come out of such a phantastical brain.

Who was ever so mad as to think that words of holy Scripture could not be well said? And yet we may not be so peevish as to allow the superstitious saying of holy Scripture. The Devil is crafty, and we frail and prone to Superstition and Idolatry, God give me grace to worship him and his, not after our own curioly, but according to his Ordinance with all Humility.

S. *Zachary* is to be honoured, and in no wife to be dishonoured: so that we may leave unfaid that, that the Angel said without dishonouring him.

It is not necessary to our Salvation to make an Ordinance of honouring him with saying as the Angel did.

It is better for a mortal man to do the office of a man, which God biddeth him do, than to leave that undone, and do the office of an Angel which God biddeth us not do: if the other be presumption, I had rather presume to pray to God, which is Gods bidding and mans office, than to presume into the office of an Angel without Gods bidding.

It is a godly presumption to presume to do the bidding of God.

Here I neither say, that our Lady was a sinner, nor yet I deny the *Ave Mary*.

Saints are not to be honoured.

I Said this word *Saints* is diversly taken of the Vulgar People, Images of Saints are called *Saints*, and Inhabitants of Heaven are called *Saints*. Now by honouring of *Saints*, is meant praying to *Saints*. Take honouring so, and Images for *Saints*; so *Saints* are not to be honoured, that is to say, dead Images are not to be prayed unto; for they have neither ears to hear withal, nor tongue to speak withal, nor heart to think withal, &c.

They can neither help me, nor mine Ox, neither my Head nor my Tooth, nor work any Miracle for me, one no more than another: and yet I shewed the good use of them to be Lay-mens Books, as they be called, reverently to look upon them, to remember the things that are signified by them, &c.

And yet I would not have them so costly and curiously gilded and decked, that the quick Image of God, (for whom Christ shed his blood, and to whom whatsoever is done, Christ repute it done to himself) lack necessities, and be unprovided for, by that occasion, for then the Lay-man doth abuse his Book.

A man may read upon his Book, though it be not very curiously gilded, and in the day time, a man may behold it without many Candles, if he be not blind.

Now I say, there be two manner of Mediators, one by way of Redemption, another by way of Intercession; and I said, that these *Saints*, that is to say, Images called *Saints*, be Mediators neither way.

As touching Pilgrimages, I said, that all Idolatry, Superstition, Error, false Faith, and hope in the Images, must be pared away, before they can be well done, household looked upon, poor Christian people provided for, restitutions made, all ordinance of God discharged, or ere they can be well done. And when they be at best, before they be vowed, they need not to be done: they shall never be required of us, though they be never done; and yet we shall be blamed when they be all done; Wives must counsel with their Husbands, and Husbands with their Wives, both with Curats, ere ever they may be vowed to be done.

And yet Idolatry may be committed in doing of them, as it appeareth by S. *Paul*, in the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, cap. 10. where he biddeth the *Corinthians* this; to beware of Idolatry, and that after they had received the true Faith in Christ, which had been vain, if they

Ave Marie
no Prayer,
but a Salu-
tation.

Anno
1555.

Anno 1555. they could not have done Idolatry, and Expositors add to beware not only of the act of idolatry, but also of all occasion of that act: which is plain against Mr. *Hubberdine*, and Parson of Christs Church, which went about to prove, that now there could be no idolatry.

As touching the Saints in Heaven, I said, They be not our Mediatours by way of Redemption: for so Christs alone is our Mediatour and theirs both: so that the blood of Martyrs hath nothing to do by way of Redemption: the blood of Christs is enough for a thousand worlds, &c.

But by way of Intercession, so Saints in Heaven may be Mediatours, and pray for us, as I think they do when we call not upon them; for they be charitable, and need no spurs, and we have no open bidding of God in Scripture to call upon them, as we have to call upon God, nor yet we may call upon them without any diffidence or mistrust in God; for God is more charitable, more merciful, more able, more ready to help than them all, so that though we may desire the Saints in Heaven to pray God for us, yet it is not so necessary to be done, but that we may pray to God our selves, without making sure first to them, and obtain of him whatsoever we need, if we continue in prayer, so that whatsoever we ask the Father in the Name of Christs his Son, the Father will give it us: for Saints can give nothing without him, but he can without them, as he did give to them: Scripture doth set Saints that be departed before our eyes for examples, so that the chieftest and most principal worship and honouring of them is to know their holy living, and to follow them, as they followed Christs, &c.

God biddeth us come to him with Prayer, and to do his bidding is no presuming, it is rather presuming to leave it undone to do that, that he biddeth us not do, &c. We must have Saints in reverent memory, and learn at Gods Goodness towards them to trust in God, and mark well their Faith toward God and his Word, their Charity toward their Neighbour, their patience in all adversity, and pray to God which gave them grace so to do, that we may do likewise, for which like doings we shall have like speedings, they be well honoured when God is well pleased; The Saints were not Saints by praying to Saints, but by believing in him that made them Saints: and as they were Saints, so may we be Saints, yea there be many Saints that never prayed to Saints: And yet I deny not, but we may pray to Saints, but rather to him, which can make us Saints, which calleth us to him, biddeth us call upon him, promisseth help, cannot deceive us and break his promise; when we pray faithfully to him we honour him, not after our own fantastical imagination, but even after his own most wisest ordination, whom to honour is not to dishonour Saints; therefore they lye that say, that I would not have Saints to be honoured, &c.

There is no fire in Hell.

I Never knew man that ever said so. I speak of divers Opinions that have been written of the nature of that fire; some that it is a spiritual fire, or at least way a spiritual pain in the corporal fire; for as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm: now because they think not that it is a corporal worm, but a spiritual and metaphorical worm, so they think of the fire. Some that it is a corporal and natural fire; some have thought diversly before the Resurrection without body, and after with body; some that the soul without body suffereth in the fire, but not of the fire; some both in and of the fire. The Scholastical Authors think, that the souls before the Resurrection, because they be spiritual substance, doth not receive the heat of the fire into them, which is a sensible and a corporal quality, so that *Athanasius*, a Greek Author, calleth their pain *Trifitium*, a heaviness or an anguish; and this opinion is probable enough: Some think that though they be always in pain, yet they be not always in fire, but go from waters of snow to exceeding heat: but it is when their bodies be there; but whether in cold or in heat, in water or in fire, in air or in earth, they lack no pain, their torment goeth with them, for they think

that the Devils that tempt us, though they have paid with them, yet they have not fire with them, for then they should be known by heat of the fire.

I am certain, saith St. *Augustine*, that there is a fire in Hell, but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world, no man can tell, but he that is of Gods Privy Council: I would advise every man to be more careful to keep out of Hell, then trust he shall find no fire in Hell. *Chrysostom* saith, That to be deprived of the fruition of the Godhead, is greater pain than the being in Hell: there is fire burning, there is the worm gnawing, there is heat; there is cold, there is pain without pleasure, torment without easement, anguish, heaviness, sorrow, and penitiveness, which tarrieth and abideth for all liars and hinderers of the truth.

There is no Purgatory after this life.

Not for such liars that will bear me in hand to say, Purgatory: that I said not: I shewed the state and condition of them that be in Purgatory: Then I denied it, not that they have Charity in such suretye that they cannot lose it, so that they cannot murmur nor grudge against God, cannot dishonour God, can neither displease God, nor be displeased with God, cannot be disfavoured from God, cannot dye, nor be in peril of death, cannot be damned, nor be in peril of damnation, cannot be but in surety of salvation, they be Members of the Mystical Body of Christs as we be, and in more surety than we be; they love us charitably; Charity is not idle, if it be, it worketh and sheweth it self, and therefore I say, they with us well, and pray for us, they need not cry loud to God, they be in Christs, and Christs in them, they be with Christs, and Christs with them, they joy in their Lord Christs always, taking thankfully whatsoever God doth with them, ever giving thanks to their Lord God, ever lauding and praising him in all things that he doth, discontent with nothing that he doth, &c.

And forasmuch as they be always in charity, and when they pray for us, they pray always in charity, and be always Gods friends, Gods children, brethren and sisters to our Saviour Christs, even in Gods favour, even have Christs with them, to offer their Prayer to the Father of Heaven, to whom they pray in the Name of the Son. And we many times for lack of charity, having malice and envy; rancor, hatred, one toward another, be the children of the Devil, inheritors of Hell, adversaries to Christs, hated of God, his Angels, and all his Saints; they in their state may do us more good with their Prayers, than we in this state: And they do us always good, unless the lack and impediment be in us; for Prayer said in charity, is more fruitful to him that it is said for, and more acceptable to God than said out of charity; for God looketh not to the work of praying, but to the heart of the Prayer. We may well pray for them, and they much better for us, which they will do of their charity, though we desire them not.

I had rather be in Purgatory than in the Bishop of Londons Prison; for in this I might dye bodily for lack of meat: In that I could not, in this I might dye ghostly for fear of pain, or lack of good counsel; in that I could not: In this I might be in extrem necessity; in that I could not, if extrem necessity be *periculum periculi*, peril of perishing. And then you know what followeth, if we be not bounden, *per preceptum*, to help, but them that be in extrem necessity, we see not who needeth in Purgatory, but we see who needeth in this world. And *John* saith, If thou see thy brother, and help him not, how is the charity of God in thee? Here, either we be, or we may be in extrem necessity, both in body and soul; in Purgatory neither one nor other: Here we be bound to help one another, as we would be holpen our selves under pain of damnation: Here for lack of help we may murmur and grudge against God, dishonour God, fordote our selves, which inconveniencies shall not follow, if we do our duty one to another. I am sure the souls in Purgatory be so charitable, and of charitys hearts to have God dishonoured, that they would have nothing withdrawn from the Poor here in this world, to be bestowed upon them which might occasion the dishonour of God, &c.

Therefore howsoever we do for Purgatory, let us provide to keep out of Hell. And had I a thousand pound to bestow, as long as I saw necessary occasion offered to me of God to dispense it upon my needy Brother here in this world, according to Gods Commandment, I would not withdraw my duty from him for any provision of Purgatory, as long as I saw dangerous ways unrepaid, poor mens daughters unmarried, men beg for lack of work, sick and sore for lack of succour. I would have difference betwixt that that may be done, and that that ought to be done, and this to go before that, and that to come after this: If God command one way, mine one Devotion moveth me another way, whether way should I go? I may by no Trentals, no Masses, no Ladders of Heaven make no foundations for my self with other mens goods; goods wrongfully gotten must needs home again, must needs be restored to the owners, if they can be known; if not, they be poor mens goods: Debts must needs be paid, Creditors satisfied and content, Gods ordinance toward my Neighbour here in this world discharged, all sins and lusts moving to the contrary purged. Or else, though our Soul-Priests sing till they be bleary-eyed, cry till they have worn their tongues to the stumps, neither their singings, nor their sayings, shall bring us out of Hell, whether we shall go for contemning of Gods forbiddings.

Hi that purge all Errors of halfe Opinions, all unlikeliness to do Gods Ordinance, provideth not for Hell and Purgatory. Purgatories iniquity hath fed aside Restitutions, and brought poor Christians to extreme beggary, replenished Hell, and left Heaven almost empty.

*That can break their Charity.
That can break their Patience.
That can disserve them from Christ.
That can disserve Christ from them.*

*In Purgatory there is no pain.
That can cause them to dishonour God.
That can cause them to be displeased with God.
That can bring them to peril of death.*

*That can bring them to peril of damnation.
That can bring them to extreme necessity.
That can cause them to be discontent with God.
That can bring them from surety of salvation.*

And yet it followeth not that there is no pain. Howbeit if the Bishops two fingers can shake away a good part, if a Friars Cowl, or the Popes Pardon, or Scalls Cals of a Groat can dispatch for altogether, it is not so greatly to be cared for, I have not leisure to write at large, and I wrote before such things, which in this haste cometh now to mind.

They that can reclaim at this, that the Souls in Purgatory do pray for us, if they could get as much money for the Prayer, that the Souls in Purgatory saith for us, as they have done for that, that they have laid for them, they would not reclaim: You know the Wasp that doth sting them, and maketh them so swell, they that reclaim at that, do not reclaim at this.

*Nor at this, Christ's blood is not sufficient without blood of Martyrs.
Nor at this, Magdalen did not know Christ to be God, before his Resurrection.
There can be no Idolatry.
Rome cannot be destroyed.
The Pope is Lord of all the world.
Whatsoever he doth is well done.
Pater noster is to be said to St. Peter.
Pater noster is but a beggarly prayer.
Ave Marie is infinitely better.
20 Ave Marias for one Pater noster.
It was not necessary Scripture to be written.
He that leaveth Father and Mother maketh for our Pilgrimage.
With many more.*

Letters of Mr. Latimer.

A Letter of Mr. Latimer to Mr. Morice, concerning the Articles written, which were falsely and untruly laid against him.

Right Worshipful, and mine own good Master Morice, Saltem in Christo Iesu. And I thank you for all hearty kindness, not only heretofore shewed unto me, but also that now of late you would vouchsafe to write unto me so poor a Wretch, to my great comfort among all these my troubles. I trust and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and supply abundantly mine inability, &c. Mr. Morice, you would wonder to know how I have been intreated at Bristol, I mean of some of the Priests, which first desired me, welcomed me, made me cheer, heard what I said, and allowed my saying in all things whiles I was with them; when I was gone home to my Benefice, perceiving that the People favoured me so greatly, and that the Maior had appointed me to preach at Easter, privily they procured an Inhibition for all them that had not the Bishops Licence, which they knew well enough I had not, and so craftily defeated Master Maiors appointment, pretending that they were sorry for it, procuring also certain Preachers to blatter against me, as Hubberdine and Powell, with other more, whom when I had brought before the Maior and the wise Council of the Town, to know what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they so declaimed against me, they said they spake of Information: Howbeit no man could be brought forth that would abide by any thing: So that they had place and time to bely me shamefully, but they had no place nor time to lay to my charge when I was present and ready to make them answer. God amend them, and swage their malice that they have against the Truth and me, &c.

Our Lady was a sinner.

So they did bely me to have said, when I had said nothing so, but to reprove certain, both Priests and Beneficed-men, which do give so much to our Lady, as though she had not been saved by Christ, a whole Saviour both of her, and of all that be and shall be saved; I did reason after this manner, That either she was a sinner, or no sinner: if a sinner, then she was delivered from sin by Christ; so that he saved her, either by delivering or preserving her from sin, so that without him neither she, nor none other, either be, or could be saved. And to avoid all offence, I shewed how it might be answered, both to certain Scriptures which maketh all generally sinners, and how it might be answered unto Chrysostom and Theophilact, which make her namely and specially a sinner. But all would not serve, their malice was so great; notwithstanding that five hundred honest men can and will bear record. When they cannot reprove that thing that I do say, then they will bely me, to say that thing that they can reprove; for they will needs appear to be against me.

Saints are not to be worshipped.

So they lied when I had shewed divers significations of this word (Saints) among the vulgar People: First, Images of Saints are called Saints, and so they are not to be worshipped: take worshipping of them for praying to them; for they are neither Mediators by way of Redemption, nor yet by way of Intercession. And yet they may be well used, when they are applied to that use that they were ordained for, to be Lay-mens books for remembrance of heavenly things, &c.

Take Saints for Inhabiters of Heaven, and worshipping of them for praying to them, I never denied, but that they might be worshipped, and be our Mediators, though not by way of Redemption (for so Christ alone is a whole Mediator, both for them, and for us) yet by the way of Intercession.

Anno

1555.

A Letter of Mr. Latimer to Mr. Morice.

Note the dissimbling inconsistency of Popish Priests.

Inhibition procured against Mr. Latimer not to preach.

Hubberdine and Powell preach against Mr. Latimer.

What the Papists do give to our Lady.

Our Lady not without sin.

Papists deprave when they cannot disprove.

Difference betwixt Laymen and Saints.

Mr. Latimer error in these days.

Fil.

Anno
1555.

Here away
the heart,
and then
take away
all papey

Pilgrimage.

And I never denied Pilgrimage. And yet I have said that much scurf must be pared away, ere ever it can be well done; Superstition, Idolatry, false faith and trust in the Image, unjust estimation of the thing, setting aside Gods Ordinance for doing of the thing; Debts must be paid, Restitutions made, Wife and Children be provided for, duty to our poor Neighbours discharged. And when it is at the best, before it be vowed, it need not to be done; for it is neither under the bidding of God, nor of Man, to be done. And Wives must counsel with Husbands, and Husbands and Wives with Curates, before it be vowed to be done, &c.

Ave Maria.

Ave Maria. As for the *Ave Maria*, who can think that I would deny it? I said it was a heavenly greeting or saluting of our blessed Lady, wherein the Angel *Gabriel*, sent from the Father of Heaven, did annunciate and shew unto her the good will of God towards her, what he would with her, and to what he had chosen her. But I said, it was not properly a Prayer, as the *Pater noster*, which our Saviour Christ himself made for a proper Prayer, and bid us say it for a Prayer, not adding that we should say ten or twenty *Ave Marias* withal: and I denied not but that we may well say *Ave Maria* also, but not so that we shall think that the *Pater noster* is not good, a whole and perfect Prayer, nor cannot be well said without *Ave Maria*; so that I did not speak against well saying of it, but against superstitious saying of it, and of the *Pater noster* too; and yet I put a difference betwixt that, and that which Christ made to be said for a Prayer.

Ave Maria,
no prayer.

No fire in Hell.

Who ever could say or think so? Howbeit good Authors do put a difference betwixt a suffering in the fire with Bodies, and without Bodies. The Soul without the Body is a Spiritual Substance, which they say cannot receive a Corporal Quality; and some make it a spiritual fire, and some a corporal fire. And as it is called a fire, so it is called a Worm, and it is thought of some not to be a material Worm, that is a living Beast, but it is a Metaphor, but that is neither to nor fro. For a fire it is, a worm it is, pain it is, a torment it is, an anguish it is, a grief, a misery, a sorrow, a heaviness inexplicable, intolerable, whose nature and condition in every point who can tell, but he that is of Gods Privy Council, saith *St. Austin*? God give us grace rather to be diligent to keep us out of it, than to be curious to discuss the property of it; for certain we be, that there is little ease, yea none at all, but weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth, which be two effects of extrem pain, rather certain tokens what pain there is, than what manner of pain there is.

Whether
the fire in
hell be a
material
fire, or spiri-
tual.

The worm
of Conscience
is so called
by a meta-
phor, spiri-
tual speech.

No Purgatory.

He that sheweth the state and condition of it, doth not deny it. But I had rather be in it, than in *Lollards Tower*, the Bishops Prison, for divers skills and causes.

First, In this I might dye bodily for fear of meat and drink; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might dye ghostly for fear of pain, or lack of good counsel; there I could not.

Item, In this I might be in extrem necessity; in that I could not, if it be peril of perishing.

Item, In this I might lack Charity; there I could not.

Item, In this I might lose my patience; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be in peril and danger of death; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be without surety of salvation; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might dishonour God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might murmur and grudge against God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might displease God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be displeased with God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be judged to perpetual Prison, as they call it; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be craftily handled; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be brought to bear a Fagot; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be discontented with God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be separated and dis severed from Christ; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be a Member of the Devil; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be an inheritor in Hell, in that I could not.

Item, In this I might pray out of Charity, and in vain; in that I could not.

Item, In this my Lord and his Chaplains might manacle me by night; in that they could not.

Item, In this they might strangle me, and say that I changed my self; in that they could not.

Item, In this they might have me to the Confistory and judge me after their fashion; from thence they could not.

Erge, I had rather to be there then here. For though the fire be called never so hot, yet if the Bishops two fingers can shake away a peice, a Friars cowl another part, and *scala calis* altogether, I will never found Abbey, Colledge, nor Chauntry, for that purpose.

For seeing there is no pain that can break my charity, break my patience, cause me to dishonour God, to displease God, to be displeased with God, cause me not to joy in God, nor that can bring me to danger of death or to danger of desperation, or from surety of Salvation, that can separate me from Christ, or Christ from me, I care the less for it. *John Chrysostome* saith, that the greatest pain that damned Souls have, is to be separate and cut off from Christ for ever: which pains the Souls in Purgatory neither have nor can have.

Consider, *Master Morice*, whether provision for Purgatory hath not brought thousands to hell. Debts have not been paid; restitution of evil gotten lands and goods hath not been made; Christian People (whose necessities we see, to whom whatsoever we do, Christ repeth done to himself, to whom we are bounden under pain of damnation to do for, as we would be done for our self) are neglected and suffered to perish; last wills unfulfilled and broken; Gods ordinance set aside: and also for Purgatory, foundations have been taken for sufficient satisfaction; so we have trifled away the ordinance of God, and restitutions. Thus we have gone to hell with Masses, Dirges and ringing of many a bell. And who can pull Pilgrimages from Idolatry, and purge Purgatory from Robbery, but he shall be in peril to come in suspicion of Heresie with them? so that they may pill with Pilgrimage and spoyl with Purgatory. And verily the abuse of them cannot be taken away, but great lucre and vantage shall fall away from them; which had rather have profit with abuse, then lack the same with use: that is the Waspe that doth sting them, and maketh them to swell. And if Purgatory were purged of all that hath gotten, by setting aside restitution, and robbing of Christ, it would be but a poor Purgatory, so poor, that it should not be able to feed so fat, and tickle up so many idle and slothful Lubbers.

I take God to witness, I would hurt no man, but it grieveth me to see such abuse continue without remedy. I cannot understand what they mean by the Popes padding of Purgatory, but by way of suffrage; and as for suffrage, unless he do his duty, and seek not his own, but Christs glory, I had rather have the suffrage of Jack of the Skultery, which in his calling doth exercise both faith and charity; but for his Mass; And that is as good of another simple Priest as of him. For as for Authority of Keyes, it is to loose from cuffs of sin and eternal pain, due to the same, according to Christs Word and not to his own private will. And as for Pilgrimage

Chrysost.
What is the
greatest
pain to dam-
ned Souls.

Translacion for
Purgatory
bringeth
many to
hell.

What the
wasp
doth
the Waspe
doth
tick
them so
swell

The Popes
padding
of Purgatory,
by way of
suffrage,
unless he
do his duty,
and seek
not his own,
but Christs
glory.

you would wonder what juggling there is to get money
vithal. I dwell within halt a mize of the Fols-way,
and you would wonder to see how they come by Rocks
out of the We.l country to many Images, but chiefly to
the blood of *Hailes*. And they believe verily that it is
the very blood that was in Christs body, shed upon the
Mount of *Calvary* for our salvation, and that the sight
of it with their bodily eye, doth certifie them, and putteth
them out of doubt, that they be in clean life, and
in state of salvation without spot of sin, which doth
bolder them to many things. For you would wonder
if you should commune with them both coming and going,
what faiths they have. For as for forgiving their
Enemies, and reconciling their Christian Brethren, they
cannot away withal; for the sight of that blood doth
quite thum for the time.

I read in Scripture of two Certifications; one to the
Romans; *Iustificati ex fide, pacem habemus*: i. We be-
ing justified by faith, have peace with God.

If I see the blood of Christ with the eye of my soul,
that is, true faith, that his blood was shed for me, &c.

Another in the Epistle of *John*; *Nos scimus quod
translati sumus de morte ad vitam, quoniam diligimus
fratres*: i. We know that we are translated from death
to life, because we love the Brethren. But I read not
that I have peace with God, or that I am translated from
death to life, because I see with my bodily eye the
blood of *Hailes*. It is very probable, that all the blood
that was in the body of Christ, was united and knit to
his Divinity, and then no part thereof shall return to
his corruption. And I marvel that Christ shall have two
Resurrections. And if it were that they that did vio-
lently and injuriously pluck it out of his body when they
scourged him and nailed him to the Crose, did see it with
their bodily eye, yet they were not in clean life. And we
see the self same blood in form of wine, when we have
consecrated, and may both see it, feel it, and receive it to
our damnation as touching bodily receiving. And many
do see it at *Hailes* without Confession, as they say. God
knoweth all, and the Devil in our time is not dead.

Christ hath left a Doctrine behind him, wherein we be
taught how to believe, and what to believe; he doth
suffer the Devil to use his crafty fashion for our trial and
probation. It were little thank-worthy to believe well
and rightly, if nothing should move us to false faith, and
to believe superstitiously. It was not in vain that Christ,
when he had taught truly, by and by bade, Beware of
false Prophets, which would bring in error slyly. But
we be secure and uncaredful, as though false Prophets
could not meddle with us, and as though the warning of
Christ were no more earnest and effectual, then is the
warning of Mothers when they trifle with their children,
and bid them beware the Bugg, &c.

Lo Sir, how I run at riot beyond measure. When I
began, I was minded to have written but half a dozen
lines; but thus I forget my self, ever when I write to a
trusty friend, which will take in worth my folly, and
keep it from mine Enemy, &c.

As for Dr. *Wilson*, I wot not what I should say; but
I pray God endue him with charity. Neither he, nor any
of his Country-men, did ever love me, since I did in-
veigh against their factions, and partiality in *Cambridge*.
Before that, who was more favoured of him than I? That
is the Byle that may not be touched, &c.

A certain friend shewed me, that Dr. *Wilson* is gone
now into his Country about *Beverly* in *Holdernes*, and
from thence he will go a progress through *Yorkshire*,
Lincolnshire, *Cheshire*, and so from thence to *Bristol*. What
he intended by this Progress, God knoweth, and not I.
If he come to *Bristol*, I shall hear, till &c.

As for *Hubberdin* (no doubt) he is a man of no great
learning, nor yet of stable wit. He is here *seruus ho-*
minum; for he will preach whatsoever the Bishops will
bid him preach. Verily in my mind they are more to be
blamed than he. He doth magnifie the Pope more than
enough. As for our Saviour Christ and Christian Kings,
they are little beholding to him. No doubt he did mite
the Cushion in many things. Howbeit they that did find
him, men think, will defend him; I pray God amend
him and them both. They would fain make matter a-
gainst me, intending so either to deliver him by me, or

elfe to rid us both together, and so they would think him
well belov'd, &c.

As touching Dr. *Powel*, how highly he took upon
him in *Bristol*, and how little he regarded the Sword,
which representeth the Kings Person, many can tell you.
I think there is never an Earl in this Realm that knoweth
his obedience by Christs Commandment to his Prince,
and woteth what the Sword doth signifie, that would
have taken upon him so stoutly. Howbeit Mr. Maior,
as he is a profound wise man, did twit him prettily; it
were too long to write all. Our Pilgrimages are not a
little beholding to him. For to occasion the people to
them, he alledged this Text:

Omnia qui relinquit patrem, domos, uxorem; i. Who-
soever leaveth father, house, wife, &c. By that you may
perceive his hot zeal and crooked judgment, &c. Because
I am so belied, I could wish that it would please the Kings
Grace to command me to preach before his Highness a
whole year together every Sunday, that he himself might
perceive how they bely me, saying, that I have neither
learning, nor utterance worthy thereunto, &c. I pray
you pardon me, I cannot make an end.

A brief digression touching the railing of *Hubberdin* a-
gainst Mr. Latimer.

Forasmuch as mention hath been made in this Letter
of *Hubberdin*, an old Divine of *Oxford*, a right
painted Pharisee, and a great strayer abroad in all quar-
ters of the Realm to deface and impeach the springing of
Gods holy Gospel, something would be added more
touching that man, whose doings and pageants, if they
might be described at large, were as good as any Enter-
lude for the Reader to behold. Who in all his life, and
in all his actions (in one word to describe him) seemeth
nothing else but a right Image or a Counterfeit, setting
out unto us in lively colours the pattern of perfect hypo-
cricie. But because the man is now gone, to spare there-
fore the dead (although he little deferyed to be spared,
which never spared to work what villany he could a-
gainst the true Servants of the Lord) this shall be enough
for examples sake, for all Christian men necessarily to ob-
serve, how the said *Hubberdin*, after his long railing in all
places against *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Zuinglius*, *John*
Fritsb, *Tindall*, *Latimer*, and all other like Professors,
after his hypocritical open Alms given out of other mens
Purses, his long Prayers, pretended Devotions, devout Pa-
stings, his woolward going, and other his prodigious de-
meanour, riding in his long Gown down to the Horse
heels like a Pharisee, or rather like a Sloven, dirted up
to the Horse belly, after his forged Tales and Fables, Dia-
logues, Dreams, Dancings, Hoppings and Leapings, with
other like Histrionical toys and gestures used in the Pul-
pit, and all against Hereticks; at last riding by a Church
side, where the Youth of the Parish were dancing in the
Church-yard, suddenly this *Silennus* lighting from his horse,
by the occasion of their dancing came into the Church,
and there causing the Bell to toll in the People, thought
in stead of a fit of mirth to give them a Sermon of dancing.

In the which Sermon, after he had patched up certain
common Texts out of the Scriptures, and then coming to
the Doctors, first to *Augustine*, then to *Ambrose*, so to
Jerom and *Gregory*, *Chrysostom* and other Doctors, had
made them every one (after his Dialogue manner) by
name to answer to his call, and to sing after his tune
for the probation of the Sacrament of the Altar against
John Fritsb, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Luther*, *Tin-*
dall, *Latimer*, and other Hereticks (as he called them)
at last to shew a perfect harmony of all these Doctors to-
gether; as he had made them before to sing after his
tune, so now to make them dance also after his Pipe, first
he calleth out Christ and his Apostles, then the Doctors
and ancient Seniors of the Church, as in a round ring
all to dance together; with pipe up *Hubberdin*. Now dance
Christ, now dance *Peter*, *Paul*, now dance *Augustine*,
Ambrose, *Jerom*; and thus old *Hubberdin*, as he was
dancing with his Doctors lustily in the Pulpit against the
Hereticks, how he stamp and took on I cannot tell, but
crash quoth the Pulpit, down cometh the Dancer, and
there lay *Hubberdin* not dancing, but spawling in the
midst of his Audience; where altogether he brake not his
neck,

Forasmuch
this blood
as haile
was proved
before the
Kings, and
by the
Ep. of *Re-
ford* that
then
was, to be
the blood of a
Duck.

Two Cer-
tifications
of our
soul, one
of the
Soul, the
other of
the Body.

The bodily
seeing of
Christs
blood pro-
bath false.

Warning a-
gainst false
Prophets.

Dr. *Wilson*
argueth his
countrymen,
and why.

Hubberdin
great railer
against Mr.
Latimer.

Anno
1555.

Dr. *Powel*
a
fourteenth
of Pope.

A note
touching
Hubberdin.

Hubberdin
a
right image
of hypocri-
cie.

Hubberdin
a
great railer
against the
servants of
Christ.

A dancing
Sermon of
Hubberdin.

Hubberdin
dancing in
the Pulpit,
fell with the
Pulpit, and
brake his
leg.

Anno Neck, yet he so brake his Leg the same time, and bruised his Old Bones, that he never came in Pulpit more, and died not long after the same. Whereupon when the Church-Wardens were called, and charged for the Pulpit being no stronger, they made answer again, excusing themselves, that they had made their Pulpit for Preaching, and not for dancing, &c. But to spend no more Paper about this idle matter, now to our purpose again.

Amongst many other impugnors and adversaries, whereof there was no small fort which did infect this good Man in Sermons; some also there were, which attempted the Pen against him. In the number of whom was one Doctor Sherwood, who upon the same occasion of Preaching of the Virgin Mary (or as they thought against the Virgin) did invade him with his Pen, writing against him in Latine, whose long Epistle, with Mr. Latimer's answer also in Latin to the same hereunder followeth.

Epistola Gulielmi Sherwodi adversus Dominum Latimeram expostulatoria.

Gulielmus Sherwodus Presbiter, D. Latimero Kingtonize Rectori, gratiam & pacem à Deo Patre nostro, & Domino Jesu Christo.

Nihil molestè ferres satis, vir egregie, ab homine christiano christiani admitteri, quæ res una (est Deus testis) nos hoc tempore animarum libere tecum per litteras (quando coram sanctis copia negatur) confabulari super nonnullis, quæ parum christianis in concione illa tua (si modo concio & non verum multo Saxya quadam insana dicenda) Magnus illic effudit mihi videbare. Ac primum quidem proverbio illo de fure & pastore (quænam pro verbi vocem parabola vice mihi usurpasse videatur? Evangeliste carpiunt, recte & vere aiebant, Christus Scribarum & Phariseorum in potestate Deum, quoque æquid dixerunt, nos sanctam obdurate tamque incredulitatem, sed clam, sed sedit, sed in genere. Non aiebat, Scriba & Pharisei ad unum fures sunt & latrones. Sed quid? Amen dico vobis qui non intras per ostium in stabulum ovium, sed ascendit aliunde, ille fur est & latro. Tu contra homo patentium intuitor, non mentium rimator. Episcopi omnes, Papæ omnes, Rectores ecclesiarum omnes, te uno paucis quæ alius, quos nescio, tuas farinæ hominibus idem inesse videris, exceptis vicariis omnes fures sunt & latrones, quibus furibus, quibus latronibus suffragandi non Anglie totius quidam canabum sufficere prædicabas, aut verius demantabas, hyperbole forsitan, ut semper, sed temeraria, sed audaci supra modum, sed recte, sed impta. Non es, mi frater, non es sic temere, si deo credimus. Pulo, ante tempus judicandum, quod veniet Dominus qui & illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum, & manifestabit consilia cordium: Christus quoque ipse, iudex vivorum & mortuorum à Deo patre constitutus, temerariam ejusmodi proximi condemnationem apud Matheum, christiano homini mihi suffulisse videtur, quum inquit, Nolite condemnare, ne condemnemini, nec tanti flagitii subriter panem. Quo enim (inquit) iudicio iudicatis, eo iudicabitur de vobis, & qua mensura metimini, ea metientur vobis & alii. Volo hominum vitia taxari, volo sua scelera populo prædicari, annunciari, revelari, & si fieri possit, ob oculos poni, non debacchari in homines eosque absentes, non poni lucem tenebras, & tenebras lucem, non dici bonum malum, & malum bonum, dulce amarum, & amarum dulce. Quod si fit, verendum ne dum alius alium mordemus & devoramus, vicissim alius à alio consumetur. An ista parcius, imo modestius vitia obijcienda, ipse videto. Novimus, & qui te transverso tumentibus birquis, & quo, sed facies, nimbpha rursus facello. Heu, heu, Latimere, quæ te demencia capiti, ut memineris, dixisses prædicares, plures longe in Christi ecclesia fures esse, quam pastores, plures bacos quam oves? Non sic Cyprianus ille, non sic. Sed quid? Est, inquit, Deus verax, omnis autem homo mendax. Sicut confessorum, hoc est (ut ipse intelligit pie) Christianorum pari major & melior in fidei sue robore, & in legæ ac disciplina dominicæ veritate, nec ab ecclesiæ pace discedunt, qui se in ecclesiâ gratiam consequuntur de Dei dignatione meminerunt. Atque hoc ipsi amplorem consequuntur fidei suæ laudem, quod ab eorum perfidia segregati, qui iuncti confessionis consortio fu-

erint, à contagionis crimine recesserunt. Vero illuminati evangelij lumine, pura & candida domini luce radiati, tam sunt in conservanda Christi pace laudabiles, quam fuerunt in diaboli congressione victores. Quæ sanctissimi hominis sanctissima verba, ausus, te etiam reclamante, de ea ipsa, quæ nunc, ecclesiâ, prædicare, verere, affirmare; quam ubi ex confessoribus Christi filij Dei viri pepinisset, statim ubi esset gentium te nescire prædicabas. Dicebas enim, Quisquis cum Petro Christum Dei viventis filium fateretur, Petrus est, & de ecclesiâ, seu ut ipse interpretabatur, congregatione (subdola nimirum usus arte, ac cæco potius præstigio) ac si hoc loci magis nihil ad Petrum, Christi in terris summum Vicarium, attineret, quam ex christianis alium quemlibet. Ego, sumus nos ut Origènes utar verba, aliquo modo Petrus; si dixerimus quod dixit Petrus, Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi, non carne & sanguine nobis revelante, sed Patre qui est in celis mentem nostram illuminante, non alio dicendi genere dicemus hæc nobis Petri competere verba, quam ipsi Petros absit procul, absit. Nam secundum Christi nomen omnes qui sunt illius Christi dicuntur, dicente propheta: Ut salvos faciat Christus suos. Item. Nolite tangere Christos meos, & tum alio longe modo hic, alio illi unctionis vocabulo insigniuntur. Sanius certe Roterdamus, cuius imitatore, & sequacem strenuum te in nonnullis video. Id (tu es Petrus & mox quæ sequuntur) in primis in Romanorum pontificem, omnium semoto dubio, annotatione in 16 Matthei caput, quamquam plus æquo Origènes sententia inniti ibidem mihi videtur. Quod si dixerimus, te auctoritate æqualiter, & indiscriminatim hæc de Petro, & omnibus christianis intelligi, incidemus in illam Lutheranam sententiam, Omnes Christianos esse sacerdotes, & ordinatam nullam potestatem accipere, quam antea non habebant, sed deputari tantum ad licito utendum potestate prius habitis, quæ sententia jam olim est ab ecclesiâ damnata.

Ad hæc aiebat Christum, quoniam minima vocares præcepta, Scribarum & Phariseorum alluisse impietati, qui ut sua eveberent, & amplificarent, minima dicebant divina. Multum hic discors es ab Origène, Scripturarum interprete, saneque vigilantissimo, qui Homilia in Mattheum quinta adeo non negat revera quedam Dei præcepta dici, & esse minima, ut ex solutione, & observatione eorum minimum & magnum dici in regno calorum nihil obscure prædiceret. Simul pugnat quod tum Christus ipse sorsum à plebe & populo cum paucis Discipulis, ius celestis tum solus, doctrinæ capacibus in monte versabatur, nihil interim cum Scribis, nihil cum Phariseis tractans, ut divina illa concione sua prolixus indignis.

Subiunxit christiane parum ut mihi videbatur, hominem christianum carnis acies centem desideris, non magis christianum esse, quam sit Judeus, quam sit Turcus. Hoc mihi non christianum, sed Oecolampadianum.

* Desunt nonnulla, quæ conjecturis forsitan utcumque, suppleri possunt ex sequenti Latimeri responsione.

Sit opus, quam ad beneficam Petri confessionem germanis fructibus referendam. Quid tu bic tibi velis nescio. Si est aliquis Petri primatus, is certe Catholico cuilibet pro viribus defendendus est. Est aliquis Petri primatus, alioqui Christi verbum inefficax est (tibi dabo claves regni calorum, &c.) Si nihil est opus ut defensetur Petri primatus, nihil est opus ut defensetur veritas. Et ob veritatem ad necem usque mortali cuilibet certandum. Non puto quæquam germanis fructibus referre posse beneficam Petri confessionem, negando Petri primatum: beneficam Petri confessio, an non est Jesum esse Christum filium Dei viventis? Dei filius est veritas. At non Christus, si nullus est Petri primatus. Hic fude lapsus mihi videre. Nihil enim alienum esse puto à beneficia Christi confessione, si quis pro virili sedem teneat & defensetur Apostolicam.

Aperitissimum mendacium esse clamitas, Christum cum paucis Discipulis in monte sorsum à turba versatum fuisse. Aperitissime tum mecum mentis est Origènes, Scripturarum interprete vigilantissimus, qui Homilia in Mattheum 5, inquit, Descendente Jesu de monte, sequente sunt cum turba multa, Docente vero Domino in monte, Discipuli erant cum ipso, quibus datum erat celestis doctrinæ novissè secreta, per quæ salutis scientia brutorum corda salirent, & eorumque oculis

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secularis, quia multi principes & summi pontifices, inquit, inveniunt apostatasse à fide, propter quod Ecclesia constituit, inquit, in illis personis, in quibus est mentis vera & consilii fides & veritas. Hic consensit & cum Hieronymo Chrysostomus. Sic enim dicit; nescio an apostataverint tui quod dicunt, quippe qui in illis te credis esse? Qui conspiciunt sunt ad primatum Petri defendendum, etiam cum nihil sit operis, quam ad beatificationem Petri confessionem geramus fructibus referendam. Sed tu mitti me ad Augustinum, bene liberalis consiliorum. Ego opem te eundem legere si libeat in Epist. Iohannis tractatu tertio. Videris enim in Augustinianis operibus non adeo exercitatur, cum de fidei justificatione tam argute Philosopharis. Quocirca cuperem te in collectaneis Bede exercitatur fore, cum tua ipsius collectanea Augustinum non sperent, ut jam non pluribus neque illius, neque aliorum Autorum locis quaerendis te gravem. Sed illud non omitam tamen, etsi alio etiam me evocet negotia, tamen illius videlicet Christum Phariseorum impetati, cum precepta vocaret minima. Sic enim tu audis dicere, quia aliam ut Origene interpretationem legisti, Pulchre admodum obiectum, quasi unus & idem Scripturae locus non sit ad alius aliter fere expositus: Origenes de illusione non meminit, ut nemo: qualis confectio? sed nihil inquit tibi Christo cum Phariseis: & id quod non minus pulchre ab te dictum, quasi non statim post subderet Christus de Scribis & Phariseis mentionem, populum ab illorum iustitia humanis, i suis ipsorum traditionibus fabula revocans. Nisi abunde veris iustitia vestra, inquit, plus quam Scribarum, &c. At versabatur tamen, inquit, Christus cum paucis Discipulis solum à turba: imo hoc aperte solum mendacium est, id quod verbum Matthaei caput septimum claudencia luce clarius demonstrat, ut tolerabiliora sint mihi de mendacia tua, qui audes de ipso Christo & eius sermone mentiri. Et factum est, inquit, ut cum finisset Iesus sermones suos, obstupuerunt super doctrina ejus. Ecce autem, si Christus solum à turba sit locutus, quomodo obstupuerunt super doctrina, quam (per te) non audierunt? Sed Lucas Evangelista, fere de eodem, fere de consimili Christi sermone locutus, testatur turbam audisse, capite septimo. Cum consummasset Iesus sermones suos (inquit) audienti populo. En quo prolatur preceptis iudicium tuum invidiam male deformatum? Scilicet in ipse hic non toto erras calce? dignus videlicet quia aliorum errores expostis & notes. & ad palmodiam revocas: Tu tuo sensui hic non fides? Medice cura te ipsum, & alios quod sit illud, Hypocrita, cur vides falsitatem, &c. Dices ex tuis tradibus alienis falsitatem parcere. Ego nihil dixi, testor Deum, non mentior, quod vel Oecolampadio, vel Luthero, vel Melancthonio acceptum referre debeam: & tamen tu, quae est tua charitas, non vereris id meo effluere capiti. Ego si fecis illud, decidam merito ab inimici meis inani. Sed nescis tu quidem opinor, ejus spiritus sit, dum Marcus ministrum verbi impudentissimum mendacis laesere, quam testimonium veritatis perhibere, quod quantum sit piaculum in conspectu Dei, tu absque doctore non ignoras, in cumulum damnationis tuae, nisi respicias. Jam vero num ego vituperor, ut quis credat quemadmodum Ecclesia credit? Non sane vituperor, nisi quod malevolentia erga me tua tam surdas reddidit aures tuas, ut ne audiens quidem audias quae dicuntur. Sed hoc vituperor, ut quis cui christianorum suadeat, quemadmodum suadere solent pseudopredicatores non pauci, sat per omnia esse, credere quemadmodum Ecclesia credit, & nescire interim quid aut quomodo credit Ecclesia, & sic miserum populum ab ampliori Dei agnitione quaerenda deborari? Quod postremo mihi obtrudis, mendacium est, & illud plus quam dici possit inhumanum, neque, eo mea verba sensu accipis, sensu quo sint à me dicta, ideoque Hieronymo [per 26 Matthaei] teste falsus testis coram Deo futurus. Lége locum, & relinq; falsum testimonium. Ego dico Christianum, id est, baptismo in Christianorum numerum receptum, si professioni non respondet, sed carnis desiderii sese dedit, non magis Christianum esse, quam ad consuetudinem aeternae vitae spectat quae promittitur Christianis, quam Iudaeum aut Turcam: inquam, huius conditionem in illo die deterorem fore, si verum tui dixit: melius esse vitam veritatis non agnoscere, quam post agnitam, &c. Et quibus dicit Christus nunquam movi vos? Noene his qui per nomen ejus prebepantes, virtutes praeservimus? nonne negabit Christus nos, cum praesentem coram bonis? Noene tamen uterque, & Christi à dextis, sicut vitam Christo dignam

reulerimus professi Christum, sed professionem mala vita contaminantes. Sunt verius pseudo-Christiani quam Christiani habendi: & ab Augustino & Christo vocantur Antichristi. Non nego quin obligatio manet, sed in maiorem damnationem manet, si non satisfacit obligatio. Officium concionatoris est hortari auditores ut sint Christiani, ut compatientes hic cum Christo, cum Christo congregetur in Caelo, aliter Christianum esse non sit illis Christianum esse. Sic Scripturae sic interpretes Scripturae loquuntur, ut verbis haeretica tibi videatur loquutio: sed avarus, fornicator, homicida, inquit, catibolus est & Christi servus: tamen sic animi gratia tecum ludam. Fornicator, per te, est Christi servus, sed idem est peccator & Diaboli servus; ergo idem potest duobus dominis servire, quod Christum latuit. Et si fides mortua esset Catholicum, & Demones pertinent ad Ecclesiam Catholicam, utpote qui iuxta Jacobum credunt & contremiscunt. Fornicator (inquit) fides Christi; spes non pudesat, qui fides Christo non parit, sed habebit vitam aeternam. Neque me latet ad Galathas scriptum Paulum fide aberrantes Ecclesiam tamen vocasse; sic idem ad Corinthios scribens eos in eodem capite nunc carnales appellat, nunc Dei Templum, Corinthios nimirum intelligentes, sed alios atque alios. Neque enim Templum Dei erant qui carnales erant; quamquam nec me latet Ecclesiam, multitudine profitentium Christum, partim ex bonis, partim ex malis constare esse, nempe rete Evangelicam ex omni genere congregari. Quid hoc adversum ea quae ego dixi, qui conabar omnes bonos non malos efficere, & ideo laborabam ut auditores mei non putarent magnum esse si in malis Ecclesiasticis invenirentur: sed non visum est tibi piam predicationem pie interpretari, dum existimas ad pietatem pertinere, si pie dicta impie revocarentur. Si colloquia tua non sunt quam scripta clementiora, neutra ego optem mihi contingere, sed omnis amarulentia, tumor, iracundia, maledicentia tollatur à te cum omni malitia; & tamen neque colloquiis, neque scriptis me gravabis. Tu non optares (opinor) tales auditores, qualem te praesentis. Sed Deus te reddat benigniorem, vel à meis concionibus quam longissime ablegat. Vale.

Spiritum Veritatis.

Flammis, fumoque quam lectione, aut oculis digniores multo perlegimus tuas literas, quibus tua ipsius selecta in nos torquere subdole, & astute admodum moluit. Et quo firmius ista tua statuas, viderem inter pocula me tui suggestitorem facere. Quod quam vere (ut omnia) dicas, jam vide. Narravit nobis presentibus jam olim Marchfieldie unus & idem alter, qui tunc interfuerant concioni, te palam summasque praeter se habere, cum auctoritate dixisse, indignos esse miseros homunculos, qui angelica salutatione saluenter deiparam Virginem, velint ipsam rursus ut pariat Christum. Ego haec dixi, parum Christiane & religiose abs te dicta, cavendumque, diligenter pios quibusque Christianis, ne huiusmodi fidem habeant concionatoribus. An hoc est te suggillare, an magis & tibi & illis pie, & religiose consilium? Nihil ego tibi & tu mihi, necdum visis, his impingo, sed summa raraque te esse modestia, & tolerantia hominem (ut videri vis) gaudere, sed & gaudio, nec retorqueo in te convitia, & probra, quibus tua sciant litera. At istud non video quomodo dicas (imo nec admonitum, tandem, sed acerrime potius redargutum, sed convitatus & mendaciam habitum potius, sed calumniam inique affectum potius, sed falso condemnatum potius). Redargui fateor, at ea redargutio quam admonitio, aliud nihil. Convictum nullum, mendacium nullum, calumnia nulla, quod sciam, in meis conspiciatur literis, nisi mentitus est Paulus, nisi calumniatus est Paulus, nisi convitatus est Paulus, quomodo deceret quodam sic dixisse, facienda mala ut venirent bona. Nos calidi adhuc tuo spiritui, tua tibi retulimus verba, id quod norunt probe omnes, qui te illic una audierunt. Utinam tu nil tale effudisses, ego tum certe nihil tibi tale adscripsissem. Absit à me ut ego (quod dicere videris) ullo te animi odio, ullo te impio mentis affectu persequar. Didi ex Christo diligere etiam inimicos: tantum abest ut hominem fratrem, ejusdemque Domini conservum odio habeam. Sed plus quam hostilia, plus quam cruenta tua verba ne quicquam me movent. Tantum quam possum paucissimis tuis respondebo, posthac te tuo relicto iudici.

Primum quod dicis (Ego dixerim ego, omnes Papas, omnes Episcopos, Vicarios, Rectoresque omnes per officium non ut priores, sed ascendentes aliunde, fures esse & latrones, dum sic dixi, ex assensu non ex personis & titulis cum Christo sum rem meatus.) Si id dixisses, nihil nobis tecum ea de re negotij fuisset. Sed (quod tu mea Minerva collegisse dicis) dicebas, Papas videlicet omnes, Episcopos omnes, Vicarios omnes, Rectores omnes fures sint, & latrones, nulla quam audui, neque assensus, neque descensus, neque per officium, neque per sententiam, mentione facta. Nec ego adeo furdis eram auribus, ut si quid tale suo loco dixisses, contumax non exceperim. Eam quam nunc adfers sententiam catholicam ven. cor. & exculcor priorem resecio & detestor. Secus Scripturæ autoritas (Principi populi tui non male dices) non sinit me ut sentiam, ut tu mihi ascribere videaris, plerique omnes aliunde ascendere. Quis sum ego ut iudicem alienum servum? (unusquisque enim propriam sententiam habebit.) Non ego, sed nec alius quisquam vult unquam quo minus diceret, omnes esse fures qui per officium non intrantes ascendunt aliunde quibuscunque intrantem ascendunt aliunde, jam primum audio, quod si prius (ut jam dixi) adcessisses, sic collegisses, ut plures fures quam pastores, plures hædos quam oves esse in Ecclesia, dixisses. Quod quam dixeris, ut prius dixi, vera, isle video. Jam prioribus litteris saniores fuisse divi Cypriani Martyris de Ecclesia sententiam decimus. Frustra dicis apertam illam & in os obiectam criminatorem, & vobis, Scriba & Pharisæi, Hypocritæ, mihi de regione dispecturam, quam adeo, ut dicis arideat tellus & parabolica illa, Qui non intravit per officium in stabulum ovium, &c. Non potest profecto mihi unquam displicere aliquod sacrum Christi factum. Præsertim reprehendebas ipse impius Scribas & Pharisæos, juxta id, Annuncia populo meo scelera sua, non aliena; absentes tu Papas & Episcopos; qui talia fecerant & facturum prædixit; tu vocabula, quo nescio afflatu, tantum respiciebas. Nullius ego homini animum iudico unquam, sed ne iudicabo, tantum abest ut animi tui emphasin mihi arrogaverim unquam. Desine mihi obijcere talia. Quod audio minus loquimur, quod vidimus testamur. Si sane, & recte ad quemlibet Christianum interpretatus es id Matthei, Tu es Petrus æqualiter, ut dicis, de Ecclesia, nihil omnino de vi clavium locutus gaudet. Mihi certe non ardeat. Nec dixi te dixisse omnes Christianos, ut tu es, Sacerdotes esse, sed ejusmodi nudam & consulam interpretationem non parum fovere & nutrire hujusmodi asserionem Lutherani, id quod credo, isle vides. Me illorum adiectione numero, qui promptiores sunt ad Primatum Petri defensionem, ut ait, quum nihil sed Hæreticum dicitur videtur. Christianus enim conditionem significat non actionem sine actû. Signe laet quippiam, &c.

Besides these Latin Letters above expressed, other Letters also he wrote in English, as well to others, as namely to Sir Edward Baynton Knight, which Letters, because they do contain much fruitful matter, worthy to be read and known, I thought here presently to insert, which albeit may seem somewhat prolix in reading; yet the fruit thereof I trust shall recompence the length of them.

The Copy of a Letter sent by Mr. Latimer, Parson of Wiltington, in the County of Wiltshire, to Sir Edward Baynton Knight.

Salutem in Christo.

Right worshipful Sir, I recommend me unto your Masterhip with hearty thanks for your so friendly, so charitable, and so mindful remembrance of me so poor a Wretch. Whereas of late I received your Letters by Mr. Bonnam, perceiving therein both who be grieved with me, wherefore, and what behoveh me to do, in case I must needs come up, which your goodness towards me with all other such like to recompence, whereas I myself am not able, I shall not cease to pray my Lord God, which both is able, and also doth indeed reward all them that favour the favourers of his Truth for his sake; for the Truth is a common thing, pertaining to every

man, for the which every man shall answer another day. And I desire favour neither of your Masterhip, neither of any man else, but in truth, and for the truth, I take God to witness, which knoweth all. In very deed Mr. Chancellor did shew me that my Lord Bishop of London had sent Letters to him for me; and I made answer that he was mine Ordinary, and that both he might and should reform me as far as I needed reformation, as well and as soon as my Lord of London. And I would be very loath (now this deep Winter) being so weak and so feeble (not only exercised with my old Distaste in my head and side, but also with new, both the Cholick and the Stone) to take such a journey; and though he might so do, yet he needed not, for he was not bound so to do: notwithstanding I said, if he, to do my Lord of London pleasure to my great displeasure, would needs command me to go, I would obey his commandment, yea though it should be never so great a grievance, and painful to me; with the which answer he was content, saying he would certify my Lord of London thereof, trusting his Lordship would be content with the same: but as yet I hear nothing from him. Mr. Chancellor also said, that my Lord of London maketh as though he were greatly displeased with me, for that I did contemn his Authority, at my last being in London. Forsooth I preached in Abbe-Church, not certain then (as I remember) whether in his Diocese or no, intending nothing less than to contemn his Authority, and this I did not of mine own swinge, or by mine own procurement, but at the request of honest Merchant men (as they seemed to me) whose names I do not know, for they were not of mine acquaintance before; and I am glad thereof for their sakes, lest if I knew them, I should be compelled to utter them so, and their godly desire to hear godly preaching, should return to their trouble: for they required me very instantly, and to say the truth, even importunately. Whether they were of that Parish or no, I was not certain: But they shewed not only themselves, but also many other to be very desirous to hear me, pretending great hunger and thirst of the Word of God, and Gholly Doctrine. And upon consideration, and to avoid all inconveniencies, I put them off, and refused them twice or thrice, till at the last they brought me word that the Parson and Curate were not only content, but also desired me, notwithstanding that they certified him both of my name plainly, and also that I had not the Bishops Seal to shew for me, but only a Licence of the University; which Curate did receive me, welcomed me, and when I should go into the Pulpit, gave me the common benediction; so that I had not been alone uncharitable, but also churlishly uncharitable, if I should have said nay. Now all this supposed to be truth (as it is) I marvel greatly how my Lord of London can alledge any contempt of him in me.

First, He did never inhibit me in my life; and if he did inhibit his Curate to receive me, what pertained that to me, which neither did know thereof, nor yet made any suit to the Curate deceitfully, nor did it appear to me very likely that the Curate would so little have regarded my Lords inhibition, which he maintaineth so vigilantly, not knowing my Lords mind before. Therefore I conjectured with my self, that either the Curate was of such acquaintance with my Lord, that he might admit whom he would, or else (and rather) that it was a train and a trap laid before me, to the intent that my Lord himself, or other pertaining to him, was appointed to have been there, and to have taken me if they could in my Sermon: which conjecture both occasioned me somewhat to suspect those men which desired me, though they speak never so fair and friendly, and also rather to go. For I preach nothing, but if it might be so, I would my Lord himself might hear me every Sermon I preach. So certain I am that it is truth, that I take in hand to preach. If I had with power of my friends (the Curate gain-saying and notwithstanding) presumed to have gone into the Pulpit, there had been something wherefore to pretend a contempt. I preached in Kent also, at the instant request of a Curate; yet hear I not that his Ordinary layeth any contempt to my charge, or yet doth trouble the Curate. I marvel not a little, how my Lord Bishop of London, having so broad, wide, and large a Diocese committed

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evil offence of the People; but rather he will blame the People, for that they took no better heed and attendance of Paul's speaking; to the understanding, of the same: yea, he will rather pity the People, which had been so long nuzled in the Doctrine of the Pharisees, and wallowed so long in darkness of mans Traditions, Superstitions, and trade of darkness of mans Traditions, Superstitions, and trade of darkness of mans Traditions, and were unable to receive the bright lightness of the Truth, and wholesome Doctrine of God, uttered by S. Paul. Nor do I think that my Lord will require more circumpectiō, or more convenience to avoid offence of Errours in me, than was in S. Paul, when he did not escape malevolous corrections, and slanderous reports of them that were of perverse Judgments, which reported him to say whatsoever he appeared to them to say, or whatsoever seemed to them to follow of his saying: But what followeth? *Sic animi nos dicere, sic male loquuntur de nobis*: so they report us to say, saith S. Paul; So they speak evil of us: *sed quorum damnatio justa est*, but such, whose damnation is just, saith he; and I think the damnation of all such that evil report Preachers now adays, likewise just, for it is untruth now and then: Yea, Christ himself was mis-reported, and falsely accused; both as touching his words, and also as concerning the meaning of his words. First he said, *destruite*, that is to say, destroy you; they made it *possunt destruire*, that is to say, I can destroy: he said *Templum hoc*, this Temple; they added *manu factum*, that is to say, made with hand, to bring it to a contrary sense. So they both inverted his words, and also added unto his words, to alter his sentence: for he did mean of the Temple of his Body, and they wrested it to Solomon's Temple. Now I report me, whether it be a just sentence raised up and dispersed after this manner. Nay verily, for there be three manner of persons which can make no credible information: First, Adversaries, Enemies: Secondly, Ignorant and without Judgment: Thirdly, *Sufurronei*, that is to say, whisperers and blowers in mens ears, which will spew out in hudder mudder, more than they dare avow openly. The first will not, the second cannot, the third dare not: therefore the relation of such is not credible, and therefore they can make no fame lawful, nor occasion any indifferent Judge to make Process against any man; and it maketh no little matter what they be themselves that report of any man, whether well or evil: for it is a great commendation to be evil spoken of, of them that be naught themselves, and to be commended of the same, is many times no little reproach. God send us once all grace to wish well one to another, and to speak well one of another. Me seems it were more comely for my Lord (if it were comely for me to say so) to be a Preacher himself, having so great a Cure as he hath, than to be a disquieter and a troubler of Preachers, and to preach nothing at all himself. If it would please his Lordship to take so great a labour and pain at any time, as to come to preach in my little Bishoprick at *Welshington*, whether I were present or absent my self, I would thank his Lordship heartily, and think my self greatly bounden to him, that he of his charitable goodness would go so far to help to discharge me in my Cure, or else I were more unnatural than a Beast unreasonable, nor yet would I dispute, contend, or demand by what authority, or where he had authority so to do, as long as his predication were fruitful, and to the edification of my Parishioners. As for my Lord, he may do as it pleaseth his Lordship. I pray God he do always as well as I would wish him ever to do: But I am sure S. Paul, the true Minister of God, and faithful Dispenser of Gods Mysteries, and right Exemplar of all true and very Bishops, saith in the first Chapter to the *Philippians*, that in his time some preached Christ for envy of him, thinking thereby so to grieve him withal, and as it were to obscure him, and to bring his Authority into contempt, some of good will and love, thinking thereby to comfort him: Notwithstanding (saith he) by all manner of ways, and after all fashions, whether it be of occasion or of truth, as ye would say for Truths sake, so that Christ be preached and shewed, joy and will joy: so much he regarded more the glory of Christ, and promotion of Christs Doctrine, to the edification of Christians souls, than the maintenance of his own authority,

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reputation and dignity, considering right well (as he said) that what authority forever he had it was to edification, and not to destruction. Now I think it were no reproach to my Lord, but very commendable, rather to joy with St. Paul, and be glad that Christ be preached *quocumque modo*, yea, though it were for envy, that is to say, in disdain, despite and contempt of his Lordship (which thing no man well advised will enterprise or attempt) then when the preaching cannot be proved justly, to demand of the Preacher utterly, as the Pharisees did of Christ, *qua auctoritate hec facis, aut quis dedit tibi istam auctoritatem?* As my authority is good enough, and as good as my Lord can give me any, yet I would be glad to have his also, if it would please his Lordship to be so good a Lord unto me. For the University of Cambridge hath authority Apollolick to admit twelve yearly, of the which I am one: and the Kings Highness, God save his Grace, did decree that all admitted of Universities should preach throw out all his Realm as long as they preached well, without disdain of any man, my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of Durham, with such other not a few, standing by, and hearing the Decree, nothing gainsaying it, but consenting to the same. Now to condemn my Lord of London's Authority, were no little fault in me; so no less fault might appear in my Lord of London to condemn the Kings Authority and Decree, yea so godly, so fruitful, so commendable a Decree, pertaining both to the edification of Christian souls, and also to the regard and defence of the Popish grace and authority Apollolick. To have a Book of the King not inhibited, is to obey the King, and to inhibit a Preacher of the Kings admitted, is it not to disobey the King? Is it not one King that doth inhibit and admit, and hath he not as great authority to admit as to inhibit? He that resisteth the Power, whether admitting or inhibiting, doth he not resist the Ordinance of God? We low Subjects are bound to obey Powers, and their Ordinances: and are not the highest Subjects also, who ought to give us example of such obedience? As for my preaching it self, I trust in God, my Lord of London cannot rightfully blame it, nor justly reprove it, if it be taken with the circumstance thereof, and as I speak it, or else it is not my preaching, but that falsely reporteth it, as the Poet *Martial* said to one that depraved his Book:

*Quem recitas meus est, O Filentine, libellus:
Sed male cum recitas, incipit esse tuus.*

But now I hear say that my Lord of London is informed, and upon the said Information hath informed the King, that I go about to defend *Bilney*, and his cause, against his Ordinaries and his Judges, which I ensure is not so: for I had nothing to do with *Bilney*, nor yet with his Judges, except his Judges did him wrong; for I did nothing else but monthly all Judges indifferently to do right; nor am I altogether so foolish as to defend the thing which I knew not. It might have become a Preacher to say as I said, though *Bilney* had never been born. I have known *Bilney* a great while, and to tell you the truth, what I have thought always in him, I have known hitherto few such so prompt and ready to do every man good after his power, both friends and foe, noyson wittingly to no man, and towards his enemy so charitable; so seeking to reconcile them, as he did, I have known yet not many; and to be short, in sum, a very simple good Soul, nothing fit or meet for this wretched world, whose blind fashion and miserable state (yea far from Christs Doctrine) he could as evil bear, and would sorrow, lament, and bewail it as much as any man that ever I knew: As for his singular learning, as well in holy Scripture, as in all other good Letters, I will not speak of it. Notwithstanding, if he either now of late, or at any time attempted any thing contrary to the obedience which a Christian man doth owe either to his Prince or to his Bishop, I neither do nor will allow and approve that, neither in him, nor yet in any other man: we be all men, and ready to fall; wherefore he that standeth, let him beware he fall not. How he ordered or misordered himself in judgment, I cannot tell, nor will I

meddle withal; God knoweth, whose judgments I will not judge. But I cannot but wonder, if a man living so mercifully, so charitably, so patiently, so continently, so studiously and vertuously, and killing his old *Adam*, that is to say, mortifying his evil affections, and blind motions of his heart so diligently, should dye an evil death, there is no more, but let him that standeth, beware that he fall not: for if such as he shall dye evil, what shall become of me, such a wretch as I am? But let this go, as little to the purpose, and come to the point we must rest upon. Either my Lord of London will judge my outward man only, as it is said, *Omnis vident qua foris sum*, or else he will be my God, and judge mine inward man, as it is said, *Dens autem intuetur cor*: If he will have to do only with mine outward man, and meddle with mine outward Conversation, how that I have ordered my self toward my Christian Brethren, the Kings Liege People, trust I shall please and content both my Lord God, and also my Lord of London: for I have preached and taught by according to holy Scripture, holy Fathers, and ancient Interpreters of the same, with the which I think my Lord of London will be pacified: for I have done nothing else in my preaching, but with all diligence moved my Auditors to Faith and Charity, to do their duty, and that that is necessary to be done. As for things of private devotion, mean things, and voluntary things, I have reprov'd the abuse, the superstition of them, without condemnation of the things themselves, as it becometh Preachers to do: which thing, if my Lord of London will do himself (as I would to God he would do) he should be reported (no doubt) to condemn the use of such things, of covetous men which have damage, and find less in their boxes by condemnation of the abuse, which abuse they said rather should continue still, than their profit should not continue (so thorny be their hearts). If my Lord will needs coaft and invade my inward man, will I, will I, and break violently into my heart, I fear me I shall either displease my Lord of London, which I would be very loath, or else my Lord God, which I will be more loath: not for any infidelity, but for ignorance, for I believe as a Christian man ought to believe: but peradventure my Lord knoweth, and will know many things certainly, which (perchance) I am ignorant in, with the which ignorance, though my Lord of London may if he will be discontent, yet I trust my Lord God will pardon it, as long as I hurt no man withal, and say to him with diligent study, and daily prayer, *Paratum cor meum Deus, paratum cor meum*, so studying, preaching, and tarrying the pleasure and leisure of God: And in the mean season, *Acts 8.* as *Apollos* did, when he knew nothing of Christ, but *Baptismus Johannis*, teach and preach mine, even Christian that, and no farther than I know to be true. There be three Creeds, one in my Mass, another in my Martins, the third common to them that neither say Mass, nor Martins, nor yet know what they say when they say the Creed: and I believe all three with all that God hath left in holy Writ, for me and all other to believe: yet I am ignorant in things which I trust hereafter to know, as I do now know things in which I have been ignorant heretofore: ever learn, and ever to be learned, to profit with learning, with ignorance not to annoy. I have thought in times past, that the Pope, Christs Vicar, hath been Lord of all the world as Christ is, so that if he should have deprived the King of his Crown, or you of the Lordship of *Bromham*, it had been enough: for he could do no wrong. Now I might be hired to think otherwise; notwithstanding I have both seen and heard Scripture drawn to that purpose. I have thought in times past, that the Popes dispensations of Pluralities of Benefices, and absence from the same, had discharged consciences before God: as much as I have heard, *Eccce vobiscum sum, & qui vos audis*, bended to corroborate the same. Now I might be easily intreated to think otherwise, &c.

I have thought in times past that the Pope could have spoiled Purgatory at his pleasure with a word of his mouth; now learning might perwade me otherwise, or else I would marvel why he would suffer so much money to be bestowed that way, which so needful is to be bestowed otherwise, and to deprive us of so many Patrons in Heaven as he might deliver out of Purgatory, &c. I have thought in times past, that if I had been a Friar, and

No man so old but he may learn.

Latimer advised by the University of Cambridge to preach.

Bilney commended.

Anno
1555.

and in a Cowl; I could not have been damned; nor afraid of death, and by occasion of the same, I have been minded many times to have been a Frier, namely, when I was fore, sick, and diseased: Now I abhor my superstitious foolishness, &c. I have thought in times past, that divers Images of Saints could have holpen me, and done me much good, and delivered me of my diseases: Now I know that one can help as much as another. And it pitieth mine heart, that my Lord, and such as my Lord is, can suffer the People to be so craftily deceived: It were too long to tell you what blindness I have been in, and how long it were ere I could forsake such folly, it was so corporate in me: but by continual Prayer, continual study of Scripture, and oft communing with men of more right judgment, God hath delivered me, &c. Yea, men think my Lord himself hath thought in times past, that by Gods Law a man might marry his Brothers wife, which now both dare think and say contrary: and yet this his boldness might have chanced; in Pope Julius's days, to stand him either in a fire, or else in a laggon. Which thing deeply considered, and pondered of my Lord, might something stir him to charitable Equity, and to be something remis toward men, which labour to do good as their power serveth with knowledge, and do hurt to no man with their ignorance: for there is no greater distance, than between Gods Law, and not Gods Law; nor is it so, or fo, because any man thinketh it so, or fo: but because it is so, or so indeed, therefore we must think it so, or fo, when God shall give us knowledge thereof: for if it be indeed either so or not, it is so, or not so, though all the world hath thought otherwise these thousands years, &c.

And finally as ye say, the matter is weighty, and ought substantially to be looked upon, even as weighty as my life is worth; but how to look substantially upon it, otherwise know not I, than to pray my Lord God day and night, that as he hath imboldened me to preach his truth, so he will strengthen me to suffer for it, to the edification of them which have taken by the working of him fruit thereby, and even so I desire you, and all other that favour me for his sake, likewise to pray: for it is not I (without his mighty helping hand) that can abide that brunt; but I have trust that God will help me in time of need, which if I had not, the Ocean Sea, I think, should have divided my Lord of London and me by this day. For it is a rare thing for a Preacher to have favour at his hand which is no Preacher himself, and yet ought to be I pray God that both he and I may both discharge our selves, he in his great Cure, and I in my little, to Gods pleasure, and safety of our souls, Amen. I pray you pardon me, that I write no more distinctly, nor more truly, for my head is out of frame, that it would be too painful for me to write it again; and if I be not prevented, shortly I intend to make merry with my Parishioners this Christmas, for all the sorrows, lest perchance I never return to them again: and I have heard say, that a Doe is as good in Winter, as a Buck in Summer.

A Letter of Sir Edward Baynton Kt. answering to the Letter of Mr. Latimer, sent to him before.

The copy of
Sir Edward
Baynton
Letter to
Mr. LatimerThe's
friends of
Mr. Baynton
form to be
some Popish
Priests, and
commit to
the Gospel,
as Powell,
Wolfe, Shere
wood, &c.

After Latimer, after hearty recommendations; I have communicated the effect of your Letters to divers of my Friends, such as for Christian Charity (as they say) rather desire in you a reformation, either in your opinion (if it swerve from the truth) or at the least in your manner and behaviour, in as much as it giveth occasion of slander and trouble, in let of your good purposes, than any other inconvenience to your person or good name. And forasmuch as your said Letter misliketh them in some part, and that I have such confidence in your Christian breast, as in my judgment ye will conformably and gladly both hear, that may be reformed in you, and also (as it is worthy) so knowledge and confess the same: I have therefore desired them to take the pain to note their minds in this Letter which I send to you, as aggregate of their sayings, and sent from me your assured friend and favourer, in that that is the very truth of Gods Word wherein nevertheless, as I trust you your self will temper your own judgment, and in a soberness affirm no truth of your self, which should divide

the Unity of the Congregation in Christ; and the received truth agreed upon by holy Fathers of the Church, consonant to the Scripture of God, even so whatsoever ye will do therein (as I think ye will not do otherwise than ye should do) I being unlearned, and not of the knowledge to give sentence in this alteration and contention, must rather of good congruence shew my self in that you disagree with them, readier to follow their Doctrine in truth, than yours, unless it may please Almighty God to inspire and confirm the hearts of such people to testify the same in some honest number, as ought to induce me to give credence unto them.

Only God knoweth the certain truth, which is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, but that it is *per speculum in enigmate*. And there hath been *qui zelam Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam*. Among which I repute not you, but to this purpose I write it, that to call this or that truth, it requirerh a deep and profound knowledge: considering that to me unlearned, that I take for truth may be otherwise, not having *sensus exercitatus*, as S. Paul faith, *ad discernendum bonum & malum*: and it is shewed me, that an opinion or manner of teaching, which causeth dissention in a Christian Congregation, is not of God, by the Doctrine of S. John in his Epistle, where he faith, *Omnes qui confitentur Christum in carne, &c. ex Deo est*. And like as the Word of God hath always caused dissention among men unchristened, whereupon hath ensued and followed Martyrdom to the Preacher, so in Christs Congregation, among them that profess Christs Name, *In uno Domino, uno Baptismo, & una fide*, they that preach and stir rather Contention than Charity, though they can defend their saying, yet their teaching is not to be taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chain of Christian Charity, and maketh division in the people, congregated and called by God into an unity of Faith and Baptism. But for this point I would pray to God, that not only in the truth may be agreement, but also such soberness and uniform behaviour used in teaching and preaching, as men may wholly express (as they may) the Charity of God, tending only to the union and love of us all, to the profit and salvation of our souls.

The answer of Mr. Latimer to the Letter of Sir Edward Baynton above prefixed.

Right worshipful Sir, and my singular good Master, salutem in Christo Iesu, with due commendation and also thanks for your great goodness towards me, &c. And whereas you have communicate my last Letters to certain of your friends, which rather desire this or that in me, &c. what I think therein I will not now say, not for that there could be any peril or danger in the said Letters (well taken) as far as I can judge, but for that they were rashly and unadvisedly scribbled, as ye might well know both by my excuse, and both by themselves also, though none excuse had been made. And besides that ye know right well, that whereas the Bee gathereth honey, even there the Spinner gathereth venom, not for any diversity of the flower, but for divers natures in them that suck the flower: At in times past and in the beginning, the very truth, and one thing in it self, was to some offence, to some foolishness, to other otherwise disposed, the wisdom of God. Such diversity was in the redress of hearers thereof.

But this notwithstanding, there is no more but either my writing is good, or bad. If it be good, the communicating thereof to your Friends cannot be hurtful to me; if it be otherwise, why should you not communicate it to them, which both could and would instruct you in the truth, and reform my error? Let this pass, I will not contend: Had I wist cometh ever out of season. Truly I were not well advised if I would not either be glad of your instruction, or yet refuse mine own reformation, but yet it is good for a man to look ere he leap, and God forbid that ye should be addict and sworn to me so wreathed a fool, that you should not rather follow the Doctrine of your Friends in truth, so great learned men as they appear to be, then the opinions of me, having never so Christian a breast.

The Epistle will not drive a way disturbed. Epistle concerned with authority of holy Fathers.

Mr. Baynton will follow the most number.

Note the proceeding of the Popes Church, which would not have the people certain of Gods truth and religion.

Error and false Doctrine would sin ye still in peace, and not to be stirred. Unity in the Lord, in Baptism, in Faith.

The chain of Christian Charity.

Answer of Mr. Latimer to Mr. Baynton Letter.

The Bee! The Spinner.

Every thing as it is taken.

Had I wist.

Wherefore do as you will: for as I would not if I could, so I cannot if I would, be anyone unto you, but yet I say, I would my Letters had been unwritten, if I were other than call'd at leisure; in as much as they clog me to more writing, an occupation nothing meet for my mad head: and as touching Points which in my foresaid Letters mislike your Friends, I have now little leisure to make an answer thereto, for the great business that I have in my little Cure, I know not what other men have in their great Cure, seeing that I am alone without any Priest to serve my Cure, without any Scholar to read unto me, without any Book necessary to be looked upon, without any learned men to come and consult withal. All which things other have at hand abundantly; but [something] must be done, howsoever it be. I pray you take it in good worth, as less as I tender my own judgment, affirming nothing

Example of
a true dili-
gent Pastor

Mr. Lott
unfurnished
without ou
ward help

Mr. Latimer
blamed to
saying he
was not
the truth
what he
preached.
As God al-
one know-
eth all ev-
en so some
truth he
weareth to
be certain
his (LIVAS)

It is no presumption
in a Preacher
to bring cer-
tain of the
which he
preacheth
shew it to
the people.
Let not man
preach, ex-
cept that
be certain
that which
he preach-
eth.

Every true
Christian
ought to
be certain of
his faith.

The doubt
ing Doctr
of the Ca
tholicks.

Argument

Answer.

Certain
knowledge
Clear know-
ledge.
Mr. Latine
not ignorant
of the Sch
subtilties

But as to my presumption and Arrogancy; either I am certain or uncertain that it is truth that I preach. If I am certain, why may I say so, to encourage my hearers to receive the [same more ardently, and enjue it more fully? doubly? If it be uncertain, why dare I be bold to preach it? If by your friends, in whom you trust I greatly, you Preachers themselves, after their Sermon, I pray, you ask them whether they be certain and [are that they taught you of the truth or no, and [And now word what they say, that I may learn to feake after it. If they say they be sure, you know what followeth: If they say they be unsure, when shall you be sure, that have [so doubtful Teachers and unsure? And you your self, whether are you certain or uncertain that Christ is your Saviour, and [so forth of other Articles that ye be bounden to believe or whether be ye sure or unsure, that Civil Ordinances be the good works of God, and that you do God [service in doing of them, ye do them for a good intent? If ye be uncertain, take heed be of your [sure friend that daubeth you [say so, and then with what confidence do ye doubt? Cum quicquid non esse ex die, peccatum fit? But contrary [say you, God alone knoweth certain truth, and ye have it not per specimen in enigmatæ; and there have been qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam: And to call this a [that truth, is requireth a deep knowledge [considering that to you unlearned, that you take for truth may be erroneous, not having sensus exercitatos (as Paul [saith) ad discernendum bonum & malum, at ye reason against me, and ye do be [to know [very nothing for truth at all, but to wander meekly byther and thither, omni vento doctrine, &c. Our knowledge here, you say, is but per speculum anigmatæ: What then? Ergo, it is not certain and sure.

I deny your argument by your leave ; yea, if ye be by Faith, as ye say, it is much sure, *Certe* certum fidei est maxime certum : Because the certainty of faith is the most *certum* certainly, as Duns and other School Divines say, that there is a great difference between certain knowledge and clear knowledge : for that may be of things abstruse, that appear not, this requires the presence of the object, the mean of the thing known, so that I certainly and surely know the thing which I perfectly believe, though I do not clearly and evidently know it, know your School subtilties, as well as you, publicly dispute at though enigmatical knowledge, that is to say, dark and obscure knowledge, might not be certain and sure knowledge, because it is not clear, manifest, and evident knowledge ; and yet there have been *(as they)* qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non fecerunt scientiam, which have had a zeal, but not after knowledge. True it is, there have been *such*, and yet be so many to the great hindrance of Christs glory, which nothing doth more *clearly* cure, than an *all* zeal accompanied with

aeterni auctoritatis iudicij right judgment. There have been
 also, Quia fientiam habuerunt abiequebo Dei, qui veritatem
 Dei in infinita detinentes palis vapulabunt multis ;
 dum voluntatem Domini cognoscunt, nihil minus quam
 faciant : *What have had knowledge without any zeal*
of God, who holding the verity of God in righteousness,
shall be beaten with many stripes, while they knowing the
will of God, do nothing therewith. I mean not of those like
Pharisees and Sadducees that are unchristened, but of them that be
christened. And there have been also, who have lost Scrip-
turam Dei, id est spiritumalem divini verbi sensum, quam pri-
us habuerunt : The spiritual knowledge of Gods Word
which they had before, because they have not enjoyed after it,
nor promoted the same, but rather with their master-
ants have imagnated the wisdom of the Father, and under-
stood the knowledge thereof, which therefore hath been taken
away from them, Ut iustificetur Christus in feromonibus
is, & vincat cum iudicator, threatening Math. 13. Eivero,
qui non habetis, quoniam quod habet, id est, quod videtur ha-
bere auctoritas ab eorum aut habito, vel non bene uti,
non habere, nec non uti verum illud quoque, non habitura-
rum, videlicet sapientiam in coram peccatis fidentibus, quo-
ad huc est carnaliter sapient plus satis patet flatu sententia, nem-
pe carnalem & Philosophicam Scripturarum intelligentiam,
non esse sapientiam Dei, que i sapientibus absconditur
parvulis revelatur : To him that hath not, that alowhich
he hath, that is, that which he seemeth to have, shall be
taken from him : when as to abuse that which a man hath
or not to use it well, is as not to have it. And also seeing it
is true, that Gods wisdom will not dwell in a body [subj-
ect to sin], alsein be abond in carnal wisdom too much ; yet
the same carnal and philosophical understanding of Gods
Scriptures, is not the wisdom of God which is bid from
the wife, and is revealed to little ones. And if so call this
or that truth, requireth a deep and profound knowledge,
then either every man call a deep and profound knowledge,
where ever, or else no man can call this or that truth; and it be-
cometh every Preacher to have so deep and profound knowl-
edge, that he may call this or that truth, which this
truth be taken in hand to preach for the truth, and yet be
may be ignorant and uncertain in many things, both this
and that, as Apollo was : but which things, whether this
or that, he will not attempt to preach for the truth. And so
for my self, I trust in God, may have fensis exercises
well enough, ad discernendum bonum & malum : Sense
exercised to discern good and evil in those things which
without deep and profound knowledge in many things,
preach not, yet there be many things in Scripture in which
I cannot certainly discern bonum & malum, I mean verum
& falsum, not with all the exercise that I have in Scrip-
ture, nor yet with the help of all interpreters : that I have
content my self and other in all scrupulosity, that may arise
and be in such I am wont to wade no further into the fream
of them, I may either go over, or else return back again, with-
out ever reject, not to the ofensation of my little un-
derstanding, but to the edification of them that hear me, as far forth as I
can, neither pollui minus cum auctoritate, quam si non

And such pillar of Arguments might well serve the
Devil contra punitur, to occasion him to wander and
waver in the faith, and to be uncertain in things in which
they ought to be certain: or else it may appear to make
serve against such Preachers, which will define great fa-
cilities and hard matters in the Pulpit: which man can
be certain and sure of by Gods Word to be true, he felicit
non habens ad discernendum bonum & malum exercitati-
onem; as whether if Adam had not sinned, we should have
had Stockills out of Iland: how many Larks for a penny
if every Star in the Element were a Juckering Hobby.
How many years a man shall lie in Purgatory for one sin
if he buy not plenty of the oil that remaineth over our
Lamps to flake the sin within, and so forget Hell which
cannot be shaken, to provide for Purgatory.

Such argumentation (I say) might appear to make way
against such Preachers, nor against me, which simply and
plainly utter true faith and the fruits of the same, which
be the good works of God, quæ præparavit Deus ut in ei
ambulavimus: i. which he hath prepared for us to walk in:
every man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and
duty in his degree and calling, as the Word appointeth
which thing a man may do with soberness, being in his
differentia bonum & malum, vel mediocriter, &c.

Anno
1555.

Every Preacher ought to be sure of the truth. There be many truths whereof a good man may well be ignorant. There be many things in Scripture in the profanities whereof a man may wade too far. Against Preachers which take upon them to define great subtleties and high matters in the Pulpit. Vain subtleties and questions to be declined. Simple and plain preaching of faith, and the fruits thereof.

Anno 1555. For it is but foolish humility, willingly to continue always infantulus in Christo & infirmate: *i. An Infant still in Christ, in Infirmity.* In reproof of which it was said, *Fas est etis opus habere lacte non folido cibo.* For S. Paul saith *u. t. Estote humiles, ut non capiat. For though he would not that we should think arrogantly of our selves, and above that, that it becometh us to think of our selves, but so to think of our selves, ut finis sobrii ac modesti, yea he biddeth us so to think of our selves, ut cuique Deus partitus est mensuram fidei: i. As God hath distributed to every one the measure of faith. For he that may not with meekness think in himself what God hath done for him, and of himself as God hath done for him, how shall he, or when shall he give due thanks to God for his gifts? And if your friends will not allow the same, I pray you enquire of them whether they may cum sobrietate & modestia, be sure they preach to you the Truth, and whether we may, cum sobrietate & modestia, follow Saint Paul's bidding, where he saith unto us all, Nolite fieri pueri sensibus, sed malicia infantiles estote: i. Be not children in understanding, but in malitiously be infants. God give us all grace to keep the mean, and to think of our selves neither too high nor too low, but so that we may restore unto him, qui peregre profectus est, his gifts again cum usura, that is to say, with good use of the same, so that edification invicem with the same, ad gloriam Dei, Amen.*

A man too high and too low.

For my life, I trust in God that I neither (by Gods grace) shall, neither in soberness, nor yet in drunkenness, affirm any truth of my self, therewith intending to divide that unity of the Congregation of Christ, and the received Truth agreed upon by the holy Fathers of the Church consonant to the Scripture of God, though it be shewed you never so often, that an opinion or manner of teaching, which causeth dissension in a Christian Congregation, is not of God, by the Doctrine of S. John in his Epistle, where he saith, Omnis qui conhitur lesium Christum in carne, ex Deo est: i. Every one that confesseth Christ in the flesh, is of God. First, Not every thing whereupon followed dissension, causeth dissension, as I would that they shewed you that, would altho so shew you, whether this opinion, that a man may not marry his brothers wife, be of God or of men: if it be of men, then as Gamaliel said, dissolvitur; if it be of God, as I think it is, and perchance your friends also, quis potest dissolvere nisi qui videtur Deo repugnare? i. Who can dissolve it, but shall seem to repugn against God? And yet there be many, not Heaters, but in Christendom, that dissent from the same, which could bear full evil to bear said unto them, Vos ex parte Diaboli estis. So that such an opinion might seem to some to make a dissension in a Christian Congregation, saving that they may say perchance with more liberty than other, that an occasion is sometime taken and not given, which with their favour I might abuse for my defence, saving that, non omnibus licet in hac temporum iniquitate.

The Galatians having for Preachers and Teachers the false Apostles, by whose teaching they were degenerate from the sweet liberty of the Gospel into the four Bonds of Ceremonies, thought themselves peradventure a Christian Congregation, when S. Paul did write his Epistle unto them, and were in a quiet trade under the dominion of masterly Curars, so that the false Apostles might have objected to S. Paul that his Apostleship was not of God, forasmuch as there was dissension in a Christian Congregation by occasion thereof, while some would renew their opinions by occasion of the Epistle, some would opinar, as they were wont to do, and follow their great Lords and Masters, the false Apostles, which were not beaten and unchristianed, but christianed, and high Prelates of the Professors of Christ. For your friends I know right well what Erasmus hath said in an Epistle set before the Paraphrases of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, which Erasmus hath caused no small dissension with his Pen in a Christian Congregation in as much as many have dissented from him, not only in Cloisters (men more than christened men) of high perfection, but also at Paul's Croft, and S. Mary Spittle, besides many that with no small zeal have written against him, but not without answer.

Erasmus in his Epistle set before the Paraphrases, in 1. Cor.

And I would fain learn of your friends, whether that S. Hieronys writing were of God, which caused dissension in a Christian Congregation, as it appeareth by his own words

in the Prologue before the Canonical Epistles, which be these: Et ut Virgo Christi Euthochium, dum a me impensius Scripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodam modo senectutem invidorum denitibus vel moribus corrodendam apponis, qui me falsarium corruptoremque Scripturarum pronunciant: sed ego in tali opere nec illorum invidentiam pertimesco, nec Scripturæ veritatem poscentibus decebo. I pray you what were they that called S. Hieron falsarium, and corrupter of Scripture, and for every would have bitten him with their teeth? unchristian, or christian? What had the Unchristian to do with Christian Doctrine? They were worshipful Fathers of a Christian Congregation, men of much more hotter stomachs then right judgement, of a greater authority then good charity: but S. Hieron would not cease to do good for the evil speaking of them that were naughty, giving in that an ensample to us of the same; and if this dissension were in S. Hieron's time, what may be in our time? de malo in pejus scilicet.

And I pray you what mean your Friends by a Christian Congregation? All those (troupe ye) that have been christianed? But many of those be in worse condition, and shall have greater damnation then many unchristianed, for it is not enough to be a Christian Congregation that is of God, to have been christianed: but it is to be considered what we promise when we be christianed, to renounce Satan, his Works, his Pomps: Which thing if we buye not our selves to dolet us not crack that we profess Christ's name in a Christian Congregation, in uno baptismo, in one Baptism.

And where they add in uno Domino, i. in one Lord: I read in Math. 17. Non omnis qui dicit, Domine Domine, &c. i. Not every one that saith Lord, Lord, &c. And in Luke the Lord himself complaineth and rebuketh such Praefors and Confessors, saying to them, Cur dicitis, Domine Domine, & non facitis quæ dico? i. Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not that I bid you? Even as though it were enough to a Christian man, or to a Christian Congregation to say every day, Domine, Dominus noster, and to salute Christ with a double Domine. But I would your friends would take the pains to read over Chrylostom super Mattheum, hom. 49. cap. 24. to learn to know a Christian Congregation if it will please them to learn at him. And where they add, in una fide, i. in one faith, S. James saith boldly, Offende mihi fidem ex operibus; i. Shew me thy faith by thy works. And S. Hieron, Si tamen credimus, inquit, opere veritatem ostendimus: i. If we believe, we shew the truth in working. And the Scripture saith, Qui credit Deo, attendit mandatis: i. He that believeth God, attendeth to his Commandments: And the Devils do believe to their little comfort. I pray God to save you and your friends from that believing and Congregation, and from that faithful company.

Therefore all this toucheth not them that be unchristianed, but them that be christianed, and answer not to their Christendom. For S. Hieron sheweth how true Preachers should order themselves, when evil Priests and false Preachers, and populus ab his deceptus; i. the People that be by them deceived, should be angry with them for preaching the Truth, Tom. 5. in Hieroniam cap. 26. exhorting them to suffer death for the same, of the evil Priests and false Preachers, and the people deceived of them, which evil Priests and false Preachers with the people deceived, be christianed as well as other: And I fear me that S. Hieron might appear to some Christian Congregation, as they will be called, so write seditiously, to divide the unity of a great honest number confessing Christ, in uno baptismo, uno Domino, una fide, saying, populus qui ante sub magistris consopius erat, ibi ad montes, non illos quidem qui vel leviter tacti fumigant, sed montes veteris & novi Testamenti, Prophetas, Apostolos, & Evangelistas, & cum iustis modum tum lectione versatis, si non inveniunt doctores (messis enim multa, operarii autem pauci) tunc & populi studium comprobabit, quo fugerit ad montes, & magistrorum desidia coarguetur. Tom. 6. in Naum. c. 30. i. The people which before were brought asleep by their Masters, must go up to the Mountains, not such Mountains which smok when they are touched, but to the Mountains of the Old and New Testament, the Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists. And when thou art occupied with reading in these Mountains, if then thou find no instructors, (for the Harvest is great, and the Workmen be few) yet shall

Hieron in Prologo in per Canon. Epist. Hieron moved at Hieron to be a falsifier and a corrupter of the Scripture.

Worshipful Fathers of greater authority than of good charity.

It is not enough to be christianed, but to keep our promise when we be christianed.

Unity in baptism, is not enough.

To pretend unity under the title of one Lord, is not enough.

To be in unity, except the faith be sound, is not enough.

How true Preachers should order themselves, when the wicked Priests be against them.

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the diligent study of the people be fleeing to the Mountains, and the sloathfulness of the Masters shall be rebuked.

I do marvel why our Christian Congregations be so greatly grieved that Lay-people would read Scripture, (seeing that S. Hierom alloweth and approveth the same, 2d. It compareth not here the unchristian to the christian, and the Lay-people christianed to their Curats christianed, under the which they have been rocked and locked asleep in a subtil trade a great while full soundly, though now of late they have been waked, but to their pain, at the least way to the pain of them that have wakened them with the Word of God; and it is properly said of S. Hierom to call them Masters and not Servants, meaning that Servants teach not their own Doctrine, but the Doctrine of their Master Christ, to his glory. Masters teach not Christs Doctrine, but their own, to their own glory, which Masterly Curats cannot be quiet till they have brought the people asleep again: but Christ the very true Master saith, Vigilate, & orate, ne intretis in tentationem. Non cogitationes vestras, neque vires carnis vestras; dicit Dominus: et there have been, qui cogitaverunt consilia, quæ non poterunt stabilire; i. which have gone about counsels, which they could not establish. I pray God give our people grace so to wake, ut studium illorum comprobetur, and our Masters so to sleep, ut non deficiat illorum coarguatur. For who is so blind that he seeth not how far our Christian Congregation doth gain say S. Hierom, and speaketh after another fashion? God amend that it amiss; for we be something wide I wis.

But now your Friends have learned of S. John, that omnis qui confitetur Iesum Christum in carne, ex Deo est: i. Every one that confesseth Iesum Christ in the flesh, is of God: And I have learned of S. Paul, that there have been, not among the Heathen, but among the Christians, qui are contenti, factis autem negant: i. which confess Christ with their mouth, and deny him with their act: So that S. Paul should appear to expound S. John, saying that I will not affirm any thing as of my self, but leave it to your Friends to show you utrum qui factis negant Christum & vitam, sint ex Deo necne per solam oris confessionem: for your Friends know well enough by the same S. John, qui ex Deo est non peccat: and there both have been, and be now too many, Qui are tenus contenti Christum venisse in carne: i. which with mouth only confess Christ to be come in the flesh; but will not effectually bear the Word of God by consenting to the same, notwithstanding that S. John saith, Qui ex Deo est, verbum Dei audit, vos non auditis quia ex Deo non estis: and many shall hear nonquam novi vos: i. I never knew you, which shall not only be christianed, but also shall prophesie, and do pious things in nomine Christi: And S. Paul said there should come Lupi graves, qui non parcerent gregi: i. Ravenous Wolves which will not spare the flock, meaning it of them that should confiteri Christum in carne in their lips, and yet usurp by succession the Office, which Christ called Picudo-propheta, i. false Prophets, and biddeth us beware of them, saying, They shall come in vestimentis ovium, i. in sheeps cloathing, and yet they may wear bush Satten, Silk and Velvet, called afterwards servi nequam, non pascetes, sed percutientes confervos, edentes & bibentes cum ebriis, habituri tandem portionem cum hypocritis: i. Naughty Servants, not feeding, but smiting their Fellow-servants, eating and drinking with the drunken, which shall have their portion with Hypocrites. They are called servi, Servants I know, Quod ore contentitur Christum in carne; nequam vero, quia factis negant eundem, non dantes cibum in tempore, dominum exercentes in gregem: i. Because they confess Christ in the flesh: and naughty they are called, because they deny him in their deeds, not giving meat in due season, and exercising Master-ship over the flock. And yet your Friends reason as though there could none bark and bite at vice Preachers, but they that be unchristianed, notwithstanding that St. Augustine, upon the same Epistle of John, callith such Confessors of Christ, qui ore contentitur, & factis negant, Antichristi; a strange name for a Christian Congregation: And though S. Augustine could descry but saying, yet his name might appear not to be of God, to some mens judgment, in that it breaketh the chain of Christs Christianity, so to canse men to hate Antichristianisme, Antichrist, according to the Doctrine of S. Paul, Sitis odio persequentes quod malum est: i. Hate that is evil; and so making division, not between christianed and unchristianed, but between Christians and Antichristians, when neither Pen nor Tongue can divide the Antichristian from their blind folly. And I would you would cause your Friends to read over S. Augustine upon the Epistle of S. John, and tell you the meaning thereof, if they think it expedient for you to know it, as I remember it is Tractatu 3. but I am not sure nor certain of that, because I did not see it since I was at Cambridge; and here I have not S. Augustine's Works to look for it, but well I wot, that there be teacheth us to know the Christians from the Antichristians, which both be christianed, and both confess, Iesum esse Christum, if they be asked the question: and yet the one part denieth it in very deed. But to know whether, Non linguam, sed facta attendamus, & vivendi genus, num studemus officia vocaciones præstare annon fudeamus, immo perfusi forte sumus non necesse esse ut præstemus, sed omnia in primitivam Ecclesiam & tempora præterita, etc. quali nobis sit sit dominari, & secularibus negotiis nos totos volvere, ac voluptatibus & pompæ inhiare: i. Let us not stand upon our talks, but attend to our doings and conversation of life, whether we, not only do not put our endeavour thereto, but also persuade our selves as though it were not necessary for us to accomplish such things, etc. but that it is enough to bear rule and authority over them, and to bestow our selves wholly upon Secular matters, pleasures, and pomp of this world. And yet we will appear, vel soli ex Deo esse; sed longe aliter Christum confitemur, qui confitendo ex Deo esse comprobantur.

And yet as long as they minister the Word of God, or his Sacraments, or any thing that God hath ordained to the salvation of Mankind, wherewith God hath promised to be present, to work with the ministration of the same to the end of the world, they be to be heard, to be obeyed, to be honoured for Gods Ordinance sake, which is effectual and fruitful, whatsoever the Minister be, though he be a Devil, and neither Church nor Member of the same, as Origen saith, and Chrysostom, so that it is not all one to honour them, and trust in them, S. Hierom saith: But there is required a judgment, to discern when they minister the Gods Word and Ordinance of the same, and their own self peradventure we take chalk for cheese, which will edge our teeth, and hinder digestion. For as it is commonly said, The blind earth many a fly, as they did which were persuaded à principibus Sacerdotum ut peterent Barabbam, Iesum autem crucifigerent: i. Of the High Priests, to ask Barabbas, and to crucifie Iesus: and ye know that to follow the blind Guides, is to come into the pit with the same. And will you know, saith S. Augustine, how aptly they resist Christ, when men begin to blame them for their mistaking, and intolerable seculary and negligence? they dare not for shame blaspheme Christ himself, but they will blaspheme the Ministers and Preachers of whom they be blamed.

Therefore, whereas ye will pray for agreement both in the Truth, and in uttering of the Truth, when shall that be, as long as we will not hear the Truth, but disquiet with crafty conveyance the Preachers of the Truth, because they reprove our evilness with the Truth? And, say the truth, better it were to have a deformity in preaching, so that some would preach the Truth of God, and that which is to be preached, without capuon and adulteration of the words, (as Lyranus saith in his time few did, what they do now adays, I report me to them that can judge) than to have such an uniformity, that the silly people should be thereby occasioned to continue still in their lamentable ignorance, corrupt judgments, superstition and idolatry, and esteem things as they do all, preposterously doing that, that they need not to do, leaving undone that they ought to do, for lack or want of knowing what is to be done, and so shew their love to God, not as God biddeth (which saith, Si diligitis me, præcepta mea servate: i. If ye love me, keep my Commandments. And again, Qui habet præcepta mea & facit ea, hic est qui diligit me: i. He that knoweth my Precepts, and doth them, he loveth me,) but as they bid, Qui querunt, que sua sunt, non querunt Christi: i. Which seek their own things, not Christs: as though to the Mini were more than judgments, faith,

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it is required
a judgment to discern, whether they took of their chalk for cheese.The blind earth many a fly.
Intolerable seculary and negligence in Church-men.

Better is in the Church a deformity, so that Christ be truly preached, than uniform ignorance & superstition in Ministry.

Anno 1558. And what is to live in state of Curates, but that be taught which said, Petre amas me? Pasce, pasce, pasce; Peter lovest thou me? Feed, feed, feed; which is now set aside, as though to love were to do nothing else; but to wear Rings, Myters and Rochets, &c. And when they err in right loving, how can the people but err in loving, and all of the new fashion, so his dishonour that suffered his passion, and taught the true kind of loving, which is now turned to piping playing, and curious singing, which will not be reformed (I trow) nisi per manum Dei validam. And I have both Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas, with divers others, that lex is taken not only for Ceremonies, but also for Morals, where it is said, Non estis sub lege, though your friends reprove the same. But they can make no division in a Christian Congregation. And whereas both you and they would have a soberness in our Preaching, I pray God send it unto us, whatsoever ye mean by it. For I see well, who so ever will be happy, and baste with vobis, he shall shortly after come coram nobis.

And where your friends think that I made a lye, when I said that I have thought in times past that the Pope had been Lord of the World, though your friends be much better learned than I, yet I am sure that they know not what either I think, or have thought better than I. Justa illud, Nemo novit que sunt hominis, &c. as though better Men than I have not thought so, as Bonifacius (as I remember) Othervus, the great Learned Man John of the Burnt Tower, Presbiter Cardinalis in his Book where he proveth the Pope to be above the Council General, and Special, where he saith that the Pope is Rex Regum, and Dominus Dominantium, i. King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and that he is, Verus Dominus totius orbis, i. licet non factio. i. The true Lord of the whole World by good right, albeit in fact he be not so, and that Constantinus did but restore his own unto him, when he gave unto him Rome, so that in propria verba, as Saint John saith Christ did, & sic cum non reciperet: i. He came unto his own, and his own received him not; and yet I hear not that any of our Christian Congregations have reclaimed against him, until now of late dissension began. Who be your friends I cannot tell; but I would you would desire them to be my good Masters, and if they will do me no good, at the least way do me no harm, and though they can do you more good than I, yet I am sure I would be as loath to hurt you as they, either with mine opinions, manner of Preaching, or writing.

And as for the Pope's high Dominion over all, there is one Raphael Maruplus in London, an Italian, and in times past a Merchant of dysmatom, which I suppose would die in the quagrel, as Gods true Knight, and true Martyr. As touching Purgatory, and worshipping of Saints, I shewed to you my mind before my Ordinary: and yet I marvelled something, that after private Communication had with him, ye would (as it were) advise me to open my mind before him, not giving me warning before, saying I cannot interpret your evil doings towards me, and yet neither mine Ordinary, nor you disallowed the thing that I said, and I looked not to escape better than Doctor Cromer, but when I have opened my mind never so much, yet I shall be reported to deny my Preaching, of them that have belied my Preaching, as be was: Sed opus est magna patientia ad sustinendis calumniis malignantis Ecclesie: i. I shall have need of great patience to bear the false report of the Malignant Church.

Sir, I have had more business in my little Cure, since I spake with you, what with sick folks, and what with Marriages, than I have had since I came to it, or than I would have thought a Man should have in a great Cure. I wonder how Men can go quietly to Bed, which have great Cures and many, and yet peradventure are in none of them all. But I pray you to tell none of your friends that I said so foolishly, lest I make a dissension in a Christian Congregation, and divide a peace and a restful union, for tot quot, with Hæc requirit mea in seculum seculi. Sir, I had made an end of this scribbling, and was beginning to write it again more truly and more distinctly, and to correct it, but there came a Man of my Lord of London in haste, to be punished for such excesses as I committed at my last being there, so that I could not perform my purpose, I doubt whether ye can read it as it is, or as it will be: if not, I pray

you send it me again, and that you so do, whether you can read it or not. Jesus mercy, what a World is this, that I shall be put to so great labour and pains, besides great cost, above my power, for preaching of a poor simple Sermon? But I trow our Saviour Christ said true, Oportet pati, & sic intrare: tam periculum est in Christo pie vivere velle: i. I must needs suffer, and so enter: so perillous a thing it is to live virtuously with Christ. Yea in a Christian Congregation. God make us all Christians, after the right fashion, Amen.

A publick and Authentick Instrument of the Bishops, for the abolishing, and inhibiting of the Scripture, and divers other Books to be read in English, in the time of King Henry the eighth. 1531.

IN the Name of God, Amen. Be it known to all and singular true and faithful People, to whom these present Letters testimonial, or this present publick and authentick Instrument shall come, or shall see, read, hear or understand the same, and whom this underwritten shall or may teach, or appertain in any manner of wise in time to come. William by the sufferance of Almighty God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all the Realm of England, sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting. We signifye unto you all, and let you well wit and know by these presents, that where the King our Sovereign Lord, hearing of many Books in the English Tongue, containing many detestable errors, and damnable opinions printed in parts beyond the Seas, to be brought into divers Towns, and sundry parts of this his Realm of England, and sown abroad in the same, to the great decay of our faith Catholick, and perillous corruption of his people, unless speedily remedy were briefly provided, his Highness willing evermore to employ all his study and mind in the high degree which Almighty God hath called him unto, to the Wealth of his Subjects, that they might live not only in tranquillity and peace, but also to be kept pure and clean of all contagion and wrong opinions in Christs Religion. Considering also that he being Defender of the Faith, would be full loath to suffer such evil feed sown amongst his people, and so take root, that it might overgrow the Corn of the Catholick Doctrine, before sprung in the Souls of his Subjects, for the repelling of such Books, calling unto him of his great goodness, and gracious disposition, not only certain of the chief Prelates and Clerks of his Realm, but also of each University a certain Number of the chief Learned Men of them, proposed such of the Books, as his Grace had ready: therefore unto them to be read, requiring to hear in that behalf their Advice and Judgment of them: who both by great diligence and mature deliberation, perusing over the said Books, found in them many errors and heresies, both detestable and damnable, being of such a sort, that they were like briefly to corrupt a great part of his people (if they might be suffered to remain in their hands any space) gathering also out of them many great errors, and pestilent heresies, and noting them in writing, to the intent to shew for what cause they reured the said Books damnable, of which hereafter out of each Book gathered, many do ensue. Albeit many more there be in the said Books, which Books totally do swarm full of Heresies, and detestable Opinions.

Heresies and errors contained in the Book, the Parable of the wicked Mammon.

Faith only doth justifye us. 2.

The Law doth make us to hate God, because we be born under power of the Devil. 2.

It is impossible for us to consent to the will of God. 2.

The Law requirith impossible things of us. 2.

The Spirit of God turneth us and nature, that we do good, as naturally as a tree doth bring forth fruit. 8.

Works do only declare unto thee that thou art justified. 9.

Christ in all his deeds did not deserve Heaven. 14.

Labouring in good works to come to Heaven, thou dost shame to Christs Blood. 17.

Saints in Heaven cannot help us thither. 17.

We be to you that call evil good, and good evil.

To build a Church in honour of our Lady, or any other Saint, is in vain, they cannot help thee, they be not thy friends. 18.

All Fleish is in Bondage of Sin, and cannot avoid to Sin continually 25.

Thou canst not be damned, without Christ be damned, nor Christ be saved without thou be saved. 27.

The Commandments be given us, not to do them, but to know our Damnation, and call for mercy to God. 28.

Fasting is only to avoid surfeit, and to tame the Body: all other purposes be nought. 36.

To bid the poor Man pray for me, is only to remember him to do his duty, not that I have any trust in his Prayer. 38.

Though thou give me a thousand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound now, then I was before. 40.

A good deed done and not of fervent charity, as Christs was, is Sin. 40.

The veriest Turk living hath as much right to my goods at his need, as mine own household, or mine own self. 42.

Alms deserveth no meed. 42.

There is no work better then another to please God, to make Water, to wash dishes, to be a Souter and an Apottle, to wash dishes and to Preach, allis one to please God. 44.

Ceremonies of the Church hath brought the World from God. 45.

Beware of good intents: they are damned of God. 46.

See thou do nothing, but that God biddeth thee. 46.

Churches are for Preaching only, and not as they be used now. 47.

To Worship God otherwise, then to believe that he is just and true in his promise, is to make God an Idol. 47.

Pharaoh had not power to let the people depart at Gods pleasure. 61.

Our Prelates in Sin faith they have power. 61. We be so in captive of the Devil, and he holdeth our will in his power, that we cannot consent to Gods Law, and his will is impossible for us.

Every Man is Lord of another Mans good. 46. I am bound to love the Turk with the very bottom of my heart. 49.

Heretics and errors contained in the Book called, the obedience of a Christian Man.

Dicit quod tenemur satisfacere proximo, sed non Deo, fol. 7. page 1.

Dicit quod filii nec debent, nec possunt contrabere matrimonium abque consensu parentum, fol. 49. page 1.

Dicit quod vota sunt contra ordinationem divinam fol. 29. page 1.

Non licere Christianis resistere principi Infidel. & Ethnico, tolli libertatem arbitrii, fol. 36. page 1.

Whatsoever is done before the Spirit of God cometh, and giveth us light, is damnable Sin, contra moralis etiam civitates, fol. 36. page 2.

He reprovet Men that make holy Saints his Advocates to God, and there he sayeth, that Saints were not rewarded in Heaven for their holy works, 37. page 1.

God moved the Hearts of the Egyptians to hate the people, likewise he moved Kings, &c. fol. 45. page 1.

Paul was of higher authority then Peter, fol. 62. page 2. fol. 58. page 1. and 2.

Qui intendit satisfacere Deo, infidelis est, & non tenemur satisfacere Deo, sed proximo, fol. 70. page 2. in fine Oportet Presbiterum ducere uxorem ob duas causas, fol. 71. page 2.

Improbatur confessionem auricularem, fol. 83. page 1. and 2.

Every Man is a Priest, and we need no other Priest to be a mean, &c. fol. 91. page 1.

Defrui Sacramenta matrimonii & ordinis, fol. 9. and 91.

Hefayeth that Purgatory is of the Popes invention, and therefore he may do whatsoever he will, fol. 101. page 1.

Saints be saved, not by their merits, but only by the merits of Christ, fol. 103. page 2.

He sayeth that no Man may be hired to pray, fol. 110. Anno 1555.

Why should I trust in Pauls Prayer or Holiness: if Saint Paul were alive, he would compare himself to Saint Paul and be as good as he.

He faith that Saints which be dead be but our hirelings, and that there Prayer doth not profit us, fol. 119. page 1.

He sayeth, that all that be Baptized, become Christ himself, fol. 113. page 2.

He sayeth that the Children of faith be under no Law, fol. 124. page 1.

There is no deed so good, but that Law doth condemn it, fol. 113. page 1.

To ask of God more then he had promised cometh of false faith and is plain Idolatry, fol. 139. page 1.

Our pain taking in keeping the Commandments doth nothing but purge the Sin that remaineth in the Fleish, but to look for any other reward or promotion in Heaven, then God hath promised for Christs sake, is abominable in the sight of God, fol. 139. page 1. and 2.

He denieth Purgatory, fol. 142.

The Pope hath no other authority but to Preach only, fol. 142. page 2.

If thou bind thy self to chastity to obtain that which Christ purchased for thee surely thou art thou an infidel, fol. 145. page 2.

He denieth, rebuketh, and dammeth miracles. 147.

In Prayer he faith, that no Man should serve God with good intent or zeal, for it is plain Idolatry, 149. and 150.

Errors, Blasphemies, and Heresies, noted in the Book of the Revelation of Antichrist, and the Epistle going before.

TO bind a Man perpetually to any vow of Religion is without doubt an error, fol. 19. page 2.

To fain the Constitutions of Religion are good, because Holy Men did ordain them, as Augustine, Benedict, Francis, Dominick, and such other, that is to leave the Faith, and to follow such examples of Fathers in some things, Hoc est in istis rebus, is erring, fol. 19. page 1. and 2.

Whoever ordained Universities, be it at Alexander, at Haliu, Saint Thomas, or any other, he was a Star that fell from Heaven to Earth, there are brought in moral virtues for faith, and opinions for truth, fol. 32. page 2.

The Universities are the very consuled cloud and opened gate of Hell, and this cloak of all other is most noisom, and doth most hurt and damage, fol. 31. page 1.

All moral Divines have a Wicked Conscience full of scrupulosity, fol. 3. page 1.

In the whole new Law is no urgent precept nor grievous, but only exhortations to observe things necessary for Soules health, fol. 63. page 1.

Moral virtues are just; temperance, strength, chastity described by natural reason maketh a Synagogue, and corrupteth Christs faith, fol. 64. page 2.

Christ took away all Laws, and maketh us free, and at liberty, and most of all, he suppresseth all Ceremonies, &c.

If they would make all the Observations of the Ceremonies, as Lent, Fasting, Holy-days, Confession, Matrimony, Mass, Mattins, and Reliques, &c. free and indifferent, he should not be Antichrist, but now because he commandeth it in the Name of Christ, he doth utterly corrupt the Church, suppress the faith and advance Sin, fol. 67. page 2.

Faith only justifieth, fol. 63. page 2.

To believe in Christ maketh sure inheritors with Jesus Christ, fol. 1. page 1.

If a Man say, then shall we no good works do, I answer as Christ did, this is the work of God, fol. 3. page 1.

God bindeth us to that, which is impossible for us to accomplish, fol. 3. page 1.

Christ offered up our iniquities, as a Sacrifice to his Father, fol. 4. page 1.

Sin cannot condemn us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ which died for us, fol. 4. page 1.

I will shew you an evident Argument and reason, that thou maist know without doubt, who is Antichrist, All

Anno 1555. All they, that do pursue are Antichrists, the Pope, Bishops, Cardinals, and their adherents do pursue: Therefore, the Pope, Bishops, and Cardinals, and their adherents are Antichrists. I wene our *Sillogismus* be well made, fol. 9. page 2.

I think verily, that so long as the successeurs of the Apostles were persecuted and martyred, there were good Christian Men and no longer, fol. 10. page 1.

It is impossible, that the word of the Crois should be without Affliction and Persecution, fol. 10. page 1.

That the Apostles did curse ever any Man, truly we cannot read in Scripture, for Christ commanded that we should bless those that cursed them, fol. 11. page 10.

They are ignorant and evil, that do apply Antichrist to one person, for he calleth Antichrist the whole Body and multitude of wicked Men, fol. 13. page 2.

By works, superstitions and Ceremonies, we decay from the faith, which alone doth truly justify and make holy, fol. 15. page 1.

If our most Holy Father had these Laws, Mattins, Prayers, and other free and according to the Gospel (God left us all equal) we should have had none of these innumerable sins, for where is no Law there is no transgression, fol. 28. page 2.

The abusing of the Mass, with all his Solemnities, with vigiles, year minds, foundations, burials, and all the business that is done for the dead, is but a Face, and a Cloak of Godliness, and deceit of the people, they were good works, rather for the dead, then for the quick, fol. 24. page 1. and 2.

To keep and observe one day to fast, and another to abstain, to forbear such a meat upon the fasting day to deserve Heaven thereby is a wicked face and cloak, and against Paul fol. 29. page 2.

The multiplication of Holy days, of Feasts of Corpus Christi, of Visitation, and of our Lady, &c. is a wicked face and colour, and indeed foolish, unprofitable and vain, fol. 30. page 1.

Keeping of virginity and chastity of Religion is a devilish thing, fol. 30. page 1.

Worshipping of reliques is a proper thing and a cloak of advantage against the precept of God, and nothing but the affliction of Men, fol. 30. page 2. and 31. page 1.

The first wo that the Church hath received of the Pope, with help of Saint Thomas is Universities, defense of free will, moral virtues, and natural philosophy called the headed Cerberus fol. 35. page 2.

There is no special office, that pertaineth to thine orders and that is to Preach the Word of God, 36. page 1.

The Temple of God is not stones and wood, neither in the time of Paul was there any house which was called the Temple of God, 37. page 2.

He that fasteth no day, that sayeth no Mattins and doth none of the precepts of the Pope sinneth not, if he think that he doth not Sin, 43. page 2.

Christ ordained the Sacrament of the Altar, only to nourish faith of them that live, but the Pope maketh it a good work, and a Sacrifice to be applied both to quick and dead, fol. 48. page 2.

These signs (*loquatur de miraculis in peregrinationibus & devotionibus*) are not to the increase of the Faith and Gospel: for they are rather against the Faith and Gospel, and they are the operation of Satan and lying signs, fol. 49. page 1.

The people of Christ doth nothing, because it is commanded, but because it is pleasant and acceptable unto them, fol. 63. page 1.

All things necessary are declared in the new Testament, but no Man is compelled, but according to their own will; Therefore Christ teacheth Matthew 16. That a Rebellion should not be killed but avoided, 63. page 1. and 2. and 66.

Contrarius ritus & ceremonias in Missa pliusquam in sacra, 68. page 1.

Christ ordained that there should be no Sin, but unbelief, infidelity, no justice but faith, 69. page 1.

No labour is now a days more tedious then saying of Mass and Mattins, &c. which before God are nothing but grievous Sins, 70. page 1. and 2.

The Sins of Manasses and other wicked Kings Sacrifi-

cing their own Children are but light and childish offences to these; The cursed Sacrifice of Gentiles may not be compared to ours, we are seven times worse gentiles then we were before we knew Christ, 70. page 2.

It were better to receive neither of the parties of the Sacrament of the Altar, then the one alone, 73. page 1.

The Law of the Pope that commandeth every Man to communicate together upon one day, is a most cruel Law, constraining Men to their own destruction, 73. page 2.

The New Testament of Christ will not suffer any Law of compulsion, but only of counsel and exhortation, 74. page 2.

The most spiritual Man of all, if he confess his Sins to a Priest sinneth: for he should confess against his will. For this sentence standeth firm and stable, he that doth a thing against his will, doth it not, and compelled service pleaseth not God, 75. page 1.

The Spirit would, that nothing should be done, but that which is expressly rehearsed in Scripture, 81. page 1.

I doubt not, but Saint Barnard, Francis, Dominick, and many other Holy Men and Women erred, as concerning Masses, Mattins, &c. fol. 82. page 2.

Saint Thomas de Aquino saoureth nothing of the Spirit of God, 83. page 1.

The Pope did condemn the truth of the Word of God openly, at Constance in John Husse, persevering unto this day in the same stubbornness, 86. page 2.

The errors and Heresies contained in the Book called, The Sum of the Scripture.

THE Water of the font hath no more vertue in it then hath any other Water.

The Water of Baptism lyeth not in hallowed Water, or in other outward thing, but only in faith. 6. page 1.

Men should not seek their health in good works, but all only in Faith and Grace. page 2.

The Water of Baptism is nothing but a sign that we must be under the standard of the Crois, 12. page 2.

God-Fathers and God-Mothers be bound to help them, that they be put to School, that they may understand the Gospel, and the Epistles of Saint Paul, 15. page 2.

We be all equally bound to know the gospel and Epistles of Paul, 15. page 1.

We think that when we believe that God is God, and can say our Creed, that we have the Faith that a Christian Man is bound to have: but so doth the Devil believe, 17. page 2.

To believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost be one God, is not the principal that we must believe: our Faith doth not lye principally in that: for so believeth the Devil, 18. page 1.

We have as much right and as great to Heaven as Christ. 19. page 1.

If we believe that God hath promised us Everlasting Life, it is impossible that we should perish, 20. page 1. and 2.

If thou canst surely and stedfastly believe in God he will hold his promise, for he hath bound himself to us, and by his promise he oweth us Heaven in case that we believe him. 21. page 2.

A lively and stedfast Faith and trust in God may bring us to Heaven. 22. page 1.

All they err that thinketh they shall be saved when they have done many good works. 25. page 2. All Christly Glory is ours, 27. page 1.

We need not labour for to be Christs Heirs, and Sons of God, and to have Heaven, for we have all these things already, *ibidem*.

We need not to labour by our good works to get Everlasting Life: for we have it already, we be all justified, we be all the Children of God. 28. page 2.

By Faith Men are sure to be saved, but if God had said, whosoever do such or such works shall be saved, we should ever have been uncertain. 35. page 2. 36. page 1.

All that thinketh that the good works helpeth any thing, or profit any thing to get the gift of Salvation they Blaspheme against God, and rob God of his honour, 28. page 2.

If we be circumcised, that is to say, if we put any trust in works Christ shall not help us. *ibidem*.

We deserve nothing of God. 30. page 2.

We deserve not everlasting life by our good works: for God hath promised it unto us before that we began to do good. 40. page 2.

We must love death and more desire to dye then to fear death. 36. page 1.

All Theologians are abused, that faith that hope proceedeth out of good works, 40. page 2.

To serve God in a tediousness, or for fear of hell, or for the joyes of Heaven, is but shadows of good works, and such service doth not please God. 41. page 1.

Every Christian man must keep Gods Commandments by love, and not by hope to get for his service everlasting Life. 42. page 1.

The Jews kept the Commandments, and the Law of God, yet they could not come to Heaven. 43. page 2.

If works might have saved Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, David have been saved before the Nativity of Christ. 44. page 1.

God made Men his Children and his Heirs, while we were his Enemies. 44. page 2.

A Man must do his diligence to keep his heritage of God, and labour to entertain it. *ibidem*.

A Christian Man perceiving his own Sins should think and say to God: I am certain that thou wilt not damn me, and yet thou maist do it righteously. 46. page 1.

Men trusting in their good works, are like to the thief on the left side, and are such Men as commeth to the Church daily, keepeth holy-days and fasting days, and hearth Masses, and these people be themselves damned, and this is one of the greatest errors in Christendom, to think that his good works shall help to his salvation. 47.

It were better never to have done good works, and ask mercy therefore, then to do good works, and think that for them God is bound to a Man by promise. 48. page 1.

We can shew no more honour to God, then faith and trust in him. 48. page 2.

When we sin, we minish not the glory of God. *ibidem*.

All the danger in our Sins, is the evil example that we give to our Neighbour. *ibidem*.

Our Lord demandeth nothing but the Heart. 49.

When our Lord hath our heart, he regardeth not whether we fast, pray, hear Mass, or whether we wear blew habit or gray. *ibidem*.

All outward things are indifferent before God. 49.

When our Hearts be ruled in God, according to the gospel, all is one, what thing soever we do. *ibidem*.

Faith without good works is no little, nor no feable faith, but it is no faith. 50. page 1.

Every Man doth as much as he believeth. 50. page 2.

We cannot be without motions of evil desires: but we must mortifie them in resisting them. 52. page 2.

God commandeth us to exercise works of mercy: all other works in the Church be founded by avarice not commanded by God, &c. *ibidem*.

All very Christianity lieth in love of our neighbours for God and not in fasting, keeping of holy days, watching, praying, and fingings, long prayers daily, and all day hearing Mass, roving in pilgrimage, &c. 52. page 1. & 2.

Many Doctors in Theologia, and not only common people believeth that it is a part of a Christian Faith to believe that Jesus Christ hath lived here in Earth. 53. page 2. 54. page 1.

He that doth good against his will he doth evil. 56. page 1. 2.

No Man is righteous but that fulfilleth the Commandments with joyful Hearts. 57. page 1.

No Man doth more then he is bound to do, and therefore no Man may make other partakers of their good works. 59. page 1.

Christ hath gotten Heaven by his passion, but that right hath he no need of, but hath granted it to all them that believe in his promises. 59. page 1.

If God had promised us Heaven for our good works, we should ever be sure of our Salvation. 59. page 1.

Be our Sins never so great, that it seemeth impossible to us to be saved, yet without any doubt we shall believe to be saved. *ibidem*.

The salvation of a Christian Man lyeth not in this

Life, but rather endeth: for we cannot be saved but by Anno death, and in this Life is no profit. 60. page 1.

It is but folly and infidelity to weep for death of our friends. 61. page 2.

It is a great Sin before God to ordain where thou wilt be buried, or what stone thou wilt have on thy Tomb, all is one before God, to be buried in the Church, or in any other place. 61. page 2.

In times passed, all that lived after the Gospel were Monks, and gave them to that life. 62. page 2.

First Monks were Helias, Heliseus, the Sons of Jonadab. 63. page 1.

The Monks after our Saviours ascension unto S. Benedict and Gregories days made no vows nor profession: they might, eat, drink, fast, pray, when they list. They had no certain Masses, nor howers to sing, daily. 63. page 2.

What is now the Life of Religion, but a superstitious subjection unto certain vain Ceremonies? 66. page 1.

If a Man vow to live chaste, and in poverty in a Monastery, then if he perceive that in the Monastery he liveth worse then he did before, as in fornication and theft, then he may leave the Cloyster and break his vow without Sin. 71. page 1.

Saint Augustine holdeth them for Hereticks, that faith that Religious Men should not labour with their hands. 81. page 1.

Bodily labour is commanded to all persons. *ibid*.

It is abomination to make sumptuous Monasteries, Chappels, Altar-clothes. 81. page 2.

If thou love thy Wife because she is thy Wife, that is no love before God: but thou shalt love her, because she is thy Sister in God. 83. page 1.

It is nothing but all incredulity to run with pilgrimage, and seek God in one certain place, which is like mighty in all places. 87. page 1.

Men should see that their Children come to Church to hear the Sermon. 89. page 1.

Four manner of people, or four parts of people liveth and are fed by one part, that is to say, by Citizens, Artificers and Husbandmen, which labour and getteth their own expences, and the expences of the other 4 parties, of Priests, Monks, of Lord Councillors, old People and Children, of Men of War, Theeves, Murthcers, Ruffians, common people and that getteth nothing, but spendeth all. 92. page 2.

Thou shalt not count at night how much Money thou hast gained. 97. page 2.

Thou shalt not vex or grieve by Justice, or otherwise the poor that oweth unto thee: for thou maist not do it without Sin. 97. page 2.

The good Christian shall not defend themselves by justice in no manner for any manner of wrong that they suffer, but recommend all to the good will of God. 98. page 1.

He that is rich, and liveth of his rents may not use to over-spend his goods as he will, but thy goods belong as well unto the poor as to thee. 68. page 2.

God hath not given Riches to Rich Men for to boast and brag therewith; Nor to make great cheer, neither to make themselves Lords, but to the intent that they should be servants unto all the World. 101. page 1.

It is not true that a Rich Man doth gain his goods, nor that he is Lord of his own goods, nor that he may not use them at his pleasure. 101. page 2.

A Man shall be reproved for no other thing at the day of Judgment, but for forgetting of the poor. 101. page 2.

Making of Churches, and foundations of Masses, Chauntries and Chappels, are rather invented by covetous mind of Men, then otherwise. 101. page 2.

There be two sorts of people: one is the Kingdom of God, to which belongeth all true Christian people, and in this Kingdom Christ is King and Lord, and it is impossible in this Kingdom, that is to say among very true Christian people, that the Sword of Justice temporal should have ought to do. 104. page 1. & 2.

There is another sort of people belongeth to the World, and they be unrighteous, and they had need of the sword of temporal Justice. 105. page 1.

No Man is under the secular power, but they that be of the Christian Estate, & out of Gods Kingdom. 106. page 2.

Jesus

Anno 1555. Iesus Christ hath not ordained in his spiritual Kingdom, which is all true Christians, any sword: but he himself is their King and Governor, without sword, or without outward Law, 108. page 2.

Christian Men amongst themselves have nought to do with the sword nor with the Law, for that is to them neither needful or profitable. The secular sword belongeth not to Christs Kingdom, for in it is none but good and just, 109. page 2.

The Gospel maketh all true Christian men servants to all the World, 101. page 1.

Christ saith that no Man shall resist evil, nor sue any Man at the Law, 110. page 2.

The Gospel is written for all Persons, Estates, Prince, Duke, Pope, Emperour, 112. page 2.

When Judges hath hope that an evil doer will amend, they must be always merciful, as Christ was to the Woman taken in adultery. The temporal Law must obey the Gospel, and them that we may amend by warning, we shall not correct them by justice, 113. page 2.

A true Christian Man never plaineth to the injury that men do unto him, 114. page 1.

By the Gospel Christian Men ought not to have suit and parties among them, 114. page 2.

The obedience of a Christian Man to temporal power is, as Christ was obedient to temporal puissance, and payed tribute Money, not because that he ought it, but because he would not offend: so must a Christian Man do: But when Lords ask nought, thou oughtest them nought before God, 116. page 2.

Men of War are not allowed by the Gospel, the Gospel knoweth Peace and not War, 117. page 1.

Doctors that say that War is a thing reasonable or good, understandeth not the Words of the Gospel, for of Saint John. *Ibidem*.

Saint John praised not War by his word, but rather forbade it, as teacheth all the Gospel, 118. page 1.

Some Texts of Canon-Law suffereth War, but the teaching of Christ forbiddeth all Wars. Nevertheless, when a City is besieged, or a Country invaded, the Lord of the Country is bound to put his Life in jeopardy for his Subjects, *ibid*.

So a Lord may use horrible War charitably and Christianly, 119. page 1.

A Servant should not be sorry that his Master will not suffer him to hear Mass, nor come to the Church, for God careth not what thing we do, nor in what place, 121. page 2.

Out of the Book of Beggars.

There be many Men of great Literature and Judgment, that for the love they have unto the Church, and unto the Commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be in the objection of all the World, yea in the peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter, which is that there is no Purgatory, but it is a thing invented by the covetousness of the Spirituality, only to translate all Kingdoms from other Princes unto them: and that there is not one word spoken of it in all Holy Scripture: God took Enoch away, that is to say, he departed out of this World like other Men, *Primo male vertit, nam scriptura dicit transiit, non abfuit deinde falsum est, quod addit, nam ad Hebræos undecimo legimus, sicut Enoch translatus est, ne videret mortem & non inveniebatur, quia translatus illum dominus ecclesiasticæ, Enoch placuit Deo & translatus est in Paradisum, ut det gentium sapientiam.*

Dauids good intent, and Matthews, in building the Temple, were nought: *Et quid est quod dicit, 30 Reg. 2. quia cogitasti in corde tuo adificare domum nomine meo fecisti, hoc ipsum mente pertractus & ab illum propositus videtur David, illud præmiis a Deo tulisse, & ejus filij in regno ei succederent.*

Out of the Primer.

He putteth in the Book of seven Psalms, but he leaveth out the whole Letany, by which it appeareth his erroneous opinion against praying to Saints.

He hath left out all the Hymns and Anthems of our Lady, by which appeareth his erroneous opinions against praying to our Lady.

The ungodly and erronious saying contained in an English work, inscribed an exposition upon the 7. Chap. of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

Whoever in himself doth not feel this Godly thing, this gift of chastity, but doth feel incontinency, to him, I say, a commandment is given that he may be married, *fol. 2.*

Hereof doth follow that no person may make a vow or promise to live chaste or single, and that none is bound to keep any such vows, but rather to break them: And he that shall observe them, it is damnable, and by the Law of God already condemned, *fol. eodem.*

The touching of Women, some persons have compassed much freightly, so that they dare not touch a Womans hand or skin, moreover they imagined many, both Statutes and Ceremonies, to keep them from company of Women, as they thought that built Abbies, but how fortunately that hath come to pass; what place thereby hath been given to Satan, it were horrible to be spoken of, *ibidem.*

He that is compelled outwardly to abstain from Women, and is inwardly full of lust, is a dilember, and it is double lechery, *fol. 3.*

Mark what Soul-ayers they be that provoke foolish youth to a vow of chastity, compelling them to nourish inwardly hidden malice, *fol. eodem.*

All other evils may be suffered with a mean Conscience.

This cannot so be endured, this can be holpen by no medicine, but by marriage.

It is good for a Man not to touch a Woman, this word good is not understood of merit and deserving afore God, as though an unmarried Man were better afore him, then the married, like as Saint Jerome hath expounded this text; for it concerneth only faith, and no deed or work, but it is spoken of temporal quietness of this Life, so that the virgin and maid hath much more joy and tranquility, *fol. 4.*

Chastity is a good thing, if lust and incontinency make it not so common a thing as we have hitherto used to do, and yet do, but all amiss; but the Apostle will, that universally all Men be conjugal: but all the Bishops since his time hath destroyed this godly Ordinance, when they babble and rail in Pulpits, changing this word *quisque* into *quidam*, *fol. 6.*

Men ought to stint of their statutes making, for a better statute can none be then this, that men without any respect of time use their Wife, not to exempt certain days as they have which we call Vigils, and Women conceived, *fol. 8.*

Fasting is a measurable usage of meats, and drinks; Prayer is a crying, sigh, desire and mourning, *fol. 9.*

No Man ought to enforce and compel Men to fasting and prayer as they hitherto by Laws have done, *fol. 11.*

Before God, all things are like and equal, *fol. 12.*

Abominable they do sin which make Nuns swell in pride, when they babble, that their Religion is more precious then Matrimony, and then feign that they shall have a Crown or Garland of Gold, so maketh them arrogant, wicked, unfaithful; Chastity is a gift of God, and therefore can no Man neither promise, nor vow, nor keep it, *fol. 13.*

The Sects of all them that are called Religious, and of all manner of Shavelings, are falsely called the Spiritual Orders for Matrimony like as in very deed, so it ought to be called the spiritual state before other orders worldly and secular; Matrimony is of all other the highest Religion and most spiritual estate.

Matrimony is as Gold, the spiritual estate as Dung; the Spirit and such spiritual estates have no more agreement then Christ and Behol, the Day and the Night, the Spirit and the Flesh, Faith and our Senses or Reason, *fol. 17.*

Their prayer, their singing, doing their spiritual works, for so much as they have not the very Word of God to confirm them, God cannot be pleased with them, *fol. 18.*

Dico autem non nuptis & viduis, &c. Of this we have gathered that Paul had a Wife, and here he speaketh only of Widows; a Wife which either was dead, or for a time

time left him for the Gospels sake, but the other Apostles led about their Wives, fol. 19.

By Testimony of Scriptures, all the Apostles and all the Bishops Successors were married, fol. 2.

Saint Paul sayth, that he ought to be chosen for to be a Bishop that is the Husband of one Wife.

Seeing ye choose not married Men to be Bishops, either Christ must be a fool and unrighteous which so did choose, or you Antichrists and deceivers.

You put away universally marriage from Priests contrary unto God, to nature, to reason, to right, only of presumption without all manner of cause, fol. 21.

There is no Sin, ne mischief in all the World so manifold, that can let a Man from Priesthood, but godly Matrimony, fol. 32.

Wicked traditions and Laws and ungracious constitutions leaveth Bigamy from Priesthood.

What other thing is it to say, that a Priest should not marry, thento say, that a Man should not be a Man? fol. 23.

The Body of a Christian Man must as well nourish feed, and beget Children and multiply, as the Body of Birds, Beasts and other lively things.

Every Man, as willeth Saint Paul, needeth to go to Matrimony, necessity so requirith, fol. 25.

This dare I be bold to say, that where is one chaste, there ought more then an hundred thousand to live married, fol. 26.

Saint Jerome which extollet chastity with most highest, but most perilous lauds, nevertheless confesseth, that he could not tame his Flesh; he belonged to the number of them that belonged to Matrimony. Such example shalst thou find in a Book *De vitis Patrum*, fol. 27.

To keep a young Man in Cloister to live chaste, is as much as to offer a Child to *Molech*, there to be burned, fol. 28.

If the one would be at one, and the other will not, the party that would be reconciled to love, may marry another, though the other be alive, fol. 23.

Whosoever doth not expel faith, is by reason of the same harmless, pure, clean, holy, profitable, fol. 35.

Infants be holy and clean, though they have not received Baptism, because their Parents be holy and clean.

The wretched Laws of the Pope binleth unmarried persons to abide, or the coming again of the other, that was his mate and that under pain (O presumption, O shame boldness!) of damnation, fol. 38.

To help a Man to God, or let a Man from God, cometh only of faith and unbelief, fol. 43.

Præsumptio est, &c. a general proverb, or sit sentence against all humane Laws and traditions: he sheweth what liberty is granted by the doctrine of Christ, and how that faith maketh all states and things equal, fol. 47.

Christ with his precious Blood hath redeemed and delivered us from all Sins and Laws, so that no longer any Law can bind us in Conscience, fol. 48.

All exterior things before God, are free, and that a Christian Man may use them according to his appetite either leaving or taking.

Thou owest nothing unto God, but faith and confession; by confession I mean not the whispering of Sins into the Priests ear, ne yet thy confession of thy Sins to God: but with Saint Paul if thou confest with thy Mouth that Jesus is Christ, and believe in thy heart that God hath raised him from death, thou shalt be saved: in all other things, he giveth thee liberty of thine own will, thou mayst do all things without jeopardy of Conscience, God careth not as concerning for himself, though thou didst forsake thy Wife, run from thy Lord or Master, and shouldst break all manner of covenants, that thou makest with all men, but for that thou art bound to thy neighbour, fol. 49.

Thou canst not perish or be damned whatsoever thing thou shalt outwardly either do, or else leave undone: we owe nothing unto any Man, save love only.

In Cloisters and Monasteries they do against faith, God, liberty, and Gods ordinances; They shall occupy seats appointed for them in the deep dungeon of Hell, fol. 52.

By this is overthrown the Devilish Doctrine of the brainless and doting Doctors and Preachers of the Devil, which do forge singular coronets for Nuns and Virgins; in Heaven only faith hath it, fol. 53.

Readings, founding of Organs, singing amongst religious be superstitious; and among them, the service and honour of God is suppressed and convicted, fol. 54.

Where the Apostles here are better, it is to be understood of goodness in this World, fol. 6.

The jolly and cruel Tyrants and soul Murderers that shut up youth in Cloisters.

AL which great errors and pestilent Heresies being contagious and damnable with all the Books containing the same with the translation also of Scripture corrupted by William Tyndal, as well in the Old Testament as in the New, and all other Books in English containing such error, the Kings Highness present in person, by one whole advice and assent of the Prelates and Clerks, as well of the Universities, as of all other assembled together, determined utterly to be repelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people and not to be suffered to go abroad among his Subjects; And his Highness willeth further that his pleasure and determination should be notified by Preachers abroad unto the people as well for putting away of all such Books, as reading, retaining, or having hereafter of any other like, delivering unto certain Preachers, the form of a writing to be published in effect unto the people in their Sermons, whereof the form here followeth, willing them in all his Realm to publish the same.

Here followeth the bill in English to be published by the Preacher.

IT is the Office and duty of every Preacher and teacher of the Word of God, not only to shew and declare unto his audience that which might be profitable and wholesome for the wealth of their Souls, to be followed and taken, but also to note and signify unto them such things as be dangerous and contagious, to the intent they might be avoided and eschewed, and also as near as they can judge who be Teachers and Authors of the same; this example we have of our Saviour Christ, where he sayeth, Attendite a fallis Prophetis, &c. Saint Paul likewise many times groweth warning to such as be wrot unto, that they should beware of the false Apostles, that in his absence went about to corrupt the Doctrine that he had taught them being present. Wherefore considering that it hath pleased the Kings Highness like a noble, and a virtuous Prince, tendering not only the present Bodily Wealth and Tranquillity of all his Subjects, for his and the Worldly commodity and benefit, but most chiefly regarding the Wealth of their Souls and their due order towards God thereby to deserve and attain immortal glory, to assemble and call together the chief personages of his Prelates, and a great number of learned Men of both Universities, charging and commanding them for the discharge and exoneration of his Conscience, to find, read, examine, and discuss the contents of such Books as be now spread abroad within this his Gracious Realm in the English Tongue concerning the Points and Articles of our Faith, and after their Learning and Conscience to make relation unto his Highness, whether the same Books be expedient and profitable for his people, to the direction and ordering of their Conscience and Soul, or else contagious and pestiferous for the same: And whether the Opinions contained in them, were agreeable to Gods Word and Doctrine or no, for as much as the said Congregation and assembly had free Liberty and Licence granted unto every Man to say as his Conscience and Learning served him without any reproof or blame to be imputed or arrested for any thing to be spoken there, whose personsoever it touched, or any necessity to agree to the more part, but only to say that his own Learning and Conscience could maintain and justify; After mature Deliberation and Consultation had, it was there by a whole consent, no Man repugning or gainsaying determined and agreed that the Books now being abroad in the English Tongue contain false traditions and corrupt Doctrine, farre discrepant from the true Sense of the Gospel and Catholick understanding.

Anno of Scripture, only perswading pernicious Heresies to the
 1555. destruction of the Soules of good Christian men, and that
 the certainty hereof, I can report unto you of mine own
 knowledge, being one of the said assembly and hearing
 and seeing the said Opinions read, declaired and examined,
 and by the true sense and meaning of Gods learning
 reproved and rejected: I think therefore my duty is, tak-
 ing upon me the office of a Preacher, following the ex-
 ample of our Master Christ and Saint Paul as it afore-
 said to warn and admonish you by the words of Christ,
 as I spake before: Attendite a falsis Prophetis, &c. And
 take heed of your self that ye be not infected by the con-
 tagion and infection of such Pseudo-Apostles as have
 in our English Tongue, set forth Books to seduce you from
 the true knowledge of Gods Lawes, and bring you by their
 false interpretations of Scripture into the detestable and
 abominable Heresies to the destruction of our Soules, where-
 fore you that have the Books called the obedience of a
 Christian man: the sum of Scripture, the Revelation of
 Antichrist, the Iuplication of Beggers, Mammona iniqui-
 tatis, the Matrimony of Tindal, the New Testament in
 English, of the translation which is now printed, and
 such other Books in English, the Authors whereof either
 dare not, or do not put to their names, be pernicious Books;
 detest them, abhor them, keep them not in your hands,
 deliver them to the Superiours (such as call for them: And
 if by reading them heretofore, any thing remaineth in
 your breasts of that teaching, either forget it, or by infor-
 mation of the Truth expel it and purge it, to the intent
 that ye being so purified and cleansed of that contagious
 Doctrine and pestiferous traditions may be fit and apt to
 receive, and retain the true Doctrine and understanding
 of Christs Lawes: thus to the comfort and edification of your
 Soules; thus I move and exhort you in God to do, this is
 your duty to do.

The Prelates of the Church having the cure and charge
 of your Soules ought to compel you, and your Prince to pun-
 ish and correct you not doing of the same, unto whom as
 Saint Paul saith, the Sword is given by Gods ordinance
 for that purpose; ye shall also farther understand, that the
 Kings Highness, forasmuch as it was reported unto him
 that there is engendered an Opinion in divers of his sub-
 jects, that it is his Graces duty to cause the scripture of God
 to be translated into the English Tongue to be communicate
 unto the People, and that the Prelates, and also his High-
 ness do wrong in binding of the same, his Highness
 therefore willed every man there present in the said assen-
 bly, freely and frankly to shew and open unto him what
 might be proved, and conferred by Scripture, and holy
 Doctors in that behalf, to the intent that his Highness
 (as he there openly protested) might conform himself
 therunto, minding to do his duty towards his People, as
 he would they should do their duties towards him: In
 which matter, after the Scripture declared, holy Doctors
 and Authors alleged, and read, and all things said,
 which might be on both sides and for both parts spoken,
 deduced, and brought forth, finally it appeared, that the
 having of the whole Scripture in English is not necessary
 to Christian men, but that without having any such Scrip-
 ture, endeavouring themselves to do well, and to apply their
 minds to take and follow such Lessons as the Preacher
 teacheth them, and so learned by his mouth, may as well
 edifie spiritually in their Soules, as if they had the same
 Scriptures in English. And like as the having of Scriptures
 in the vulgar Tongue, and in the common Peoples hands,
 hath been by holy Fathers of the Church heretofore
 in some times thought meet and convenient, so at another
 time, it hath been thought to holy Fathers not expedient
 to be communicate amongst them, wherefor as much
 as the Kings Highness, by the advice and deliberation of
 his Council, and the agreement of the great Learned men
 thinketh in his Conscience, that the divulging of the
 Scripture at this time in the English Tongue, to be com-
 mitted to the People, considering such pestilent Books, and
 so evil Opinions, as be now spread amongst them, would
 rather be to their further confusion and destruction, then
 the edification of their Soules, and that as holy Doctors
 testify, upon such like considerations, the semblable hath
 been done in times past, it was thought therein: that assen-
 bly to all and singular in that Congregation, that the Kings
 Highness, and the Prelates in so doing and not suffering

the Scripture to be divulged and communicate in the
 English Tongue unto the People, at this time doth well.
 And also I think and judge the same, exhorting, and
 moving you, that in consideration his Highness did there
 openly say and protest that he would cause the New Tes-
 tament to be, by Learned men faithfully and purely trans-
 lated into the English Tongue, to the intent he might have
 it in his hands, ready to be given to his Peoples: he might
 see their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient
 to receive the same, that ye will so detest these pernicious
 Books, so abhor these Heresies, and new Opinions, so de-
 cline from arrogancy of knowledge and understanding of
 Scripture after your fantasies, and show your self in coun-
 ting and reasoning, so sober, quiet, meet and temperate,
 as all fear of misusing the gift of Scripture taken away
 ye may appear such in your princes eyes, and eyes of your
 Prelates, as they shall have no just cause to fear any
 such danger; perswading unto your self in the mean time
 without grudging or murmuring the very Truth, which
 is this, that we cannot require or demand Scripture to be
 divulged in the English Tongue, otherwise then upon the
 discretion of the Superiours, so as whensoever they think
 in their Conscience it may do you good, they may and do
 well, to give it unto you: And whensoever it shall be
 seen otherwise unto them, they do emit in suffering you
 to have it. Of and upon the which Decree, order and
 determination above recited his gracious Highness being
 in person in the Chappel, called the old Chappel, which
 sometime was called, St. Edwards Chamber, late on the
 East-side of the Parliament Chamber, within his Graces
 palace at Westminster, upon the 24. day of May,
 the year of our Lord God 1530. and in the two and
 twentieth year of his reign called before his Grace the
 three Notaries here under written, and then and there in
 the presence of all the Personages there assembled and ga-
 thered together, willed and required the said three No-
 taries to make publick and authentick instruments, and
 us to set thereunto our Seal accordingly in and for wit-
 ness, and perpetual memory and monument of this his
 Graces desire, order and determination, and of all and
 singular the premises, and all the personages then and
 there being present, to testify the same, and bear Record
 and testimony thereupon: In witness of all, and singular
 the premises. We William Archbishop, Primate and
 Legate aforesaid, have commanded and obtained these
 present Letters testimonial, or present publick or authen-
 tick Instrument, containing therein the order, decree, and
 determination above-said, to be made, and to be subscrib-
 ed, and signed by the hands of the Notaries hereafter
 named, and to be sealed with our own Seal. All which
 premises have been done in manner and form above spe-
 cified, then and there being present the noble personage of
 Thomas Moor Knight, great Chancellor of England, our
 Reverend Brother in Christ Cuthbert, by the permission of
 God Bishop of Durham; and worshipful personages, Master
 Steven Gardiner Secretary, Master Richard Samson,
 Dean of the Chappel, Doctor of Law, Master Richard
 Wolman, Master of the Request, Master John Bell,
 Counsellor, Doctors of the holy Decrees, Master Nicholas
 Wilton the Kings Confessor, Master Richard Duck,
 Arch-deacon of Wiltshire, Doctors of Divinity; Mr.
 John Oliver, Master Edmund Steward, Doctors of the
 Law, Chaplains to our said Sovereign Lord the Kings
 Grace, Master Richard Mawdly, Master William Mor-
 timer, Master Edward Crone, Master Edward Wiggins,
 Doctors also of Divinity; Master Robert Carter, Master
 Edward Leighton, Master Hugh Latimer, and Master
 William Latimer and Roger Tillson Masters of Art in
 both the Universities above-said with many more learned
 men of the said Universities, in a great number assembled
 then and there together witnesses to the premises required
 and exhibited: These being premised, now let us see
 the answer of Master Latimer again to this foresaid
 Testimonial or Instrument of the Bishops, in a Letter
 which the said Latimer wrote to King Henry the same
 time in that behalf.

Here followeth a Letter of Mr. Latimer written to
 King Henry the Eighth upon this occasion. Ye heard
 before of two sundry Proclamations, set out by the Bi-
 shops in the name of King Henry, the one in the year

1531, and the other set out An. 1546. In the which Proclamations, being authorized by the Kings name, were inhibited all English Books, either containing or tending to any matter of the Scripture. Where also we have exprest at large the whole Catalogue of all the Errors and Heresies, which the said Bishops fallily have excerpted, and maliciously imputed to godly Writers, with their places and quotations above assigned in the place aforesaid. Now Mr. Latimer growing in some favour with the King, and seeing the great decay of Christs Religion by reason of these Proclamations, and touched therefore with the zeal of Conscience, directeth unto King Henry this Letter hereunder ensuing, thereby intending by all means possible to persuade the Kings mind to set open again the freedom of Gods holy Word amongst his Subjects. The Copy and tenour of this Letter here followeth.

The Letter of Mr. Latimer written to King HENRY, for the restoring again of the free liberty of reading the holy Scriptures.

To the most Mighty Prince, King of England, HENRY the Eighth, Grace, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father, by our Lord Jesus Christ.

Another Letter of Mr. Latimer to King Henry, August ad Calaniam, Chrysol.

M^r Latimer teacheth his Conscience to write to the King.

What it is to be a traitor to the Truth.

The Kings wilfulness and pride, and the Pharisces.

THe wrote to Calaniam, faith, that he which for fear of any Power hideth the Truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him: for he feareth men more than God. And according to the same, the holy man St. John Chrysostom faith, that he is not only a traitor to the Truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lye; but he also which doth not freely pronounce and shew the truth that he knoweth. These Sentences (most redoubted King) when I read now of late, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me sore afraid, troubled, and vexed me grievously in my Conscience, and at the last drave me to this fruit, that either I must shew forth such things as I have read and learned in Scripture, or else be of that sort that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traitors unto the Truth: the which thing rather than it should happen, I had rather suffer extreme punishment.

For what other thing is it to be a traitor unto the Truth, than to be a traitor and a Judas unto Christ, which is the very truth, and cause of all truth? the which faith, that whosoever denieth him here before men, he will deny him before his Father in Heaven. The which denying ought more to be feared and dread, than the loss of all temporal goods, honour, promotion, fame, prison, slander, hurts, banishments, and all manner of torments and cruelties, yea, and death it self, be it never so shameful and painful. But alas, how little do men regard those sharp sayings of these two holy men? and how little do they fear the terrible judgment of Almighty God? and specially they which boast themselves to be Guides and Captains unto other, and challenging unto themselves the knowledge of holy Scripture, yet will neither shew the Truth themselves (as they be bound) neither suffer them that would. So that unto them it may be said, that which our Saviour Christ said to the Pharisees, Matt. 23. *We be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, which shut up the Kingdom of Heaven before men, and neither will you enter in, nor suffer them that would to enter in.* And they will, as much as in them lieth, debar, not only the Word of God, which David calleth, *a light to direct and shew every man how to order his affections and lusts*, according to the Commandments of God, but also by their subtle wilfulness they instruct, move, and provoke in a manner, all Kings in Christendom, to aid, licour, and help them in this their mischief; and especially in this your Realm they have so blinded your Liege People and Subjects with their Laws, Customs, Ceremonies, and Banbury Glosses, and punished them with Curfings, Excommunications, and other corruptions, (corrections, I would say,) and now at the last when they see that they cannot prevail against the open Truth (which the more it is persecuted, the more it increaseth by

their tyranny) they have made it treason to your noble Grace to have the Scripture in English.

Here I beseech your Grace to pardon me a while, and patiently to hear me a word or two; yea, though it be so that, as concerning your high Majesty and Regal Power whereunto Almighty God hath called your Grace, there is as great difference between you and me, as between God and Man: For you be here to me and to all your Subjects, in Gods stead, to defend, aid and succour us in our right, and so I should tremble and quake to speak to your Grace. But again, as concerning that you be a mortal man, in danger of sin, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in the which all we be both conceived and born: so have you no less need of the merits of Christs passion for your salvation, than I and other of your Subjects have, which be all Members of the mystical Body of Christ. And though you be an higher Member, yet you must not disdain the lesser. For as St. Paul faith, *Those Members that be taken to be most vile, and had in least reputation, be as necessary as the others, for the preservation and keeping of the body.* This, most gracious King, when I considered, and also your favourable and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and simple Letter unto your Grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithful mind even as it is.

Fifth, and before all things, I will exhort your Grace to mark the life and process of our Saviour Christ, and his Apostles, in preaching and setting forth of the Gospel, and to note also the words of our Master Christ, which he had to his Disciples when he sent them forth to preach his Gospel, and to these have ever in your mind the golden Rule of our Master Christ; *The tree is known by the fruit.* For by the diligent marking of these, your Grace shall clearly know and perceive who be the true followers of Christ, and teachers of his Gospel, and who be not. And concerning the first, all Scripture sheweth plainly that our Saviour Jesus Christs life was very poor.

Begin at his birth, and I beseech you, who ever heard of a poorer, and so poor as he was? It were too long to write how poor Joseph and the blessed Virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethlehem, in the cold and frosty Winter, having no body to wait upon them, but he both Master and Man, and the both Mistress and Maid. How vilely, thinks your Grace, were they intreated in the Inns and Lodgings by the way? and in how vile and abject place was this poor Maid, the Mother of our Saviour Jesus Christ, brought to Bed, without company, light, or any other thing necessary for a woman in that plight? was not here a poor beginning, as concerning this world? Yes truly. And according to this beginning was the process and end of his life in this world, and yet he might by his godly power have had all the goods and treasures of this world at his pleasure, when and where he would.

But this he did to shew us, that his Followers and Vicars should not regard and set by the riches and treasures of this world, but after the saying of David we ought to take them, which faith thus; *If riches, promotions, and dignity happen to a man, let him not set his affiance, pleasure, trust, and heart upon them.* So that it is not against the poverty in spirit, which Christ preacheth in the Gospel of St. Matthew, Chapter 5, to be rich, to be in dignity and in honour, so that their hearts be not fixed and set upon them so much, that they neither care for God nor good men. But they be enemies to this poverty in spirit, have they never so little, that have greedy and desirous minds to the goods of this world, only because they would live after their own pleasures and lusts. And they also be privy Enemies (and so much the worse) which have professed, as they say, wilful poverty, and will not be called worldly men, and they have Lords Lands, and Kings Riches, yea, rather than they would lose one jot of that which they have, they will set debate between King and King, Realm and Realm, yea, between the King and his Subjects, and cause Rebellion against the Temporal Power, to the which our Saviour Christ himself obeyed, and paid Tribute, as the Gospel declareth; unto whom the holy Apostle St. Paul teacheth every Christian man to obey. Yea, and beside all this, they will curse and ban, as much as in them lieth, even into the

Anno

1555

Final 5: Ephraim. Kings blood is much in need of Christs Passion, many interior Subjects. Rom. 12. 1 Cor. 4. Ephes. 4. Cor. 12.

Math. 7.

The Rule of Christ.

The poverty of Christs life expected.

The poor condition of Christs life, is an example to us to cast down our pride, not to set by riches. It is not against the poverty of the spirit, to be rich, and what not. Privy enemies to spiritual poverty. Against monks and Priests, and Prelates of the Spirituality. Matt. 17. Subjection to Superior Powers.

Anno 1555. the deep pit of hell, all that gain-fay their appetite, whereby they think their goods, promotions, or dignities should decay.

Your Grace may see what means and craft the spirituality (as they will be called) imagine, to break and withstand the acts which were made in your Graces last Parliament against their superfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your Grace may know them not to be true followers of Christ. And although I named the spirituality to be corrupt with this unthrifty ambition; yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there be some good of them. Neither will I that your Grace should take away the goods due to the Church, but take away all evil persons from the goods, and set better in their stead.

I name nor appoint no person nor persons, but remit your Grace to the rule of our Saviour Christ, as in Matthew the seventh Chapter, *By their fruits you shall know them.* As touching the words that our Saviour Christ spake to his Disciples when he sent them to preach his Gospel, they be read in Matthew the fifteenth Chapter, where he sheweth, *that here they shall be hated and despised of all men worldly, and brought before Kings and Rulers, and that all evil should be said by them, for their preaching sake,* but he exhorteth them to take patiently such persecution by his own example, saying, *It becometh not the servant to be above the Master. And seeing they call me Belzebub, what marvel is it, if they call you devillish persons and Hereticks.* Read the fourteenth Chapter of St. Matthews Gospel, and there your Grace shall see that he promised to the true Preachers no Worldly promotions or dignity, but persecution and all kinds of punishment, and that they should be betrayed even by their own Brethren and Children. In John also he saith, *In the World ye shall have oppression and the World shall hate you: but in me ye shall have peace.* And in the tenth Chapter of St. Matthews Gospel saith our Saviour Christ also, *Lo I send you forth as sheep among Wolves.* So that the true Preachers go like Sheep harmless, and be persecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrongs, but remit all to God; for yet is it off that they will persecute any other but with the Word of God only, which is their weapon. And so this is the most evident token that our Saviour Jesus Christ would that his Gospel and the Preachers of it should be known by that it should be despised among those Worldly wifemen, and that they should repute it but foolishness, and deceivable Doctrine, and the true Preachers should be persecuted and hated, and driven from Town to Town, yea, and at the last lose both goods and life.

And yett they that did this persecution, should think that they did well, and a great pleasure to God. And the Apostles remembering this lesson of our Saviour Christ, were content to suffer such persecutions, as you may read in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. But we never read that they ever persecuted any man. The Holy Apostle Saint Paul saith, *That every man that will live godly in Christ Jesus, should suffer persecution.* And also he saith further in the Epistle written to the Philippians in the first Chapter, *That it is not only given to you to believe in the Lord, but also to suffer persecution for his sake.*

Wherefore take this for a sure conclusion, that there, where the Word of God is truly preached there is persecution, as well of the hearers, as of the teachers: and whereas is quietness and rest in Worldly pleasure, there is not the truth. For the World loveth all that are of the World, and hateth all things that are contrary to it. And to be short, St. Paul calleth the Gospel, the word of the Cross, the word of punishment. And the Holy Scripture doth promise nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this World, but trouble, vexation, and persecution, which these Worldly men cannot suffer, nor away withal.

Therefore please it your good grace, to return to this golden rule of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is this, *By their fruits you shall know them.* For where you see persecution, there is the Gospel, and there is the truth; and they that do persecute, be void and without all truth; nor caring for the clear light, which as our Saviour Jesus Christ saith in the third Chapter of St. Johns Gospel *is come into the World, and which shall utter and shew forth every mans works.* And they whose works be naught, dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and

hinder it, letting as much as they may, that the Holy Scripture should not be read in our Mother tongue, saying that it would cause Heresie and infurrection, and so they perfwade at the least way they would fain perfwade your Grace to keep it back. But here mark their shameles boldnes, which be not ashamed, contrary to Christs Doctrine, to gather figs of thorns, and grapes of busses, and to call light darkness, and darkness light, sweet sowe, and sowe sweet, good evil, and evil good, and to say, that that, which teacheth all obedience, should cause diffention and strife: but such is their belly wisdom, where with they judge and measure every thing, to hold and keep still this wicked Mammon, the goods of this World, which is their God, and hath so blinded the eyes of their hearts, that they cannot see the clear light of the sacred Scripture, though they babble never so much of it.

But as concerning this matter, other men have shewed your Grace their minds, how necessarie it is to have the Scripture in English. The which thing also your Grace hath promised by your last Proclamation: the which promise I pray GOD that your gracious Highness may shortly perform, even to day before to the morrow. Nor let the wickednes of these Worldly men detain you from your godly purpose and promise. Remember the subtille Worldly wise Counsellors of Hammon the Son of Naas, King of the Ammonites, which when David had sent his Servants to comfort the young King for the death of his Father, by crafty imaginations counselled Hammon, not only not to receive them gently, but to entreat them most shamefully and cruelly, saying, *That they came not to comfort him, but to espie and search his land, so that afterward they bringing David word how every thing stood, David might come and conquer it.* And they caused the young King to hear their heads, and to cut their coats by the points, and sent them away like fools; whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have entreated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards, Oh wretched Counsellors! But see what followed of this carnal and Worldly wisdom. Truly nothing but destruction of all the whole Realm, and also of all them that took their parts.

Therefore good King, seeing that the right David, that is to say, our Saviour Christ hath sent his Servants, that is to say, his true Preachers, and his own word also to comfort our weak and sick Souls, let not these Worldly men make your Grace believe that they will cause infurrections and Heresies, and such mischiefs as they imagine of their own mad brains, lest that he be avenged upon you and your Realm, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them which have obstinately withstood and gain-said his word. But peradventure they will lay this against me, and say that experience doth shew, how that such men as call themselves followers of the Gospel regard not your Graces commandment, neither sit by your Proclamation, and that was well proved by those persons which of late were punished in London for keeping such books as your Grace had prohibited by Proclamation: and so like as they regarded not this, so they will not regard or esteem other your Graces laws, statutes, or ordinances. But this is but a craftie perfwasion.

For your Grace knoweth that there is no man living, specially that loveth Worldly promotion, that is so foolish to set forth, promote, or enhance his enemies, where by he should be let of his Worldly pleasures and fleshly desires: but rather he will seek all the wayes possible that he can, utterly to confound, destroy, and put him out of the way. And so as concerning your last Proclamation, prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it, and chiefe Counsellors (as men say, and of likelihood it should be) were they, whose evil living and cloaked hypocrite these books uttered and disclosed: And howbeit that there were three or four, that would have had the Scripture to go forth in English, yet it happened there, as it is evermore seen, that the most part overcometh the better, and so it might be that these men did not take this Proclamation as yours, but as theirs set forth in your name, as they have done many times more, which hath put this your Realm in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it in great penury,

Crafty preachers do bid
Bredates to
stop the
reading of
Holy Scrip-
ture.

Belly wif-
dom.

Perfwasion
to let the
Scripture to
be read in
English.

Statute
Council
about Cris-
tes.

Wicked
policy turn-
ed to his
own destru-
ction.

Under the
presence of
infurrection
and Heresies,
the
Preachers
stop the li-
berty of
Christs
Gospel.

Objection
prevented
and answer-
ed.

The cause
and cause
of the Kings
Proclama-
tion against
the reading
of Scripture
books in
English.
He maketh
use of Cranes
Cranes and
one or two
mo, against
whom the
B. of Wan-
tesher and
his faction
did prevail.
A practice
of frelines
to secure
their own
Proclama-
tion under
the Kings
Name and
Authority.

He meaneth
of the Pope,
which went
about to
drive K.
Henry out of
his king-
dom, and
that not
without
some ad-
vantages
near about
the King.

The craft
of idolatry
is filly
lain upon
English
books, but
rather is to
be layd up-
on the
Popes par-
ticulars.
Extortioners,
Bribees,
Theeves, be-
cause they
owe to the
Gospel to be
in English.

The forward
life of the
Gospel, here,
is not to be
laid to the
Gospel.

Lack of
good Curates
is the cause
of all mis-
chief in the
Realm.

The Gospel
will not go
forth with-
out perfec-
tion, though
the King
would
perme the
reading
thereof to
be free.
The last
sign before
the judge-
ment day, is
that the
Gospel
should be
preached
throughout
the World.

M. Latimer
chattereth
forth his
talent.
He meaneth
this belike
by Sir Tho-
mas, who
for the Bi-
shops plea-
sure feileth
you against
the Gospel.

and more would have done, if GOD hath not merci-
fully provided to bring your Grace to knowledge of the
felthood and privy treason, which their head and Cap-
tain was about; and by you sure not without adherents,
if the matter be duly searched. For what marvel is it,
that they being so nigh of your Council, and so fami-
liar with your Lords, should provoke both your Grace
and them to prohibit these books, which before by
their own Authority have forbidden the New Testament,
under pain of everlasting damnation: for such is their
manner, to fend a thousand men to hell, ere they fend one
to God, and yet the new Testament (and so I think by
the other) was meckely offered to every man that would
and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

Moreover, I will ask them the causes of all insurrec-
tions, which have been in this Realm heretofore. And
whence is it that there be so many Extortioners, Bribees,
Murderers, and Theeves, which daily do not break only
your Graces Laws, ordinances, and statutes, but also the
laws and Commandments of Almighty God? I think
they will not say these books, but rather their pardons
which causeth many a man to sin in trust of them. For
as for those malefactors which I now rehearsed, you shall
not find one amongst a hundred, but that he will cry
out both of these books, and also of them that have them,
yes and will be glad to spend the good which he hath
wrongfully gotten, upon Fagots to burn both the Books,
and them that have them.

And as touching these men that were lately punished
for these books, there is no man, I hear say, that can lay
any word or deed against them that should found to the
breaking of any of your Graces Laws, this only except,
if it be yours, and not rather theirs. And be it so that
there be some that have these books, that be evil, unruly
and self-willed persons, not regarding Gods Laws, nor
Mans, yet these books be not the cause thereof, no more
than was the bodily preface of Christ and his words
the cause that Judas fell, but their own froward mind
and carnal wit, which should be amended by the virtuous
example of living of their Curates, and by the true expo-
sition of the Scripture. If the Lay People had such Cur-
ates, that would thus do their office, neither these books,
nor the Devil himself could hurt them to go out of frame,
so that the lack of good Curates is the destruction and
cause of all mischief. Neither do I write these things
because that I will either excuse these men lately
punished, or to affirm all to be true written in these
books, which I have not all read, but to shew that there
cannot such inconvenience follow of them, and specially
of the Scripture as they would make men believe should
follow.

And though it be so that your Grace may by other books
and namely by the Scripture itself, know and perceive
the hypocrite wolves clad in Sheeps cloathing, yet I think
myself bound in Conscience to utter unto your Grace
such things as GOD put in my mind to write. And this
I do (God so judge me) not for hate of any person
or persons living, nor for that I think the Word of GOD
should go forth without persecution, if your Grace had
commanded that every man within your Realm should
have it in his Mothers tongue. For the Gospel must
needs have persecution unto the time that it be
preached thoroughout all the World, which is the last sign
that Christ shewed to his Disciples should come before the
day of Judgement: so that if your Grace had once com-
manded that the Scripture should be put forth, the
Devil would set forth some wile or other to persecute the
truth. But my purpose is, for the love that I have to GOD
principally, and the glory of his Name, which is on-
ly known by his Word, and for the true allegiance that
I owe unto your Grace, and not to hide in the ground of
my heart the talent given me of God, but to chaffer it
forth to other, that it may increase to the pleasure of
GOD, to exhort your Grace to avoyd and beware of these
mischievous flatterers, and their abominable ways and
Councils.

And take heed whose Counsels your Grace doth take
in this matter: for there be some that for fear of losing
of their Worldly worship and honour, will not leave of their
opinion, which rashly, and that to please men withal by
whom they had great promotion they took upon them to

defend by writings, so that now they think that all their
felicitie, which they put in this life, should be made,
and their wisdom not so greatly regarded, if that which
they have so slanderously oppressed should be now
put forth and allowed. But alas, let these men re-
member Saint Paul, how fervent he was against the
truth (and that of a good zeal) before he was called; he
thought no shame to suffer punishment, and great per-
secutions for that which before he despised and called
Herefie. And I am sure that their living is not
more perfect than St. Pauls was, as concerning the out-
ward works of the law, before he was converted.

Also the King and Prophet David was not ashamed
to forsake his good intent in building of the Temple,
after that the Prophet Nathan had shewed him that it
was not the pleasure of God that he should build any
House for him; and notwithstanding that Nathan had be-
fore allowed and praiseth the purpose of David, yet he
was not ashamed to revoke and eat his words again, when
he knew that they were not according to Gods will and
pleasure.

Wherefore they be sore drowned in Worldly Wisdom,
that think it against their worship to knowledge their
ignorance; whom I pray to God that your Grace may
escape, and take heed of their Worldly Wisdom, which
is foolishness before God, that you may do that God com-
mandeth, and not that seemeth good in your own sight
without the Word of God, that your Grace may be found
acceptable in his sight, and one of the members of his
Church; and according to the office that he hath called
your Grace unto, you may be found a faithful Minister
of his gifts, and not a defender of his faith, for he will not
have it defended by man or mans power, but by his word
only, by the which he hath evermore defended it, and
that by a way far above mans power or reason, as all the
stories of the Bible make mention.

Wherefore, gracious King, remember your self, have
pitye upon your Soule, and think that the day is even at
hand when you shall give account of your office, and
of the Blood that hath been shed with your sword. In the
which day that your Grace may stand steadfastly, and not
be ashamed, but be clear and reside in your reckoning, and
to have (as they say) your *Quintus ess*, sealed with the
Blood of our Saviour Christ which only serveth at that day,
is my daily prayer to him that suffered death for our sins,
which also praiseth to his Father for grace for us continu-
ally. To whom be all honour and praise for ever, Amen.
The Spirit of God preserve your Grace. Anno Domini
1530. 1. die Decembris.

In this Letter of Mr. Latimer to the King above pre-
fixed, many things we have to consider: First, his good
Conscience to God, his good will to the King, the dutie
of a right Pastor unto truth, his tender care to the com-
mon wealth, and specially to the Church of Christ. Fur-
ther, we have to consider the abuse of Princes Courts, how
Kings many times be abused with flatterers and wicked
Counsellors about them, and specially we may note the
subtle practices of Prelates, in abusing the name and
authoritie of Kings, to set forth their own malignant
proceedings. We may see moreover, and rather mar-
vel at in the said Letter, the great boldness and divine
fountness in this man, who as yet being no Bishop, so freely
and plainly without all fear of Death, adventuring his
own life to discharge his Conscience, durst so boldly, to so
mighty a Prince, in such a dangerous case, against the
Kings Law and Proclamation set out in such a terrible time
take upon him to write, and to admonish that, which no
Counsellor durst once speak unto him in defence of Christs
Gospel. Whose example if the Bishops and Prelates of this
Realm, for their parts likewise in like cases of necessity
would follow (as indeed they should) so many things perad-
venture would not be so out of frame as they be, and also
for lack that the Officers of Gods Word do not their duty.

Finally, his moreover in the said Letter is to be noted,
how blessedly Almighty God wrought with his faithful
Servants bold adventure and wholehearted Counsel, though
it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time, yet
notwithstanding God so wrought with his Servant in do-
ing his duty, that no danger, nor yet displeasure rose to
him thereby, but rather thanks and good will of the
Prince; for not long after the same he was advanced by the

Anno

1555

S. Paul a
good exam-
ple for all
preachers
to follow.

R. Davids
good exam-
ple for all
kings to
submit their
intent and
purpose to
Gods word.

By Nathans
we may learn
not to be
ashamed to
call back
our words
when we
submit to
Gods
pleasure to
be other-
wise.

Divers
things
in this let-
ter of Mr.
Latimer to
the King to
be consid-
ered.

The heaven-
ly courage
of Mr. Lat-
imer in dis-
charging
his Consci-
ence.

The King
well pleased
with the
pleasantness
of M. Latimer.

Anno
1555.

the King to the Bishoprick of Worcester, as is above declared.

Seeing Master Latimer was so bold and plain with the King (as is above specified) no great marvel if he did use the like freedom and plainness toward other meaner persons in admonishing them of their misorder, especially if any such occasion were given, where truth and equity required his defence against injury and oppression. For example whereof we have another Letter of his, written to a certain Justice of the Peace in Warwickshire, who as he is long since departed, so he shall be here unnamed. The Letter although it may seem somewhat long and tedious; yet I thought here not to overpass the same for divers and sundry respects: First, that the virtue and faithful Conscience of this good Pastor may appear more at large; also for that all other Bishops and Pastors by this example may learn with like zeal and stomach to discharge their duty and Conscience in reforming things amiss, and in powdering with the Salt of Gods Word the sores of the People. Which thing if every Bishop for his part within his Diocess had done in King Edwards days, in redressing such corruption of that time with like diligence as this man did, verily I suppose that the persecution of Queen Mary had not so plagued the Realm as it did: but yet never a man almost liveth in due order, and yet never a Bishop will stir to seek redress, what can become of the Realm? Item, another respect is, because of the Justices and all other placed in room and office, which may take heed hereby, not to abuse their Authority to tread down truth, and bear down poor men with open wrong through extortion or partiality: And finally, that all injurious oppressors whatsoever, by the said Letter may take some fruit of wholesome admonition.

Example for
Bishops, and
all good
Pastors to
follow.

Warning to
Justices of
Peace.

What the argument and occasion was of this Letter, I shewed before. The tenor and purport thereof, as it was written to the Gentleman, is this as followeth.

A fruitful Letter of Mr. Latimer, written to a certain Gentleman.

A Letter of
Mr. Latimer
to a certain
Gentleman.

Right Worshipful, *salutem in Domino*. And now, Sir I understand, that you be in great admirations at me, and take very grievously my manner of writing to you, adding thereunto that you will not bear it at my hand, no, not if I were the best Bishop in England, &c.

Ah Sir! I see well I may say as the common saying is, Well, I have sified and caught a Frog; brought little to pass with much ado. You will not bear it with me, you say. Why Sir? what will ye do with me? You will not fight with me, I trow. It may seem unseemly for a Justice of Peace to be a breaker of peace; I am glad the doing time of my foolish youth is gone and past. What will you then do with me, in that you say you will not bear it at my hand? What hath my hand offended you? Perchance you will convert me before some Judge, and call me into some Court. *Deus bene vertat. Equidem non recuso judicium ullum. Accusatus invicem, ut emendemus alius alium in nomine Domini. Fiat iustitia in iudicio.* I God turn it to good. I refuse no judgment. Let us accuse one another, that one of us may amend another, in the Name of the Lord. Let justice proceed in judgment. And then and there, do best, have best, for club half penny. Or peradventure ye will set pen to paper, and all to rattle me in a Letter, wherein confuting me you will defend your self and your Brother against me. Now that would I see, quoth long Robin, *ut dicatur vulgariter. Non potero sane non vehementer probare ejusmodi industriam.* I cannot chuse but must allow such diligence. For so should both your integrities and innocencies best appear, if you be able to defend both your own proceedings, and your Brothers doings in this matter to be upright. *Et ego tam iustis rationibus victus, libenter cedam, culpam humiliter confessurus.* And then will I gladly give place, confessing my fault humbly as one conquered with just reasons. But I think it will not be. But now first of all let me know what it is that ye will not bear at my hand? What have I done with my hand? What hath my hand trespassed you? Forsooth, that can I tell, no man better: For I have charitably admonished you in a secret Letter, of your supper

As may well
appear by
his Letter
sent to the
King be-
fore.

dealing, and such like misbehaviour. *O quam grata pasculam;* i. What a fine matter is this? And will ye not bear so much with me? Will ye not take such a shew of my good will towards you, and toward the saving of your Soul at my hand? Oh Lord God, who would have thought that Mr. N. had been so impudent, that he would not bear a godly monition for the wealth of his Soul? I have in use to commit such trespass many times in a year with your betters by two or three degrees, both Lords and Ladies, and the best of the Realm, and yet hitherto I have not heard that any of them have said in their displeasure, that they will not bear it at my hand. Are you yet to be taught what is the office, liberty, and privilege of a Preacher? What is it else, but even *arguere mundum*; i. to rebuke the World of sin, without respect of persons: *Quod quidem ipsum est ipsius Spiritus sancti peculiare in ecclesia munus & officium, sed non nisi per Predicatores legitimis exequendum.* i. Which thing undoubtedly is the peculiar office of the Holy Ghost in the Church of God, so that it be practised by lawful Preachers. You could but ill bear (belike) to hear your fault openly reprov'd in the Pulpit, which cannot bear the same in a secret sealed up Letter, written both friendly, charitably, and truly; *Nisi forte acriter reprehendere peccata, sit iam omni caritate, amicitia, veritate carere.* i. Unless perhaps to rebuke sin sharply, be now to lack all charity, friendship, and truth. But Master N. if you will give me leave to be plain with you, I fear me you be so plunged in Worldly purchasings, and so drowned in the manifold dreggs of this deceitful World, that I ween you have forgotten your Catechism. Read therefore again the opening of the first Commandment, and then tell me whether you of me, or I of you have just cause to complain; &c.

Item Sir, you said further, that I am wonderfully abused by my neighbour, &c. How so, good Mr. N.? Wherein? Or how will you prove it to be true, and when? So you said, that he had abused you, and given you wrong information; but the contrary is found true by good testimony of M. Chamber, which heard as well as you what my neighbour said, and hath testified the same, both to you, and against you, full like himself. Mr. N. to forge and feign (which argueth an ill cause) that is one thing; but to prove what a man doth say, that is another thing. As though you were privileged to out-face poor men, and bear them in hand what you list, as may seem to make some maintenance for your naughty cause. Trust me, Mr. N. I was but a very little acquainted with my neighbour when this matter began; but now I have found him so conformable to honesty, upright in his dealings, and so true in his talk, that I esteem him better than I do some other whom I have perceived and found otherways. For I will flatter no man, nor yet claw his back in his folly, but esteem all men as I find them, allowing what is good, and disallowing what is bad: *In omnibus hominibus sive amicis sive inimicis, juxta preceptum Paulinum, a filius hujus seculi in pretio non habui: Sitis, odii, inquit, prosequentes quod malum est, adhaerentes autem ei quod bonum est: Neque bonum malum, nec malum bonum in gratiam hominum affirmamus unquam, id quod filii hujus seculi vulgo faciunt, ut est videre ubique.* Among all men, either Friends or enemies, according to Pauls precept, not esteemed of the Children of this World; Hate you, faith he, that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good. And let us not any time for the favour of men, call good evil, and evil good, as the Children of this World are commonly wont to do, as it is every where to be seen. And now what manner of man do you make me, Master N. when you note me to be so much abused by so ignorant a man, so simple, so plain, and so far without all wrinkles? Have I lived so long in this tottering World, and have I been so many ways tummoiled and tossed up and down, and so much as it were seasoned with the powder of so many experiences to and fro, to be now so far bewitched and alienated from my wits, as though I could not discern cheefe from chulk, truth from falsehood, but that every filthy Soul, and base witted man might easily abuse me to that enterprise he listed at his pleasure? Well, I say not nay, but I may be abused. But why do you not tell me how your Brother abused me,

M. Latimer
flattereth no
man.

M m 3

promising

promising before me and many more, that he would stand to your awardship, and now doth deny it? Why do you not tell me, how those two false faithless wretches abuse me, promising also to abide your award, and do it not? Yea, why do you not tell me, how you your self have abused me, promising me to redress the injury and wrong that your Brother hath done to my neighbour, and have not fulfilled your promise? These notable abuses be nothing with you, but only you must needs burthen me with my neighbours abusing me, which is none at all, as far forth as ever I could perceive, so God help me at my need. For if he had abused me as you and others have done, I should be soon at a point with him, for any thing further doing for him, &c.

Item, Sir, you said further, that I shall never be able to prove that either your Brother, or the two Tenants agreed to stand to your award, &c. No Sir, Mr. N. you say belike as you would have it to be, or as your Brother with his adherents have perwaded you to think it to be, so inducing you to do their request to your own shame and rebuke, if you persevere in the same, beside the peril of your Soul, for consenting, at least way, to the maintenance by falsehood of your Brothers iniquity. For in that you would your awardship should take none effect, you shew your self nothing inclinable to the redress of your Brothers unright dealing with an honest poor man, which hath been ready at your request to do you pleasure with his things, or else he had never come into this wrangle for his own goods with your Brother.

Ah Master N. what manner of man do you shew your self to be? or what manner of Conscience do you shew your self to have? For first as touching your Brother you know right well that Sir Thomas Caking with a Letter of his own hand-writing, hath witnessed unto your Brothers agreement; which Letter he sent to me unsealed, and I shewed the same to my neighbour, and other more ere I sealed it, and perchance have a Copy of the same yet to shew. With what Conscience then can you say that I shall never be able to prove it? Shall not three men upon their Oaths make a sufficient proof, trow you? *Vel ipso Dicente Domino; In ore duorum vel trium, &c.* The Lord himself saying in the mouth of two or three, &c. Yea, you think it true, I dare say, in your Conscience, if you have any Conscience, though I were in my grave, and so unable to prove any thing. And as for the two Tenants, they be as they be, and I trust to see them handled according as they be; for there be three men yet alive, that dare swear upon a Book, that they both did agree. But what should we look for at such men's hands, when you your self play the part you do? *Verum vivit adhuc Deus, qui videt omnia, & judicat juxta, &c.* But God is yet alive, which seeth all, and judgeth justly.

Item Sir, you said yet further, that the Justices of Peace in the Country think you very unnatural, in talking part with me before your Brother, &c. Ah Master N. what a sentence is this to come out of your mouth? For partaking is one thing, and ministering of justice is another thing; and a worthy minister of justice will be no partaker, but one indifferent between party and party. And did I require you to take my part, I pray you? No, I required you to minister justice between your Brother and my Neighbour, without any partaking with either other. But what manner of Justices be they, I pray you, which would so fain have you to take part naturally with your Brother, when you ought and should reform and amend your Brother? as you your self know, no man better. What? Justices? no, Jugglers you might more worthily call such as they be, than Justices. Be they those Justices which call you 'unnatural, for that you will not take your Brothers part against all right and Conscience, whom you had picked out and appointed to have the final hearing and determining of my Neighbours cause, after your substantial and final award making? Verily I think no less. Forsooth he is much beholding to you, and I also for his sake. Is that the wholesome counsel that you have to give your poor Neighbours in their need? Indeed you shew your self a worthy Juggler: Oh, I would have said a Justice, among other of your juggling and partaking Justices. *Deum benum!* O good God! what is in the world? Marry Sir, my Neigh-

bour had spun a fair thread, if your partaking Justices through your good counsel had had his matter in ordering and finishing. I pray God save me and all my Friends, with all Gods flock, from the whole fellowship of your so natural and partaking Justices, Amen.

Lord God! who would have thought that there had been so many partaking Justices, that is to say, unjust Justices in Warwickshire, if Master N. himself one of the same order (but altogether out of order) and therefore knoweth it best, had not told us the Tale? But these call you, you say, very unnatural, &c. And why not rather, I pray you, too much natural? For we read, *De natura duplici, integra & corrupta. Illa erat justitia plena: hac nisi reparata, semper manet injusta, injustitiae fructus alios post alios partitura, i.* Of a double nature, sound and corrupt. That was full of Justice: this, unless it be restored, abideth always unjust, bringing forth the fruits of wickedness one after another: So that he that will not help his Brother, having a just cause in his need, may be justly called unnatural, as not doing *juxta infinitum naturae, sive integritatis, sive reparatae, i.* according to the infinit of nature, either as it was at the beginning, or as it was restored. But he that will take his Brothers part against right, as to ratify his Brothers wrong deceiving, he is too much natural, *tantum sequens ingenium sive inclinationem naturae corruptae, contra voluntatem Dei, i.* as one following the disposition and inclination of corrupt nature against the will of God; and so to be natural may seem to be Cater-cousin, or Cousin-germain with, to be Diabolical.

I fear me we have too many Justices that be too much natural, to their own perillment both Body and Soul. For worthy Justices having ever the fear and dread of God before their eyes, *(quales sunt pauciores apud nos, quam vellemus)* Of which sort we have a fewer amongst us, than I would) will have no respect at all in their Judgments and proceedings, *ad propinquitatem sanguinis, i.* to vicinity of Blood; but altogether ad dignitatem & aequitatem causae, *ut quod injustum est semper judicent intuitu Dei, non quod injustum est intuitu hominum;* of which number I pray God make you one, Amen. *Justus est (saith John) qui facit justitiam. At qui facit peccatum (id quod facit, quisquis injuste facit in gratiam & favorem alius hominis) ex Diabolo est.* He is just that doth Justice. But he that sinneth (as they all do, which do unjustly for favour and pleasure of men) is of the Devil (saith he) of which sort all our partaking and natural Justices be with all their partiality and naturality. *Quare dignum & justum est, that as many as be such Justices, juste precor ut muerent, & amplius quoque plebentur pro suis quique facinorosis quantitate, ut vel sic tandem abscederent, tanquam nati in incommensurabilem reipublicae nostrae, qui nos conturbant, cum adjuvare debent, i.* Be justly deprived of their offices, and further also be punished, according to the quantity or quality of their Crime, so that by that means they may be cut off, as men born and bred to the hurt and detriment of the Common-wealth, which trouble us, when they ought to help us, Amen.

Quare sponite justitiam, & sequimini naturam, as your Naturals and Diabolicals would have you to do, that is, even as just as German Lips, which came not together by nine mile, *Ut vulgo dicunt, &c.*

Item Sir, finally and last of all you added these words following: Well, quoth you, let Mr. Latimer take heed how he meddleth with my Brother, for he is like to find as crabbed and as froward a piece of him, as ever he found in his life, &c. Ah Sir? and is your Brother such an one as you speak of indeed? Merciful God! what a commendation is this for one Brother to give another? *Esne ejusmodi glorioso tuae, mi amice? i.* Is this your glorying my Friend? And were it not possible, trow you, to make him better? It is written, *Vexatio dat intellectum, i.* Vexation giveth understanding. And again, *Bonum mihi, Domine, quod humiliasti me, i.* It is good, O Lord, that thou hast humbled me. At least way, I may pray to God for him as David did for such like, *Ad hunc modum; Chamo & fratri maxillas eorum confringe, qui non approximaunt ad te, i.* After this sort; Bind fast Asses with bridle and snaffle, that they approach not near unto thee. In the mean season, I would I had never

Bolting of
falsehood and
iniquity.
Brother
ought not to
bear with
Brother,
or bear
down right
and truth,
especially
being a Ju-
stice.

Corrupt
Justice.

Were not
there good
forc of Ju-
stices, now
you?

J. Alces
turned to
Jugglers.

Partaking
Justice.

Anno
1555.

Anno
1555.

never known either of you both; for so should I have been without this inward sorrow of my heart, to see such untowardness of you both to godliness; for I cannot be but heavy-hearted, to see such men so wickedly minded. Well, let us ponder a little better your words, where you say, I shall find him as crabbed and as froward a piece, &c. Mark well your own words. For by the tenor of the same it plainly appeareth, that you confesse your Brothers cause wherein he so stiffly standeth, to be unjust and very naught. For he that standeth so stiffly in a good quarrel and a just cause, as many good men have done, is called a fast man, a constant, a trusty man. But he that is so obstinate and untractable in wickedness and wrong doing, is commonly called a crabbed and froward piece, as you name your Brother to be.

Wherefore knowing so well your Brothers cause to be so naughty, why have you not endeavoured your self, as a worthy Justice, to reform him accordingly, as I required you, and you promised me to do, now almost twelve months ago, if not altogether. *Summa Summarum*, Master N. if you will not come off shortly, and apply your self thereunto more effectually hereafter, then you have heretofore, be you well assured thereof, I shall detect you to all the Friends that I have in England, both high and low, as well his crabbedness and frowardness, as your colourable supposition of the same; that I trust I shall be able thereby either to bring you both to some goodness, or at least way I shall so warn my Friends and all honest hearts to beware of your illness, that they shall take either no hurt at all, or at least way less harm by you through mine advertisement; in that, knowing you perfectly, they may the better avoid and shun your Company. You shall not stay me, Master N. no though you would give me all the lands and goods you have, as rich as you are noted to be. *Ego nolo tam justam causam derelinquere, ego nolo peccatis alienis in hac parte communicare, &c.* I will not forsake such a just cause, neither will I communicate with other mens sins. For whether it be *per detestabilem superbiam*, i. by detestable pride: whether *per abominabilem avaritiam*, i. by abominable avarice: or by both two linked together, it is no small inquiry to keep any poor man so long from his right and duty so stiff-neckedly and obstinately, or, whether ye will, crabbedly and frowardly. And what is it then any manner of ways to consent to the same? You know, I trow, Master N. *Furtum quid sit, nempe, quovismodo auferre vel retinere alienam rem invito Domino, ut quidam definiunt.* Si fir sit qui sic palam facit, quis erit qui facientem probat, tutatur, propugnat, vel quibuscunque ambagibus suffulcit? id est. What theft is, that is, to take or detain by any manner of way another mans good against his will that is the owner, as some define it. If he be a thief that so doth openly, what shall he be that approveth him which is the doer, defendeth, maintaineth, and supporteth him by any manner of colour? Consider with your self good Master N. *Quid sit opprimere & fraudare in negotio fratrem*, i. What it is to oppress, and to defraud your Brother in his business, and what followeth thereof. It is truly said, *Non tollitur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum*, i. The sin is not forgiven, nisi restituatur ablatum, i. The sin is not forgiven, except the thing be restored again that is taken away. No restitution, no salvation; which is as well to be understood, *de rebus per fraudes, technas, & dolos, ut de rebus per manifestum furtum & latrocinium paritis*, i. Of things gotten by fraud, guile, and deceit, as of things gotten by open theft and robbery. Wherefore let not your Brother, Master N. by cavillation continue in the Devils possession. I will do the best I can, and wrestle with the Devil, *omnis viribus*, to deliver you both from him. I will leave no one stone unmoved to have both you and your Brother saved. There is neither Archbishop nor Bishop, nor yet any learned man neither in Universities or elsewhere, that I am acquainted withal, that shall not write unto you, and in their writing by their learning confute you. There is no godly man of Law in this Realm that I am acquainted withal, but they shall write unto you, and confute you by the Law. There is neither Lord nor Lady, nor yet any noble personage in this Realm, that I am acquainted withal, but they shall write unto you, and godly threaten you with their Authority.

I will do all this; yea, and kneel upon both my knees before the Kings Majesty, and all his honourable Council, with most humble petition for your reformation, rather than the Devil shall possess you still, to your final damnation. So that I do not despair, but verily trust, one way or other, to pluck both you and also your crabbed Brother, as crabbed as you say he is, out of the Devils claws, maugre the Devils heart.

These premises well considered, look upon it, good Master N. that we have no further ado: Gods plague is presently upon us; therefore let us now diligently look about us, and in no wise defend, but willingly acknowledge and amend whatsoever hath been amiss. These were the capital points of your talk, as I was informed, after you had perused that may nipping and unpleasant Letter? and I thought good to make you some answer to them, if perchance I might so move you, the rather to call your self to some better remembrance, and so more earnestly apply your self to accomplish and perform what you have begun and promised to do, namely, the thing it self; being of such sort, as apparently tendeth both to your worship, and also to Gods high pleasure.

Thus, lo, with a mad head, but yet a good will, after long scribbling I wot not well what (but I know you can read it, and comprehend it well enough) I bid you most heartily well to fare in the Lord, with good health, and long life to Gods pleasure, Amen. From Boxley the 15 of June.

During the time that the said Master Latimer was Prisoner in Oxford, we read not of much that he did write, besides his Conference with Dr. Ridley, and his protestation at the time of his disputation. Otherwise, of Letters we find very few or none that he did write to his Friends abroad, save only these few lines, which he wrote to one Mrs. Wilkinson of London, a godly Matron, and an exile afterward for the Gospel sake. Who so long as she remained in England, was a singular Patroness to the good Saints of God, and learned Bishops, as to Master Hooper, to the Bishop of Hereford, to Master Coverdale, Master Latimer, Doctor Cramer, with many other. The Copie and effect of which his Letter to Mrs. Wilkinson here followeth.

A Letter sent to Mrs. Wilkinson of London Widow, from Mr. Hugh Latimer out of Bocardo, in Oxford.

If the gift of a pot of Water shall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountiful gifts, when he shall say to you; I was in Prison, and you visited me? God grant us all to do and suffer while we be here, as may be to his will and pleasure, Amen.

Yours in Bocardo,
Hugh Latimer.

Touching the memorable acts and doings of this worthy man, among many other this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprize he attempted, in sending to King Henry a Present, the manner whereof is this. There was then, and remaineth still an old custom received from the old Romans, that upon New-years day being the first day of January, every Bishop with some handson New-Years gift should gratify the King; and so they did, some with gold, some with silver, some with a purse full of money, and some one thing, some another: but Mr. Latimer being Bishop of Worcester then, among the rest, presented a New Testament for his New-years gift, with a napkin having this pious about it, *Fornicatores & adulteros judicabit Dominus*.

And thus hast thou (gentle Reader) the whole life, both of M. Ridley, and of M. Latimer, two worthy doers in the Church of Christ, severally and by themselves set forth and described, withal their doings, writings, disputations, sufferings, their painful travels, faithful preachings, studious service in Christs Church, their patient imprisonment, and constant fortitude in that which they had taught, with all other their proceedings from time to time, since their first springing years, to this present time and month of Queen Marys being

New-years
gift sent to
King Henry.

R. Ridley and
M. Latimer
brought
forth to ex-
aminations.

Godly
threats of
M. Latimer
to save the
Soul of his
Friend

October.

being the month of *October*, Anno 1555. In the which month they were brought forth together, to their final examination and execution. Wherefore as we have heretofore declared both their Lives severally and distinctly one from the other; so now joyntly to couple them both together, as they were together both joynted in one society of Cause and Martyrdom, we will by the grace of Christ prosecute the rest that remaineth concerning their latter examination, degrading, and constant suffering, with the order and manner also of the Commissioners, which were Mr. *White* Bishop of *Lincoln*, Mr. *Brooks* Bishop of *Gloucester*, with others, and what were their Words, their Objections, their Orations there used, and what again were the Answers of these men to the same as in the process here followeth to be seen.

Mr. White
Bish. of Lin-
coln, Mr. Brooks
Bishop of
Gloucester,
the Popes
Deputies.

The order and manner of the Examination of Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer had the 30th day of September, 1555.

The last ex-
amination
of Mr. Ridley
and Mr. Latimer.

First, after the appearing of *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury* before the Popes Delegate, and the Queens Commissioners in *St. Maries Church* at *Oxford*, about the 12. day of September, whereof more shall be said (by the Lords grace) when we come to the death of the said Archbishop; shortly after, upon the 28. of the said month of September, was sent down to *Oxford* another Commission from Cardinal *Pool* Legate à latere, to *John White* Bishop of *Lincoln*, to Dr. *Brooks* Bishop of *Gloucester*, and to Dr. *Holman* Bishop of *Bristol*. The contents and verue of which Commission was, that the said *John* of *Lincoln*, *James* of *Gloucester*, and *John* of *Bristol*, they, or two of them should have full power and authority, to ascite, examine and judge Mr. *Hugh Latimer*, and Master *Dr. Ridley*, pretended Bishops of *Worcester* and *London*, for divers and sundry erroneous Opinions, which the said *Hugh Latimer* and *Nicholas Ridley* did hold and maintain in open Disputations had in *Oxford*, in the months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, in the year of our Lord 1554. as long before in the time of perdition, and since. The which Opinions if the named Persons would now recant, giving and yielding themselves to the determination of the Universal and Catholick Church, planted by *Peter* in the blessed See of *Rome*, that then they deputed Judges, by the said authority of their Commission, should have power to receive the said penitent Persons, and forthwith minister unto them the reconciliation of the holy Father the Pope; but if the said *Hugh Latimer*, and *Nicholas Ridley* would stoutly and stubbornly defend and maintain these their erroneous Opinions and Assertions, that then the said Lords by their Commission should proceed in form of judgment, according to the Law of Hereticks, that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignity of Bishops, Priests, and all other Ecclesiastical Orders, should pronounce them as Hereticks; and therefore cleane cut them off from the Church, and so yield them to receive punishments due to all such Heretic and Schism.

The effect
of the Car-
dinals Com-
mission sent
down to
Oxford.

Dr. Ridley and
Mr. Latimer
ascited to
appear the
last day of
September.

Wherefore the last of September the said two persons, *Nicholas Ridley* and *Hugh Latimer*, were ascited to appear before the said Lords, in the Divinity School at *Oxford*, at eight of the Clock. At what time thither repaired the Lords, placing themselves in the high Seat, made for publick Lectures and Disputations, according to the usage of that School, being then fair set, and trimmed with Cloth of Tissue, and Cushions of Velvet: and after the said Lords were placed and set, the said *Latimer* and *Ridley* were sent for: and first appeared Master *Dr. Ridley*, and anon Mr. *Latimer*. But because it seemed good severally to examine them, Mr. *Latimer* was kept back until Dr. *Ridley* was thoroughly examined. Therefore, soon after the coming of Dr. *Ridley* into the School, the Commission was published by an appointed Notary, and openly read. But Dr. *Ridley* standing bareheaded, humbly expecting the cause of that his appearance, as if he had heard the Cardinal named, and the Popes Holiness, put on his Cap. Wherefore after the Commission was published, in form and sense above specified, the Bishop of *Lincoln* spake in sense following.

Bish. Ridley
putteth on
his Cap, at
the hearing
of the Popes
name.

Lincoln. Master *Ridley*, although neither I, neither my Lords here, in respect of our own persons do look for Cap or Knee, yet because we bear and represent

such persons as we do, that is my Lord Cardinals Grace, Legate à latere to the Popes Holiness, as well in that he is of a notable Parentage (and therewith Mr. *Ridley* moved his Cap with lowly obeysance) descending from the Regal Blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be revered with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble vertues, and godly life, and especially in that he is here in *England* Deputy to the Popes Holiness, it should have become you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore except you will of your own self take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the said Cardinal, as of the Popes Holiness, uncover the same, lest that this your contumacy, exhibited now before us, should be prejudicial to the said most reverend Persons (which thing we may in no case suffer) you shall cause us to take the pain, to cause some man to pluck off your Cap from you. To whom Mr. *Ridley* making his petition for licence, answered:

Ridley. As touching that you said (my Lord) that you of your own persons desire no Cap nor Knee, but only require the same, in consideration that you represent the Cardinal Graces person, I do you to wit, and thereupon make my protestation, that I did put on my Cap at the naming of the Cardinals Grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own persons, neither for any derogation of honour toward the Lord Cardinals Grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the most Regal Blood, and in that he is a man indued with manifold graces of learning and vertue, and as touching these verities and points, I with all humility (therewith be put of his Cap, and bowed his Knee) and obeysance that I may, will reverence and honour his Grace; but in that he is Legate to the Bishop of *Rome* (and therewith put on his Cap) whose usurped Supremacy, and abused Authority I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeysance or honour unto him, lest that my so doing, and behaviour might be prejudicial to mine Oath, and derogation to the verity of Gods Word: and therefore that I might not only by confession profits the verity in not reverencing the renounced Authority, contrary to Gods Word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and all my doings express the same, I have put on my Cap, and for this consideration only; and not for any contumacy to your Lordships, neither contempt of this worshipful Audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the Cardinal his Grace, both for his noble Parentage, and also his excellent qualities, I have kept on my Cap.

Lincoln. Master *Ridley*, you excuse your self of that, with the which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your Cap, neither for any contumacy towards us, (which look for no such honour of you) neither for any contempt of this Audience: which although justly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this case do not require any such obeysance of you; neither in derogation of any honour due to my Lord Cardinals Grace, for his Regal descent (at which word Mr. *Ridley* moved his Cap) and excellent qualities; for although in all the premises honour be due, yet in these respects we require none of you, but only in that my Lord Cardinals Grace is here in *England*, Deputy of the Popes Holiness (at which word the Lords and others put off their Caps, and Mr. *Ridley* put on his) and therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the pains your self, to put your hand to your head, and put off your Cap, you shall put us to the pain, to cause some man to take it from you, except you alledge some infirmity and sickness, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof we may do as we think good.

Ridley. The premises I said only for this end, that it might as well appear to your Lordships, as to this worshipful Audience, why and for what consideration I used such kind of behaviour, in not humbling my self to your Lordships with Cap and Knee: and as for my sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at ease, as I was this long season; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped Supremacy of *Rome*, and therefore contemn

Anno
1555.
The words
of the Bi-
shop of Lin-
coln to Dr.
Ridley for
not putting
off his Cap.

Answer of
Dr. Ridley to
the Bishop
of Lincoln.

Dr. Ridley
reverenceth
the person
of the Car-
dinal, but
not his
Legacy.

Dr. Ridley
oweth not
reverence
to the Pope.

Dr. White Bi-
shop of Lin-
coln replieth
again.

Putting off
Caps at the
naming of
the Pope.

Dr. Ridley
answereth.

Anno 1555. and utterly despite all authority coming from him. In taking off my Cap, do as it shall please your Lordships, and I shall be content.

Then the Bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the Beadles (that is an Officer of the University) to pluck his Cap from his head. M. Ridley bowing his head to the Officers, gently permitted him to take away his Cap.

After this the Bishop of Lincoln in a long Oration exhorted Mr. Ridley to recant, and submit himself to the Universal Faith of Christ, in this manner.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with your self the effect of this our Commission with good advantage, considering both points thereof, how that Authority is given to us, if you shall receive the true Doctrine of the Church (which first was founded by * Peter at Rome immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession hath been brought to this our time) if you will be content to renounce your former Errors, recant your heretical and seditious Opinions, content to yield your self to the undoubted Faith, and Truth of the Gospel, received and always taught of the Catholic and Apostolick Church, the which the King and Queen, all the Nobles of this Realm, and Commons of the same, all Christian People have and do confess, you only standing alone by your self. You understand and perceive, I am sure, that Authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you and upon due penance to adjoin and associate you again into the number of the Catholics and Christs Church, from the which you have so long strayed, without the which no man can be saved, the which thing I and my Lords here, yea and all, as well Nobles and Commons of this realm most heartily desire, and I for my part (where-with he put off his Cap) most earnestly exhort you to do.

Remember (Mr. Ridley) it is no strange Country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us, you have taken degrees in the School. You were made a Priest, and became a Preacher, setting forth the same Doctrine which we do now. You were made Bishop according to our Laws; and to be short, it is not so long ago, since you separated your self from us, and in the time of Heretic became a fether forth of that devilish and seditious Doctrine which in these later days was preached amongst us. For at what time the new Doctrine of only Faith began to spring, the Council willing to win my Lord Chancellor, sent you to him (I then being in my Lords house unknown as I suppose to you) and after you had talked with my Lord secretly, and were departed, immediately my Lord declared certain points of your talk, and means of your pervasion, and amongst other this was one, that you should say, (i) Tush my Lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not stick to contend herein to them; but for Gods love my Lord, stand stoutly in the verity of the Sacrament: for I fee they will assault that also. If this be true (as my Lord is a man credible enough in such a matter) hereby it is declared of what mind you were then, as touching the Truth of the most blessed Sacrament.

Also in a Sermon of yours at Pauls Crofs, you as effectually and as Catholicly spake of that blessed Sacrament, as any man might have done, whereby it appeareth that it is no strange thing, nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to return thither from whence you came: that is together with us to acknowledge the Church of God, wherein no man may err, to acknowledge the Supremacy of our most reverend Father in God the Popes Holiness, which (as I said) lineally taketh his descent from Peter, upon whom Christ promised before his death, to build his Church; the which supremacy or prerogative, the most ancient Fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge; and here he brought a place or two out of the Doctors, but especially stayed upon a saying of Saint Augustine, which is written in this manner, *Totus orbis Christianus in transmarinis, & longe remotis terris Romanæ Ecclesiæ subiectus est*, i. All the Christian Countries beyond the Sea are subject to the Church of Rome. Here you see, Mr. Ridley, that all Christendom is subject to the Church of Rome. What should I say you therefore to confess

the same with St. Austin, and the other Fathers.

Then Mr. Ridley desired his patience; to suffer him to speak somewhat of the premises, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory; and having grant thereunto, he said in this manner.

Ridley. My Lord, I most heartily thank your Lordship, as well for your gentleness, as also for your sobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation; in the which I have marked especially three points, which you used to persuade me to leave my Doctrine and Religion, which I perfectly know and am thoroughly persuaded to be grounded not upon mans imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible Truth of Christs Gospel, and not to look back, and to return to the Romish See, contrary to mine Oath, contrary to the Prerogative and Crown of this Realm, and especially (which moveth me most) contrary to the expressed Word of God.

The first point is this, that the See of Rome taking his beginning from Peter, upon whom you say Christ hath builded his Church, hath in all ages lineally from Bishop to Bishop been brought to this time.

Secondly, that even the holy Fathers from time to time have in their writings confessed the same.

Thirdly, that in that I was once of the same Opinion, and together with you I did acknowledge the same.

First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your Lordship gathereth the foundation of the Church upon Peter, truly the place is not so to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the place will declare. For after that Christ had asked his Disciples whom men judged him to be, and they had answered, that some had said he was a Prophet, some Helias, some one thing, some another, then he said, Whom say ye that I am? Then Peter said, I say that thou art Christ, the Son of God. To whom Christ answered, I say *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam*, i. Thou art Peter, and upon this stone I will build my Church; that is to say, upon this stone, not meaning Peter himself, as though he would have constituted a mortal man, so frail and bricke a foundation of his stable and infallible Church; but upon this Rock-stone, that is, this confession of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my Church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity, with word, heart, and mind to confess that Christ is the Son of God. Whosoever believeth not this, Christ is not in him; and he cannot have the mark of Christ printed in his forehead, which confesseth not that Christ is the Son of God.

Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this Rock, that is, upon this his confession, that he was Christ the Son of God, he would build his Church; to declare, that without this Faith no man can come to Christ: so that this belief, that Christ is the Son of God is the foundation of our Christianity, and the foundation of our Church. Here you see upon what foundation Christs Church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible Word of God.

Now as touching the lineal descent of the Bishops in the See of Rome, true it is, that the Patriarchs of Rome in the Apostles time, and long after, were great maintainers and letters forth of Christs glory, in the which above all other Countries and Regions there especially was preached the true Gospel, the Sacraments were most duly ministered; and as before Christs coming it was a City so valiant in prowels, and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner subject to it, and after Christs Passion, divers of the Apostles there suffered persecution for the Gospels sake: so after that the Emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the Gospel, and became Christians, the Gospel there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flourished most, whereby the Bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed in all Councils and Assemblies, not because they acknowledged them to be their Head, but because the place was most revered and spoken of, for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England, the Bishop of Lincoln in Sessions and Sittings hath the Preheminence of the other Bishops, not that he is the Head and Ruler of them; but for the dignity of the Bishoprick

Antoines of
D. Ridley 19
the Bids of
Lincoln.
Three points
noted in the
Bishop of
Lincoln's
oration.

the See
of Rome
confirmed
by old Do-
ctors.

the See
of Rome
confirmed
by old Do-
ctors.
D. Ridley
once of the
same See.

The Church
not builded
upon Peter.

The Church
builted up-
on Faith, not
upon any
person.

The words
of Christ as
Peter in
Matth. 16.
responded.
Faith is the
foundation
of the
Church.

Lineal de-
scent of the
Bishop of
Rome.

Why the
Bishop of
Rome have
been more
esteemed
than the Bi-
shops of o-
ther Cities.

* They the
Faith of
Christ may
be proved
to have
been at
Rome in
Petrons time
before Peter
came there.

Though the
Country of
Rome be not
strange, yet
the Doctrine
of Rome is
strange.

* Another
argument in
Whip Wines
for only
Faith, is no
new Do-
ctrine.

* The words
of St. Ridley
falsely re-
ported.

The Bishop
of Lincoln
perswadeth
D. Ridley to
return to the
Popes
Church.

Substant
urum hoc
forma ver-
borum sit
Augustini.

The Perogative that the Doctors give to the See of Rome, and for what cause. The See of Rome, so long as it continues in formal Doctrine, was worthy to be revered. The Bishop of Rome proved to be a traitor.

(and therewith the People smiled.) Wherefore the Doctors in their Writings have spoken most reverently of this See of Rome, and in their writings preferred it, and this is the Prerogative which your Lordship did rehearse the ancient Doctors to give to the See of Rome.

Seemably, I cannot, nor dare not but commend, reverence, and honour the See of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion, and setting forth of Gods glory, and in due preaching of the Gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But after that the Bishop of that See, seeking their own pride, and not Gods honour, began to set themselves above Kings and Emperours, challenging to them the title of Gods Vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory a Bishop of Rome also, confess that the Bishop of that place is the very true Antichrist, whereof St. John speaketh by the name of the Whore of Babylon, and say with the said St. Gregory; he that maketh himself a Bishop over all the world, is worse than Antichrist.

The place of St. Lewis answered.

Four Patriarchs in the Church in Austine time.

Countries beyond the Sea subject to Rome, how and in what respect.

Rome may be Mother of Churches, and yet not supreme Head of Churches.

Now whereas you say St. Augustine should seem not only to give such a Prerogative, but also Supremacy to the See of Rome, in that he saith, all the Christian world is subject to the Church of Rome, and therefore should give to that See a certain kind of subjection: I am sure that your Lordship knoweth, that in St. Austins time there were four Patriarchs, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which Patriarchs had under them certain Countries; as in England the Archbishop of Canterbury hath under him divers Bishops in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their Patriarch. Also your Lordship knoweth right well, that at what time St. Austin wrote this Book, he was then Bishop in Africa. Farther you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa lieth the Sea called *Mare Mediterraneum*, so that all the Countries in Europe to him which is in Africa may be called *Transmarinae*, Countries beyond the Sea. Hereof St. Austin saith, *Totus orbis Christianus in transmarinis & longe remotis terris, Ecclesie Romanæ subiectus est*. i. All the Christian Countries beyond the Seas and far Regions, are subject to the See of Rome. If I should say all Countries beyond the Sea, I do except England, which to me now being in England, is not beyond the Sea. In this sense St. Austin saith, All the Countries beyond the Sea are subject to the See of Rome, declaring thereby that Rome was one of the Sees of the four Patriarchs, and under it Europe, by what subjection I pray you? only for a preeminence, as we here in England say, that all the Bishops in England are subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury and York.

For this preeminence also the other Doctors (as you recited) say, that Rome is the Mother of Churches, as the Bishoprick of Lincoln is Mother to the Bishoprick of Oxford, because the Bishoprick of Oxford came from the Bishoprick of Lincoln, and they were both once one, and so is the Archbishoprick of Canterbury Mother to the other Bishopricks which are in her Province. In like sort the Archbishoprick of York is Mother to the North-Bishopricks; and yet no man will say, that Lincoln, Canterbury or York, is supreme Head to other Bishopricks; neither then ought we to confess the See of Rome to be supreme Head, because the Doctors in their Writings confess the See of Rome to be Mother of Churches.

Now where you say, I was once of the same Religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same. Yet so was St. Paul a persecutor of Christ. But in that you say, that I was one of you not long ago, in that I doing my message to my Lord of Winchester, should desire him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the Supper of the Lord; in very deed I was sent (as your Lordship said) from the Council to my Lord of Winchester, to exhort him to receive also the true confession of Justification; and because he was very refractory, I said to him, Why, my Lord, what make you so great a matter herein? You see many Anabaptists rise against the Sacrament of the Altar; I pray you, my Lord, be diligent in confounding of them: for at that time my Lord of Winchester and I had to do with two Anabaptists in Kent. In this sense I would say

Lord to be stiff in the defence of the Sacrament against the detestable errors of Anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal Opinion now maintained.

In like sort as touching the Sermon which I made at St. Pauls, you shall understand that there were at St. Pauls, and divers other places, fixed railing Bills against the Sacrament, terming it *Jack of the Box*, the Sacrament of the Halter, Round Robin, with such like unseemly terms; for the which cause, I to rebuke the un-reverend behaviour of certain evil disposed persons, preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof, affirming in that Sacrament to be truly and verily the Body and Blood of Christ, effectually by grace and spirit; which words the unlearned understanding not, supposed that I had meant of the gross and carnal being which the Romish Decrees set forth, that a Body having life and motion, should be indeed under the shapes of Bread and Wine.

With that the Bishop of Lincoln somewhat interrupting him, said:

Line. Well, Mr. Ridley, thus you wrest places to your own pleasure; for whereas St. Augustine saith, that the whole Christian world is subject to the See of Rome without any limitation, and useth these words, *In transmarinis & longe remotis terris*, only to express the latitude of the Dominion of the See of Rome, willing thereby to declare that all the world, yea Countries far distant from Rome, yet nevertheless are subject to that See, yet you would wrest it, and leave it only to Europe. I am sure ye will not deny, but that *Totus mundus* is more than Europe.

Rid. Indeed, my Lord, if St. Austin had said *simpliciter totus mundus*, and not added *in transmarinis*, it had been without limitation; but in that he said, *Totus mundus in transmarinis partibus*, all the Countries beyond the Seas, he himself doth limit the universal proposition, declaring how far he meant by *totus mundus*.

The Bishop not staying for his answer, did proceed, saying:

Line. Well, if I should stay upon this place, I could bring many more places of the Fathers for the confirmation thereof; but we have certain instructions, according to the which we must proceed, and came not hither to dispute the matter with you, but only to take your answers to certain Articles, and used this in the way of disputation, in the which you interrupted me; wherefore I will return thither again.

Ye must consider that the Church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a City on the Mountain, and a Candle on the Candlestick. Ponder with your self, that the Church of Christ is *Catholica*, Catholick, which is deduced of *καθολος*, that is, *per omnia*: so that Christs Church is universally spread throughout the world, not contained in the * allegation of places, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compass of Germany and Saxony, as your Church is.

Wherefore (Mr. Ridley) for Gods love be ye not singular; acknowledge with all the Realm the Truth, it shall not be (as you alledge) prejudicial to the Crown; for the King and Queen their Majesties have renounced that usurped Power taken of their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you know that there are two Powers, the one declared by the Sword, the other by the Keys. The Sword is given to Kings and Rulers of Countries; the Keys were delivered by Christ to Peter, and of him left to all the Successors. As touching our goods, position and lives, we with you acknowledge us subjects to the King and Queen, who hath the temporal Sword; but as concerning matters of Religion, as touching Gods quarrel and his Word, we acknowledge another Head: and as the King and the Queen their Highness do in all the worldly affairs justly challenge the Prerogative and Primacy, so in Spiritual and Ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge themselves not to be Heads and Rulers, but members of Christs Body. Why therefore should ye stick at that matter, the which their Majesties have forsaken and yielded.

Where-

Anno 1555.

Dr. Ridley mistaken in his Sermon.

Lincoln answered.

And why then do you allege it to the City of Rome?

Two Powers, of the Keys, and of the Sword.

England, how subject to the King, and how to the Pope.

ANNO 1555.
B. Ridley ex-
posed to
fellow him
fell the
Popes.

Wherefore (Mr. Ridley) you shall not onely not do injury to the Crown, and be prejudicial to their Majesties honour; in acknowledging with all Christendom the Popes Holiness to be supreme Head of Christs Church here militant in earth, but do a thing most detestable in their sight, and most desired of his Holiness. Thus if you will do, revoking together all your errors, acknowledging with the residue of the Realm the common and the publick fault, you shall do that all men most heartily desire; you shall bring quietness to your Conscience, and health to your Soul; then shall we with great joy, by the Authority committed to us from the Cardinals Grace, receive you into the Church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten, but a lively member of the same: but if you shall still be singular, if you shall still and obstinately persevere in your errors, stubbornly maintaining your former Heresies, then we must against our will, according to our Commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the Church, lest the rottenness of one part in process of time purrifie and corrupt the whole body, then must we confesse and publish you to be none of ours; then must we yield you up to the temporal Judges, of whom, except it otherwise please the King and Queens Highness, you must receive punishment by the Laws of this Realm, due for Heresicks.

Fear of punishment
brought him
before him.

* But that
office you
your selves
have assigned
unto them.

Wherefore, Mr. Ridley, consider your state, remember your former degrees, spare your body, especially consider your Soul, which Christ so dearly bought with his precious Blood, do not you rashly cut away that which was precious in Gods sight; enforce not us to do all that we may do, which is not onely to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the Church: we do not, nor cannot condemn you to discontinue, as most untruly hath been reported of us; but that is the temporal Judges Office; we onely declare you to be none of the Church, and then must you, according to the tenour of them, and pleasure of the Rulers, abide their determination, so that we, after that we have given you up to the temporal Rulers, have no further to do with you.

But I trust (Master Ridley) we shall not have occasion to do that we may. I trust you will suffer us to rest in that point of our Commission, which we most heartily desire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and again to adjoyn you to the Unity of the Church.

Then Master Ridley, with often interruption, at length spake.

Ridley My Lord, I acknowledge an unpotted Church of Christ, in the which no man can err, without the which no man can be saved, the which is spread thorough all the World, that is, the Congregation of the faithful; neither do I alligate or bind the same to any one place, as you said, but confesse the same to be spread thorough out all the World; and where Christs Sacraments are duly ministred, his Gospel truly preached and followed, there doth Christs Church shine as a City upon an hill, and as a candle in the candlestick: but rather it is such as you that would have the Church of Christ bound to a place, which appoint the same to Rome, that there and no where else is the foundation of Christs Church. But I am fully perswaded that Christs Church is every where founded, in every place where his Gospel is truly received, and effectually followed. And in that the Church of God is in doubt, I use herein the wise Counsel of Vincentius Lyrinensis, whom I am sure you will allow, who giving precepts how the Catholick Church may be in all Schisms and Heresies known, writeth in this manner: When (saith he) one part is corrupted with Heresies, then preferre the whole World before that one part; but if the greatest part be infected, then preferre antiquity.

In like sort now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poison of the See of Rome, I repair to the usage of the Primitive Church, which I find clean contrary to the Popes decrees; as in that the Priest receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the Laity to receive in both kinds, and such like: Wherefore it requirith, that I preferre the Antiquity of the Primitive Church, before the Novelty of the Romish Church.

Lincoln. Master Ridley, these faults which you charge the See of Rome withal, are indeed no faults. For first, it was never forbid the Laity; but that they might, if they demanded, receive under both kinds. You know also; that Christ after his resurrection, at what time he went with his Apostles to Galilee, opened himself by breaking of Bread. You know that Saint Paul after his long sayling towards Rome brake Bread, and that the Apostles came together in breaking of Bread, which declareth that it is not unlawful to minister the Sacrament under the form of Bread only: and yet the Church had just occasion to decree, that the Laity should receive in one kind only, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both Flesh and Blood under the form of Bread. Therefore to take away their opinion, and to establish better the Peoples Faith, the Holy Ghost in the Church thought fit to decree, that the Laity should receive onely in one kind; and it is no news for the Church upon just consideration to alter Rites and Ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apostles, that Saint Paul writing to certain of the Gentiles, which had received the Gospel, biddeth them to abstain *a suffocato & sanguine*, from things stifted, and from Blood, so that this seemeth to be an expresse commandment; yet who will say but that it is lawful to eat bloodings? how is it lawful, but by the permission of the Church.

the Bishop
must requi-
red that, and
were these
for these
labour.

Great rea-
sons of the
Catholicks
to prove the
Communion
under one
kind.

Argument.
The Church
did abrogate
the precept
of the Apo-
stles of strug-
gled and
bloodings:
Ergo, the
Church ha-
ve hath
Authority
touching
the mini-
stration un-
der both
kinds.

Answer.
The precept
of the Apo-
stles was
but for a
time, and
for a pur-
pose, by
little and
little to win
the Jews.

Ridley. My Lord, such things as St. Paul enjoined to the Gentiles for a sufferance, by a little and little to win the Jews to Christ, were onely commandments of time, and respected not the successors: but Christs Commandment, Do this (that is, that which he did in remembrance, which was not to minister in one kind onely) was not a commandment for a time, but to persevere to the Worlds end.

But the Bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this answer, without any stay proceeded in this Oration.

So that the Church seemeth to have Authority by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ said he would send after his ascension, which should teach the Apostles all truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the Scripture, ever reserving the foundation: but we came not, as I said before, in this sort to reason the matter with you, but have certain instructions ministred unto us, according to the tenour of the which we must proceed, proposing certain Articles, unto the which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively, or negatively to every of them, either denying them or granting them without farther disputations or reasoning; for we have already stretch our instructions, in that we suffered you to debate and reason the matter, in such sort as we have done: the which Articles you shall hear now; and to morrow at eight of the clock in Saint Maries Church we will require and take your answers; and then according to the same proceed: and if you require a copy of them, you shall have it, pen, ink, and paper, also such books as you shall demand, if they be to be gotten in the University.

The Articles.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Johannes Lincoln, Jacobus Glocest. & Johannes Bristol, Episcopi. per reverendiss. Dominum Reginaldum miseracione divina S. Marie in Cosmedin, &c.

1. We do object to thee Nicholas Ridley, and to thee Articles Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally, first, that thou jointly and Nicholas Ridley in this high University of Oxford, Anno ministred to 1554. in the months of April, May, June, July, or in D. Ridley and some one or more of them hath affirmed, and openly de- M. Latimer fended and maintained, and in many other times and places depute. by the Popes

besides, that the true and natural Body of Christ, after the Consecration of the Priest, is not really present in the Sacrament of the Altar.

2. Item, that in the year and months aforesaid thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the Sacrament of the Altar remaineth still the substance of Bread and Wine.

3. Item, that in the said year and months thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the Mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4. Item,

Answer of

D. Ridley to

Lincoln.

* He mean-
eth, in which
general error
can be
foundly.
The Church
tyed to no
place.
The Catho-
licks do
bind the
Church to a
certain
place, and
that onely
to Rome.
The Protes-
tants bind
the Church
to no one
certain place,
but follow
the con-
fession of the
Word.
The count-
er of Lyons
which Church
to follow.

The greatest
part of
Christianity
infected
with the
Church of
Rome, and
in what
points.

4 Item, that in the year, place, and months aforesaid, these the foresaid assertions solemnly had been condemned, by the scholasticall censure of this school, as Hereticall and contrary to the Catholick Faith, by the worshipfull Mr. Doctor Weston, Prolocutor then of the Convocation House, as also by other learned men of both the Universities.

5 Item, that all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by publick fame, as well to them neer hand, and also to them in distant places far off.

Examination upon the said Articles.

Al these Articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearshall shall be of any of them, the Reader may have recourse hither, and peruse the same, and not to trouble the story with several repetitions thereof.

Lincoln. After these Articles were read, the Bishops took Councell together. At the last the Bishop of Lincoln said: These are the very same Articles which you in open disputation here in the University did maintain and defend. What say you unto the first? I pray you answer affirmatively, or negatively.

Ridley. Why, my Lord, I supposed your gentleness had been such, that you would have given me space untill to morrow, that upon good advisement I might bring a determinate answer.

Lincoln. Yes, Mr. Ridley, I mean not that your answers now shall be prejudicial to your answers to morrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful to you to add, diminish, alter, and change of these answers to morrow what you will.

The Catholics promise faith, but they perform nothing.

The high priests had not power to put Christ to death but they had power to commit him to Pilate, neither would they suffer him to be absolved.

D. Weston sheweth his bold.

Rid. Indeed, in like manner at our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was said, that after disputations I should have a copy thereof, and license to change nine answers, as I should think good. It was met also that I should have seen what was written by the Notaries at that time. So your Lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me a time; but this gentleness is the same that Christ had of the high Priests. For you, as your Lordship saith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death: so in like sort the high Priests said, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to be absolved Christ, although he fought all the means therefore that he might.

Then spake Doctor Weston, one of the audience.

West. What? do you make the King Pilate?

Rid. No, Mr. Doctor; I do but compare your deeds with Caiaphas his deeds and the high Priests, which would condemn no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, we mind not but that you shall enjoy the benefit of answering to morrow, and will take your answers now as now, to morrow you shall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the mean season we require you to answer directly to every Article, either affirmatively or negatively.

The protestation of D. Ridley.

Rid. Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to morrow, and yet will take mine answers out of hand: first, I require the Notaries, to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your Authority, or admit you to be my Judges, in that point you are authorized from the Pope. Therefore whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest, I neither say it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the Authority of the Pope; and if your Lordship will give me leave, I will shew the causes, which move me thereunto.

Lincoln. No, Mr. Ridley, we have instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you.

Rid. I will be short; I pray your Lordships suffer me to speak in few words.

D. Ridley can not be suffered to speak.

Lincoln. No, Master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers ears.

Rid. Why, my Lord, suffer me to speak three words.

Lincoln. Well, Mr. Ridley, to morrow you shall speak forty. The time is far past; therefore we require your

answer determinately. What say you to the first Article? and thereupon rehearsed the same.

Rid. My protestation alwayes saved, that by this mine answer I do not condescend to your Authority, in that you are Legate to the Pope, I answer thus: In a sense the first Article is true, and in a sense it is false; for if you take really for *verè*, for spiritually by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural Body and Blood of Christ is in the Sacrament *verè & realiter*, indeed and really; but if you take these terms so grossly, that you would conclude thereby a natural Body having motion, to be contained under the forms of Bread and Wine, *verè & realiter*, then really is not the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, no more then the Holy Ghost is in the element of water in our Baptism. Because this answer was not understood. The Notaries wist not how to note it; wherefore the Bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer either affirmatively, or negatively, either to grant the Article, or to deny it.

Ridley. My Lord, you know that where any equivocation (which is a word having two significations) is, except distinction be given, no direct answer can be made; for it is one of Aristotle's fallacies, containing two questions under one which cannot be satisfied with one answer. For both you and I agree herein, that in the Sacrament is the very true and natural Body and Blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into Heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the Dead, only we differ in *modo*, in the way and manner of being: we confess all one thing to be in the Sacrament, and differ in the manner of being there. I being fully by Gods Word thereunto perswaded, confess Christs natural Body to be in the Sacrament indeed by Spirit and grace, because that whosoever receiveth worthily that Bread and Wine, receiveth effectually Christs Body, and drinketh his Blood, that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion; and you make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving Body, under the shape or form of Bread and Wine.

Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answer, that in the Sacrament of the Altar is the natural Body and Blood of Christ *verè & realiter*, indeed and really for spiritually by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receiveth the very true Body of Christ: but if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a movable Body under the forms of Bread and wine, then in that sense is not Christs Body in the Sacrament really and indeed.

This answer taken and penned of the Notaries, the Bishop of Lincoln proposed the second question or Article. To whom he answered:

Rid. Alwayes my protestation reserved, I answer thus; that in the Sacrament is a certain change, in that that Bread, which was before common Bread, is now made a lively presentation of Christs Body, and not only a figure, but effectually representeth his Body, that even as the mortal Body was nourished by that visible Bread, so is the internal Soul fed with the heavenly food of Christs Body, which the eyes of faith see, as the bodily eyes see only Bread. Such a Sacramental mutation I grant to be in the Bread and Wine, which truly is no small change, but such a change as no mortal man can make, but only that Omnipotency of Christs Word.

Then the Bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he answered:

Rid. That notwithstanding the Sacramental mutation of the which he spake, and all the Doctors confessed, Sacrament of the true substance and nature of Bread and wine remaineth: with the which the Body is in like sort nourished, as the Soul is by grace and Spirit with the Body of Christ. Even so in Baptism the Body is washed with the visible water, & the Soul is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still: In like sort in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper the Bread ceaseth not to be Bread.

Anno 1555.

The real presence in the Sacrament may have a double sense. Equivocation in the word really. How the Body of Christ may be said to be really, and how not really in the Sacrament.

Questions under one.

The Papists & Protestants in granting the presence disagree only in the manner of being they differ. How Christs Body is effectually received in the Sacrament.

How Christ may be really in the Sacrament, and how not.

What change is in the Sacramental Bread. Sacramental mutation. The substance of Bread and Wine in the Sacrament not changed.

Comparison between the Sacrament of the Communion and of Baptism.

ANNO Then the Notaries penned, that he answered affirmatively to the second Article. The Bishop of Lincoln declared a difference between the Sacrament of the Altar and Baptism, because that Christ said not by the Water, this is the holy Ghost, as he did by the Bread; *This is my Body.*

Then Mr. Ridley recited St. Austin which conferred both the Sacraments the one with the other: but the Bishop of Lincoln notwithstanding thereupon recited the third Article, and required a direct answer. To whom Ridley said?

Rid. Christ, as Saint Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that Sacrifice of his, and yet is the Communion an acceptable Sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving; but to say that thereby sins are taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christs passion, of the which the Communion is only a memory) that is a great derogation of the merits of Christs passion: for the Sacrament was instituted, that we receiving it, and thereby reconciling and remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise doth this Sacrament take upon it the office of Christs passion, whereby it might follow, that Christ died in vain.

The Notaries penned this his answer to be affirmatively. Then said the Bishop of Lincoln:

Lin. Indeed as you alleage out of Saint Paul, Christ made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloody sacrifice upon the Cross: yet nevertheless he hath left this sacrifice, but not bloody, in the remembrance of that by the which sins are forgiven; the which is no derogation of Christs passion.

Then recited the Bishop of Lincoln the fourth Article, to the which Mr. Ridley answered:

Rid. That in some part the fourth was true, and in some part false; true, in that those his assertions were condemned as Heresies, although unjustly; false, in that it was said they were condemned *Scientia Scholastica*, in that the disputations were in such sort ordered, that it was far from any School Axiom.

This answer penned of the Notaries, the Bishop of Lincoln rehearsed the fifth Article. To the which he answered:

Rid. That the premises were in such sort true, as in these his answers he had declared. Whether that all men spake evil of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported.

This answer also written of the Notaries, the Bishop of Lincoln said:

Lin. To morrow at eight of the Clock you shall appear before us in S. Maries Church, and then because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first Article (for it was long before he was understood) if it will please you to write your Answer, you shall have pen, ink, and paper, and Books, such as you shall require; but if you write any thing saving your answers to these Articles, we will not receive it: so he charging the Mayor with him, declaring also to the Mayor that he should suffer him to have a pen and ink, dismissed Mr. Ridley, and sent for Mr. Latimer, who being brought to the Divinity School, there tarried till they called for him.

Mr. Latimer appeareth before the Commissioners.

Now after Mr. Ridley was committed to the Mayor, then the Bishop of Lincoln commanded the Bayliffs to bring in the other Prisoner, who effusions as he was placed, said to the Lords.

Lat. My Lords, if I appear again I pray you not to send for me until you be ready. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarry so long gazing upon the cold walls. Then the Bishop of Lincoln.

Lin. Mr. Latimer, I am sorry you are brought so soon, although it is the Bayliffs fault, and not mine; but it shall be amended.

Then Mr. Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a Kerchief on his head and upon it a night-Cap or two, and a great Cap (such as Townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under

the Chin) wearing an old three-bare Byssow Frie gown girded to his Body with a penny leather Girdle, at the which hanged by a long string of leather his Tiltament, and his spectacles without case, depending about his neck upon his breast. After this the Bishop of Lincoln began on this manner.

Lin. Mr. Latimer, you shall understand, that I and my Lords here have a Commission from my Lord Cardinal Pools Grace, Legate a latere to this Realm of England, from our most reverend Father in God, the Popes Holiness, to examine you upon certain Opinions and Assertions of yours; which you as well here openly in disputations in the year of our Lord 1554, as at sundry and at divers other times did affirm, maintain, and obstinately defend. In the which Commission be specially two points; the one which we must desire you is, that if you shall now recant, revoke, and disannul these your Errors, and together with all this Realm, yea all the world confess the Truth; we upon due repentance of you part shall receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a strayed sheep, but adjoin you again to the unity of Christ Church, from the which you in the time of Schism fell. So that it is no new place to the which I exhort you; I desire you to return thither from whence you went.

Consider, Mr. Latimer, that without the unity of the Church is no salvation, and in the Church can be no Errors. Therefore what should stay you to confess that which all the Realm confesseth, to forsake that which the King and Queen their Majesties have renounced, and all the Realm recanted: it was a common Error, and it is now of all confessed, it shall be no more shame to you, than it was to us all. Consider, Mr. Latimer, that within these twenty years this Realm also with all the world confessed one Church, acknowledged in Christs Church an Head, and by what means and for what occasion it cut off itself from the rest of Christianity, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confessed, it is well known, and might be now declared upon what good foundation the See of Rome was forsaken, save that we must spare them that are dead, to whom the rehearsal would be opprobrious: it is no usurped Power, as it hath been termed, but founded upon Peter by Christ, a sure foundation, a perfect builder, as by divers places, as well of the ancient Fathers, as by the express Word of God may be proved.

With that Mr. Latimer, which before leaned his head to his hand, began somewhat to remove his Cap and Kerchief from his ears.

The Bishop proceeded, saying, For Christ spake expressly to Peter saying, *Pasce oves meas, & reges oves meas*, the which word doth not only declare a certain ruling of Christs Flock, but includeth also a certain pre-eminence and government; and therefore is the King called, *Rex à regendo*: so that in saying *reges*, Christ declared a power which he gave to Peter, which jurisdiction and power Peter by hand delivered to Clement, and so in all Ages hath it remained in the See of Rome. This, if you shall confess with us, and acknowledge with all the Realm your Errors and false Assertions, then shall you do that which we most desire, then shall we rest upon the first part of our Commission, then shall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the Church, and according to the Authority given unto us, minister unto you, upon due repentance, the benefit of absolution, to the which the King and Queen their Majesties were not averse to submit themselves, although they of themselves were unpotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation; yet lest the putrefaction and rottenness of all the Body might be noysom, and do damage to the head also, they (as I said) most humbly submitted themselves to my Lord Cardinal his Grace, by him, as Legate to the Popes Holiness, to be partakers of the reconciliation. But if you shall stubbornly persevere in your blindness, if you will not acknowledge your Errors, if you, as you now stand alone, will be singular in your Opinions, if by Schism and Heresie you will divide your self from your Church, then must we proceed to the second part of the Commission, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemn you, for that we cannot do (that the temporal Sword of the Realm, and not we, will do) but to separate you from Christ.

N n from

The Opinion of Lincoln to M. Latimer.

Beeth's Church then standeth upon the Truth of Gods Word, and not upon the sanctification of man.

How you spared the dead, your own sins can best witness. The Popes Authority.

misalliance, signifieth to foud, or to rule.

* Qui tradidit me non est dignus esse meus habere, quia Christi.

from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the Church, to declare that you are *filius perditionis*, a lost Child, and as you are a rotten member of the Church, so to cut you off from the Church, and so to commit you to the temporal Judges, permitting them to proceed against you, according to the tenor of their Laws.

Performances
pled to Mr.
Latimer to
return to
the unity
of the Pope's
Church
Restores to
perform the
unity, and
not to settle
the Confes-
sion.

Therefore M. Latimer, for Gods love consider your estate, remember you are a Learned man, you have taken degrees in the School, born the office of a Bishop; remember you are an old man, spare your body, accelerate your death, and specially remember your Souls health, quiet of your Conscience; consider that if you should die in this state, you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God; for it is the cause that maketh the Martyr, and not the death: consider that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the Church can be no salvation. Let not vain-glory have the upper hand, humiliate your self, captivate your understanding, subdue your reason, submit your self to the determination of the Church, do not force us to do all that we may do, let us rest in that part which we most heartily desire, and I, for my part (then the Bishop put of his Cap) again with all my heart exhort you.

After the Bishop had somewhat paused. then M. Latimer lift up his head (for before he leaned on his elbow) and asked whether his Lordship had said; and the Bishop answered, Yea.

Lat. Then will your Lordship give me leave to speak a word or two?

Line. Yea, Mr. Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunts.

Lat. I beseech your Lordship, licence me to fit down.

M. Latimer
hath leave
to sit down.

Line. At your pleasure, Mr. Latimer, take as much ease as you will.

Answer of
M. Latimer
to the B. of
Lincoln.

The univer-
sal Church
hath not his
foundation
only in
Rome.

Argument
Catholics
make
That, *regere*,
govern his
People.
Ergo, the
Pope must
play the
Rex, or reign
over Kings
and Empe-
rors.

Lat. Your Lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the Church. I confess (my Lord) a Catholick Church, spread throwout all the world, in the which no man may err, without the which unity of the Church no man can be saved: but I know perfectly by Gods Word, that this Church is in all the world, and hath not his foundation in Rome only, as you say; and me thought your Lordship brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a Jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ bade him *regere*, govern his People. Indeed, my Lord, St. Peter did well and truly his office, in that he was bid *regere*: but since the Bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of *regere*. Indeed they ought *regere*, but how my Lord? not as they will themselves: but this *regere* must be hedged in and ditched in. They must *regere*, but *secundum Verbum Dei*; they must rule, but according to the Word of God.

Regere *secundum*
verbum
turned to
regere *secundum*
voluntatem.

But the Bishops of Rome have turned *regere secundum Verbum Dei*, into *regere secundum voluntatem suam*: they have turned the Rule according to the Word of God, into the Rule according to their own pleasures, and as it pleaseth them best: as there is a Book set forth which hath divers points in it, and amongst other, this point is one, which your Lordship went about to prove by this word *Regere*, and the Argument which he bringeth forth for the proof of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomy, where it is said, If there arise any controversy among the People, the Priests, *Leviti generis*, of the order of *Levi*, shall decide the matter *secundum Legem Dei*, according to the Law of God; so it must be taken. This Book perceiving this Authority to be given to the Priests of the old Law, taketh occasion to prove the same to be given to the Bishops and other the Clergy of the new Law: but in proving this matter, whereas it was said there, as the Priests of the order of *Levi* should determine the matter according to Gods Law, that (according to Gods Law) is left out, and only is recited, as the Priests of the order of *Levi* shall decide the matter, so it ought to be taken of the People; a large Authority I ensure you. What gelding of Scripture is this? what clipping of Gods Coin? With the which terms the Audience smiled. This is much like the *Regere* which your Lordship talked of. Nay, nay, my Lords, we may not give such Authority to the Clergy, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves

Dist. 2.
Clipping of
Gods Scrip-
tures by the
Catholicks.

within their Commission. Now I trust, my Lord, I do Anno not rail yet.

Lincoln. No, Mr. Latimer, your talk is more like taunts than railing: but in that I have not read the Book which you blame so much, nor know not of any such, I can say nothing therein.

Lat. Yes, my Lord, the Book is open to be read, and is intuled to one which is Bishop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, neither did at any time fee him to my knowledge. With that the People laughed, because the Bishop of Gloucester fate there in Commission.

Then the Bishop of Gloucester stood up, and said, it was his Book.

Lat. Was it yours, my Lord? indeed I knew not your Lordship, neither ever did I see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightness of the Sun shining betwixt you and me. Then the Audience laughed again; and Mr. Latimer spake unto them, saying; Why, my Masters, this is no laughing matter. I answer upon life and death, *Vae vobis qui ridetis nunc, quoniam flebitis*.

The B. of Lincoln commanded silence, and then said: Line. Mr. Latimer, if you had kept your self within your bounds, if you had not used such scoffs and taunts this had not been done.

After this the Bishop of Gloucester said in excusing of his Book.

Gloucester. Mr. Latimer, hereby every man may fee what learning you have.

Then M. Latimer interrupted him, saying:

Lat. Lo you look for learning at my hands which have gone so long to the School of oblivion, making the bare walls my Library, keeping me, so long in Prison without Book, or pen and ink? and now you let me loose to come and answer to Articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over night the one through friends and favour, is cherished, and hath good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the Stocks. In the morning when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lusty; the other is stark of his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you, that to run thorough this man with a Spear is not a goodly victory?

But the Bishop of Gloucester interrupting his answer, proceeded, saying:

Glouc. I went not about to recite any places of Scripture in that place of my Book; for then I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just occasion of reprehension: but I only in that place formed an Argument *à majore*, in this sense; that in the old Law the Priests had power to decide matters of Controversie, much more then ought the Authority to be given to the Clergy in the new Law: and I pray you in this point what availeth their rehearsal, *secundum legem Dei*?

Lat. Yes, my Lord, very much. For I acknowledge Authority to be given to the Spiritually to decide matter of Religion, and as my Lord said even now, *regere*: but they must do it *secundum Verbum Dei*, and not *secundum voluntatem suam*, according to the Word and Law of God, and not after their own will, after their own imaginations and fantasies.

The Bishop of Gloucester would have spoken more, saying that the Bishop of Lincoln said, that they came not to dispute with Mr. Latimer, but to take his determinate answers to their Articles, and so began to propound the same Articles which were propounded to Mr. Ridley. But Mr. Latimer interrupted him, speaking to the Bishop of Gloucester; Well, my Lord, I could wish more faithful dealing with Gods Word, and not to leave out a part, and snatch a part here, and another there, but to rehearse the whole faithfully.

But the Bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this saying of Mr. Latimer, proceeded in the rehearsing the Articles in form and sense as I declared before in the examination of the Articles, propounded to Mr. Ridley, and required Mr. Latimers answer to the first. Then Master Latimer making his protestation, that notwithstanding these his answers it should not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any Authority of the Bishop of Rome, saying, that he was the King and Queen their Majesties Subject, and not the Popes, neither could

1555.

The Author
of this Book
was D.
2. ed.
which there
was in the
Commission.

Truly Bi-
shop of
Gloucester
speaketh.

The Catho-
licks allow
unreasona-
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men.

The Catho-
licks allege
the Scrip-
tures, but
take not all.

The pro-
cedure of
M. Latimer.

seye

serve two Masters at one time, except he should now renounce one of them; required the Notaries so to take his protestation, that whatsoever he should say or do, it should not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any Authority that came from the Bishop of Rome.

1. Article. *Linc.* The Bishop of Lincoln said, that his Protestation should be so taken; but he required him to answer briefly, affirmatively, or negatively to the first Article, and so recited the same again: and Mr. Latimer answered as followeth.

Lati. I do not deny (my Lord) that in the Sacrament by spirit and grace is the very Body and Blood of Christ, because that every man, by receiving bodily that Bread and Wine, spiritually receiveth the Body and Blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ's Passion: but I deny that the Body and Blood of Christ is in such sort in the Sacrament, as you would have it.

Linc. Then Master Latimer, you answer affirmatively.

Lati. Yes, if you mean of that gross and carnal being, which you do take.

The Notaries took his answer to be affirmatively.

2. Article. *Linc.* What say you M. Latimer to the second Article? and recited the same.

Lati. There is, my Lord, a change in the Bread and Wine, and such a change as no power, but the Omnipotency of God can make, in that that which before was Bread, should now have the dignity to exhibit Christ's Body, and yet the Bread is still Bread, and the Wine still Wine: for the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity, because now that which was common Bread hath the dignity to exhibit Christ's Body: for whereas it was common Bread, it is now no more common Bread, neither ought it to be so taken, but as holy Bread sanctified by Gods Word.

With that the Bishop of Lincoln smiled, saying:

Linc. Lo Master Latimer, see what steadfastness is in your Doctrine. That which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish: for whereas you most rail'd at holy Bread, you now make your Communion holy Bread.

Lati. Truly, a rush for holy Bread. I say the Bread in the Communion is an holy Bread indeed.

But the Bishop of Lincoln interrupted him, and said:

Linc. O, ye make a difference between holy Bread and holy Bread, (with that the Audience laughed.) Well, Mr. Latimer, is not this your answer, that the substance of Bread and Wine remaineth after the words of Consecration?

Lati. Yes verily, it must needs be so. For Christ himself calleth it Bread, St. Paul calleth it Bread, the Doctors confess the same, the nature of a Sacrament confirmeth the same, and I call it holy Bread, not in that I make no difference betwixt your holy Bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Christ's Body, and not only a bare figure, but effectually to represent the same.

So the Notaries penned his answer to be affirmatively.

3. Article. *Linc.* What say you to the third question? and recited the same.

Lati. No, no, my Lord, Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him again, neither can the Priest offer up Christ again for the sins of man, which he took away by offering himself once for all (as St. Paul saith) upon the Cross, neither is there any propitiation for our sins, saving his Cross only.

So the Notaries penned his answer to this Article also to be affirmatively.

4. Article. *Linc.* What say you to the fourth, Mr. Latimer? and recited it. After the recital whereof, when Mr. Latimer answered not, the Bishop asked him whether he heard him or no?

Lati. Yes, but I do not understand what you mean thereby.

Linc. Marry only this, that these your Assertions were condemned by Master Dr. Weston as Heresies; is it not so Mr. Latimer?

Lati. Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjustly, he that shall be judge of all, knoweth.

So the Notaries took his answer to this Article also to be affirmatively.

Linc. What say you Mr. Latimer to the fifth Article? and recited it.

Lati. I know not what you mean by these terms. I am no Lawyer, I would you would propose the matter plainly.

Linc. In that we proceed according to the Law, we must use their terms also. The meaning only is this, that these your Assertions are notorious, evil spoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouths of the People.

Lati. I cannot tell how much, nor what men talk of them. I come not so much among them, in that I have been secluded a long time. What then report of them I know not, nor care not.

This answer taken, the Bishop of Lincoln said:

Linc. Mr. Latimer, we mean not that these your Answers shall be prejudicial to you. To morrow you shall appear before us again, and then it shall be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you respite till to morrow, trusting that after you have pondered well all things against to morrow, you will not be ashamed to confess the truth.

Lati. Now, my Lord, I pray you give me licence in three words, to declare the causes why I have refused the Authority of the Pope.

Linc. Nay, Mr. Latimer, to morrow you shall have licence to speak 40. words.

Lati. Nay, my Lords, I beseech you to do with me now as it shall please your Lordships: I pray you let not me be troubled to morrow again.

Linc. Yes, Mr. Latimer, you must needs appear again to morrow.

Lati. Truly, my Lord, as for my part I require no respite, for I am at a point; you shall give me respite in vain: therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to morrow.

Linc. Yes, for we trust, God will work with you against to morrow. There is no remedy, you must needs appear again to morrow at eight of the Clock in Saint Maries Church. And forthwith the Bishop charged the Mayor with Mr. Latimer, and dismissed him, and then brake up their Session for that day, about one of the Clock at Afternoon.

Here followeth the second Session.

The next day following (which was the first day of the next Session) somewhat after eight of the Clock, the said Lords repaired to St. Maries Church, and after they were set in a high Throne well trimmed with cloth of Tissue and Silk, then appeared Mr. Ridley, who was set at a framed Table a good space from the Bishops seat, which Table had a Silk-cloth cast over it, the which place was compassed about with framed Seats in quadrate form, partly for Gentlemen which repaired thither (for this was the Session-day also of Gaol-delivery) and Heads of the University to sit, and partly to keep off the press of the Audience: for the whole Body, as well of the University as of the Town, came thither to see the end of these two Persons. After Mr. Ridley's appearance, and the silence of the Audience, the Bishop of Lincoln spake in manner following:

Linc. Mr. Ridley, yesterday when that we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused your self of that whereof no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your Cap for any obliquity towards us, which as touching our own persons desired no such obedience of you, but only in respect of them whose persons we bear; neither (you said) for any contempt that you bear to this worshipful Audience, which although justly may, yet in this case require no such humility of you; neither for any derogation of honor to my Lord Cardinals grace, in that he is defended from the Regal Blood, in that he is a man most Noble, both for his excellent qualities and singular Learning: for as touching those points, you said, you with all humility would honor, reverence, and worship his Grace; but in that he is Legate to the

Capping as
g. in the
name of the
Pope.

most reverend Father in God the Popes Holiness (with that the Bishop with all then present, put off their Caps, but M. Ridley moved not his) you said you neither could, nor would by any means be induced to give him honor: but forasmuch as this is the point as we told you yesterday, why we require honor and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the pains to move your Bonet, we will take the pains to cause your Bonet to be taken from you, except you pretend sickness, as yesterday you did not.

B. Ridley re-
fused to
put off his
Cap to the
Pope, or to
them which
came from
the Pope.

Rid. I pretend now none other cause, than I did yesterday, that is, only that hereby it may appear that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gesture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit any authority or power that shall come from the Pope, and not for any pride of mind (as God is my judge) neither for contempt of your Lordships, or of this worshipsful Audience, neither for derogation of honor due to my Lord Cardinals grace as concerning those points which your Lordship spake of, that is, his noble Parentage and singular graces in learning. And as for taking my Cap away, your Lordship may do as it shall please you; it shall not offend me, but I shall be content with your ordinance in that behalf.

Line. Forasmuch as you do answer now as you did yesterday, we must do also as we did then, and forthwith one of his Beadles very hastily snatched his Cap from his head.

After this the Bishop of Lincoln began the Examination in sense following.

The last
examination
of B. Ridley.

Line. Master Ridley, yesterday we took your answer to certain Articles, which we then proposed unto you: but because we could not be thoroughly satisfied with your answer then to the first Article, neither could the Notaries take any determinate answer of you, we (you requiring the same) granted you licence to bring your answer in writing, and thereupon commanded the Major that you should have pen, paper and ink, yea a new Books also that you would require, if they were to be gotten: we licenced you then also to alter your former answers this day at your pleasure: Therefore we are come now hither, to see whether you are in the same mind now that you were in yesterday, (which we would not wish) or contrary, contented to revoke all your former assertions, and in all points consent to submit your self to the determination of the universal Church, and I for my part most earnestly exhort you (and therewith he put of his Cap) not because my Conscience pricketh me, as you said yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition.

The words
of the B. of
Lincoln.

Yesterday I brought forth amongst other St. Austin, to prove that authority hath always been given to the See of Rome, and you wrested the words far contrary to St. Austin's meaning, in that that you would have *totus mundus* to be applied only to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world, whereas indeed the process of St. Augustine's words will not admit that your interpretation. For he saith not *totus mundus Christianus in transmarinis*, &c. but first *totus mundus Christianus Romanus Ecclesie subiectus est*: all the Christian world is subject to the Church of Rome, and afterward addeth, *in transmarinis partibus*, beyond the Sea, but only to augment the dominion of the See of Rome.

The place of
St. Austin's
words is
expressed,
transmarinis
partibus.

Rid. But Mr. Ridley still persevered in his former answer, saying; I am sure my Lord, you have some skill in Geography, in the which you shall understand that there is a Sea called *Mare mediterraneum*, cast between Europe, and Africa, in the which he meant Europe beyond the Sea, even as I should say the whole world beyond the Sea, excepting England in the which I stand: and here many words were spent upon the interpretation of the same place of St. Austin.

Line. After long disputation, the B. of Lincoln said, that the meaning of St. Augustine might be known by the content of other the Doctors, and rehearsed divers.

How the Ca-
tholick doctrine
is alleged
the Doctors.

Rid. But Mr. Ridley required the rehearsal of the places, and to read the very words of the Doctors, saying, that perhaps those which the Bishop rehearsed, being proposed in other terms in the Doctors, would admit a contrary meaning and interpretation: but in that Book, out of the which the Bishop rehearsed them, was none of

of the Doctors, but only the sentences drawn out of the Doctors by some Readers: in that he could not recite the very words of the Doctors.

Line. Then after, he came to Cyrillus, which, as he said, made against M. Ridley in the Sacrament, even by Philip Melancthon his own alleging in his common places, and forthwith called for Melancthon's, but in vain, because all such Books were burned a little before, wherefore he pulled it over.

Cyrillus also in another place, proving to the Jews that Christ was come, useth this reason, Altars are erected in Christs name in Britain, and in far Countries: Ergo, Christ is come. But we may use the contrary, of that reason; Altars are plucked down in Britain: Ergo, Christ is not come. A good argument a contrariis. I will stand to it in the Schools by and by with any man. Ye see what a good argument this your Doctrine maketh for the Jews, to prove that Christ is not come.

Dr. Ridley smiling answered; your Lordship is not ignorant that this word *Altare* in the Scripture signifieth as well the Altar whereupon the Jews were wont to make their burnt Sacrifices, as the Table of the Lords Supper. Cyrillus meaneth there by this word *Altare*, not that the Jewish Altar, but the Table of the Lord, and by that saying (Altars are erected in Christs name, Ergo Christ is come) he meaneth that the communion is ministered in his remembrance, Ergo Christ is come: for the strength of his argument is, because the remembrance of a thing cannot be, except it first be past: then could not all Countries celebrate the Communion in remembrance of Christs Passion, except Christ had been come and suffered. As for the taking down of the Altars, it was done upon just considerations, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jews usage. Neither was the Supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, more duly received, than in those latter days, when all things were brought to the rites and usage of the Primitive Church.

Line. A goodly receiving I promise you, to set an Oyfter Table instead of an Altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster to receive: and yet when your Table was constituted, you could never be content, in placing the same now East, now North, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the Church.

Rid. Your Lordships unreverent terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from Puddings, than other men now do from other things.

Line. As for that, M. Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this your reasoning you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answers to our Articles, and oftentimes he read the first Article in manner above specified.

Now Mr. Ridley, what say you to the first Article. If you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it.

Rid. Then Mr. Ridley took a sheet of Paper out of his bosom, and began to read that which he had written: but the Bishop of Lincoln commanded the Beadle to take it from him. But he desired licence to read it, saying that it was nothing but his answers, but the Bishop would in no wise suffer him.

Rid. Why my Lord, will you require my answer, and not suffer me to publish it? I beseech you my Lord, let the Audience bear witness in this matter. Your Lordships may handle it at your pleasure: therefore let the Audience be witness to your doings.

Line. Well, M. Ridley, we will first see what you have written, and then if we shall think it good to be read, you shall have it published; but except you will deliver it first, we will take none at all of you.

With that M. Ridley, seeing no remedy, delivered it to an Officer, which immediately delivered it to the Bishop of Lincoln, who after he had secretly communicated it to the other two Bishops, declared it false, but would not read it as it was written, saying, that it contained words of blasphemy: therefore he would not bill the ears of the Audience therewithall, and to shew their patience:

Anno

1555.

A place of

Cyrillus al-

leged by

Melancthon

Scripture

books burn-

ed at Oxford

Argument

a contrariis

Ergo, Christ

is come

Ergo, Christ

is not come

This argu-

ment is not

a *quid con-*

trariis: For

crediting of

Altars in the

Antecedent,

and plucking

down Altars

in the con-

sequent, be

not contrary

to the

Antecedent,

Cyril mean-

eth the Ta-

ble, or else

the celebra-

tion of the

Lords Sup-

per in his re-

membrance.

To the con-

sequent by

plucking

down of Al-

tars, is

mean the

thing as

way of pla-

ces and mo-

numents

serving not

to the Lords

Supper, but

to Holiness,

whereby the

true Table

of the Lords

Supper, in

his remem-

brance may

be erected

again.

B. White

blasphemous

ly calleth

the Board

of the Lords

Supper, an

Oyfter-Ta-

ble. The

Articles

read again

to Mr. Ridley,

B. Ridley not

suffered to

read his

own answer.

Anno 1555. patience, notwithstanding Mr. Ridley desired very instantly to have it published, saying, that except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient Doctors saying for the confirmation of his assertions.

After the said Bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the Bishop of Lincoln said: In the first part, Mr. Ridley, is nothing contained but your protestation, that you would not have these your Answers so to be taken, as though you seemed thereby to consent to the Authority or jurisdiction of the Popes Holiness.

Rid. No, my Lord, I pray you read it out that the audience may hear it: but the Bishop of Lincoln would in no wise, because (he said) there were contained words of blasphemy.

2. Article. Then the Bishop of Lincoln recited the first Article, and required Mr. Ridley's Answer to it. Then Mr. Ridley said, that his Answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published: but the Bishop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it. So the Notaries took his Answer, that he referred him to his Answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation, Mr. Doctor Weston being Prolocutor.

3. Article. In like wise the Bishop of Lincoln recited the second Article, and required an answer, and Mr. Ridley referred him to his answer in writing, exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation: and like Answers were taken to all the residue of the Articles.

These answers in this manner rehearsed, taken and penned of the Notaries, the Bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to move Mr. Ridley to turn.

3. Article. Glo. If you could empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your Religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be perduced to acknowledge one Church with us, to confide one Faith with us, and to believe one Religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in Religion is this I pray you? Latimer leane to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit: so that if you overthrow the singularity of Ridley's wit, then must needs the Religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember well, Mr. Ridley, that the Prophet speaketh most truly, saying; *Ve, ve*, We be to them which are singular and wise in their own conceits.

But you will say here, it is true that the Prophet saith: but how know you that I am wise in mine own conceit? Yes, Mr. Ridley, you refuse the determination of the Catholick Church; you must needs be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring Scripture for the probation of your assertions, and we also bring Scriptures; you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit: but if you say you will follow the minds of the Doctors and ancient Fathers, seemingly you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another; how will ye know the truth herein? If you stand to your own judgment, then are you singular in your own conceit, then can you not avoid the *ve* and wo which the Prophet speaketh of.

Wherefore if you have no stay but the Catholick Church in matters of controversy, except you will rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain, if the Prophet most truly saith, *ve, ve* wo, be to them that are wise in their own conceit: then for Gods love, Mr. Ridley, stand not singular, be not you wise in your own conceit, please not your self over much. How were the *Arians*, the *Manichees*, *Eutychians*, with other divers Hereticks which have been in the Church, how I pray you were they suppressed and convinced? By reasoning in disputations? No truly, the *Arians* had no more places of Scripture for the confirmation of their Heresie, than the Catholicks for the defence of the Truth. How then were they convinced? only by the determination of the Church. And indeed except we do constitute the Church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that we all bring Scriptures and Doctors for the probation of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversy? If we our selves, then be singular and wise

in your own conceits, then cannot we avoid the wo that the Prophet speaketh of.

It remaineth therefore that we submit our selves to the determination and arbitrement of the Church, with whom God promised to remain to the worlds end, to whom he promised to send the Holy Ghost which should teach it the Truth. Wherefore, Mr. Ridley, if you will avoid the wo that the Prophet speaketh of, be not you wise in your judgment: if you will not be wise and singular in your own judgment, captivate your own understanding, subdue your reason, and submit your self to the determination of the Church.

This is briefly the sum of the Oration of the Bishop of Gloucester, by the which he endeavoured in many more words, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of Rhetorick to move affections, to persuade Mr. Ridley to recant and forsake his Religion.

To whom Mr. Ridley answered in few words, that he said most truly the Prophet, wo be to him that is wise in his own conceit, but that he acknowledged no such singularity in him, nor knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himself. And whereas he said Mr. Cranmer leane to him, that was most untrue, in that he was but a young Scholar in comparison of Mr. Cranmer: for at what time he was a young Scholar, then was Mr. Cranmer a Doctor, so that he confessed that Mr. Cranmer might have been his School-Master these many years. It seemed that he would have spoken more, but the B. of Gloucester interrupted him saying:

Glo. Why Mr. Ridley, it is your own confession, for Mr. Latimer at that time of his disputation, confessed his learning to lie in Mr. Cranmers Books, and Mr. Cranmer also said, that it was your doing.

Linc. Likewise the B. of Lincoln with many words, and gently holding his Cap in his hand, desired him to turn. But Mr. Ridley made an absolute answer, that he was fully persuaded, the Religion which he defended to be grounded upon Gods Word, and therefore without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his Soul, he could not forsake his Master and Lord God, but desired the Bishop to perform his grant, in that his Lordship said the day before, that he should have licence to shew his cause why he could not with a safe Confidence admit the Authority of the Pope: But the Bishop of Lincoln said, that whereas then he had demanded licence to speak three words, he was contented then that he should speak forty and that grant he would perform.

Then stepped forth Doctor Weston, which sat by, and said, why my Lord, he hath spoken four hundred already.

Mr. Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither of that matter. The Bishop of Lincoln bade him take his licence: but he should speak but forty, and he would tell them upon his fingers, and effsoons Mr. Ridley began to speak: but before he had ended half a sentence, the Doctors sitting by cried and said, that his number was out, and with that he was put to silence.

After this the Bishop of Lincoln, which sat in the midst, began to speak as followeth.

Linc. Now I perceive, Mr. Ridley, you will not permit nor suffer us to stay in that point of our Commission which we most desired: for I ensure you, there is never a word in our Commission more true than, *solentes & gementes*. For indeed I for my part, I take God to witness, am sorry for you. Whereupon Mr. Ridley answered.

Rid. I believe it well my Lord, forasmuch as one day it will be burdensome to your Soul.

Linc. Nay, not so Mr. Ridley, but because I am sorry to see such stubbornness in you, that by no means you may be persuaded to acknowledge your Errors, and receive the Truth: but seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we must of necessity proceed to the other part of our Commission. Therefore I pray you hearken what I shall say, and forthwith he did read the sentence of Condemnation, which was written in a long process: the tenor of which, because it is sufficiently already expressed before we thought meet in this place to omit, forasmuch as they are rather words of

A brief answer of B. Ridley to B. Westons exhortation.

B. Ridley could not for his Conscience yield to the Popes Doctrine.

D. Weston sheweth his bold.

B. Ridley submitted no more but forty words to speak. Alce, Reader, the stream dealing of the Papists.

Sentence of condemnation, read against B. Ridley.

The determination of Church is only that, whereupon our Catholick men do ground their Faith.

The effect
of the Can-
ons, that
were
read before.

court, than things devised upon deliberation. Howbeit indeed the effect was, that forasmuch as the said Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain Opinions, Assertions, and Heresies, contrary to the Word of God, and the received Faith of the Church, as in denying the true and natural Body of Christ, and his natural Blood to be in the Sacrament of the Altar: Secondly, in affirming the substance of Bread and Wine to remain after the words of the Consecration: Thirdly, in denying the Mass to be a lively sacrifice of the Church for the quick and the dead, and by no means would be perduced and brought from these his Heresies: they therefore the said I. of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, John of Bristol, did judge and condemn the said Nicholas Ridley, as an Heretick, and so adjudged him presently both by word, and also in deed to be degraded from the degree of a Bishop, from Priesthood and all Ecclesiastical Order; declaring moreover the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the Church and therefore, committed him to the Secular Powers, of them to receive due punishment according to the tenor of the temporal Laws: and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication.

The last Appearance and Examination of Mr. Latimer before the Commissioners.

The last ap-
pearance
and exami-
nation of
Mr. Latimer
before the
Commission-
ers.

His sentence being published by the Bishop of Lincoln, Mr. Ridley was committed as a Prisoner to the Mayors, and immediately Mr. Latimer was sent for: but in the mean season the carpet or Cloth which lay upon the Table whereat Mr. Ridley stood, was removed, because (as men reported) Mr. Latimer had never the degree of a Doctor, as Mr. Ridley had. But ere long as Mr. Latimer appeared, as he did the day before, perceiv- ing no Cloth upon the Table, he laid his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbows, and immediately spake to the Commissioners, saying,

Lat. My Lords, I beseech your Lordships to set a better order here at your entrance: for I am an Old man, and have a very evil Back, so that the press of the multitude doth me much harm.

Line. I am sorry, Mr. Latimer, for your hurt. At your departure we will see to better order.

With that Mr. Latimer thanked his Lordship, making a very low courtesy. After this the Bishop of Lincoln began on this manner.

The Bishop
of Lincoln
words to
Mr. Latimer.

Line. Mr. Latimer, although yesterday after we had taken your answers to those Articles which we proposed, we might have justly proceeded to Judgment against you, especially in that you required the same, yet we having a good hope of your returning, desiring not your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your Errors, and turn to the Catholick Church, deferred farther process till this day, and now according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your Heretical assertions and submit your self to the determination of the Church, as we most heartily desire, and I for my part, as I did yesterday, most earnestly do exhort you, or to know whether you persevere still the man that you were, for the which we would be sorry.

It seemed that the Bishop would have further proceeded, saying that Mr. Latimer interrupted him, saying,

Mr. Latimer
short with
the Com-
missioners.

Lat. Your Lordship often doth repeat the Catholick Church, as though I should deny the same. No, my Lord, I confess there is a Catholick Church, to the determination of which I will stand, but not the Church which you call Catholick, which sooner might be termed Diabolick. And whereas you joyn together the *Romish* and Catholick Church, stay there I pray you. For it is one thing to say *Romish* Church, and another thing to say Catholick Church: I must use here in this mine Answer, the counsel of *Cyprian*, who at what time he was asked before certain Bishops that gave him leave to take deliberation and counsel, to try and examine his Opinion, he answered them thus: In sticking and persevering in the Truth, there must no counsel nor deliberation be taken. And again, being demanded of them sitting in judgment, which was most like to be of the Church of Christ, whether he which was persecuted, or they which

The Catho-
lick Church
and the Ro-
mish Church
be two
things.
Cyprian
counsel, in
truth no de-
liberation
to be taken.
Mr. Latimer
question to
the Bishop.

did persecute? Christ said he, hath foretold, that he that doth follow him, must take up his Cross, and follow him. Christ gave knowledge that the Disciples should have persecution and trouble. How think you then my Lords, is it like that the See of *Rome*, which hath been a continual persecutor, is rather the Church, or that small flock which hath continually been persecuted of it, even to death? Also the flock of Christ hath been but few in comparison to the refuse, and ever in subjection: which he proved beginning at *Noahs* time even to the Apostles.

Line. Your cause and *St. Cyprian* is not one, but clean contrary: for he suffered persecution for Christs sake and the Gospel; but you are in trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrary to the Word of God, and the received Truth of the Church.

Lat. Mr. Latimer interrupting him, said; Yes verily, my cause is as good as *St. Cyprian*: for his was for the Word of God, and so is mine.

But *Lincoln* goeth forth in his talk.

Also at the beginning and foundation of the Church, it could not be but that the Apostles should suffer great persecution. Further, before Christs coming, continually there were very few which truly served God: but after his coming began the time of Grace, then began the Church to increase, and was continually augmented, until it came unto this perfection, and now hath justly that Jurisdiction which the unchristian Princes before by tyranny did resist: there is a divers consideration of the estate of the Church now in the time of Grace, and before Christs coming. But, Mr. Latimer, although we had instructions given us determinately to take your answer to such Articles as we should propose, without any reasoning or disputations, yet we hoping by talk somewhat to prevail with you, appointed you to appear before us yesterday in the Divinity School, a place for disputations. And whereas then notwithstanding you had licence to say your mind, and were answered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your Errors; We thinking that from that time ye would with good advisement consider your estate, gave you respite from that time yesterday when we dismissed you, until this time, and now have called you again here in this place, by your answers to learn whether you are the same man you were then or no? Therefore we will propose unto you the same Articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate answer, without further reasoning, and ere long recited the first Article.

Lat. Always my protestation saved, that by these mine Answers it should not be thought that I did contend and agree to your Lordships Authority, in that you are legaced by Authority of the Pope, so that there by I might seem to consent to his Jurisdiction: To the first Article I answer now as I did yesterday, that in the Sacrament the worthy receiver receiveth the very Body of Christ, and drinketh his Blood by the Spirit and Grace. But after a corporal being, which the *Romish* Church prescribeth, Christs Body and Blood is not in the Sacrament under the forms of Bread and Wine.

The Notaries took his answer to be affirmatively. For the second Article he referred himself to his answers made before.

Line. After this the Bishop of Lincoln recited the third Article, and required a determinate Answer.

Lat. Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice, neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatorie sacrifice.

The Notaries took his answer to be affirmatively. In like manner did he answer to the other Articles, not varying from his answers made the day before.

After his Answers were penned of the Notaries, and the Bishop of Lincoln had exhorted him in like sort to recant as he did Mr. Ridley, and revoke his Errors and false Assertions, and Mr. Latimer had answered that he neither could, nor would deny his Master Christ, and his verity, the Bishop of Lincoln desired Mr. Latimer to learn to him: and then, Mr. Latimer hearing for some new matter and other talk, the Bishop of Lincoln read his condemnation, after the publication of the which the said three Bishops brake up their Sessions, and dismissed the Audience.

Anno
1555.

whether is
more like,
the See of
Rome which
persecute, or
the little
flock which
is persecu-
ted, to be
the true
Church.

The cause
of the Mar-
tyrs of the
Primitive
time, and of
the latter
time all
one.

The image
of the
Church be-
fore Christs
coming
compared
with the
Church af-
ter his
coming.

The Articles
propounded
again to
Mr. Latimer.

The very
Body of
Christ re-
ceived in
the Sacram-
ent by the
spirit and
grace.

Answer to
the second
and third
Articles.

Mr. Latimer
will not de-
ny his Ma-
ster Christ.

Condemna-
tion read
against
Mr. Latimer.

But

Anno 1555. But M. Lat. required the Bishop to perform his promise in saying the day before, that he should have licence briefly to declare the cause why he refused the Popes Authority.

Linc. But the Bishop said that now he could not hear him, neither ought to talk with him.

Then Mr. Latimer asked him, whether it were not lawful for him to appeal from this his judgment. And the Bishop asked him again to whom he would appeal. To the next general Council (quoth Mr. Latimer) which shall be truly called in Gods name. With that appellation the Bishop was content: but he said it would be a long season before such a convocation as he meant would be called.

Then the Bishop committed Mr. Latimer to the Mayor, saying; now he is your Prisoner, Mr. Mayor. Because the press of the People was not diminished, each man looking for farther process, the Bishop of Lincoln commanded avoidance, and willed Mr. Latimer to tarry till the press were diminished, lest he should take hurt at his egression, as he did at his entrance. And so continued Bishop Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, in duration till the 16. day of the said month of October.

A Communication between Dr. Brooks, and Dr. Ridley, in Mr. Ilish his House, the 15. day of October, at which time he was degraded.

IN the mean season upon the 5. day in the morning, and the same year also, said, the Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Brooks, and the Vicechancellor of Oxford Dr. Marshall, with divers other of the chief, and Heads of the same University, and many other more accompanying them, came unto Mr. Ilish his House then Mayor of Oxford, where Dr. Ridley late Bishop of London was close Prisoner. And when the Bishop of Gloucester came into the Chamber where the said Dr. Ridley did lie, he told him for what purpose their coming was unto him, saying; that yet once again the Queens Majesty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receive the same, and come home again to the Faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his Erroneous Doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the destruction of many. And further said, that if he would not recant and become one of the Catholick Church with them, then they must needs (against their wills) proceed according to the Law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwise. But faith he, we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and devilish Opinion, which hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good Mr. Ridley, consider with your self the danger that shall ensue both of Body and Soul, if that you shall so wilfully cast your self away in refusing mercy offered unto you at this time.

My Lord, quoth Dr. Ridley, you know my mind fully herein; and as for the Doctrine which I have taught, my Conscience affureth me that it was found, and according to Gods Word (to his glory be it spoken) the which Doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my Tongue shall wag, and breath is within my Body, and in confirmation thereof Seal the same with my Blood.

Brook. Well, you were best, Mr. Ridley, not to do so but to become one of the Church with us. For you know this well enough, that whosoever is out of the Catholick Church, cannot be saved: Therefore I say once again, that whilst you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confite with us the Popes Holiness to be the chief Head of the same Church.

Rid. I marvel that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped Authority of that Romish Antichrist. As I confided openly in the Schools, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk, I do no obedience at all unto the Bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped Authority, and that for a good and godly considerations. And here Dr. Ridley would have reasoned with the said Brooks B. of Gloucester, of the Bishop of Romes Authority, but was interrupted by the Mayor, and yet he spake so earnestly a-

gainst the Pope therein, that the Bishop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he should be compelled against his will. And seeing, faith he, that you will not receive the Queens mercy now offered unto you, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed according to our Commission to degrading, taking from you the dignity of Priesthood. For we take you for no Bishop, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you: so committing you to the Secular Power, you know what doth follow.

Rid. Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you, I am well content to abide the same with all my heart.

Brook. put off your Cap, Mr. Ridley, and put upon you this Surple.

Rid. Not I truly.

Evek. But you must.

Rid. I will not.

Brook. You must, therefore make no more ado but put this Surple upon you.

Rid. Truly if it come upon me, it shall be against my will.

Brook. Will you not do it upon you?

Rid. No, that I will not.

Brook. It shall be put upon you by one or other.

Rid. Do therein as it shall please you, I am well contented with that, and more than that; the servant is not above his Master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us his Servants? and in saying of these words, they put upon the said Dr. Ridley the Surple, with all the Trinkets appertaining to the Mass. And as they were putting on the same, Dr. Ridley did vehemently inveigh against the Romish Bishop, and all that foolish apparel, calling him Antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, yea too fond for a vice in a play, inasmuch that Brooks was exceeding angry with him, and bade him hold his peace, for he did but rail. Dr. Ridley answered him again, and said; So long as his Tongue and Breath would suffer him, he would speak against their abominable doings, whatsoever happened unto him for so doing.

Brook. Well, you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped. At which words one Edrige, the Reader then of the Greek lecture standing by said to Dr. Brooks: Sir, the Law is he should be gagged, therefore let him be gagged. At which words Dr. Ridley looking earnestly upon him that so said, wagged his head at him, and made no answer again, but with a sigh said: Oh well, well, well.

So they proceeded in their doings, yet nevertheless Dr. Ridley was ever talking things not pleasant to their ears, although one or other bade him hold his peace, lest he should be caused against his will.

When as they came to that place whereas Dr. Ridley should hold the Chalice and the Wafer-cake (called the Singing-bread) they bade him hold the same in his hands. And Dr. Ridley said, they shall not come in my hands: for if they do, they shall fall to the ground for all me. Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while Bishop Brooks read a certain thing in Latine, touching the degradation of Spiritual persons according to the Popes Law.

Afterward they put a Book in his hand, and willed read (as is before said) a certain thing in Latine, the effect whereof was: We do take from you the office of preaching the Gospel, &c. At which words Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards Heaven, saying; O Lord God forgive them this their wickedness.

And as they put upon him the Mass-gear, so they began with the uppermost garment, in taking it away again, reading a thing in Latine, according to the order contained in the said Book of the Popes Law. Now when all was taken from him, saving only the Surple left on his back as they were reading and taking it away, Dr. Ridley laid unto them, Lord God, what Power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never finger in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had.

D. Ridley refused to put on the Surple.

B. Ridley inveigheth against the B. of Rome and his foolish apparel. The Surple here is called a foolish apparel.

M. Edrige given counsel, that B. Ridley should be gagged.

Degrading of B. Ridley.

Edrige would not let come in his hand the Chalice and Wafer-cake.

D. Ridley degraded from preaching.

The talk between Dr. Brooks, B. of Gloucester, and Dr. Ridley, upon his Degradation.

No mercy to be had without consenting to iniquity.

Answer of B. Ridley to B. Brook.

O worthy Champion of Christs Church.

With that their Caps were off, but Dr. Ridley held on his Cap.

B. Brooks consented to Edrige's, when he saw that he could not be saved.

At the offer-
ence of
Archbishops
Kings and
council
in
the
Torys.

So when all this their abominable and ridiculous degradation was ended very solemnly. Dr. Ridley said unto Doctor Brooks, Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters. Brooks answered and said; Mr. Ridley, we may not talk with you, you be out of the Church, and our Law is that we may not talk with any that be out of the Church. Then Mr. Ridley said; Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will you chafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him.

A praise of
Bertrams
Book upon
the Sacra-
ment.

At which words they would have been gone, but Mr. Ridley said; My Lord, I would wish that your Lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little Book of Bertrams doings, concerning the Sacrament. I promise you, you shall find much good learning therein, if you will read the same with an indifferent judgment. Doctor Brooks made no answer to this, but would have been gone away. Then Mr. Ridley, said, Oh, I perceive that you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well, it boots not, I will say no more, I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore my Lord hear me, and be a mean to the Queens Majesty, in the behalf of a great many of poor men, and especially for my poor Sister and her Husband which standeth there. They had a poor Living granted unto them by me, whiles I was in the See of London, and the same is taken away from them, by him that now occupieth the same room, without all Law or Conscience.

Note the
charity of
the Supplic.

Here I have a supplication to the Queens Majesty in their behalfs. You shall hear the same read, so shall you perceive the matter the better. Then he read the same, and when he came to the place in the supplication, that touched his Sister by name, then he wept, so that for a little space he could not speak for weeping. After that he had left off weeping, said; This is nature that moveth me. But I have now done, and wish that read out thereof, and delivered the same to his Brother, commanding him to put it up to the Queens Majesty, and to sue, not only for himself, but also for such as had any Leases or Grants by him, and were put from the same by Dr. Borer, then Bishop of London. Whereunto Brooks said, indeed Mr. Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in Conscience speak to the Queens Majesty for them.

B. Ridley's
Sister put
in her
Letter by
R. Borer.

Rid. I pray you for Gods sake do so.

Brooks. I think your request will be granted, except one thing let it, and that is (I fear) because you do not allow the Queens proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same, that it will hardly be granted.

Rid. What remedy? I can do no more but speak and write. I trust I have discharged my Conscience therein, and Gods will be done.

Brook. I will do what lieth in me.
The Copy of this supplication written to the Queen here followeth.

Master Ridley to the Queens Majesty.

A Supplication
of B.
Rid. unto
Q. Mary in
the behalf
of certain
poor mens
Leases.

IT may please your Majesty for Christ our Saviours sake in a matter of Conscience (and now not for my self, but for other poor men) to vouchsafe to hear and understand this humble supplication. It is so (honourable Prince) that in the time whiles I was in the Ministry of the See of London, divers poor men, Tenants thereof, have taken new Leases of their Tenancies and holdings, and some have renewed and changed their old, and therefore have payed fines and sums of money both to me, and also to the Chapter of Pauls, for the confirmation of the same.

This Bishop
was Dr. Borer.

Now I joy, that the Bishop which occupieth the same room now, will not allow the foresaid Leases, which must redound to many poor mens utter ruine and decay. Wherefore this is mine humble supplication unto your honourable Grace, that it may please the same for Christs sake to be unto the foresaid poor men their gracious Patroness and Defender, either that they may enjoy their foresaid Leases and years renewed, as I suppose when their matter shall be heard with Conscience, both justice, Conscience, and Equity shall require, for that their Leases shall be found (I trust) made without fraud or cunning, either

of their part, or of mine, and always also the old Rents reserved to the See without any kind of damage thereof: or if this will not be granted, then that it may please your gracious Highness, to command that the poor men may be restored to their former Leases and years and to have rendered to them again such sums of money as they paid to me and to the Chapter-house for their Leases and years, so now taken from them. Which thing concerning the Fines paid to me, may be easily done, if it shall please your Majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house when I fled in hope of pardon for my Trespasses towards your Grace, which goods (as I have heard) be yet reserved in the same house. I suppose that half of the value of my Plate that I left in mine offices, and specially in an Iron-Chest in my bed-Chamber, will go nigh to restore all such Fines received, the true sums and parcels whereof are not set in their Leases: and therefore if that way shall please your Highness, they must be known by such ways and means, as your Majesty by the advice of men of wisdom and Conscience shall appoint: but yet for Christs sake I crave and most humbly beseech your Majesty of your most gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

I have also a poor Sister that came to me out of the North, with three fatherless Children, for her relief, whom I married after to a Servant of mine own house: she is put out of that I did provide for them. I beseech your Honourable Grace, that her case may be mercifully considered, and that she rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, which suffered endurance at my entrance into the See of London, not one penny of his movable goods, for it was almost half a year after his deposition, afore I entered into this place: yea, and also if any were left, known to be his, he had licence to carry it away, or there for his wife it did lie safe, as his Officers do know. I paid for the Lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the Church, or of the house. And moreover, I had not only no part of his movable goods, but also (as his old Receiver, and then mine, called Mr. Stanton, can testify) I paid for them towards his Servants common liveries and wages, after his deposition, 53 or 55 pounds, I cannot tell whether. In all these matters I beseech your Honourable Majesty to hear the advice of men of Conscience, and in especial the Archbishop of York, which for that he was continually in my house a year and more, before mine imprisonment, I suppose he is not altogether ignorant of some part of these things, and also his Grace doth know my Sister, for whose succour, and some relief, now unto your Highness I make most humble sute.

The 26. of October, Anno 1555. N. R.

This Degradation being past, and all things finished, Doctor Brooks called the Bayliffs, delivering to them Mr. Ridley with this charge, to keep him fairly from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of Execution when they were commanded. Then Mr. Ridley in praising God, burst out with these words, and said; God I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious Crime: for if you could, it should surely be laid in my lap, I fee very well. Whereunto Brooks said, he played the part of a proud Pharisee, exalting and praising himself.

But Master Ridley said No, no, no, as I have said before, to Gods glory be it spoken. I confess my self to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of Gods help and mercy, and do daily call, and cry for the same: therefore I pray you have no such Opinion of me. Then they departed, and in going away, a certain Warden of a Colledge, of whose name I am not very sure, bade Dr. Ridley repent him, and forsake that erroneous Opinion. Whereunto Mr. Ridley said; Sir, repent you, for you are out of the Truth: and I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his Word. Then the Warden being in a chafe thereof, said; I trust that I shall never be of your erroneous and devilish Opinion, either yet to be in that place whither you shall go. He is, fifth he, the most obstinate and wilful man that ever I heard talk since I was born.

Anno

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The behaviour of Dr. Ridley at his Supper, the Night before his suffering.

THe Night before he suffered, his Beard was washed and his Legs, and as he fate at Supper, the same Night at Mr. *Irishes* (who was his Keeper) he bade his Hostess, and the rest at the Boord to his marriage: for, faith he, to morrow I must be married, and so shewed himself to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And withing his Sister at his marriage, he asked his Brother sitting at the Table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or no: and he answered, Yea, I dare say, with all her heart: at which word he said, He was glad to hear of her so much therein. So at this talk *Mistress Irish* wept.

Mrs. Irish a great Papist before, wept for Dr. Ridley.

But Mr. *Ridley* comforted her, and said, O *Mrs. Irish*, you love me not now, I see well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my Friend, as I thought you had been. But quiet your self, though my Breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my Supper shall be more pleasant and sweet, &c.

When they arose from the Table, his Brother offered him to watch all Night with him. But he said, No, no, that you shall not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to Night, as ever I did in my life. So his Brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his Cross quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

B. Ridley careless at his death.

A Table describing the burning of B. R. Ridley, and Father Latimer at Oxford, D. Smith there preaching at the time of their Martyrdom.



The behaviour of Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer, at the time of their death, which was the 16. of October, 1555.

UPon the North-side of the Town, in the Ditch over against *Baily-Colledge*, the place of Execution was appointed: and for fear of any Tumult that might arise, to let the burning of them, the Lord *Williams* was commanded by the Queens Letters, and the householders of the City to be there assisitant, sufficiently appointed; and when every thing was in a readines, the Prisoners were brought forth by the Mayor and the Bayliffs.

Mr. *Ridley* had a fair black Gown furred, and faced with Foins, such as he was wont to wear being Bishop, and a Tipper of Velvet furred likewise about his neck, a Velvet Night-cap upon his head, and a Corner-cap upon the same, going in a pair of Slippers to the Stake, and going between the Mayor and an Alderman, &c.

After him came Mr. *Latimer* in a poor *Brishow* free, Frock all worn, with his buttoned Cap, and a Kerchief on his head, all ready to the Fire, a new long Shroud hanging over his Hofs down to the feet: which at the first light stirred mens hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one side, the honour they sometime had, and on the other, the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Mr. *Doctor Ridley*, as he passed toward *Beards*, looked up where Mr. *Cranmer* did ly, hoping belike to have seen him at the Glas-window, and to have spoken unto him. But then Mr. *Cranmer* was busie with Frier

Soto and his Fellows disputing together, so that he could not see him through that occasion. Then Mr. *Ridley*, looking back, espied Mr. *Latimer* coming after. Unto whom he said, Oh, be ye there? Yea, said Mr. *Latimer*, have after as fast as I can follow. So he following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the Stake, the one after the other, where first Dr. *Ridley* entring the place, marvellously and earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards Heaven: then shortly after espying Mr. *Latimer*, with a wondrous chearful look he ran to him, imbraced and kissed him, and as they that stood near reported, comforted him, saying, Be of good heart, Brother, for God will either asswage the fury of the flames, or else strengthen us to abide it.

With that went he to the Stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and effectually prayed, and behind him Mr. *Latimer* kneeled, as earnestly calling upon God as he. After they arose the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see the Execution removed themselves out of the Sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Then Dr. *Smith*, of whose Recantation in King *Edwards* time ye heard before, began his Sermon to them upon this Text of St. *Paul*, in the 13th Chapter of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*; *Si corpus meum tradidero igni, charitatem autem non habeam, nihil mihi prodest: capio; this is, If I yield my Body, to the fire to be burnt, and have not Charity, I shall gain nothing thereby.* Wherein he alledged that the goodnets of the cause and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person; which he confirmed by the examples of *Judas*, and

the behav-
iour of
Dr. Ridley
and Mr. Latimer
at the Stake.

Dr. Smith
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be burnt, and have not Charity,
I shall gain nothing thereby.

Dr. Ridley
Mr. Latimer
both kneeling
between the
Mayor and the
Stake

and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged her self, for that they and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately hindered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the People to beware of them, for they were Hereticks, and died out of the Church. And on the other side, he declared their diversities in opinions, as *Lutherans*, *Oecolampadians*, *Zuinglians*, of which sect they were he said, and that was the worst: but the old Church of Christ, and the Catholick faith believed far otherwise. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witness of the truth. The which countenance they made in many other places of his Sermon, whereas they thought he spake amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the Church, and save their lives and Souls, which else were condemned. His Sermon was scant in all a quarter of an hour.

Doctor Ridley said to Master Latimer, will you begin to answer the Sermon, or shall I? Master Latimer said, begin you first I pray you. I will, said Master Ridley.

Then the wicked Sermon being ended, Doctor Ridley, and Mr. Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my Lord Williams of Tame, the Vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other Commissioners appointed for that purpose, which sate upon a form thereby. Unto whom Mr. Ridley said: I beseech you my Lord, even for Christs sake, that I may speak but two or three words: and whil实现 my Lord bent his head to the Mayor and Vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to speak, the Bayliffs and Doctor Marshall Vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not onely have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject, that is, have your life. Not otherwise, said Master Ridley. No, quoth Doctor Marshall: therefore if you will not to do, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your defaults Well (quoth Mr. Ridley) so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: Gods will be done in me. And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, Well, then I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all.

D. Ridley
rejoice to
answer D.
Smiths Ser-
mon, but
could not be
suffered.

D. Marshall
Vice-chancellor
of Oxford, pre-
sents D.
Ridley to the
Commissioners.

B. Ridley
committeth
his cause to
God.
Mr. Latimer
words when
he could not
be suffered
to answer
D. Smith.
* This was
no Popish
tippet, but
made onely
to keep his
neck warm.

B. Ridley gi-
veth away
his apparel
and other
things to the
People about
him.

Mr. Latimer
strikes up at
a table in
a hall.

To whose saying, Mr. Latimer added his old Poise, Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened: and when he said, he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered. Incontinently they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Mr. Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave it to his Brother in Law Mr. Shipside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessities, which from time to time he sent him by the Sergeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, he gave away, the other Bayliffs took.

He gave away besides, divers other small things to Gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat, and to divers of my Lord Williams Gentlemen, some napkins, some nutmegs, and races of Ginger, his Dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points off his hose. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his Keeper to pull off his hose, and his other array, which to look unto was very simple: and being stripped into his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly see; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked silly old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

Then Master Ridley, standing as yet in his truss, said to his Brother, It were best for me to go in my truss still. No, quoth his Brother, it will put you to more pain: and the truss will do a poor man good. Whereunto Master Ridley said: Be it, in the Name of God, and so unlaced himself. Then being in his shirt, he stood upon the forefild stone, and held up his hand and said:

O! heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee Lord God take mercy upon this Realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies.

Then the Smith took a chain of Iron, and brought the same about both Doctor Ridleys, and Mr. Latimers middles: and as he was knocking in a staple, Doctor Ridley took the chain in his hand, and flaked the same, for it did gird in his belly, and looking aside to the Smith, said; Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course. Then his Brother did bring him Gun-powder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his neck, Master Ridley asked what it was. His Brother said, Gun-powder. Then said he, I will take it to be sent of God, therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any said he, for my Brother, meaning Master Latimer? Yea Sir, that I have (quoth his Brother:) Then give it unto him (said he) betime, lest ye come too late. So his Brother went, and carried of the same Gun-powder unto Master Latimer.

In the mean time Doctor Ridley spake unto my Lord Williams, and said; My Lord, I must be a suter unto your Lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and specially in the cause of my poor Sister: I have made a supplication to the Queens Majesty in their behalfs. I beseech your Lordship for Christs sake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My Brother here hath the supplication, and will refer to your Lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the World that troubleth my Conscience (I praise God) this onely excepted. Whil实现 I was in the See of London, divers poor men took leaflets of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear say the Bishop that now occupieth the same room, will not allow my grants unto them made, but contrary unto all law and Conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you my Lord, be a mean for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you.

Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at D. Ridleys feet. To whom Mr. Latimer spake in this manner; Be of good comfort Mr. Ridley, and play the man, we shall this day light such a candle by Gods grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out.

And so the fire being given unto them, when Doctor Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice; In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine recipe spiritum meum, and after repeated this later part often in English, Lord, Lord, receive my Spirit: Master Latimer crying as vehemently on the other side, O Father of Heaven receive my Soul: who received the flame as it were embracing of it. After that he had stroaked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died (as it appeareth) with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed Servant of God, Master Latimer, for whose laborious travels, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole Realm hath cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

But Master Ridley by reason of the evil making of the fire unto him, because the wooden faggots were laid about the gods, and over high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood. Which when he felt, he desired them for Christs sake to let the fire come unto him, Which when his Brother in law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain (for the which cause he gave attendance) as one in such sorrow, not well advised what he did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his neather parts, before it once touched the upper, and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying; I cannot burn. Which indeed appeared well: for after his legs were consumed by reason of his frugling through the pain (whereof he had no release, but only his contentation in God) he fiewed that side toward us clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God still, having in his mouth, Lord have mercy upon me, intermingling his cry, let

Anno
1555.
B. Ridley
God in his
Martyrdom
and prayer
for England.

Gun-powder
given to
the Martyr.

B. Ridley gave
to the Lord
of Tame, for
leaflets of
poor men.

D. Ridley
taken away
the leaflets
from poor
men, granted
before by B.
Ridley.

The Church
lightened by
the Martyr-
dom of
Saints.

Mr. Latimer
prayer and
Martyrdom.

The order
of B. Ridleys
burning.

I D. Ridley
long in burn-
ing.

Ann 1555. The death and Martyrdom of D. Ridley.

let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn. In which pains he laboured till one of the standers by with his bill pulled off the Faggots above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself unto that side. And when the flame touched the Gun-powder, he was seen flirring more, but turned on the other side, falling down at Master Latimers feet. Which some said, happened by reason that the chain loosed, other said, that he fell over the chain by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of the weather limbs.

Some said that before he was like to fall from the stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible sight. For I think there was none, that had not clean exiled all humanity and mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire to rage upon their bodies. Signs there were of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they held full dear. Some pitied their persons, that thought their Souls and no need thereof. His Brother moved many men, seeing his miserable case, seeing (I say) him compelled to such infelicity, that he thought then to do him best service when he hastened his end. Some cried out of the luck, to see his endeavour, who most dearly loved him, and fought his release, turn to his greater vexation, and increase of pain. But who considered their preferences in time past, the places of honour that they sometime occupied in this Common wealth, the favour they were in with their Princes, and the opinion of learning they had, could not choose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour and estimation, so necessary members sometime accounted, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and consumed in one moment. Well, dead they are, and the reward of this World they have already. What reward remaineth for them in Heaven, the day of the Lords Glory, when he cometh with his Saints, shall shortly I trust, declare.

Albeit I have deferred and put over many treatises, letters, and Exhortations, belonging to the story of the Martyrs, unto the later appendix in the end of this volume; thinking also to have done the like with these Farewells and Exhortations following of B. Ridley, yet for certain purposes moving me thereunto, and especially considering the fruitful admonitions, wholesome doctrine, and necessary exhortations contained in the same, I thought best here to bestow, and consequently to adjoin the said tractations of that learned Pastor, with the life and Story of the Author. Whereof the two first be in a manner his farewells, the one to his kinsfolks, and generally to all the faithful of the number of Christs Congregation: the other more special to the prisoners, and banished Christians in the Gospels cause: the third containeth a fruitful and general admonition to the City of London, and to all other, with necessary precepts of Christian office, as by the tenor of them here followeth in order to be seen.

A Treatise or Letter written by D. Ridley, instead of his last fare-well, to all his true and Faithful Friends in God, with a sharp admonition withal unto the Papists.

The first fare-well of B. Ridley to his Friends.

AT the Name of Jesus, let every knee bow, both of things in Heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and let every tongue confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father, Amen.

As a man minding to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar Friends commonly and naturally hath a desire to bid his Friends farewell before his departure: so likewise now I looking daily, when I should be called to depart hence from you (O all ye my dearly beloved Brethren and Sisters in our Saviour Christ, that dwell here in this World) having alike mind towards you all (and blessed be God for such time and leisure, whereof I right heartily thank his heavenly goodness) to bid you all my dear Brethren and Sisters (I say in Christ) that dwell upon the earth, after such manner as I can, Farewell.

Farewell my dear Brother, *George Shipside*, whom I have ever found faithful, trusty, and loving in all rates and conditions, and now in the time of my Cause, ever all other to me most friendly & devout, and that which asked me best over all other things in Gods cause ever hearty.

Farewell my dear Sister *Alice* his Wife. I am glad to hear of thee, that thou dost take Christs Cross which is laid now (blessed be God) both on thy back and mine, in good part. Thank thou God that hath given thee a godly and loving husband: see thou honour him and obey him, according to Gods Law. Honour thy Mother in Law his Mother, and love all those that pertain unto him, being ready to do them good, as it shall lie in thy power. As for thy Children, I doubt not of thy husband, but that he which hath given him an heart to love and fear God, and in God them that pertain unto him, shall also make him friendly and beneficial unto thy Children, even as if they had been gotten of his own body.

Farewell my dearly beloved Brother *John Ridley* of the *Walton*, and you my gentle and loving Sister *Elizabeth*: whom besides the natural league of amity, your tender love, which you were said ever to bear towards me above the rest of your Brethren, doth bind me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged this your loving affection, and to have acquitted with deeds, and not with words alone. Your Daughter *Elizabeth* I bid farewell, whom I love for the meek and gentle Spirit that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

Farewell my beloved Sister of *Umbank*, with all your Children, Nephews and Nieces. Since the departing of my Brother *Hugh*, my mind was to have been unto them instead of their Father, but the Lord God must and will be their Father, if they would love and fear him, and live in the trade of his Law.

Farewell my welbeloved and worshipful Cousins, Mr. *Nich. Ridley* of *Willmouthe*, and your Wife, and I thank you for all your kindness shewed both to me, and also to all your own kinsfolk and mine. Good Cousin, as God hath set you in our stock, and kindred (not for any respect of your person, but of his abundant grace and goodness) to be as it were the Bell-weather to order and conduct the rest, and hath also induced you with his manifold gifts of grace both Heavenly and Worldly above others: so I pray you good Cousin (as my trust and hope is in you) continue and increase in the maintenance of the truth, honesty, righteousness, and all true godliness, and to the uttermost of your power, to withstand falsehood, untruth, unrighteousness, and all ungodliness which is forbidden and condemned by the Word and Laws of God.

Farewell my young Cousin *Ralph Whitfield*. Oh! your time was very short with me. My mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught in that little time a loss, but I trust it shall be recompensed, as it shall please Almighty God.

Farewell all my whole Kindred and countreyemen, farewell in Christ all together. The Lord, which is the father, cher of secrets, knoweth that according to my hearts desire, my hope was of late that I should have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Christs blessed Gospel, according to the duty of that office and ministry, whereunto among you I was chosen, named and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerless Prince, King *Edward*, and so also denounced openly in his Court, by his privy Council.

I warn you all my welbeloved Kinsfolk and Countrymen, that ye be not amazed or astonished at the kind of my departure and dissolution: for I ensure you, I think it the most honour that ever I was called unto in all my life: and therefore I thank my Lord God heartily for it, that it hath pleased him to call me of his great mercy unto this high honour, to suffer death willingly for his sake, and his cause; unto the which honour he hath called the Holy Prophets, and dearly beloved Apostles, and his blessed chosen Martyrs. For know ye that I doubt no more, but that the causes wherefore I am put to death, are Gods causes, and the causes of the Truth, then I doubt that the Gospel which *John* Wrote is the Gospel of Christ, or that *Pauls* Epistles are the very Word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide, and stand in Gods cause,

and in Christs quarrell even unto death, I ensure thee (O man) it is an ineffable and an honourable gift of God, given only to the true Elect, and dearly beloved Children of God and Inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven. For the Holy Apostle and also Martyr in Christs cause, Saint Peter, saith, If ye suffer rebuke in the Name of Christ, that is, in Christs cause, and for his truths sake, then are ye happy and blessed, for the glory of the Spirit of God resteth upon you. If for rebukes sake suffered in Christs Name, a man is pronounced, by the mouth of that Holy Apostle, blessed and happy: how much more happy and blessed is he that hath the grace to suffer death also? Wherefore, all ye that be my true lovers and Friends, rejoyce, and rejoyce with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Sons sake my Saviour and Redeemer Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call me, being else without his gracious goodness, in my self but a sinful and vile wretch, to call me (I say) unto this high dignity of his true Prophets, of his faithful Apostles, and of his holy elect and chosen Martyrs, that is, to die and to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his eternal and everlasting truth.

Ye know that be my country-men dwelling upon the borders, where (alas) the true man suffereth oftentimes much wrong at the thieves hand, if it chance a man to be slain of a thief (as it often doth there) which went out with his neighbour to help him to reserve his goods again, that the more cruelly he be slain, and the more stedfastly he stuck by his neighbour in the fight against the faith of the thief, the more favour and friendship shall all his posterity have for the slain mans sake, of all them that be true, as long as the memory of this fact, and his posterity doth endure: Even so ye that be my kinsfolk and country-men, know ye (howsoever the blind, ignorant, and wicked World hereafter shall rail upon my death, which thing they cannot do worse than their Fathers did, of the death of Christ our Saviour, of his Holy Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs:) know ye (I say) that both before God, and all them that be godly, and that truly know, and follow the Laws of God, ye have, and shall have by Gods Grace, ever cause to rejoyce, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God rejoyce of me your Flesh and Blood, whom God of his goodness hath vouchsafed to associate unto the blessed company of his Holy Martyrs in Heaven: and I doubt not in the infinite goodness of my Lord God, nor in the faithful fellowship of his elect and chosen People, but at both their hands in my cause, ye shall render him the more favour and grace: for the Lord saith, that he will be both to them and theirs that love him, the more loving again in a thousand generations: the Lord is so full of mercy to them (I say) and theirs which do love him indeed. And Christ saith again, that no man can draw more love than to give his life for his Friend.

Now also know ye, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and country-men, that the cause wherefore I am put to death, is even after the same sort and condition, but touching more neer Gods cause, and in more weighty matters, but in the general kind all one: For both is Gods cause, both is in the maintenance of right, and both for the Common-wealth, and both for the weal also of the Christian Brother, although yet there is in these two no small difference, both concerning the enemies, the goods stoll, and the manner of the fight. For know ye all, that like as there when the poor man is robbed by the thief of his goods truly gotten (whereupon he and his household should live) he is greatly wronged, and the thief in stealing and robbing with violence the poor mans goods, doth offend God, doth transgress his Law, and is injurious both to the poor man, and to the Common-wealth: so I say, know ye that even here in the cause of my death, it is with the Church of England, I mean the Congregation of the true chosen Children of God in this Realm of England, which I know ledge not only to be my neighbours, but rather the Congregation of my Spiritual Brethren and Sisters in Christ, yea, members of one body, wherein by Gods Grace, I am and have been grafted in Christ. This Church of England hath of late of the infinite goodness, and a-

bundant grace of Almighty God, great substance, Anno great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of Gods true sincere Word, the true and wholesome administration of Christs Holy Sacraments, the whole profession of Christs Religion, truly and plainly set forth in Baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same, taught in the Holy Catechisms, to have been learned of all true Christians.

The Church had also a true and sincere form and manner of the Lords Supper, wherein according to Jesus Christs own ordinance, and Holy Institution, Christs Commandments were executed and done. For upon the Bread and Wine set upon the Lords Table, thanks were given, the commemoration of the Lords death was had; the Bread, in the remembrance of Christs Body torn upon the Cross, was broken, and the cup in the remembrance of Christs Blood shed, was distributed, and both communicated unto all that were present and would receive them, and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do.

All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that every thing might be most easily heard, and plainly understood of all the People, to Gods high glory, and the edification of the whole Church. This Church had of late the whole divine services, all common and publick prayers ordained to be said and heard in the common Congregation, not only framed and fashioned to the true vein of Holy Scripture, but also set forth according to the commandment of the Lord, and St. Pauls Doctrin for the Peoples edification, in their vulgar tongue.

It had also holy and wholesome Homilies in commendation of the principal virtues, which are commended in Scripture: and likewise other Homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices that use (alas) to reign in this Realm of England. This Church had in matters of controverfie, Articles so penned and framed after the Holy Scriptures, and grounded upon the true understanding of Gods Word, that in short time if they had been universally received, they should have been able to have set in Christs true Religion, and to have expelled many false errors and Heresies, wherewith this Church, alas, was almost overgon.

But alas, of late into this spiritual possession of the Heavenly treasure of these godly riches, are entred in thieves, that have robbed and spoiled all this treasure away. I may well complain on these things, and cry out upon them with the Prophet saying, *Desertus est templum domus domus tua, &c. Psal. 72.* O Lord God, the Gentiles, Heathen Nations, are come into thy heritage: They have defiled thy Holy Temple, and made *Jerusalem* an heap of stones, that is, They have broken and beaten down to the ground thy Holy City. This Heathenish generation, these thieves be of *Samaritan*, these *Sabai* and *Chaldei*, these robbers have rusted out of their dens, and have robbed the Church of England of all the foresaid Holy Treasure of God; they have carried it away, and overturned it, and instead of Gods Holy Word, the true and right administration of Christs Holy Sacraments, as of Baptism, and others, they mixt their Ministry with mans foolish fantasies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions withal.

In stead of the Lords Holy Table, they give the People with much solemn disguising a thing which they call their Mass, but indeed and in truth, it is a very masking and mockery of the true Supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby these false thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the simple People, that they have brought them from the true worship of God, unto pernicious Idolatry, and make them to believe that to be Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in it self, but in substances is the creature of Bread and Wine, and in use of the Lords Table is the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood: and for this holy use, for the which the Lord hath ordained them in his Table, to represent unto us his blessed Body torn upon the Cross for us, and his Blood there shed, it pleased him to call them his Body and Blood: which understanding Christ declareth to be his true meaning, when he saith, Do this in remembrance of me. And again, Saint Paul,

likewise

1 Pet. 4.

A blessed thing to suffer death for Christ.

If it be a point of a faithful Friend to die with his Friend upon the cross for the weal of his country, how much more then to die in Christs quarrell upon the cross for the weal of his Church?

Deut. 7.

John 15.

To die in any right whatsoever is to die in Gods cause.

To die in the cross against thieves, and to die for the truth against Christs enemies, compared.

Truth taught in the Church of England.

1555.

True minister of the Lords Supper.

Service in the vulgar tongue.

Homilies in the Church of England.

Articles set forth for matters of controverfie.

Theeves of Samaria in Christs Church, Sabai, Chaldei, Robbing of Christs Church. Baptism mixt with mens fantasies.

The Lords Supper turned to the Mass.

Anno 1555.
 Luke 22.
 1 Cor. 11.
 The Lords
 Cup robbed.

likewile doth set out the same more plainly, speaking of the same Sacrament, after the words of Consecration, saying, As often as ye shall eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, ye shall set forth (he meaneth with the same) the Lords Death until his coming again. And here again these Thieves have robbed also the People of the Lords Cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ, written in his Gospel.

Prayers
 turned into
 an unknown
 Tongue.

Now for the common Publick Prayers which were in the Vulgar Tongue, these Thieves have brought in again a strange Tongue, whereof the People understand not one word. Wherein what do they else, but rob the People of their Divine Service, wherein they ought to pray together with the Minister? And to pray in a strange Tongue, what is it, but (as S. Paul calleth it) barbarousness, childishness, unprofitable folly, yea, and plain madness.

Instead of
 Homilies
 the Popes
 Decrees set
 up.

For the godly Articles of Unity in Religion, and for the wholesome Homilies, what do these Thieves place in the head of them, but the Popes Laws and Decrees, lying Legends, feigned Fables, and Miracles to delude and abuse the simplicity of the rude People? Thus this robbery and theft is not only committed, nay, sacrilege and wicked spoil of heavenly things, but also in the stead of the same, is brought in and placed the abominable defecation of the Tyrant Antichrist, of proud *Sacerdotes*, of the shameless faced King, and of the Babylonical Beast. Unto this Robbery, this Theft and Sacrilege, for that I cannot confesse, nor (God willing, ever shall so long as the breath is in my Body, because it is Blasphemy against God, high Treason unto Christ our heavenly King, Lord, Master, and our only Saviour and Redeemer, it is plainly contrary to Gods Word, and to Christs Gospel, it is the subversion of all true Godliness, and against the everlasting salvation of mine own Soul, and of all my Brethren and Sisters, whom Christ my Saviour hath so dearly bought, with no less price than with the effusion and shedding forth of his most precious Blood: Therefore all ye my true lovers in God, my Kinsfolks and Country-men, for this cause (I say) know ye that I am put to death, which by Gods grace I shall willingly take, with hearty thanks to God therefore, in certain hope without any doubting, to receive at Gods hand again, of his free mercy and grace, everlasting life.

The Popes
 Doctrine
 counteth
 Blasphemy
 to God.
 Treason
 to Christ,
 is a subver-
 sion of true
 godliness,
 and destruc-
 tion of
 mans soul.

Competition
 between
 Popish Per-
 secutors and
 strong
 Thieves.

Popish Per-
 secutors
 when they
 are idle
 Thieves, yet
 will they be
 called true
 Christians.

Although the cause of the true man slain of the Thief, helping his Neighbour to recover his Goods again, and the cause wherefore I am to be put to death, in a generality is both one (as I said before); yet know ye that there is no small difference. These Thieves against whom I do stand, are much worse than the Robbers and Thieves of the Borders. The Goods which they steal are much more precious, and their kinds of fight are far divers. These Thieves are worse (I say) for they are more cruel, more wicked, more false, more deceitful and crafty: for those will but kill the Body, but these will not stick to kill both Body and Soul. Those, for the general Theft and Robbery, be called, and are indeed Thieves and Robbers; but these, for their spiritual kind of robbery, are called *Sacerdotes*, as ye would say, Church-robbers. They are more wicked: for those go about to spoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and silver, and worldly substance; these go about in the ways of the Devil their Ghostly Father, to steal from the Universal Church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly Treasure, true Faith, true Charity, and hope of Salvation in the Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, yea, to spoil us of our Saviour Jesus Christ, of his Gospel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the Kingdom of Heaven, so dearly purchased unto us, with the death of our Master and Saviour Christ. These be the Goods and godly Substance whereupon the Christian before God must live, and without the which he cannot live: These Goods (I say) these Thieves, these Church-robbers go about to spoil us of. The which Goodness to the Man of God, they excel and far pass all worldly Treasure; so to withstand even unto the death such Thieves as go about to spoil both us and the whole Church of such Goods, is most high and honourable Service done unto God.

These Church-robbers; so much more false, crafty, and deceitful than the Thieves upon the borders; for these have not the craft so to commend their Theft,

that they dare avouch it, and therefore as acknowledging themselves to be evil, they steal commonly upon the night, they dare not appear at Judgments and Sessions, where Justice is executed, and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they be oft times hanged for their faults. But these Church-robbers can so cloak and colour their spiritual Robbery, that they can make People to believe falsehood to be truth, and truth falsehood, good to be evil, and evil good, light to be darkness, and darkness light, Superstition to be true Religion, and Idolatry to be the true Worship of God, and that which is in Substance the Creature of Bread and Wine, to be none other Substance but only the Substance of Christ the living Lord, both God and Man. And with this their falsehood and craft, they can so juggle and bewitch the Understanding of the Simple, that they dare avouch it openly in Court and in Town, and fear neither hanging nor heading, as the poor Thieves of the Borders do; but stout and strong like *Nemrobath*, dare condemn to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whosoever will go about to bewray their falsehood.

The kind of fight against these Church-robbers, is also of another sort and kind, than is that which is against the Thieves of the Borders. For there the true men go forth against them with Spear and Lance, with Bow and Bill, and all such kind of bodily Weapons as the true men have: but here, as the Enemies be of another nature, so the Watchmen of Christs Flock, the Warriors that fight in the Lords War, must be armed, and fight with another kind of Weapons and Armour. For here the Enemies of God, the Souldiers of Antichrist, although the Battel is set forth against the Church by mortal men, being flesh and blood, and nevertheless Members of their Father the Devil, yet for that their grand Master is the Power of Darkness, their Members are Spiritual Wickedness, wicked Spirits, Spirits of Errors, of Heresies, of all Deceit and Ungodliness, Spirits of Idolatry, Superstition and Hypocrisie, which are called of S. Paul, Principalities and Powers, Lords of the World, Rulers of the darkness of this World, and spiritual subtilties concerning heavenly things, therefore our Weapons must be fit and meet to fight against such, not Carnal nor Bodily Weapons, as Spear and Lance, but Spiritual and Heavenly: we must fight against such with the Armour of God, not intending to kill their Bodies, but their Errors, their false Craft and Heresies, their Idolatry, Superstition, and Hypocrisie, and to save (as much as lieth in us) both their Bodies and their Souls.

And therefore as S. Paul teacheth us, we fight not against flesh and blood, that is, we fight not with bodily Weapon to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked Errors and Vice, and to save both Body and Soul. Our Weapons therefore are Faith, Hope, Charity, Righteousness, Truth, Patience, Prayer unto God, and our Sword wherewith we smite our Enemies, beat and batter and bear down all falsehood, is the Word of God. With these Weapons, under the Banner of the Cross of Christ, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand Master, Duke and Captain, Christ; and then we reckon our selves to triumph and to win the Crown of everlasting Bliss, when induring in this Battel without any shrinking or yielding to the Enemies, after the example of our grand Captain Christ our Master, after the Example of his holy Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, when (I say) we are slain in our mortal bodies of our Enemies, and are most cruelly and without all mercy murdered down like a many of Sheep. And the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and spiteful is the kind of death whereunto we be put; the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon (without all doubts) our Martyrdom to be.

And thus much, dear Lovers and Friends in God, my Country-men and Kinsfolk, I have spoken for your comfort, lest of my death (of whose life you looked peradventure sometimes to have had honesty, pleasures, and commodities) ye might be ashamed or think any evil: whereas ye have rather cause to rejoyce (if ye love me indeed) for that it hath pleased God to call me to a greater honour and dignity, than ever I did enjoy before, either in *Rockester*, or in the See of *London*, or ever should have had in the See of *Durham*, whereunto

The fight
 with spiri-
 tual Thieves
 is worse
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Spirit.

The Wea-
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He Ridley
 named to
 the See of
 Durham.

I was last of alielected and named : yea, I count it greater honour before God indeed to dye in his cause (whereof I nothing doubt) than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honour that can be given to a Man in this World. And who is he that knoweth the cause to be Gods to be Christs quarrell, and of his Gospel, to be the common weal of all the elect and chosen Children of God, of all the inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven ; who is he (I say) that knoweth this assuredly by Gods Word, and the testimony of his own Conscience (as I through the infinite goodness of God, not of my self, but by his Grace acknowledge my self to do) who is he (I say) that knoweth this and both loveth and feareth God indeed and in truth, loveth and believeth his Master Christ and his blessed Gospel, loveth his brotherhood, the chosen Children of God, and also lusteth and longeth for everlasting life, who is he (I say again) that would not or cannot find in his heart in this cause to be content to die? The Lord forbid that any such should be that should forsake this Grace of God. I trust in my Lord God, the God of mercies and the Father of all comfort through Jesus Christ our Lord, that he which hath put this mind, will, and affection by his Holy Spirit in my heart, to stand against the face of the enemy in his cause, and to chuse rather the loss of all my Worldly Substance, yea and of my Life too, than to deny his known truth ; that he will comfort me, aid me, and strengthen me evermore even unto the end, and to the yielding up of my Spirit and Soul into his holy hands ; whereof I most heartily beseech his most holy sacred Majesty of his infinite Goodness and Mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

The cause of Martyrs is the common cause of all Christians, and of all his Majesty's Subjects.

Let no Man shrink to die in such a blessed and common quarrel.

To his friends in Cambridge.

Benefits bestowed to Ridley in Cambridge.

Worshipful Hall in Cambridge. Commendation of Farel's Hall to be a better fourth cover of the Gospel. Dr. Ridley learned the Epistles of Saint Paul and Peter without Book in Cambridge Hall.

Now that I have taken my leave of my Contrimen and Kinstoke, and the Lord doth lend me Life, and give me leisure, I will bid my other good friends in God of other places also, farewel. And whom first or before other, then the University of Cambridge, where I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty friends, received more benefits (the benefits of my natural Parents only excepted) than ever I did even in mine own native Country wherein I was born.

Farewel therefore (Cambridge) my loving Mother and tender Nurse. If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I should not for thy benefits at the least love thee again, truly I were to be accounted too ungrate and unkind. What benefits hadst thou ever, that thou wast to give and bestow upon thy best beloved Children, that thou thoughtest too good for me? Thou didst bestow on me all thy School degrees, the common Offices, the Chaplainship of the University, the Office of the Proctorship, and of a common Reader; and of thy private commodities and emoluments in Colleges, what was it that thou madest me not partner of? First to be Scholar, then to be Fellow, and after my departure from thee, thou calledst me again to a Mastership of a Right Worshipful College. I thank thee, my loving Mother, for all this thy kindness, and I pray God that his Laws, and the sincere Gospel of Christ may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

Farewel Pembroke Hall, of late mine own Colledge, my Cure and my charge: what case thou art in now God knoweth, I know not well. Thou wast ever named since I knew thee, which is not thirty years ago, to be studious, well learned, and a great setter forth of Christs Gospel, and of God true Word ; so I found thee, and blessed be God, so I left thee indeed. Wo is me for thee mine own dear Colledge, if ever thou suffer thy self by any means to be brought from that trade. In thy Orchard (the walls, butts, and trees, if they could speak would bear me witness) I learned without Book almost all Pauls Epistles, yea, and I went all the Canonical Epistles, save only the Apocalyps. Of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof I trust I shall carry with me into Heaven : for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my Life time ever after, and I ween of late (whether thy bide now or no, I cannot tell) there was that did like thee. The Lord grant that this zeal and love toward that part of Gods Word, which is a key and true commentary to all the Holy Scripture, may ever abide in that Colledge so long as the World shall endure.

From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Crommer, that most reverend Father and Man of God, and of him by and by sent to be Vicar of Herne in East-Kent. Wherefore farewel Herne, thou worshipful and wealthy parish, the first Cure whereunto I was called to Preach Gods Word. Thou hast heard of my Mouth oft-times the Word of God Preached, not after the Popish trade, but after Christs Gospel : Oh that the fruit had answered to the feed. And yet I must acknowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lords Supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me: but I bless God in all that Godly vertue and zeal of Gods Word, which the Lord by Preaching of his Word did kindle manifestly both in the heart and in the Life and works of that Godly Woman there, my Lady Phineas, the Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many other more.

Farewel thou Cathedral Church of Canterbury, the Metropolitick See, whereof once I was a member. To speak things pleasant unto thee I dare not for danger of Conscience, and displeasure of my Lord God, and to say what lieth in my heart were now too much and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheless, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity sake I wish thee to be walked clean of all Worldliness and ungodliness, that thou might be found of God after thy name Christs Church in deed and in truth.

Farewel Rochester, sometime my Cathedral See, in whom (to say the truth) I did find much gentleness and obedience, and I trust thou wilt not say the contrary; but I did use it to Gods Glory and into thine own profit in God. Oh that thou hadst and mightst have continued and gone forward in the trade of Gods Law wherein I did leave thee ; then thy charge and burden should not have been so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is like to be (alas) in the latter day.

To Westminster other advertisement in God I have not now to say, then I have said before to the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, and so God give thee of his Grace, that thou mayest learn in deed and in truth to please him after his own Laws : and thus fare you well.

Oh London, London, to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewel? Shall I speak to the Prebendaries of Pauls? Alas, all that loved Gods Word, and were the true setters forth thereof, are now (as I hear say) some burnt and slain, some exiled and banished, and some held in hard Prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death for Christs Gospel sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever delight in them.

Shall I speak to the See thereof, wherein of late I was placed almost, and not fully by the space of three years? But what may I say to it, being (as I hear say I am) deposed and expelled by judgment as unjust usurper of that room. O judgment, judgment. Can this be just judgment to condemn the chief Minister of Gods Word, the Pastor and Bishop of the Diocess, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor ever suffer him to have any place or time to answer for himself? Thinkest thou that hereafter when true Justice shall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed either of God or Man? Well, as for the cause or whole matter of my deposition, and the spoil of my goods which thou possidest yet, I refer it unto God which is a just judge ; and I beseech God, if it be his pleasure, that that which is but my personal wrong, be not laid to thy charge in the latter day, this only I can pray for.

O thou now wicked and Bloody See, why dost thou set up again many Altars of Idolatry, which by the Word of God were justly taken away? Why hast thou overthrown the Lords Table? Why dost thou daily delude thy people, masking in thy Masses in stead of the Lords Holy Supper, which ought to be common as well (saith Christ himself, yea the Lord himself) to the People as to the Priest? How darrest thou deny to the People of Christ, contrary to his express Commandment in the Gospel, his Holy Cup? Why bablest thou to the People the Common-Prayer in a strange Tongue, wherein

Anno

1555.

Dr. Ridley called into Kent by Archbishop Crommer, to the Parish of Herne Kent.

The Godly Lady Phineas in Herne Parish.

To the metropolitick See of Canterbury.

To the See of Rochester.

To Westminster.

To the See of London.

Bishop Ridley deposed from the See of London without right or judgment.

The See of London worshipfully reformed.

Anno
1556.The bloody
See of Lon-
don.By a story
prophecied
upon the
1. of London.To the City
of London.Commemora-
tion of Sir
R. Dohi
Alderman
and Knight.The erect-
ing of the
Hospital by
B. Ridley
and Sir Ro-
bert Dohi,
Mayor of
London.

S. Paul commandeth in the Lords Name, that no man should speak before the Congregation, except it should be by and by declared in their Common Tongue, that all might be edified? Nay, hearken thou who is Bawd of *Babylon*, thou wicked Limb of Antichrist, thou bloody Wolf, why sleepest thou down, and makest havock of the Prophets of God? Why murderest thou so cruelly Christs poor filly Sheep, which will not hear thy voice, because thou art a Stranger, and will follow none other but their own Pastor Christs his voice? Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of his Saints at thy hands? Thy God, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou sayest thou hast Power to make, that thy deaf and dumb God (I say) will not indeed, nor can (although thou art not ashamed to call him thy Maker) make thee to escape the revenging hand of the High and Almighty God. But be thou assured, that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, which sitteth on the right hand of his Father in glory, he seeth all thy wicked ways and cruelty done to his dear Members, and he will not forget his holy Ones, and his hands (O thou whorish Drab) shall thou never escape. Instead of my farewell to thee, now I say fye upon thee, fye upon thee filthy Drab, and all thy false Prophets.

Yet thou (O London) I may not leave thee thus. Although thy Episcopall See, now being joynd in league with the Seat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the Saints of God, yet I do not doubt, but in that great City there be many privy Mourners, which do daily mourn for that mischief, the which never did nor shall consent to that wickedness, but do detest and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these privy Mourners here I will pass by, and bid them farewell with their Fellows hereafter, when the place and occasion shall more conveniently require. Among the worshipfull of the City, and specially which were in Office of Mayoralty, yea, and in other Cities also (whom to name now it shall not be necessary) in the time of my Ministry, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland Hills's year, unto Sir George Barnes's year, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness as me thought; but (to say the truth) that I do esteem above all other for true Christian kindness, which is shewed in Gods cause, and done for his sake. Wherefore, O Dohi, Dohi, Alderman and Knight, thou in thy year didst win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christs holy Hospitals, and truly religious Houses, which by thee, and through thee were begun. For thou like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christs poor filly Members to be holpen from extrem misery, hunger, and famine, thy heart, I say, was moved with pity, and as Christs high honourable Officer in that cause, thou calledst together thy Brethren the Aldermen of the City, before whom thou brackest the matter for the Poore; thou didst plead their cause, yea, and not only in thine own person thou didst set forth Christs cause, but to further the matter, thou broughtest me into the Council Chamber of the City before the Aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say, as an Advocate by office and duty, in the poor mens cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the consent of thy Brethren; whereby the matter was brought to the Common Council, and so to the whole Body of the City; by whom, with an uniform consent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most wily Citizens and Politicks, endued also with godliness, and with ready hearts to set forth such a noble act, as could be choke in all the whole City: and they like true and faithful Ministers both to their City and their Master Christ, to order, devise, and brought forth the matter, that thousands of filly poor Members of Christ, which else for ever had hunger and misery should have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and shall have cause to bless the Aldermen of that time, the

Common Council, and the whole Body of the City, but specially thee, O Dohi, and those chosen men, by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought; and that so long throughout all Ages, as that godly work shall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever unto the worlds end, Amen.

And thou, O Sir George Barnes, the truth is to be confessed to Gods glory, and to the good example of other, thou wast in thy year not only a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy Predecessor was well begun; but also didst labour so to have perfected the work, that it should have been an absolute thing and perfect spectacle of true Charity and Godliness unto all Christendom. Thine endeavour was to have set up an house of Occupations, both that all kind of Poverty, being able to work, should not have lacked, whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief and to the profit and commodity of the Commonwealthe of the City, and also to have retired thither the poor Babes brought up in the Hospitals; when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those which in the Hospitals afore said had been cured of their Diseases. And to have brought this to pass, thou obtainedst, not without great diligence and labour both of thee, and of thy Brethren, and of that godly King Edward, that Christian and peerless Prince's hand, his Princely place of *Bridewell*, and what other things to the performance of the same, and under what condition it is not unknown. That this thine endeavour hath not had like success, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amend when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

Farewell now all ye Citizens that be of God, of what state and condition soever ye be. Undoubtedly in London ye have heard Gods Word truly preached. My hearts desire and daily prayer shall be for you, as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God I am countable, that ye never swerve, neither for loss of life nor worldly goods, from Gods holy Word, and yield unto Antichrist: whereupon must needs follow the extrem displeasure of God, and the loss both of your bodies and souls into perpetual damnation for evermore.

Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt any space in the time of my Pilgrimage here upon Earth, remembering that for the space of King Edward's Reign, which was for the time of mine Office in the Sees of London and Rochester, I was a Member of the higher House of the Parliament; therefore (seeing my God hath given me leisure, and the remembrance thereof) I will bid my Lords of the Temporality farewell. They shall have no just cause (by Gods grace) to take it that I intend to say in ill part. As for the Spiritual Prelacy that now is, I have nothing to say to them, except I should repeat again a great part of that I have said before now already to the See of London. To you therefore my Lords of the Temporality will I speak, and this would I have you first to understand, that when I wrote this, I looked daily when I should be called to the change of this life, and thought that this my writing should not come to your knowledge, before the time of the dissolution of my body and soul should be expired; and therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes only the fear of God, and Christian Charity toward you, which moved me to write; for of you hereafter I look not in this world, either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talk shall do you never so much pleasure or profit, you cannot promote me, nor if I displease you, can ye hurt me or harm me; for I shall be out of your reach. Now therefore if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of him that seeketh nothing at your hands, but to serve God, and to do you good: hearken what I say. I say unto you as S. Paul saith to the *Galatians*; I wonder my Lords what hath bewitched you, that ye so suddenly are fallen from Christ unto Antichrist; from Christs Gospel unto mans Traditions, from the Lord that bought you, unto the Bishop now of Rome. I warn you of your peril; be not deceived, except you will be found willingly consenters unto your own death. For if you think thus; We are Lay-men, this is a matter of Religion, we follow as we are taught and led; if our Teachers and Governours teach us and lead us amiss, the fault is in them, they shall

Commemora-
tion of Sir
George
Barnes,
Mayor of
London.Bridewell
obtained
by Sir
George
Barnes to
set poor
people on
work.To the Ci-
zens of
London.To the
higher
House and
temporal
Lords of the
Parliament.A good
warning or
lesson to the
temporal
Lords.

Eccl. 3. bear the blame: My Lords, this is true (I grant you) that both the false Teachers, and the corrupt Governour, shall be punished for the death of their Subject, whom they have falsely taught and corruptly led, yea, and his blood shall be required at their hands: but yet nevertheless shall the Subject dye the death himself also, that is, he shall also be damned for his own sin; for if the blind lead the blind, Christ saith, not the leader only, but he saith, both shall fall into the Ditch. Shall the Synagogue and the Senate of the Jews (trow ye) which forsook Christ, and consented to his death, therefore be excused, because *Ananias* and *Caiaphas*, with the Scribes and Pharisees and their Clergy, did teach them amiss? yea, and also Pilate their Governour and the Emperours Lieutenant by his tyranny, did without cause put him to death: Forsooth no my Lords, no. For notwithstanding that corrupt Doctrine, or *Pilates* washing of his hands, neither of both shall excuse either that Synagogue or Scignory, or *Pilate*; but at the Lords hand, for the effusion of that innocent blood, on the later day all shall drink of the deadly whip. Ye are witty, and understand what I mean; therefore I will pass over this, and return to tell you how ye are fallen from Christ to his Adversary the Bishop of Rome.

And left (my Lords) ye may peradventure think, thus barely to call the Bishop of Rome Christs Adversary, or (to speak in plain terms) to call him Antichrist, that is done in mine Anguish, and that I do but rage, and as a desperate man, do not care what I say, or upon whom I do rail; therefore that your Lordships may perceive my mind, and thereby understand that I speak the words of truth and sobriety (as *S. Paul* said unto *Festus*) be it known unto your Lordships all, that as concerning the Bishop of Rome, I neither hate the Person nor the Place. For I ensueure your Lordships (the living Lord beareth me witness, before whom I speak) I do think many a good holy man, many Martyrs and Saints of God have lit and taught in that place Christs Gospel truly, which therefore justly may be called *Apostolick*, that is, true Disciples of the Apostles, and also that Church and Congregation of Christians to be a right Apostolick Church: yea, and that certain hundred years after the same was first erected and builded upon Christ, by the true Apostolick Doctrine taught by the mouths of the Apostles themselves. If ye will know how long that was, and how many hundred years, to be curious in pointing the precise number of the years, I will not be too bold, but thus I say; So long and so many hundred years as that See did truly teach and preach that Gospel, that Religion, exercised that Power, and ordered every thing by those Laws and Rules which that See received of the Apostles, and (as *Terullian* saith) the Apostles of Christ, and Christ of God, so long (I say) that See might well have been called *Peter* and *Pauls* Chair and See, or rather Christs Chair, and the Bishop thereof *Apostolick*, or true Disciple and Successour of the Apostles, and a Minister of Christ.

But since the time that that See hath degenerated from the Trade of Truth and true Religion, the which it received of the Apostles at the beginning, and hath preached another Gospel, hath set up another Religion, hath exercised another Power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the Church of Christ by other strange Laws, Canons, and Rules than ever it received of the Apostles, or the Apostles of Christ, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued so doing (alas, alas) of too too long a time; since the time (I say) that the state and condition of that See hath thus been changed, in truth it ought of duty and of right to have the names changed both of the See and of the latter therein. For understand, my Lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person thereof, that that See and Bishops thereof were called *Apostolick*; but for the true trade of Christs Religion which was taught and maintained in that See at the first, and of those godly men. And therefore as truly and justly as that See then, for that true trade of Religion, and confanquinity of Doctrine with the Religion and Doctrine of Christs Apostles, was called *Apostolick*; so as truly and as justly for the contrary of Religion, and diversity of Doctrine from Christ and his Apostles, that See and Bishop thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed Antichristian.

The See is the See of Satan, and the Bishop of the same, that maintaineth the Abominations thereof, is Antichrist himself indeed. And for the same causes this See at this day is the same which *S. John* calleth in his *Revelation*, *Babylon*, or the Whore of *Babylon*, and fit-ritual *Sadoma* and *Egyptus*, the Mother of Fornication, and of the Abominations upon the Earth. And with this Whore doth spiritually tmeddle, and lyeth with her, and committeth most flinking and abominable Adultery before God, all those Kings and Princes, yea and all Nations of the Earth which do consent to her Abominations, and use or practise the same; that is (of the innumerable multitude of them to rehearse some for examples like) her Dispensations, her Pardons and Pilgrimages, her Invocation of Saints, her worshipping of Images, her false counterfeit Religion in her Monks and Friars, and her Traditions, whereby Gods Laws are de- ed; as her massing and false ministring of Gods Word and the Sacraments of Christ, clean contrary to Christs Word and the Apostles Doctrine, whereof in particular I have touched something before in my talk had with the See of London, and in other Treatises more at large; wherein (if it shall please God to bring the same to light) it shall appear, I trust by Gods grace, plainly to the man of God, and to him whose rule in judgment of Religion is Gods Word, that that Religion, that Rule and Order, that Doctrine and Faith which this Whore of *Babylon*, and the Beast whereupon she doth sit, maintaineth at this day with all violence of Fire and Sword, with Spoil and Banishment (according to *Danels* Prophecie) and finally with all falsehood, deceit, hypocrisy, and all kind of ungodliness, are as clean contrary to Gods Word, as darkness is unto light, or light unto darkness, white to black, or black to white, or as *Belial* unto Christ, or Christ unto Antichrist himself.

I know my Lords, and foresaw when I wrote this, that so many of you as should see this my writing, not being before ended with the Spirit of Grace and the Light of Gods Word, so many (I say) would at these my words Lord-like stamp and spurn, and spit thereat. But sober your selves with patience, and be still, and know ye that in my writing of this, my mind was none other, but in God (as the living God doth bear me witness) both to do you profit and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by that time this shall come to your knowledge, I trust by Gods grace to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father and the living Lord, which is, (as *S. John* saith) the greatest of all, and then I shall not need (I trow) to fear what any Lord, no nor what King or Prince can do unto me.

My Lords, if in times past ye have been contented to hear me sometimes in matters of Religion before the Prince in the Pulpit, and in the Parliament House, and have not seemed to have despised what I have said (when as else if ye had perceived just occasion, ye might then have suspected me in my talk, though it had been reasonable, either desire of worldly gain, or fear of displeasure) how hath then your Lordships more cause to hearken to my word, and to hear me patiently, seeing now ye cannot justly think of me, being in this case appointed to dye, and looking daily when I shall be called to come before the eternal Judge, otherwise but that I only study to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing which I am persuaded assuredly by Gods Word shall and doth please him, and profit all them to whom God shall give grace to hear and believe what I do say? And I do say even that I have said heretofore both of the See of Rome and of the Bishop thereof, I mean after this their present state at this day, wherein if ye will not believe the Ministers of God, and true Preachers of his Word, verily I denounce unto you in *Verbo Domini*, except ye do repent betime, it shall turn to your confusion, and to your smart on the later day. Forget not what I say my Lords, for Gods sake forget not, but remember it upon your bed. For I tell you moreover, as I know I must be countable of this my talk, and of my speaking thus, to the eternal Judge (who will judge nothing amiss) so shall you be countable of your duty in hearing, and you shall be charged, if ye will not hearken to Gods Word, for not obeying to the truth. Alas my Lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now anew again to be perfwaded unto you? Who would have thought

Anno
1555.Apoc. 17.
Apoc. 1.Kings com-
mitting adul-
tery with
the whore
of Babylon,
what it
meaneth.Apoc. 17.
Daniel 7.He speaketh
to the Lords
temporal.

psal. 4.

Anno 1555. thought of late, but your Lordships had been perswaded indeed sufficiently, or that ye could ever have agreed to uniformly with one consent to the abolishment of the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy wherein the Prince must be obeyed; how it is now made a matter wherein (as your Church standeth upon necessity of Salvation, why did the Lords of this Realm subject this unity in R. Henry and K. Edward's days? If it be otherwise, why should they persecute themselves, coming to it again.

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mercy, for ye know that the trial of your Faith bringeth forth patience, and patience shall make us perfect, whole and sound on every side, and such, after trials, ye know) shall receive the Crown of Life, according to the Promise of the Lord made to his dear Beloved; let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the Husbandman abideth patiently the former and later rain for the encrease of his Crop, so let us be patient, and pluck up our hearts, for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us (my dear Brethren) take example of patience in tribulation of the Prophets, which spake likewise Gods Word truly in his Name. Let Job be to us an example of Patience, and the end which the Lord sufficeth, which is full of mercy and pity. We know, my Brethren, by Gods Word, that our Faith is much more precious than any corruptible Gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even so our Faith is therefore tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord shall appear, laudable, glorious, and honourable. For if we for Christs cause do suffer, that is grateful before God; for thereunto are we called, that is our state and vocation, wherewith let us be content. Christ we know suffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we should follow his footsteps; for he committed no sin, nor was there any guile found in his mouth: when he was railed upon, and all to be reviled, he railed not again: when he was evil intreated, he did not threaten, but committed the punishment thereof to him that judgeth aright.

Let us ever have in fresh remembrance those wonderful comfortable Sentences spoken by the mouth of our Saviour Christ; Blessed are they which suffer Persecution for Righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. Blessed are ye when men revile you, persecute you, and speak all evil against you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven; for so did they persecute the Prophets, which were before you. Therefore let us always bear this in our minds, that if any incommmodity do chance unto us for righteousness sake, happy are we whatsoever the world doth think of. Christ our Master hath told us before hand, that the Brother should put the Brother to death, and the Father the Son, and the Children should rise against their Parents and kill them, and that Christs true Apostles should be hated of all men for his Names sake; but he that shall abide patiently unto the end, shall be saved.

Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our Master Christ, and be contented therewith, for he suffered being our Master and Lord: how doth it not then become us to suffer? For the Disciple is not above his Master, nor the Servant above his Lord. It may suffice the Disciple to be as his Master, and the Servant to be as his Lord. If they have called the Father of the Family, the Master of the Household, *Beelzebub*, how much more shall they call so them of his Household? Fear them not then (saith our Saviour) for all privies shall be made plain: there is now nothing secret, but it shall be shewed in light. Of Christs words let us neither be ashamed nor afraid to speak them; for so Christ our Master commandeth us, saying, That I tell you privily, speak openly abroad, and that I tell you in your ear, preach it upon the house top. And fear not them which kill the body, for the soul they cannot kill; but fear him which can cast both body and soul into hell fire.

Know ye that the heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and respect toward you, and a Fatherly providence for you, so that without his knowledge and permission nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore cast all our care upon him, and he shall provide that which shall be best for us. For if of two small Sparrows, which both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our head are numbered, fear not them (saith our Master Christ) for ye are more worth than many small Sparrows. And let us not stick to confess our Master Christ for fear of danger, whatsoever it shall be, remembering the promise that Christ maketh, saying, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I confess before my Father which is in Heaven: but whosoever shall deny me, him shall I likewise deny before my Father which is in Heaven. Christ cannot to give unto us here a carnal amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in ease and peace.

O o 3 but

Another farewel to the Prisoners in Christs Gospel, cause, and to all them which for the same cause are exiled and banished out from their own Country, choosing rather to leave all worldly Commodity, than their Master Christ.

Another farewel of Bp. Ridley to the Prisoners, etc.

Farewel my dearly beloved Brethren in Christ, both ye my Fellow-prisoners, and ye also that be exiled and banished out of your Countries, because ye will rather forsake all worldly Commodity, than the Gospel of Christ.

Farewel all ye together in Christ; farewel and be

but rather to separate and divide from the World, and to joyn them unto himself: in whose cause we must, if we will be his, forsake Father and Mother, and stick unto him. If we forsake him or shrink from him for trouble or deaths sake, which he calleth his Croſſe, he will none of us, we cannot be his. If for his cause we shall lose our temporal lives here, we shall find them again, and enjoy them for evermore: but if in his cause we will not be contented to leave nor lose them here, then shall we lose them so, that we shall never find them again, but in everlasting death. What though our troubles here be painful for the time, and the sting of death bitter and unpleasant? yet we know that they shall not last, in comparison of Eternity, no not the twinkling of an eye, and that they patiently taken in Christs cause, shall procure and get us unmeasurable heaps of heavenly Glory, unto the which these temporal pains of death and troubles compared, are not to be esteemed, but to be rejoiced upon.

2 Cor. 4.

1 Pet. 3.

Wonder not, faith S. Peter, as though it were any strange matter that ye are tried by the fire, he meaneth of tribulation, which things, faith he, is done to prove you; nay, rather in that ye are Partners of Christs afflictions, rejoyce that in his glorious Revelation ye may rejoyce with merry hearts. If ye suffer rebukes in Christs Name, happy are ye, for the Glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and dishonoured, but of you he is glorified.

Let no man be ashamed of that he suffereth as a Christian, and in Christs cause; for now is the time that judgment and correction must begin at the House of God: and if it begin first at us, what shall be the end of those, think ye, which believe not the Gospel? And if the righteous shall be hardly saved, the wicked and the finner, where shall he appear? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their souls to him by well doing, as to a trusty and faithful Maker. This, as I said, may not seem strange to us, for we know that all the whole Fraternity of Christs Congregation in this World is served with the like, and by the same is made perfect. For the fervent love that the Apostles had unto their Master Christ, and for the great commodities and increase of all godliness which they felt by their faith to issue of Afflictions in Christs cause, and thirdly for the heaps of heavenly joys which the same do get unto the godly, which shall endure in Heaven for evermore; for these causes (I say) the Apostles of their Afflictions did joy, and rejoyced in that they were had and accounted worthy to suffer contumelies and rebukes for Christs Name. And Paul, as he gloryeth in the grace and favour of God, wherunto he was brought and stood in by faith; so he rejoyced in his Afflictions for the heavenly and spiritual profits which he numbered to rise upon them: yea, he was so far in love with that that the carnal man loatheth so much, that is, with Christs Croſſe, that he judged himself to know nothing else but Christ crucified; he will glory (he saith) in nothing else but in Christs Croſſe, yea, and he bleſseth all those, as the only true Israelites and elect People of God with peace and mercy, which walk after that rule and after none other.

1 Cor. 2.

2 Cor. 11.

2 Tim. 2.

2 Tim. 3.

O Lord, what a wonderful Spirit was that that made Paul, in setting forth of himself against the vanity of Satans Pseudo-Apostles, and in his claim there, that he in Christs cause did excel and pass them all? What wonderful Spirit was that (I say) that made him to reckon up all his troubles, his labours, his beatings, his whippings and scourgings, his shipwracks, his dangers and perils by water and by land, his famine, hunger, nakedness, and cold, with many more, and the daily care of all the Congregations of Christ, among whom every mans pain did pierce his heart, and every mans grief was grievous unto him? O Lord, is this Paul's Primacy, wherewith he thought so much good that he did excel other? Is not this Paul's saying unto Timothy his own Scholar? and doth it not pertain to whosoever will be Christs true Souldiers? Bear thou (saith he) affliction like a good Souldier of Jesus Christ. This is true: If we dye with him (he meaneth Christ) we shall live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; if we deny him, he shall deny us; if we be faithles, he remaineth faithful, he cannot deny himself. This, Paul would have known to every body; for there is none other way to Heaven

but Christ and his way: and all that will live godly in Christ, shall (saith S. Paul) suffer Persecution. By this way went to Heaven the Patriarchs, the Prophets, Christ our Master, his Apostles, his Martyrs, and all the godly since the beginning. And as it hath been of old, that he which was born after the flesh, persecuted him which was born after the spirit, for so it was in Isaacs time: so said S. Paul, it was in his time also. And whether it be so or no now, let the spiritual man, the self same man I mean, that is indued with the Spirit of Almighty God, let him be judge. Of the croſs of the Patriarchs, as ye may read in their Stories, if ye read the Book of Genesis, ye shall perceive. Of others, S. Paul in few words comprehendeth much matter, speaking in a generality of the wonderful afflictions, death, and torments which the men of God in Gods cause, and for the Truths sake willingly and gladly did suffer. After much particular rehearsal of many, he saith, Other were racked and despoiled and would not be delivered, that they might obtain a better Resurrection. Other again were tried with mockings and scourgings, and moreover with Bonds and Imprisonment; they were stoned, hewn asunder, tempted, fell, and were slain upon the edge of the Sword, some wandered to and fro in Sheeps Pitches, in Goats Pitches, forsaken, oppressed, afflicted, such godly men as the world was unworthy of, wandering in Wildernesses, in Mountains, in Caves, and in Dens, and all these were commended for their faith. And yet they abide for us the servants of God, and for those their Brethren which are to be slain as they were for the Word of Gods sake, that none be shut out, but that we may all go together to meet our Master Christ in the air at his coming, and so to be in bliss with him in body and soul for evermore.

Anno 1558.

2 Tim. 3.

Gal. 4.

The way to Heaven is by Afflictions.

Heb. 11.

Heb. 12.

Resists to move us to patience under the Croſs.

Prov. 3.

Heb. 12.

Cor. 1.

Body,

Anno 1555. Body, which loatheth and beareth down the Spirit, that it cannot so well perceive heavenly things; in the which so long as we dwell, we are absent from God.

Wherefore understanding our state in that we be Christians, that if our mortal Body, which is our earthly house, were destroyed, we have a building, a house not made with hands, but everlasting in Heaven, &c. therefore we are of good cheer, and know that when we are in the Body, we are absent from God; for we walk by faith, and not by clear sight. Nevertheless we are bold, and had rather be absent from the Body, and present with God. Wherefore we strive, whether we be present at home, and absent abroad, that we may always please him. And who that hath true faith in our Saviour Christ, whereby he knoweth somewhat truly what Christ our Saviour is, that he is the eternal Son of God, life, light, the wisdom of the Father, all goodness, all righteousness, and whatsoever is good that heart can desire, yea infinite plenty of all these, above that Mans heart can either conceive or think (for in him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead corporally) and also that he is given us of the Father, and made of God to be our wisdom, our righteousness, our holiness, and our redemption: who (I say) is he that believeth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his Master Christ? *Paul* for this knowledge coveted to have been loosed from the Body, and to have been with Christ, for that he counted it much better for himself, and had rather to be loosed than to live. Therefore these words of Christ to the thief on the Cross, that asked of him mercy, were full of comfort and solace: This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise. To die in the defence of Christs Gospel it is our bounden duty to Christ, and also to our neighbour. To Christ, for he died for us, and rose again that he might be Lord over all. And seeing he died for us, we also (saith Saint *John*) should jeopard, yea give our Life for our Brethren. And this kind of giving and losing, is getting and winning indeed: for he that giveth or loseth his Life thus, getteth and winneth it for evermore. Blessed are they therefore that die in the Lord, and if they die in the Lords cause, they are most happy of all. Let us not then fear death, which can do us no harm, otherwise than for a moment to make the Flesh to smart: but that our faith, which is surely fastened and fixed unto the Word of God, telleth us that we shall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, in joy, in solace, and that from death we shall go straight unto Life. For Saint *John* saith, He that liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die. And in another place, He shall depart from death unto Life. And therefore this death of the Christian is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entrance unto everlasting life. Therefore *Paul* calleth it but a dissolution and resolution, and both *Peter* and *Paul*, a putting off this Tabernacle or dwelling house: meaning thereby the mortal Body, as wherein the Soul or Spirit doth dwell here in this World for a small time. Yea this my death may be called to the Christian, an end of all miseries. For so long as we live here, we must pass through many tribulations before we can enter in the Kingdom of Heaven. And now, after that death hath shorn his bolt, all the Christian Mans enemies have done what they can; after that, they have no more to do. What could hurt or harm poor *Lazarus* that lay at the Rich Mans gate? His former penury and poverty? his misery, beggary, and horrible sores and sickness? For so soon as death had stricken him with his dart, so soon came the Angels, and carried him straight up into *Abrahams* bosom. What lost he by death, who from misery and pain is let by the Ministry of Angels, into a place both of joy and solace.

Farewel (dear brethren) farewel, and let us comfort our hearts in all troubles, and in death, with the Word of God, for Heaven and Earth shall perish, but the Word of the Lord endureth for ever.

Farewel Christs dearly beloved Spouse here wandering in this World in a strange Land, far from thine own Country, and compassed about on every hand with deadly enemies, which cease not to assault thee, ever seeking thy destruction.

Farewel, farewel, O ye the whole and Universal Congregation of the chosen of God here living upon Earth, the true Church militant of Christ, the true mystical Body

of Christ, the very household and family of God, and the Sacred Temple of the Holy Ghost. Farewel.

Farewel, O thou little Flock of the high Heavenly Pastors of Christ, for to thee it hath pleased the Heavenly Father to give an Everlasting and Eternal Kingdom. Farewel.

Farewel thou Spiritual House of God, thou Holy and Royal Priesthood, thou chosen generation, thou holy nation, thou won Spouse. Farewel, Farewel.

Another Treatise of Bishop Ridley, wherein is contained first a lamentation for the change of Religion in England; then a comparison between the Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Romish Religion; with wholesome instructions in the end to all Christians, how to behave themselves in time of trial.

As what misery is thy Church brought unto (O Lord) at this day? Where of late the Word of the Lord was truly Preached, was read and heard in every Town, in every Church, in every Village, yea and almost in every Honest Mans House, Alas now it is exiled and banished out of the whole Realm. Of late who was not taken for a lover of Gods Word, for a reader, for a ready bearer, and for a learner of the same? And now (alas) who dare bear any open countenance toward it, but such as are content in Christs cause, and for his words sake to stand to the danger and loss of all they have?

Of late there was to be found of every age of every degree and kind of people, that gave their diligence to learn (as they could) out of Gods Word, the Articles of the Christian Faith, the Commandments of God, and the Lords Prayer: The Babes and young Children were taught these things of their parents, of their Masters, and weekly of their Curates in every Church: and the aged folk, which had been brought up in blindness, and in ignorance of those things, which every Christian is bound to know, when otherwise they could not, yet they learned the same by often hearing their Children, and servants repeating the same: but now (alas, and alas again) the false Prophets of Antichrist which are past all shame, do openly Preach in Pulpits unto the people of God, that the Catechism is to be counted heresie; wher by their old blindness is brought home again: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth is abashed and ashamed, even of that which they have learned, though it be Gods Word, and dare no more meddle.

Of late in every Congregation throughout all England was made Prayer and Petition unto God, to be delivered from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from all false Doctrine and Heresie; and now alas, Sathan hath persuaded England by his falsehood and craft, to revoke her old Godly Prayer, to recant the same, and provoke the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own pate.

Of late by straight Laws and Ordinances, with the consent of the Nobles and Commonalty, and full agreement and Counsel of the Prelates and Clergy, was banished hence the Beast of Babylon, with Laws (I say) and with oaths and all means that then could be devised for so godly a purpose: but now (alas) all these Laws are trodden under foot; the Nobles, the Commonalty, the Prelates and Clergy are quite changed, and all those Oaths, though they were made in Judgment, Justice and Truth, and the matter never so good, doth no more hold than a bond of rushes or of a barley straw, nor publick perjury no more feareth them, than a shadow upon the wall.

Of late it was agreed in England of all hands, according to *Pauls* Doctrine, and Christs Commandment (as *Paul* saith plainly) that nothing ought to be done in the Church, in the publick Congregation, but in that Tongue which the congregation could understand, that all might be edified thereby, whether it were Common Prayer, administration of the Sacraments, or any other thing belonging to publick ministry of Gods holy and wholesome Word: but (alas) all is turned upside down, *Pauls* Doctrine is put apart, Christs Commandment is not regarded: For nothing is heard commonly in the Church, but a strange Tongue, that the people doth nothing understand.

Of late all Men and Women were taught after Christs Doctrine.

The state of the Church of England, described and lamented.

The letters exchanged of Religion in the Church.

Jerem. 41

2 Cor. 14

Ignorance in Prayer.

doctrine, to pray in that Tongue which they could understand, that they might pray with Heart that which they should speak with their Tongue: Now (alas) the unlearned people is brought into that blindness again, to think that they pray, when they speak with their Tongue they cannot tell what, nor whereof their hearts is nothing mindful at all, for that it can understand never a whit thereof.

Of late the Lords Supper was duly Miniftred and taught to be made common to all that are true Christi-
ans with thanksgiving and setting forth of the Lords Death and Passion until his returning again, - to judge both quick and dead: but now (alas) the Lords Table is quite overthrowen, and that which ought to be common to all Godly, is made private to a few Ungodly, without any kind of thanksgiving, or any setting forth of the Lords Death at all, that the people is able to understand.

Of late all that were endued with the light and Grace of understanding of Gods holy Myfteries, did blefs God which had brought them out of that horrible blindness and ignorance, whereby in times past being seduced by Satans subtilties, they believed that the Sacrament was not the Sacrament, but the thing it self whereof it is a Sacrament, that the Creature was the Creator, and that the thing which hath neither Life nor Sense (alas such was the horrible blindness) was the Lord himself, which made the Eye to see, and hath given all Senses and Understanding unto Man but now, alas, England is returned again like a Dogg to her own vomit and spuing, and is in worse case than ever she was: For it had been better never to have known the truth, than to forsake the truth once received and known: and now, not only that light is turned into darkness, and Gods Grace is received in vain, but also Laws of Death are made by high Court of Parliament, matterfully to maintain by Sword, Fire, and all kind of violence that haynous Idolatry, wherein that adoration is given unto the liveless and dumb Creature, which is only due unto the everliving God: yea, they say they can, and do make of Bread both Man and God, by their Transubstantiation. O wicked Men, and Satans own Brood!

Of late was the Lords Cup at his Table distributed according to his own Commandment, by his express words in the Gospell, as well to the Laity as to the Clergy, which order Christs Church observed so many hundred years after, as all the Ancient Ecclesiastical Writers do testifie, without contradiction of any one of them, that can be shewed unto this day: but now (alas) not only the Lords Commandment is broken, his Cup is denied to his Servants, to whom he commandeth it should be distributed, but also with the same is set up a new Blasphemous kind of Sacrifice to satisfy and pay the price of Sins both of the dead and the quick, to the great and intolerable contumely of Christs our Saviour his Death and Passion, which was and is the one only sufficient and everlasting available sacrifice satisfactory for all the elect of God, from Adam the first, to the last that shall be born in the end of the World.

Of late the Commandment of God, *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image, nor any similitude or likeness of any thing in Heavens above, or in Earth beneath, or in the Water under the Earth, thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them*: This Commandment of God, I say, was graven almost every where in Churches, was learned of every Body both young and old; whereupon Images that provoked the simple and ignorant people unto Idolatry, as the wife Man faith, were taken out of the Churches, and straightly forbidden that none should any where either bow down to them or worship them: but now (alas) Gods Holy Word is blotted and razed out of Churches, and stocks and stones are set up in the place thereof. God commanded his Word so to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all times, and in every place: and on the other side he forbade Images and Idols so to be either made or set in any place, where any should bow or worship them: but now (alas) that which God commanded is not passed upon, and that which he forbiddeth, is matterfully maintained by faithhood and craft, and wickedly upholden.

Of late all Ministers that were admitted to the publick Office and Ministry of Gods Holy Word, in their

admission made a solemn profession before the Congregation, that they should teach the people nothing, as doctrine necessary to attain eternal Salvation, but that which is Gods own Holy Word, or may be thereon grounded without any doubt; whereby vanished and melted away of themselves many vain, yea wicked traditions of Man, as wax before the fire: but now at one burst they are revived, and are in full hope also to return again in as great strength as ever they have been. And how can any Man look for any other thing, but when you have received the head, you must also receive the whole Body withal, or else how can the head abide? The head, under Satans, of all mischief is Antichrist and his Brood, the same is he which is the Babylonical Beast. The Beast is he, whereupon the Whore sitteth. The Whore is that City, faith John in plain words, which hath empire over the Kings of the Earth. This Whore hath a Golden Cup of abominations in her hand, whereof she maketh to drink the Kings of the Earth, and of the Wine of this Harlot have of all nations drunk, yea and Kings of the Earth have liven by this Whore, and Merchants of the Earth by virtue of her pleafant Merchandise have been made rich.

Now what City is there in all the whole World, that when John wrote, ruled over the Kings of the Earth; or what City can be read of in any time, that of the City it self challenged the Empire over the Kings of the Earth, but only the City of Rome, and that since the usurpation of that See hath grown to her full strength? And is it not read, that the Old and Ancient Writers understand Peters former Epistle to be written at Rome, and it to be called of him in the same Epistle in plain terms *Babylon*? By the Abominations thereof I understand all the whole trade of the Romish Religion, under the name and Title of Christ, which is contrary to the only Rule of all true Religion, that is, Gods Word. What Word of God hath that devilish Drabb for the maintenance of her manifold abominations, and to set to Sale such Merchandise, wherewith (alas) the madness of Man) the wicked Harlot hath bewitched almost the whole World? Did not Peter the very true Apostle of Christ (of whom this stinking flumpt beareth her self so high, but fallily and without all iust cause) did not he, I say, give all the World warning of her self and trash, of her false Doctors and Apstles (for this Whore and Beast will be called *Domus Apstolorum*, whosever say nay) after this manner in his latter Epistle? *There was a Peter: among the people in times past false Prophets, as there shall be among you in time to come false Teachers, which shall privily bring in pestilent sects, even denying the Lord which hath bought them and redeemed them, procuring to themselves swift Damnation, and many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be railed upon, and through covetousness by counterfeit tales or sermons, they shall (saith Peter) make merchandise upon you, &c.* And doth not John likewise in his Revelation, after he hath reckoned up a great rabblement of this Whores mystical Merchandise, at the last (as though he would knit up all in plain words, without any mist at all, setting out the Whores Merchandise) reckon up amongst the rest, and conclude, saying; *Et animas hominum*, that is to say, *the Souls of Men too*? Whereupon I pray you else rose this true Proverb in Latin, *Omnia Romae venalia*, Stranger.

All things for Money are set to sale at Rome? Was not that a worthy commendation of Christs Vicar in Earth, that was written of our Holy Father, one of the Alexanders, a Bishop of Rome, thus I ween in Latin? *Vendit Alexander cruce, altaria, Christum: Vendere jure potest; emerat ille prius.* These two Verses in Latine I have read thus of one translated into English rime.

Alexander our Holy Father the Pope of Rome, Sells for Money both right and doom: And all kind of holines the Holy Father doth not shun. To set to sale, ready money for to get, And eke Christ himself he dare be sold, To chop and change for Silver and Gold. And why should any think this to be true? For what doth he sell but that he bought before?

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1555.

where Where of Babylons with her Cup of abominations expounded. Apoc. 17.

The mytical Merchandise of the Babylonical Whore. All things at Rome for Money.

Verbes against Pope Alexander.

Anno
1555.

I grant these Verbes to be light gear, and the Verbe is but rude; but (alas) such Conditions were more, wicked and lewd than any wit could express. If these had been but the faults of one or a few in number, they had been less pernicious, and might have been taken for personal crimes, and not to be imputed unto that See: but now (alas) the matter is more than evident to all that have godly understanding, that these Crimes be grounded upon Laws, be established by Custom, and set forth by all kind of wicked doctrine, falshood, and craft; and therefore now are not to be esteemed for any one mans, or a few mens personal crimes, but are now by laws, custom, and doctrine incorporated into that wicked See, and maketh indeed the body of the Beast whereupon the abominable Whore doth sit.

But you would know which be those Merchandises which I said this Whore fetterh for to sell, for the which all her false Prophets, with all their juggling and crafty glosses cannot bring one jot of Gods Word Surely, surely, they be not only all these abominations which are come into the Church of England already (whereof I have spoken somewhat before) but also an innumerable rabblement of abominations and wicked abuses, which now must needs follow: as Popish Pardons, Pilgrimages, Romish Purgatory, Romish Masses, *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with Trentals and *Scala Calvi*, Dispensations and Immunities from all godly Discipline, Laws and good Order, Pluralities, Unions, and *Tenures*, with a thousand more. Now shall come in the flattering Priers and the false Pardners, and play their old pranks and knavery as they were wont to do. Now shall you have (but of the See of Rome only, and that for money) canonizing of such Saints as have stood stout in the Popes cause, shrinking of Reliques, and from any kind of wickedness (if you will pay well for it) clear Absolution *a peccatis & culpa*, for thousands of years, yea, and at every poor Bishops hand and Suffragan, ye shall have hallowing of Churches, Chappels, Altars, Super-altars, Chaltres, and of all the whole Household-stuff and Adornment which shall be used in the Church after the Romish guise, for all these things they must be esteemed of such high price, that they may not be done but by a consecrate Bishop only. O Lord, all these things are such as thy Apostles never knew. As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) of water and salt, of christening of Bells, and such like things, what need I to speak? for every Priest that can but read, hath power (they say) not only to do that, but also hath such power over Christs Body, as to make both God and Man once at the least every day of a Water Cake.

After the rehearsal of the said Abominations, and remembrance of a number of many more, which (the Lord knoweth) it keth me to think upon, and were too long to describe; when I consider on the other side the eternal Word of God that abideth for ever, and the undefiled Law of the Lord which turneth the soul from all wickedness, and giveth wisdom unto the innocent Babes, I mean that milk that is without all guile, as *Peter* doth call it, that good Word of God, that Word of Truth which must be graven within the heart, and then is able to save mens souls; that wholsome Seed, not mortal, but immortal, of the eternal and everlasting God, whereby the man is born anew, and made the child of God, that Seed of God, whereby the man of God so being born, cannot sin, as *John* saith (he meaneth so long as that Seed doth abide in him) that holy Scripture which hath not been deviled by the wit of man, but taught from Heaven by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct, and to give order in all righteousness, that the man of God may be whole and sound, ready to perform every good work: when (I say) I consider this holy and wholesome true Word that teacheth us truly our bounden duty towards our Lord God in every point, what his blessed will and pleasure is, what his infinite great goodness and mercy is; what he hath done for us, how he hath given us his own only dearly beloved Son to death for our Salvation, and by him hath sent us the revelation of his blessed will and pleasure, what his eternal Word willeth us both to believe, and also to do, and hath for the same purpose inspired the holy Apostles with the Holy Ghost, and sent them abroad into all the world, and also

made them and other Disciples of Christ inspired by the same Spirit, to write and leave behind them the same things that they taught (which as they did proceed of the Spirit of Truth, so by the confession of all them that ever were endued with the Spirit of God, were sufficient to the obtaining of eternal Salvation:) and likewise when I consider that all that man doth profess in his regeneration when he is received into the holy Catholick Church of Christ, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively Members of Christs own Body, all that is grounded upon Gods holy Word, and standeth in the profession of that Faith, and obedience of those Commandments which are all contained and comprised in Gods holy Word: And furthermore, when I consider whom our Saviour Christ pronounceth in his Gospel to be blessed, and to whom *Moses* giveth his Benedictions in the Law, what ways the Law, the Prophets, the Psalms, and all holy Scriptures, both new and old, do declare to be the ways of the Lord, what is good for man to obtain and abide in Gods favour, which is that Faith that justifieth before God, and what is that Charity that doth pass and excel all, which be the properties of heavenly wisdom, and which is that undefiled Religion which is allowed of God, which things Christ himself calleth the weighty matters of the Law, what thing is that which is only available in Christ, and what knowledge is that that *Paul* esteemed so much, that he counted himself only to know, what shall be the manner of the extreme judgment of the latter day, who shall judge, and by what he shall judge, and what shall be required at our hands at that fearful day, how all things must be tried by the fire, and that only shall stand for ever, which Christs words shall allow, which shall be the Judge of all flesh to give sentence upon all flesh, and every living soul, either of eternal damnation, or of everlasting salvation, from which sentence there shall be no place to appeal, no wit shall serve to delude, nor any power to withstand or revoke: When (I say) I consider all these things, and confer to the same again and again all those ways wherein standeth the substance of the Romish Religion (whereof I spake before) it may be evident easie to perceive, that these two ways, these two Religions, the one of Christ, the other of the Romish See, in these latter days be as far distant the one from the other, as light and darkness, good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness, Christ and Belial. He that is hard of belief, let him note and weigh well with himself the places of holy Scriptures which be appointed in the Margent, whereupon this talk is grounded, and by Gods grace he may receive some light. And unto the Contemner I have nothing now to say, but to rehearse the saying of the Prophet *Esaie*, which *Paul* spake to the Jews in the end of the *Acts of the Apostles*. After he had expounded to them the truth of Gods Word, and declared unto them Christ out of the Law of *Moses* and the Prophets, from morning to night all the day long, he said unto them that would not believe: *Well (said he) shall the Holy Ghost unto our Fathers, saying, Go unto this people and tell them, ye shall hear with your ears, and not understand, and seeing ye shall behold, and not see the thing: for the heart of this people is waxed gross and dull, and with their ears they are hard of hearing, and they have shut together their eyes, that they should not see, nor bear with their ears, nor understand with their hearts, that they might return, and I should heal them, saith the Lord God.*

Alas, England, alas, that this heavy Plague of God should fall upon thee. Alas my dearly beloved Country, what thing is it now that may do thee good? Undoubtedly thy plague is so great, that it is utterly incurable, but by the bottomless mercy and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas my dear Country, what hast thou done, that thou hast provoked the wrath of God, and caused him to pour out his vengeance upon thee for thine own deserts? Canst thou be content to hear thy faults told thee? Alas, thou hast heard of, and wouldst never amend. England, thy faults of all degrees and sorts of men, of Magistrates, of the Ministers, and of the common People, were never more plainly told since thou bearest that name, than thou didst hear them of late, even before the Magistrates in King *Edwards* days, but thou hearest them only, and didst amend never a whit.

For

Abominations
and
wicked
abuses of the
See of Rome
declared.The true
word of
God, and the
office of the
same declar-
ed.Note here
that these
Scriptures
were writ-
ten by *Mr.*
Ridley in the
Margent,
but were
not in the
copy which
we followed

Acts 28.

For even of thy greatest Magistrates, some (the Kings Highness then, that innocent, that godly-hearted and people's young Christian Prince excepted) evermore unkindly and ungently, against those that went about most boldly, and most wholly to cure their forefathers, spurned privily, and would not spare to speak evil of them, even unto the Prince himself, and yet would they towards the same Preachers outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face.

Crammer and
Rely stand-
ing in the
Duke of So-
mers sets
out, Cram-
mer is pug-
nacious ag-
ainst the
abolition of
the Church
of England.
Lottin,
Bradford,
Lever, Knox.

I have heard that *Cramer*, and another whom I will not name, were both in high displeasure, the one for shewing his Confidence secretly, but plainly and fully in the Duke of *Somersetts* caule, and both of late, but especially *Cramer* for repugning, as they might against the Law, the Loyall of the Church goods, taking away only by commandment of the higher powers, without any Law or order of Justice, and without any request or leave of them to which they did belong. As for *Lattimer*, *Leveson*, *Bradford*, and *Knox*, their Tongues were so sharp, they tipped in deep in their galled backs to have purged them (no doubt) of that filthy matter that was in them: (1.) their hearts of insatiable covetousness, of filthy carnal and voluptuousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathfulness to hear poor Mens Cautes, and to hear Gods Word, that these Men, of all others, these Magistrates then, could never abide. O how there were very godly Men, well learned, that went about by the wholekin Plainers of Gods Word, I saw after a more soft manner of handling the matter; but (alas) all spired off. For all that could be done on either hands, their diffeide did not minish, but daily did increase, which (no doubt) is no small occasion in this state of the heavey plague of God that is poured upon *England*, as at this day. As for the common sort of other Astrictor Magistrates, as Judges of the Lawes, Iudices of Peace, Sergeants, Common Lawyers, it may be truly said of them, as of the most part of the Clergy of Curates, Vicars, Parsons, Prebendaries, Doctors of the Law, Archdeacons, Deans, &c. I may say of Bishops also, for me, for the most part, (although I doubt not but God had, and hath ever, whom heineverly state knew and knoweth to be his) but for the most part, [say] they were never perverted in their hearts, but from the teeth forward, and for the Kings sake, in the truth of Gods Word, and yerall these did diffeble, and bear a Copy of a countenance: as if they had been found worthy.

The corrupt
Life of Gos-
pel is in
K. Edwards
1146.

And this diffimulation Sathan knew well enough, and therefore desired; and hath ever gone about, that the high Magistrates by any manner of means might be deceived in matters of Religion; for then he being of Counsel with the diffimulation in the Worldly, knew well enough that he should bring to pass, and rule all ever after his own will.

Hypocrits a
double evil

This Hypocrite and Diffamulation S. Hieron. doth call well a double wickedness; for neither loveth the truth (which is one great evil) and also fully intendeth to deceive the people for another thing. This Hypocrite and Diffamulation with God, in matters of Religion, no doubt, hath wholly also provoked the anger of God. And as for the common people, although there were many good, where they were well and diligently taught: yet (God knoweth) a great number received Gods true Word, and built hearts with unthankful hearts. For it was great pity, and a lamentable thing to have seen in many places the people so foolishly and unreasonably to come to the Holy Communion, and to receive it accordingly, and to the Common Prayers, and other divine Service, which were according to the true vein of Gods Holy Word, and in all points so godly and wholly set forth, in comparison of that blind zeal, and a direct deviation which they had sometimes to those things, whereof they understood never one whit, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

The black-
ness that
was in the
time to go
works.

And again, as for our almshouses, which are taught in Gods Word, whereby we are certain that God is pleased with them and doth and will require such at our hands, which are a part of true Religion, as St. James faith, and such as he faith himself he fetcheth more by than by Sacrifice, as to provide for the Fatherless, Infants and Orphans, for the lame, aged and impotent poor needy folk, and to make publick provision that the poor that misbe-

labour, I shoul have wherewith to labour upon, and fo be kept from shameful beggary and feasting in ths works: I say how way-worship were many in comparisn I mean of that great prodigality whereby in times past they (pared not to spend upon flatterers, Friers, false pardoners, painting and goulding of houses and houses, to be fet up, and honoured in Churches, plainly against Gods Words? And yet because no place is to be defrauded of their just commendation, *London*, I must confes, for such godly works in Sir *Richard Bde*, Knight, then Lord Mayor, his year began marvellous well: The Lord grant the same may so likewise perforce, continue, yea and increase, to the comfort and relief of the needy and helpless, that was so godlyly begun, Amen.

All these things do minister more matter of mourning and bewailing the miserable state that now is: for by this it may be perceived, how *England* hath deserved this just plague of God. And also it is greatly to be feared that those good things, whatsoever they were that had their beginning in the time when Gods word was so freely Preached, now with the exile and banishment of the same, will depart again.

But to return again to the consideration of this miserable state of Christs Church in *England*, and to leave farther and more exquisite searching of the causes thereof unto Gods secret and unfeinable judgments, let us see what is best now to be done for Christs little Flock. This is one maxim and principle in Christs Law; He that denieth Christ before Men, him shall Christ deny before his Father and all his Angels in Heaven. And therefore every one that looketh to have by Christ our Saviour Everlasting Life, let him prepare himself, howbeit he deny not his Master Christ, or else he is but a cast-away, and a wretch, howsoever he be counted or taken here in the World.

Now then, being the Doctrine of Antichrist is returned again into this Realm, and the higher powers (also) are so deceived and bewitched, that they are perverted it to be truth, and Christs true Doctrine to be error and heresie, and the Old Laws of Antichrist are allowed to return with the power of their Father again: what can be hereafter looked for, by reason to the Man of God and true Christian, abiding in this Realm but extreme violence of death, or else to deny his Master? I grant the Hearts of Princes are in Gods hands, and whosoever he will he can make them bow and also that Christian Princes in Old Time use a more gentle kind of punishment, even to them which were Heretics indeed, as degradation, and depoument out of their rooms and Offices, Exile and Banishment out of their Dominions and Countries; and also (as it is read) the true Bishops of Christs Church were sometime intercessors for the Heretics unto Princes, that they would not kill them, as is read of Saint *Augustine*. But as yet Antichrists kingdom was not so erected at that time, nor is now accustomed to order them that will not fall down and worship the Beast and his Image (but even as all the World knoweth) after the same manner that both *Jehoiachin* and *Daniel* had prophesied before, that is, by violence of death; and *Daniel* declareth farther, that the kind of death accustomed should be by Sword, Fire, and Imprisonment.

Therefore if thou, O Man of God, dost purpose to abide in this Realm, prepare and arm thy self to die: for both by Antichrists accustomed Laws, and these prophesies, there is no appearance or likelihood of any other thing, except thou wilt deny thy Master Christ, which is the loss at the last both of Body and Soul unto everlasting death. Therefore my good Brother or Sister in Christ, whatsoever thou be, to thee that canst and mustst do, that counsel that I think is the best safeguard for thee, both for thy Body, and most surety for thy Soules health; that which I shall hence thee hereafter. But first I will warn thee to understand me to speak to him or her, which be not in captivity, or called already to confess Christ, but are at liberty abroad.

My Counsel, I say, therefore is this, to fly from
the plague, and get thee hence. I consider not only the
falsities of Satan, and how he is able to deceive by his
false persuasions (if it were possible) even the chosen of
God, and all the great Sins, which is oftentimes
more in a Man, than he doth know in himself, which

Anno
1555:

Gods plague
upon En-
gland justly
deserved.

He exhorts to constant confession of Christ.

1st Punishment
of Hereticks
more gentle
in the Old
Time how it
was used.

in Conf-1
given in
these days
of persecuti-
on what to

Anno
1555.

in the time of temptation then will utter it self: I do not only consider these things, I say; but that our Master Christ, whose Life was and is a perfect rule of the Christian Mans Life, that he himself avoided offences: the fury and madness of the Jews, by departing from the Country or place.

Paul likewise when he was saught in *Damasco*, and the gates of the City were laid in wait for him, was conveyed by night, being let down in a basket out at a Window over the wall: and *Helias* the Prophet fled the persecution of wicked *Jesabel*: And Christ our Saviour faith in the Gospel; *When they persecute you in one City, fly unto another*: and so did many good, great, learned, and vertuous Men of God, which were great and stout Champions nevertheless, and stout confessors and maintainers of Christ and his truth, in due time and place. Of such was the great Clerk *Athanasius*. But this is so plain to be lawful by Gods Word, and Examples of holy Men, that I need not to stand in it.

Having this for my ground, I say to thee, O Man of GOD, this seemeth to me to be the most sure way for thy safeguard, to depart and flee far from the plague, and that swiftly also: for truly before GOD, I think, that the abomination that *Daniel* prophesied of so long before, is now set up in the holy place. For all the Doctrine of Antichrist, his Laws, Rites, and Religion contrary to Christ, and so to the true serving and worshipping of God, I understand to be that abomination: Therefore now is the time in England for those words of Christ, *Tunc inquit qui in Iudaea sunt, fugiant ad montes*. Then (saith he) (mark this Christs then) for truly I am perfwaded, And I trust by the Spirit of God, that this (then) is commanded; Then (saith Christ) *they that be in Jewry, let them flee into the Mountains*, and be that is on the house top, let him ray come down to take away any thing out of his house, and he that is abroad in the field, let him not return to take his cloaths. *We be to the great-bellied Women*, and to them that give suck; but pray (saith Christ) that your flight be not in summer, or on the Sabbath day.

The abomination of idolatry set up in England.

Christ commanded us to fly to the mountains.

Their words of Christ are myfical, and therefore had need of Interpretation. I understand all those to be in Jewry spiritually, which truly confesse one true living God, and the whole truth of his Word, after the doctrine of the Gospel of Christ: Such as they whom Christ here biddeth, in the time of the Reign of Antichrists abominations to flee unto the Mountains; which signifieth places of safeguard, and all such things which are able to defend from the plague. That he biddeth him that is on the house top, not to come down, and him that is in the field, not to return to take with him his cloaths; he meaneth that they should speed them to get them away betime, lest in their tarrying and trifling about working provision, they be trapped in the snare ere ever they be aware, and caught by the back, and for gain of small worldly things, endanger and cast themselves into great perils of more weighty matters. And where he saith, *We be to the great-bellied Women*, and to them that give suck; Women great with Child and nigh to their lying down, and to be brought to bed, and not able to travel; and also those Women, which are brought to bed, and now give their babes suck: By these therefore Christ spiritually understandeth all such to be in extreme danger, which this word (two) signifieth all such, I say, as are so letted by any manner of means, that they no ways be able to flee from the plague. And where Christ saith, *Pray you that your flight be not in the Winter, nor on the Sabbath day*: In Winter, the common course of the year teacheth us, that the ways be foul, and therefore it is a hard thing then to take a far journey, for many incommodities and dangers of the waies in that time of the year; and on the Sabbath day it was not lawful to journey, but a little way. Now Christ therefore meaneing that we should have need, both to speed our journey quickly, which cannot be done in winter, for the incommodities of the waies, and also to go far, which cannot be done on the Sabbath day: he biddeth us therefore pray that our flight be not in the Winter, nor on the Sabbath day: that is to pray that we may flee in time and also far enough from the danger of the

plague. Now; the cause why we should flee, follow in the same place of Saint *Matthews* Gospel, which I now pass over; thou maist read them there.

And in the eighteenth Chapter of the *Revelation*, the Angel is said to have cried mightily with a loud voice, *Flee my people out of Babylon, lest you be infected with her faults, and so be made partners of her plagues: for her offences and sins are grown so great, that they swell &c. are come unto the heavens: certainly the time doth approach, and the Lords day is at hand. Hear, I beseech you, alio holy Paul, that blessed Apostle, he plainly forbiddeth us, *Ducere jugum cum incredulis*, that is, To joyn or couple our selves with the unfaithful: for what fellowship can there be, faith he, of righteousness with unrighteousness; what company hath light with darkness; or what agreement hath Christ with Belial? or what part can the faithful have with the unfaithful? or how doth the Temple of God agree with Images or Idols? for you are the Temple of the living God: as God, Cot. 6. hath sayd, I will walk and dwell in them, I will be their God, and they shall be my people: wherefore depart from amongst them, and get you from them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing: and I will receive you, and be to you in the stead of your Father, and you shall be unto me as my Sons and Daughters, saith the Almighty God.*

This Counsell to depart the Realm, I do not marvel it doth seem to divers (even of them I mean that bear favour to God-ward) diversly. Many (I trust) that be learned shall think the counsell good. Others there be peradventure, that will think it rather a thing to be more tolerable, and that it may be indeed by Gods Word lawfully done, rather than to be Counsell'd to be done; for they will peradventure say, we should Counsell a Man alwaies to do that, which is best of all, and of most perfection: but boldly in Christs cause to spend a Mans Life, is best of all, and of most perfection, and to flee it may seem to be finell of cowardlines. In many things, that which is best for one at sometimes, is not best for all at all times, and it is not most perfection, nor meet for a Child to cover to run, before he can go. I will not make here a discourse in this matter, what might here be objected, and what might be answered again; I leave that to the witty and eloquent Men of the World.

Counsell to depart the Realm. Doubtless due to flee or to carry, debated.

This is my mind, which I would thou shouldst know, O Man of God, as I would with, and I do pray to Almighty GOD it may be that every true Christian, either Brother or Sister (after they be called, and brought into the wrestling place, to strive in Christs cause for the best game, that is, to confesse the truth of the Gospel, and of the Christian Faith, in hope of Everlasting Life) should not shrink, nor relent one inch, nor give back, whatsoever shall befall, but to stand to their tackle, and stick by it even unto death, as they will Christ shall stick by them at the latter day: so likewise I dare not with nor counsel any, either Brother or Sister, of their own swinge, to start up into the stage, or to cast themselves either before, or farther in danger than time and need shall require: for undoubtedly when God seeth his time, and his pleasure is, that his Glory shall be set forth, and his Church edified by thy death and confession, means shall be found by his fatherly universal providence, that thou without thine own presumptuous provocation shalt be lawfully called, to do thy feat, and to play thy part. The miserable end that one *Quintus* came unto, may be a warning, and a fearful example for all Men to beware of presumption, and rashness in such things (as *Eusebius* writeth in *Ecclesiastical Historia*) for evermore.

Presumptuous provocation and rash running in danger forbidden. Enrich Exile, still lib. 4. of 15.

But a third sort of Men there be, which also will be counted favorers of Gods Word, and are (I fear) in number far more, and worle to be perfwaded to that which is the Godly mean. I mean of such as will peradventure say or think, that my former Counsell, which was to flee the infection of the Antichristian doctrine by departing out of the Realm, is more than needeth, and other waies and means may be found, both to abide, and also to be clear out of danger of the foresaid plague. If that could be found, both to abide, and also to be clear out of danger of the foresaid plague, truly agreeable to Gods Word, I would be as glad to hear it, God is my witness, as who is the other. Yes, peradventure will some say,

say, thus it may be: Thou mayst keep thy self, thy faith, and thy Religion close to thy self, and inwardly and privily worship God in Spirit and Truth, and outwardly see thou be no open medler, nor talker, nor a siffer of common order: so maist thou be suffered in the Common Weald, and yet use thy Religion without offence of thy Confidence. In other Countries somewhere this peradventure might be used, but in England what shall be, God wot: but it was never yet, so far as ever I have known or heard. And also how can it be, but either thou must transgress the common order, and the Romish Laws and Customs, which have been used in England, in the times past of Popery, and now (it is certain) they return again: I say, thou must either be a breaker of these Rites, Laws, and Customs, and so bewray thy self, or else if thou be indeed a Man of GOD, thou shalt offend thy Confidence: for in observing of them, thou shalt be compelled to break Gods Law, which is the rule of confidence to the Man of God. For how canst thou resort every holy-day to the Church, and bare a face to worship the Creature for the Creator, as thou must do, and peradventure confesse it too with thy Mouth, and to sprinkle thy self with the conjured Water.

Thou must be contributor also to the charges of all their Popery, as of Books of Antichrists service, of lights of the Rood loft, of the Sepulchre for setting up and painting of Images (nay indeed of Idols) and thou must bear a face to worship them also, or else thou must be had by the back. Thou must serve the turn, to give the holy leaves as they call it, which is nothing else but a very mockery of the Lords Holy Table. Thou must be a contributor to the charges of all the disguised apparils, that the Popish Sacrificing Priests, like unto Aaron must play his part in. Yea, when the pander goeth about, or the flattering Friar to beg for the maintenance of superstition, except thou do as thy neighbours do, look not long to live in rest. If any of thy household dye, if thou wilt not pay Money for ringings, and singings, for Requiem, Masses, Diriges, and commendations, and such like trumpery of the Antichristian Religion, thinkest thou that thou shalt be reckoned for a Catholic Man, or for amicus Caesar? A hundred things more may be reckoned, and many of more weight, and of more evident superstition and idolatry, than some of these which I have now rehearsed, which God knoweth be illenough: but these are enow to declare, and to set before thine eyes, the thing that I intend, that is, if thou abide and wilt dwell in England, thou must either do these, and many other more contrary to Gods Word, which forbiddeth not only the thing which is evil, but also faith, *Ab omni specie mali abstinete vos*, Abstain from all things that have any appearance of evil; or else if thou wilt not do them, how thou canst live in England in rest safe from the stake, truly I cannot tell.

But peradventure (as a Man is ready to find, and invent some colour to cloak his Confidence, to do that thing that his heart desireth) thou wilt say, though at any time I shall be forced to do any of these things and suchlike, yet will I have no confidence in them, but outwardly with my body I will keep mine heart unto God, and will not do that of mine own mind willingly neither, but to avoid another inconvenience: I trust therefore God will hold me excused, for he shall have my heart: what can I do more?

O my friend, beware for Gods sake, and know that the subtilties of Satan are deep. He that is not able by Gods Word to perceive them, is heavily laden. Pay therefore love with David, Lord let me not have a mind to invent excuses to cloak my Sins: amine my dear friend, these thy wily waies with the Word of GOD, and if they do agree, thou maist use them: if not, know, though they may seem never so fine and goodly, yet indeed they be of Satans Brood. Gods Word is certain, that forbiddeth to worship the Creature for the Creator, for that is heinous Idolatry, and against the first Commandment of God, and it is also against the second Commandment of the first table to bow down, or to worship unto any Images of God, or of any other thing: And Gods Word requirith not only the belief of the heart, but also the confession of the Mouth: and to bear part of the charges, to the maintenance of things ungodly, what is that, but in thy doing a consent to the thing done? Now consents and the doers Gods Word accounteth to be guilty both:

And it is not lawful, by St. Pauls Doctrine, which was inspired him by the Spirit of GOD, to do it, that therefore of the thing which is good may come.

Thy heart, thou saist, God shall have, and yet wilt suffer thy Body to do the thing that God doth abhor. Beware O Man, take heed what thou saist: Man may be deceived, but no Man may deceive God, for he is called and is truly *examiner*, that is to say, the searcher of the Heart. Now, to give God thy Heart, is to give him thy whole Heart, to love him, to dread him, and to trust in him above all other things. He that hath my Commandments, saith Christ, and observeth and keepeth them, it is he that *loves me*: and to dread God above all others, is rather willingly to incur the danger and peril of all fearful things, than wittingly to do that thing which is contrary to his blessed will and Commandment; and to trust in him above all things, is assuredly to trust to his promise of his reward, and of his tuition, and of his goodness and mercy, and to prefer that above all things in the World, seem they never so strong, so wise, or so good. Now, how canst thou say truly, that GOD hath thy heart after this manner of fort (which is to have thy heart indeed) when thy deeds do declare far another thing? Thy Body, O Man, is Gods, and all the parts thereof, even as thy Soul is: he made them both, and Christ with his Blood redeemed them both and is Lord of both, for he hath bought them both dearly; and dardest thou suffer any part of either of them to do service to Satan? Surely in so doing, thou committest Sacrilege and dost rob God, thou defilest the living Temple of the living God, if thou suffer thy Body to do Satans service. Do you not know (saith St. Paul) that your Body is a lively Temple of God? And may a Man then take and use any part thereof but in the Service of God? No surely: it is not lawful so to do for the Man of God; neither with Hand, Tongue, nor Feet, nor any part of the whole Body.

Doth not Paul command that to the Romans, which pertaineth to every Christian Soul? As you have in times past, saith he, given your members to do service unto uncleanliness and wickedness, from one wickedness to another; so now give your members to do service unto righteousness, that you may be sanctified. And I pray thee, good Brother, what dost thou think it is to bear the mark of the beast in the forehead, and in the hand that Saint John speaketh of? I know we ought wailly to speak of Gods mysteries, which he shewed by the Spirit of prophesying to our servant John, yet to read them with reverence, and to pray for the same so much as God knoweth is necessary for our time to know, I think is necessary and good. Wherefore what I suppose is to bear the beasts mark, I will tell thee, and commit the judgment of mine interpretation, as in all other things, to the Spiritual Man. I suppose he beareth the beast of Babels mark in his forehead, which is not ashamed of the beasts waies, but will profess them openly to set forth his Master the beast of *Abaddu*. And likewise he beareth his mark in his hand, that wil and doth practise the works of the beast with his power and hand. And likewise I will not let to tell thee, what I think to be signed in the forehead for the servant of God is, whereof John also speaketh, reckoning up many thousands so to have been signed of every Tribe. I suppose he is signed in the forehead for the Servant of God, whom God hath appointed of his infinite goodness, and hath given him Grace and strength stoutly to confesse him, and his truth before the World. And to have Grace and Strength to confesse Christ, and the Doctrine of the Cross, and to lament and mourn for the abominations of Antichrist, I suppose is to be signed with *Tau*, whereof Ezekiel the Prophet doth speak. Thus I suppose these prophecies are spiritually to be understood: and to look for other corporal markings, to be seen in Mens foreheads, or in their handis, nothing else but to look that there should come some brute beast out of Babel, or some Elephant, Leopard, Lyon, or Camel, or some other such monstrous beast with ten horns, that should do all the wonderful things spoken in John; and yet of a beast speaketh John, but I understand him so to be called, not for that he shall be any such brute beast, but for that he is and shall be the Child of perdition, which for his cruelty and beastly manners, is well called a beast.

The

Confidence in Religion would not be different.

A hard dwelling in England or a good man either with or without confidence.

I want not excuse to do it.

Conscience of man must go with belief or heart.

Anno 1555.

To trust in God, what is it?

1 Cor. 3.

1 Cor. 6.

Rom. 6.

To hear the beasts mark, what is it. Apoc. 13. 13. 20.

Anno
1555.The literal
taking of
the Scrip-
ture made
the Jews
Infidels.

The carnal Jews knew there was a Promise made, that *Helias* should come before Christ the *Messias*, the appointed of God, to prepare his ways; they knew also there was a Promise of *Messias*, that he should come, and be a King, and Reign in the House of *David* for evermore: but they understood all so grossly, and so carnally, that they neither knew *Helias*, nor *Messias*, when they came: for they looked for *Helias* to come down from Heaven in his own Person, and for *Messias* to come and reign in worldly pomp, power, riches, and glory, when as the prophecies of both were spiritually to have been understood: Of *Helias*, that he should come not in Person, but in Spirit, that is, one that should be indued with the spirit and gifts of grace of *Helias*, which was indeed *John Baptist*, as Christ himself did declare to his Apostles: And of *Messias* reign, all the Prophets were to be understood of the reign of his spiritual Kingdom over the House of *Jacob*, and the true Israelites for evermore. And so by that their gross and carnal understanding, they mistook both *Helias*, and the true *Messias*, and when they came, knew neither of them both. So likewise, I fear me, nay it is certain, the world that wanteth the light of the Spirit of God (for the world is not able to receive him, faith *John*) neither doth, nor shall know the Beast, nor his Marks, though he rage cruelly, and live never so beastly, and though his marked men be in number like the Sand of the Sea. The Lord therefore vouchsafe to open the eyes of the blind with the light of grace, that they may see and perceive, and understand the words of God, after the mind of his Spirit. Amen.

The Pope
marked
men.

Here remain two Objections, which may seem weighty, and the which may peradventure move many not to follow the former counsel. The former reason is, A man will say, O Sir, it is no small matter ye speak of, to depart from a mans own Native Country into a strange Realm. Many men have so great lets, as how is it possible for they can, or may do so? Some have Lands and Possessions, which they cannot carry with them: Some have Father, Mother, Wife, Children, and Kinsfolk, from whom to depart is as hard a thing (and all one almost) as to suffer death, and to go to a strange Country that thou knowest not, neither the manner of the People, nor how thou maist away either with the People, or with the Country: or what a hard thing it is to live among a strange People, whose tongue thou dost not understand, &c.

Carnal Ob-
jections an-
swered.

I grant here thou maist heap a number of worldly incommodities, which are surely very like to ensue the departure out of a mans own Native Country, I mean out of the whole Realm into a strange Land: but what of all these, and a thousand more of the like sort? I will set unto them one saying of our Saviour Christ, which unto the faithful Child of God, and to the true Christian, is able to countervail all these, yea, and to weigh them down. Christ our Saviour faith in *Luke*, *If any come to me, and do not hate his Father and Mother, (he meaneth, and will not in his cause forsake his Father and Mother) his Wife, Children, and Brethren, yea and his life too, he cannot be my Disciple: and whosoever doth not bear my Cross and come after me, he cannot be my Disciple.* And in the same place he declareth by the two Parables, one of a Builder, and the other of a King that is a Warriour, that every man that will not in Christs cause forsake all that ever he hath, he cannot be his Disciple. Look the places who will; the matter is so plainly set forth, that no glosses, nor cloaking of Conscience to the man of God, can serve to the contrary. Many places there be for the same purpose, for the embracing of Christs Cross, when Christ and his Cause layeth it upon our back; but this is so plain, that I need here to rehearse no more.

Another
worldly
Objection
answered.

This later Reason and Objection, wherof I spake before, is of more force, and includeth a necessity, which after the common saying, hath no Law, and therefore it is more hard to shapre for it a good Answer. This may be objected of some, Alas Sir, grant all these things do grieve me, and because I understand they do not agree with Gods Word, which is the rule of my Conscience, I loath either to look on them, or to hear them. But, Sir, alas I am an impotent man, an aged man, a sick man, a lame man, or I have so many small Infants, and a lame Wife, which all live by my labour, and by my provision: if I leave them they shall starve, and I am not able to carry them

with me, such is my state. Alas, Sir, what shall I do? And these causes may chance to some men of God, whereby either it shall be for them utterly impossible to depart the Country, or else in departing they shall be enforced to forsake such in extrem necessities, of whom both God and Nature hath committed unto them the care.

Alas, what counsel is here to be given? O lamentable state! O sorrowful heart! that neither can depart, and without extrem danger and peril is not able to tarry still. And these are they whom our Saviour Christ saw before should be, and called them in his Prophecies of the later time, great-bellied or travelling Women, and Women that give, after they be brought to Bed, their small Babes suck. Of the state of such as are not able to fly the infection of the pestiferous plague of Antichrists Abominations, Christ lamenting, and not cursing, faith, *We be to the great bellied and travelling Women; and Women that give suck in those days.* For these, alas, my heart mourneth the more, the less I am able to give any comfortable counsel, but this; that always, as they look for everlasting life, they abide still in the confession of his truth, whatsoever shall befall, and for the rest, to put their trust now wholly in God, which is able to save them against all appearance: And commonly in extremities, when all worldly comfort faileth, and the danger is at highest, then unto his he is wont, after his accustomed mercy, to be most ready to put his helping hand. *Daniel* God suffered to be cast into the Den of Lyons, and the three Children into the hot burning Furnace, and yet he saved them all. *Paul* was plucked out of the mouth of the Lion (as he faith of himself) and in *Asia* he was brought into such trouble, that he looked for no other thing but for present death, and yet he that raised the dead to life again, did bring him out of all his troubles, & taught him and all other that be in troubles for Christs cause; not to trust to themselves, but in Almighty God.

A lesson to
trust to the
Lord, who is
always a
help in ex-
tremity of
need.

Of Gods gracious aid in extrem perils toward them that put their trust in him, all Scripture is full both of old and new. What dangers were the Patriarchs oftentimes brought into, as *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, but of all other *Joseph*, and how mercifully were they delivered again? In what perils was *Moses* when he was fain to fly for the safeguard of his life? And when was he sent again to deliver the Israelites from the servile bondage? Not before they were brought into extrem misery. And when did the Lord mightily deliver his People from *Pharaoh* his Sword? Not before they were brought into such frights, that they were so compassed on every side (the main Sea on the one side, and the main Host on the other) that they could look for none other (yea, what did they indeed else look for?) but either to have been drowned in the Sea, or else to have fallen on the edge of *Pharaoh* his Sword. Those Judges, which wrought most wonderful things in the delivery of the people, were ever given when the people was brought to most misery before, as *Othniel*, *Ehud*, *Samgar*, *Gedeon*, *Jephthah*, *Sampson*. And so was *Saul* endued with strength and boldness from above, against the *Ammonites*, *Philistines*, and *Amalekites*, for the defence of the People of God. *David* likewise felt Gods help most sensibly ever in his extrem Persecutions. What shall I speak of the Prophets of God, whom God suffered to oft to be brought into extrem perils, and so mightily delivered them again; as *Helias*, *Jeremy*, *Daniel*, *Micheas*, and *Jonas*, and many other, whom it were but too long to rehearse and set out at large? And did the Lord use his Servants otherwise in the New Law after Christs Incarnation? Read the *Acts of the Apostles*, and you shall see no. Were not the Apostles cast into Prison, and brought out by the mighty hand of God? Did not the Angel deliver *Peter* out of the strong Prison, and bring him out by the Iron Gates of the City, and set him free? And when I pray you Even the same night before *Herod* appointed to have brought him to Judgment to have slain him, as he had a little before killed *James* the brother of *John*. *Paul* and *Silas*, when after they had been fore scourged, and were put into the inner Prison, and there were laid fast in the Stocks, I pray you what appearance was there that the Magistrates should be glad to come the next day themselves to them, to desire them to be content, and to depart in peace? Who provided for *Paul*, that he should be safely conducted out of all danger,

Examples of
Gods ready
help in ex-
trem pe-
rils.Examples of
Gods deli-
verance.

and brought to Felix the Emperours Deputy, when as both the High Priests, the Pharisees, and Rulers of the Jews had conspired to enquire judgment of Death against him, he being fast in Prison, and also more than forty men had sworn each one to another, that they would neither eat nor drink, until they had slain Paul? A thing wonderful, if it no reason could have invented, or man could have looked for: God provided Paul his own Sisters Sons young men, that disappointed that Conspiracy, and all their former Conjurament. The manner how the thing came to pass, thou shalt read in the Thirtieth and twentieth of the Acts. I will not be tedious unto thee with the rehearsal thereof.

Now to descend from the Apostles to the Martyrs that followed next in Christs Church, and in them likewise to declare how gracious our good God ever hath been to work wonderfully with them which in his cause have been in extremest perils, it were matter enough to write a long Book. I will here name but one man and one woman, that is, *Athanasius* the great Clerk and godly man stoutly standing in Christs Cause against the Arians, and that holy woman *Blandina*, standing so constantly in all extremest pains, in the simple Confession of Christ. If thou wilt have examples of more, look and thou shalt find them in the lives of many, and an hundred more, in *Ecclesiastical History* of *Eusebius*, and in *Tripartite History*.

But for all these Examples, both of holy Scripture, and of other Histories, I fear me the weak man of God, incumbered with the frailty and infirmity of the flesh, will have now and then such thoughts and quakings (as they call them) to run over his heart, and to think thus: All these things which are rehearsed out of the Scripture I believe to be true, and of the rest truly I do think well, and can believe them also to be true; but all these we must needs grant were special miracles of God, which now in our days are ceased, we see; and to require them at Gods hands, were it not to tempt God?

God worketh great miracles in our time, although every man doth not see them.

Wellbeloved Brothers, I grant such were great wonderful works of God, and we have not seen many of such miracles in our time, either for that our fight is not clear (for truly God worketh with his, his part in all times) or else because we have not the like faith of them for whose cause God wrought such things, or because after that he had set forth the truth of his Doctrine by such miracles then sufficiently, the time of so many miracles to be done was expired withal. Which of these is the most special cause of all other, or whether there be any other, God knoweth; I leave that to God. But know thou this, my wellbeloved in God, that Gods hand is as strong as ever it was, he may do what his gracious pleasure is, and he is as good and gracious as ever he was. Man changeth the Garment doth: But God our heavenly Father is even the same now that he was, and shall be for evermore.

The world without doubt (this I do believe, and therefore I say) draweth towards an end, and in all Ages God hath led his own manner, after his secret and unsearchable wisdom, to use his Elect, sometimes to deliver them, and to keep them safe, and sometimes to suffer them to drink of Christs cup, that is, to feel the smart, and to feel of the whip. And though the flesh smareth at the one, and feeleth ease in the other, is glad of the one, and forevexed in the other: yet the Lord is all one towards them in both, and loveth them no less when he suffereth them to be beaten, yea, and to be put to bodily death, than when he worketh wonders for their marvellous delivery. Nay, rather he doth more for them, when in anguish of the torments he smareth by them, and strengtheneth them in their faith, to suffer in the confession of the truth and his faith, the bitter pangs of death, than when he openeth the Prison door and letteth them go loose: for here he doth but respite them to another time, and leaveth them in danger to fall in like peril again; and there he maketh them perfect, to be without danger, pain, or peril, after that for evermore. But this his love towards them, howsoever the world doth judge of it, is all one, both when he delivereth, and when he suffereth them to be put to death. He loved as well Peter, and Paul, when (after they had, according to his blessed will, pleasure and providence, finished their courses, and done their services appointed them by him here in preaching of his Gospel) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified of the

The Lords love to his is always, than in prosperity.

cruel Tyrant Nero, as the Ecclesiastical History saith, as when he sent the Angel to bring Peter out of Prison, and for Pauls delivery he made all the doors of the Prison to fly wide open, and the foundation of the same, like an Earthquake, to tremble and shake.

Thinkest thou, O thou man of God, that Christ our Saviour had less affection to the first Martyr Stephen, because he suffered his Enemies even at the first conspired to stone him to death? No surely, nor James Johns brother, which was one of the three that Paul calleth Primitives or Principals amongst the Apostles of Christ. He loved him never a whit the worse than he did the other, although he suffered Herod the Tyrants sword to cut off his head. Nay, doth not Daniel say, speaking of the cruelty of Antichrists time, *Es deus in populo docuit plurimos, & ruerunt in gladio & in flamma, & in captivitate, & rapina dierum, &c. Es de crudelis venit ut confiteretur & dignetur, & dealbenetur, &c.* That is, and the Learned (he meaneth truly learned in Gods Law) shall teach many, and shall fall upon the sword, and in the flame (that is, shall be burned in the flaming fire) and in captivity (that is, shall be in prison, and be spoiled and robbed of the same goods for a long season.) And after a little in the same place of Daniel it followeth; and of the learned there be, which shall fall or be overthrown, that they may be known, tried, chosen, and made white; he meaneth, be bournished and scoured anew, picked and chosen, and made fresh and lusty. If that then was foreseen to be done to the godly learned, and for so gracious causes, let every one to whom any such thing by the will of God doth chance, be merry in God and rejoyce, for it is to Gods glory, and to his own everlasting wealth. Wherefore well is he that ever he was born, for whom thus graciously God hath provided, having grace of God, and strength of the Holy Ghost to stand stedfastly in the height of the storm. Happy is he that ever he was born, whom God his heavenly Father hath vouchsafed to appoint to glorify him, and to edifie his Church by the effusion of his blood.

To dye in Christs cause is an high honour, to the which no man certainly shall or can aspire, but to whom God vouchsafeth that dignity: for no man is allowed to presume to take unto himself any office of honour, but he which is thereunto called of God. Therefore John saith well, speaking of them which have obtained the victory by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his Testimony, that they loved not their lives, even unto death. And our Saviour Christ saith, *He that shall lose his life for my cause shall find it.* And this manner of speech pertaineth not to one kind of Christians (as the worldly doth wickedly dream) but to all that do truly pertain unto Christ. For when Christ had called unto him the Multitude together with his Disciples, he said unto them (mark that he said not this to the Disciples and Apostles only, but he said it to all) whosoever will follow me, let him forsake or deny himself, and take up his Cross and follow me: for whosoever will save his life, shall lose it; he meaneth whosoever will, to save his life, forsake or leave him and his truth) and whosoever shall lose his life for my cause and the Gospels sake, shall save it. For what shall it profit a man if he shall win the whole world, and lose his own soul, his own life? or what shall a man give to recompense that loss of his own life, and of his own soul? Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words (that is, to confess me and my Gospel) before this adulterous and sinful Generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy Angels. Know thou, O man of God, that all things are ordained for thy behoof, and to the furtherance of thee, towards thy salvation. All things, saith Paul, worketh with the good to goodness, even the Enemies of God, and such kind of punishments whereby they go about to destroy them, shall be forced by Gods power, might, and fatherly providence, to do them service.

It is not as the wicked thinketh, that Poverty, Adversity, Sickness, Tribulation, yea painful Death of the godly be tokens that God doth not love them, but even clean the contrary, as all the whole course of Scripture doth evidently declare: for then he would never have suffered his most dearly beloved, the Patriarchs to have had such troubles, his Prophets, his Apostles, his Martyrs, and

Anno 1555.

Dan. 11.

Dan. 11.

Martyrdom as high honour.

Apost. 12.

Mark 16.

Mark 8.

Anno 1555. and chief Champions and Maintainers of his Truth and Gospel, so cruelly of the wicked to have been murdered and slain. Of the which some were racked (as the Apostle saith) and would not be delivered, that they might receive a better Resurrection. Some were tried by mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover by bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were hewn and cut a-funder, they were tempted, they were slain with the sword, they wandered up and down in Sheepskins and Goatskins, being forsaken, afflicted, and tormented, such men as the world was not worthy to have, wandering in Wildernesses, in Mountains, in Dens and Caves of the Earth. All these were approved by the testimony of Faith, and received not the Promise, because God did provide better for us, that without us they should not be consummated. They tarry for us now undoubtedly, longing for the day: but they are commanded to have patience yet (saith the Lord) a little while, until the number of their Fellow-servants be fulfilled, and of their Brethren which are yet to be slain, as they were.

Now (thou O man of God) for our Lords sake, let us not for the love of this life, tarry then too long, and be occasion of delay of that glorious consummation, in hope and expectation whereof they departed in the Lord, and the which also the living indwelt with Gods Spirit, ought earnestly to desire and to groan for with all the Creatures of God. Let us all, with John the Servant of God, cry in our hearts unto our Saviour Christ, *Veni Domine Iesu, Come Lord Jesus, come.* For then when Christ, which is our life, shall be made manifest, and appear in glory, then shall the children of God appear what they be, even like unto Christ: for this our weak body shall be transfigured and made like unto Christs glorious body, and that by the power whereby he is able to subdue unto himself all things. Then, that which is now corruptible, shall then be made incorruptible: that which now is vile, shall be made glorious: that which is now weak, shall rise then mighty and strong; that which is gross and carnal, shall be made fine and spiritual: for then we shall see and have the unspeakable joy and fruition of the glorious Majesty of our Lord even as he is.

Who, or what then shall let us to jeopard, yea, to spend this life which we have here in Christs cause? in our Lord Gods cause? O thou therefore man of God, thou that art laden, and so letted like unto a great-bellied Woman, that thou canst not fly the plague, yet if thou lust after such things as I have spoken of, stand fast whatsoever shall befall, in thy Masters cause: and take this thy letting to fly, for a calling of God to fight in thy Master Christs cause. Of this be thou certain, they can do nothing unto thee, which thy Father is not aware of, or hath not foreseen before: they can do no more than it shall please him to suffer them to do for the furtherance of his glory, edifying of his Church, and thine own salvation. Let them then do what they shall, seeing to thee (O man of God) all things shall be forced to serve, and to work with thee unto the best before God. O be not afraid, and remember the end.

All this which I have spoken for the comfort of the lamentable case of the man whom Christ called great-bellied Woman, I mean to bespeak likewise to the captive and prisoner in Gods cause: for such I count to be as it were already summoned and pressed to fight under the Banner of the Cross of Christ, and as it were Souldiers allowed and taken up for the Lords Wars, to do their Lord and Master good and honourable service, and to stick to him, as men of trusty service in his cause, even unto death, and to think their life lost in his cause, is to win it in eternal glory for evermore.

Therefore, now to conclude and make an end of this Treatise, I lay unto all that love God our heavenly Father, that love Christ Jesus our Redeemer and Saviour; that love to follow the ways of the Holy Ghost which is our Comforter and Sanctifier of all; unto all that love Christs Spouse and Body, the true Catholick Church of Christ, yea, that love life and their own souls health; I lay unto all these, hearken my dear Brethren and Sisters, all you that be of God, of all sorts, ages, dignities, or degrees; hearken to the word of our Saviour Jesus Christ spoken to his Apostles, and meant to all his, in *S. Matthews* Gospel, Fear not them which kill the body, for they cannot

kill the soul; but fear him more which may destroy and cast both body and soul into Hell fire. Are not two small Sparrows sold for a mite, and one of them shall not fall or light upon the ground without your Father? All the hairs of your head be numbered. Fear them not, you are much more worth than are the little Sparrows. Every one that confesseth me before men, him shall I likewise confess before my Father which is in Heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, I shall deny him likewise before my Father which is in Heaven.

The Lord grant us therefore of his heavenly grace and strength, that here we may so confess him in this world as amongst this adulterous and sinful Generation, that he may confess us again at the latter day before his Father which is in Heaven, to our glory and everlasting comfort, joy, and salvation.

To our heavenly Father, to our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Ghost, be all glory and honour now and for ever, Amen.

Thus with the death and martyrdom of these two learned Pastors and constant Souldiers of Christ, Mr. Latimer and Bishop Ridley, you have divers of their Letters and other Writings of theirs expressed, with the Farewells also of Bishop Ridley, wherein he took his leave of the world, taking his Journey to the Kingdom of Heaven. Divers and sundry other Treatises of his remain also in my hand both in Latin and English, to be remembered by the leave of the Lord in time and place convenient.

The death and end of Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester.

The next Month after the burning of Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, which was the Month of November, Stephen Gardiner Bishop and Chancellor, a man hard of God and all good men, ended his wretched life. Concerning the qualities, nature, and disposition of which man, so far as somewhat hath been declared before in the story of King Edwards Reign, I shall need therefore the less now to stand greatly upon the same. First, This Vipers Bird crept out of the Town of Bury in Suffolke, was brought up most part of his youth in Cambridge; his Wit, Capacity, Memory, and other Endowments of Nature were not to be complained of, if he had well used and rightly applied the same; wherein there was no great want of Gods part in him, if he had not rather himself wanted to the goodness of his Gifts. Through this promptness, activity, and towardsness of his, he profited not a little in such Studies as he gave his head unto, as first in the Civil Law, then in Languages and such other like, especially in those Arts and Faculties which had any prospect to Dignity and Preferment to be hoped for. Besides other ornaments or helps of Nature, Memory chiefly seemed in him very beneficial, rather than diligence of Study.

To these gifts and qualities were joyned again his great or greater vices, which not so much followed him, as overtook him, not so much burdened him, as made him burdensome to the whole Realm. He was of a proud stomach, and high-minded, in his own opinion and conceit flattering himself too much; in wit, crafty and subtle, toward his Superiours flattering and fair spoken, to his Inferiours fierce, against his Equal stout and envious, namely, if in judgment and sentence he any thing withstood him, as appeared between the good L. Cromwel and him in the Reign of King Henry, being of like haughtiness of stomach as the Poets write of Pelides, *Odere vulgus*. Who, although he would give no place to men, yet notwithstanding I wish he would have given place to truth, according as he seemed not altogether ignorant of that truth. What his knowledge was therein, it is evident, partly you understand as well by his Book *De vera Obedientia*, as also by his Sermon before King Edward; also by his Answer to the Council the same time, and moreover by his own words it may be gathered in sundry places, as more plainly may appear by that which hereafter followeth.

Upon his Estimation and Fame he stood too too much, more than was meet for a man of his Coat and Calling, whose Profession was to be crucified unto the world, which thing made him so stiff in maintaining that he had once begun to take upon him. I will not here speak of that which hath been constantly reported to me touch-

Math. 10.

The death of Stephen Gardiner, touching to Gods Word.

The vices of Stephen Gardiner, as overtook him.

in the monstrous miking and misshaped fashion of his letters, the nails whereof were said not to be like to characters, but to crook downward, and to be sharp like the claws of ravenous Beasts. What his Learning was in the Civil and Canon Law I have not to say: Yet he was in other Liberal Sciences and Arts, this I suppose, that neither his continuance in study, nor diligence in reading was such (by reason of his too much labouring in Princes matters) as could truly well merit unto him the title of a deep learned man. But what leaving or cunning forever it was he had, so it fared in him, as it doth in Butchers, which use to blow up their flesh: or on so lie with boldness and stoutness, and specially with authority, made those gifts that he had to appear much greater than they were in very deed. Whereunto, his peradventure, also and experience abroad, brought no little helps, rather than either quickness of wit, or happiness of education.

And as touching Divinity, he was so variable, wavering with time, that no constant censure can be given what to make of him. If his doings and writings were according to his Conscience, no man can rightly say whether he was a right Protestant or Papist. If he wrote otherwise than he thought, for fear, or to bear with time, then was he a double deep dissembler before God and man, to say, and unsay, to write and unwite, to swear and forswear so as he did. For first in the beginning of Queen Anne's time, who was so forward or so buile in the matter of the Kings Divorce as Stephen Gardiner, who was first sent to Rome, and then to the Emperor with Edward Foxe, as chief Agent in the behalf of the Lady Anne? By whom also he was preferred to the Bishoprick of Winchester, and Edward Boner was preferred to the Bishoprick of London. Again, at the abolishing of the Pope, who so ready to swear, or so vehement to write against the Pope as he, as not only by his Sermons, but also by his Book *De Obedientia* may appear? In which Book *De Obedientia*, left any should think him drawn thereunto otherwise than by his own consent, he plainly declares, how not rashly nor upon a sudden, but upon a long deliberation and advertisement in himself about the matter, he at length uttered his judgment: Whereof read before. And moreover, so he uttered his judgment in writing against the usurped Supremacy of the Pope, that coming to *Leovene* afterward, he was there accounted for a person excommunicate and a Schismatick, inasmuch that he was not permitted in their Church to say Mass; and moreover, in their publick Sermons they openly cried out against him. Whereof read hereafter following.

And thus long continued he firm and forward, so that who but Winchester during all that time and reign of Queen Anne? After her decease that time by little and little carried him away, till at length the emulation of Cromwell's estate, and especially (as it seemeth) for his much favouring of Boner (whom Winchester at that time in no case could abide) made him an utter Enemy both against him, and also his Religion: till again in King Edwards day, she began a little to rebate from certain points of Popery, and somewhat to smell of the Gospel, as both by his Sermons before King Edward, as also by his subscribing to certain Articles, may appear: and this was an half turn of Stephen Gardiner from Popery again to the Gospel, and (no doubt) he would have further turned, had not the unluckey decay of the Duke of Somerset cleave turned him away from true Divinity, to plain Popery; wherein he continued a cruel Persecutor to his dying day.

And thus much concerning the Trade and Profession of Stephen Gardiner's Popish Divinity. In which his Popish Trade, whether he followed more true judgment, or else time, or rather the spirit of Ambition and Vain-glory, it is doubtful to say, and so much the more doubtful, because in his doings and writings a man may see him not only contrary to himself, but also in some points contrary to other Papists. And furthermore, where he agreeeth with them, he seemeth thereunto more to move, to follow his own sense, as the mind and meaning of *Perseus*; out of whose Book the great part of Winchester's Divinity seemeth to be borrowed.

And therefore as in the true knowledge of Gods holy Word and Scripture he appeareth no body; so in his pen and style of writing no less far is he from commendation, than he is from all plainness and perspicuity. In whole obscure and perplex kind of writing, although peradventure some sense may be found with some searching, yet shall no Reader find any sweetness in his reading.

What moved him to be so sturdy against Mr. Cheek, and Sir Thomas Smith, for the Greek pronunciation, others may think what they please: I speak but what I think, that so he did, for that he saw it a thing rather newly begun, than truly impugned. Such was the disposition of that man (as it seemeth) that of purpose he ever affected to seem to be a Patron of old Customs, though they were never so rotten with age. Amongst other matters, this one thing I cannot but marvel at in my mind, when I see how proudly he braggeth, and vainly vaunteth himself (as well in his Letters to the Lord Protector, and others of King Edwards Council, as also in his long matter articulated and exhibited by him unto the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other the Kings Commissioners) of the high favour he had of the noble King of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, when indeed nothing was less true; neither did the King less favour any of his Council, than him, affirming very often, that he greatly suspected the said Bishop to be a secret maintainer of the Bishop of Rome's usurped Authority, and a stout disturber and hinderer of his proceedings in reformation of Religion. And therefore he did so much dislike him, that he did not only mind (if the Lord had sent his Highness longer life) to have held the extremity of Law against him, upon very sore and just matter of old, committed by him (and yet not taken away by any pardon) commanding thereupon often the Lord Payer, then his Secretary, to keep safe certain writings which he had against him; but also commanded that he should be put clean out of his last Will and Testament, not suffering him either to be any of his Executors, or else in any case of his Sons Council, no, although he were earnestly intreated to the contrary by sundry of the Lords, and others of his Highnesses Council, saying, he was a wise, troublesome, and headstrong man, and not meet to be about his Son, or to have any thing to do by his will. Now amongst other causes that moved the King thus to suspect his fidelity towards his godly proceedings in Religion, I find this to be one. It pleased his Majesty after the abolishing of the Bishop of Rome's usurped Authority (amongst other Embassages to foreign Princes) to send the said Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Henry Knevet Knight, as joynt Ambassadors to the Emperour, being then at a Diet or Council at *Ratisbona*, appointing also Sir John Barkley, Sir William Blunt, Knights, and Mr. Andrew Bainton Esquire (his Highnesses Servants) to give their attendance upon the said Sir Henry Knevet, for the more honouring of his Embassage. It happened also at that time, that Sir Henry Knevet entertained into his service (as Steward of his Household) one William Wolfe, who had in the same place and room before served Sir Thomas Wyatt Knight, the Kings former Ambassador there, and by that means had good acquaintance in those parts, as well in the Emperours Court, as elsewhere. This Wolfe, towards the latter end of the Diet or Council, happened to walk (as often he did) towards the Emperours Palace to hear some news, where he met with one *Lodovico*, an Italian Merchant of Banker, one of his old acquaintance. Who, supposing the said Wolfe to have attended upon the Bishop of Winchester (not knowing of any other joynt Ambassador) required Wolfe for old acquaintance, to do him a pleasure; whereunto he willingly granted. Whereupon *Lodovico* shewed him, that the Popes Legate, or Ambassador to the Emperour (which was Cardinal *Cantarene*) departing the day before towards Rome, and having no leisure to end his business himself, had put the said *Lodovico* in trust for the accomplishing of them: and amongst all other things he had especially charged him that he should repair to the Ambassador of England, and require of him an answer of the Popes Letters, which the Legate did of late send unto him, addressed to him from Rome, and that upon the receipt thereof he should send them after with all

Worst of the
not to say
the clear of a
hard red man

The most
lively of the
cardinal in
Religion.

Tombing
the college
of Winchester
for at Leovene,
read the Letter
of Boner
no dissent

The first
turning of
Winchester
from the
Gospel, and
why?

Another
half turn
from Popery
to the Gospel
Winchester
turned to a
full Papist.

Winchester
never content
Barker
himself, nor
agreeing up
with other
Papists.

A great part
of Boner's
Popish Divinity
is to be
found in
Perseus

1555
Winchester
file copy
pleasant.

Anno
1555.

all speed; and therefore if his Lord Ambassadors would write by that Currier, he prayed *Wolfe* to tell him that it was time to write, for the Currier went away within a day or two. At this tale *Wolfe* being abashed, and yet partly ghesling which Ambassadors he meant, thought it not meet to tell him whose Servant he was, but by other soothing talk perceived that he meant the Bishop of Winchester. And to the end that *Ludovick* should suspect nothing, he answered him, that he being not the Ambassadors Secretary, could say little therein; howbeit he would not mis to put his Secretary in remembrance of it: which thing *Ludovick* also desired him to do, for that he had no other acquaintance with the Ambassadors, and so for that time they departed. This matter seeming to *Wolfe* of some importance, did straightways reveal it to Sir *Henry Knevet* his Master: Who weighing also the greatness of the case, and what disadvantage it were upon one mans so bare a report to attempt ought, in a place and time, whereby such a person was to be touched, charged *Wolfe* well to advise himself, that no affect of hate, displeasure, or other passion, did move him to disclose this, but truth only. *Wolfe* replied, That he weighed well the weightiness of the cause, meet, as to his own respect, to be passed over in silence, for avoiding of his private displeasure, if duty of Allegiance bound him not otherwise. But Sir (quoth he) if you think not my hearing thereof, one to one, to be sufficient, I warrant you to devise means, that some others of your Servants shall hear the like words at *Ludovicks* own mouth as well as I. Upon which talk Sir *Henry Knevet* devised which of his Servants he might use to that purpose, and at last rested upon Mr. *Thomas Chalenor* his Secretary, because he had the Italian Tongue. Not yet making him privy of any matter, but willed *Wolfe* to take him abroad with him as of his own private motion, for they were very familiar friends. Whereupon the next morning, being Sunday, *Wolfe* came to *Chalenor's* Chamber, and prayed him familiarly to go walk with him abroad to the Piazza, or Market-stead, which he gladly granting, so did, not knowing of any special cause why. When they came to the Piazza, over against the Emperours Palace, (near whereunto also the Popes Legate had lodged) and had there walked a while together, there came thither the said *Ludovick*, and espying *Wolfe*, saluted him very friendly, and entred into talk about the Exchange, and sundry other matters, *Chalenor* being still with them. At last upon occasion, they entred into like talk about the former Letters that the Ambassadors of England had received from Rome by the Popes Legate, of which *Ludovick* had in charge to receive an answer, affirming, that the Post did depart the next day, and therefore prayed *Wolfe* to put the Ambassadors Secretary in remembrance of them. Whereunto *Wolfe* answered, That he would willingly do it; but he did not well know which Ambassadors he meant, for that there were two: one, the Bishop of Winchester, and the other, a Gentleman of the Kings Privy Chamber. To whom *Ludovick* replied, that he meant not the Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, but the Bishop. By which talk, and much such like (as upon the former day) Mr. *Chalenor* being moved (and not knowing yet of his Masters and *Wolfe's* purpose) after the departure of *Ludovick* from them, said unto *Wolfe*, that *Ludovick* had had but homely talk with him, not to be passed over lightly, and therefore he would tell his Master of it. To whom *Wolfe* answered, Do as you will, if you think any matter therein. And therefore at his return home, he told Sir *Henry Knevet* what speech he had heard at *Ludovicks* mouth. Sir *Henry Knevet* being thus further assured of the matter, opened the whole to Sir *John Barksley*, Sir *William Blunt*, and to Mr. *Bainton*, who all agreed yet to make a further trial thereof. And therefore devised that *Wolfe* should procure *Ludovick* to bring certain Velvet, and other Silks, unto Sir *Henry Knevet's* Lodging, as well for himself, as for the other Gentlemen; which that Afternoon he did accomplish, and brought *Ludovick* unto Sir *Henry*, where also were the other Gentlemen: After they had a while viewed the Silks, and had some talk about the prices, *Wolfe* took occasion again to ask *Ludovick* if Sir *Henry* were the Ambassador of whom he was to demand an Answer of the Letters sent by the Popes Legate? To whom the Merchant

answered, No, it was not his Seigniori, but it was a Bishop, tearing him *Reverendissima*, whereby they easily perceived whom he meant. Sir *Henry Knevet* hereupon somewhat dissembling the matter, entred into further talk therabouts, whereby *Ludovick* opened as much in effect to them, as he had done before to *Wolfe*: but yet at last perceiving that as well Sir *Henry*, as also the other Gentlemen, did behold him somewhat firedly, he brake off his talk. Wherewith Sir *Henry Knevet*; making as though he had noted nothing; did lovingly dismiss him, praying him, that when he had received the Bishops Letters, he would also repair to him for a Packet to an English Gentleman of his acquaintance at *Mullen*; which he promised to do, and so departed again. When Sir *Henry* had thus made sufficient trial of this matter, he forthwith wrote his Letters unto the Kings Majesty, signifying unto him the whole at large, as he had learned. In the mean while *Ludovick* the next morning repaired unto the Bishop of Winchester's Lodging, to demand an answer of those Letters the Legate had sent unto him: but how he used himself, or whether he uttered the talk he had with Sir *Henry Knevet* and with *Wolfe*, whom he supposed at the first to be the Bishops man, it is not certainly known. But the Bishop perceiving that by mistaking one for another (and in supposing *Wolfe* to be the Bishops Servant) *Ludovick* had uttered all his Message from the Legate unto *Wolfe*, and that thereby his practices would come to light; in great hasty rage, caused *Ludovick* to be stayed in his own house, while in the mean time himself went to *Gravela*, one of the Emperours Council, and so practised with him, that *Ludovick* was secretly committed unto Prison, in the custody of one of the Emperours Marshals, so as he could be no more talked withal, all the time of their abode there. And then sending in great haste to Sir *Henry Knevet* to come and speak with him (which he did) he fell into very hot speech with him, saying, that he had poison in his dish, and that a Knave was suborned to be his destruction; with many such like words. Sir *Henry* told him again, how he understood it; and prayed him that *Ludovick* might be brought face to face, to be examined in both their Prefences. Which the Bishop would in no case agree unto, affirming, that he had so declared the case to *Gravela*, being indifferent (as he thought) to them both, that he would not meddle with *Ludovick*, nor speak with him: but that the Emperours Council should examine him, and try what he was, for him. To whom Sir *Henry Knevet* again very earnestly objected, That he marvelled that the Bishop, in matter touching the Kings Majesty, their Master, would use the aid or means of *Gravela*, a foreign Princes Minister, to make him privy of their question. But say and do what he could, he would never come to the speech of *Ludovick* any more ever after. Whereupon there rose great and long controversies between them (both writing Letters unto the King about that matter) until at last the Kings Majesty perceiving his Affairs otherwise to slack thereby, wrote unto them both that they should lay all those things under foot, and joyn together in his Service as before; which they did accordingly. But howsoever this matter was afterward salved here with the Kings Majesty, as either by the death of Sir *Henry Knevet* (which I think was not long after) or by other friends the Bishop had here at home, I know not: yet *Wolfe*, who within two months after died of a long cough of the Longues, upon his Death-bed did again affirm the Premises to be most true; and therefore in the presence of Sir *Henry Knevet*, and divers other of his Servants, he protested, that he had not invented, sought, or procured this at *Ludovicks* hands, for any malice or displeasure born to the Bishop, but only for discharge of his faith and duty unto the Kings Majesty, desiring that the same his Protestation might be inserted in the end of his last Will and Testament, which was then presently done, and thereunto he set his hand.

Now, whether this was the matter that the King moved so often Mr. Secretary *Paget* (being after Lord Keeper) to keep safe as fore matter against the Bishop, I know not; but yet it appears by some Depositions of the Nobility, and others, in the Process against him had in King *Edward's* days, that the Kings Majesty, *Henry 8.* had this matter even in his mind: for in every general

pardon that he granted by Parliament after this practice, he did still except all Treasons committed beyond the Seas, meaning thereby, as it was supposed, that the Bishop should not take any benefit by any general pardon, if at any time his Majesty would call him to account: and therefore all things well weighed, he had small cause to vaunt of his great favour he had with King Henry his Master. Howbeit, it seemeth he was brought into this fools Paradise by the Lord Poyer; who (as he himself reporteth in his Depositions) in his Messages from the King to the said Bishop, deluded him, telling him much otherwise than the King had spoken, and concealing always the Kings hard speeches against him, which thing puffed up this vain glorious *Threfo* not a little. All which premises appear more at large by the Depositions of the Nobles and others, examined in the long Process against him in King Edwards reign, as appears in our first Edition of *Acts and Monuments*, from page 804. unto the end of that Process, in that Book at large mentioned.

But whosoever he was, seeing he is now gone, I refer him to his judgement, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his Death, and manner thereof, I would they which were present there, would testify to us what they saw. This we have all to think, that his death happened so opportunely, that he had hath a mighty cause to give thanks to the Lord therefore: not so much for the great manner he had done in this world, as for his perverting his Princes, in bringing in the Mass, which murdering Gods Saints, in despising Christ, and his Religion, &c. but also and especially for that he had done, not to have brought to pass in murdering a good man. *Q. On what now is it did (no doubt) proceed from the bloody Bishop, who was the cause thereof. And if it be certain which we have heard, that her Highness being in the Tower, a Writ came down from certain of the Council, for her Execution, it is out of controversy, that wily Winchester was the only Deceiver and framer of that Engine, who (no doubt) in that one day had brought this whole Realm into woful ruin, had not the Lords most gracious Counsel, through Mr. Bridger, then the Lieutenant, coming in haste to the Queen, crushed her of the matter, and prevented *Adams* bloody devices. For the which, thanks be to the same our Lord and Saviour, in the Congregation of all English Churches, Amen.*

Of things uncertain, I must speak uncertainly, for lack of fuller information, or else peradventure they be in the Realm that can say more than here I have expressed. For as *Boner*, *Story*, *Thornton*, *Harpfield*, *Dunning*, with other, were occupied in putting the poor Branches of Gods Saints to death: so this Bishop for his part bent all his devices, and had spent all his powder in assailing the Root, and in casting such a Platform (as he himself in words at his death is said to confess) to build his Popery upon, as he thought should have stood for ever and a day. But (as I said before) of things uncertain I can speak but uncertainly. Wherefore as touching the manner and order of his death, how rich he died, what words he spake, what little repentance he shewed, whether he died with his tongue swollen and out of his mouth, as did *Thomas Cromwell*, Archbishop of Canterbury, or whether he flunk before he died, as Cardinal *Wolsey* did, or whether he died in despair, as *Latimus* and others did, &c. All this I refer either to their reports of whom I heard it, or leave it to the knowledge of them which know it better.

Notwithstanding, here by the way, touching the death of this forsaid Bishop, I thought not to over-pass a certain hear-say, which not long since came to me by information of a certain worthy and credible Gentlewoman, and another Gentleman of the same name and kindred, which *Mrs. Monday*, being the Wife of one Mr. *Monday*, a Secretary sometime to the old Lord *Thomas*, Duke of Northfolke, a present witness of this that is testified, thus openly reported in the house of a worshipful Citizen, bearing yet office in this City, in words and effect as followeth. The same day, when as Bishop *Ridley* and Mr. *Lattimer* suffered at *Oxford*, being about the 19. day of October, there came into the House of *Stephen Gardiner*, then a Deacon of *Northfolke*, with the foresaid Mr. *Monday* his Secretary above named, to register hereof. The old

aged Duke there waiting and tarrying for his Dinner, the Bishop being not yet disposed to dine, deferred the time to 3 or 4. of the Clock at Afternoon. At length, about 4. of the Clock cometh his Servant posting in all possible speed from *Oxford*, bringing intelligence to the Bp. what he had heard and seen: of whom the said Bishop diligently inquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man, that fire most certainly was set unto them, cometh out rejoicing to the Duke; Now, faith he, let us go to dinner. Whereupon, they being set down, meat immediately was brought, and the Bishop began merrily to eat. But what followed? The bloody Tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the sudden stroke of Gods terrible hand fell upon him in such sort, as immediately he was taken from the Table, and so brought to his Bed, where he continued the space of 15 days in such intolerable anguish and torments, that all that mean while, during the 15 days, he could not avoid by Urine, or otherwise, any thing that he received: whereby his body being miserably inflamed within (who had inflamed so many good Martyrs before) was brought to a wretched end. And thereof no doubt, as most like it is, came the thrusting out of his tongue from his mouth so swollen and black, with the inflammation of his body. A spectacle worthy to be noted and beheld of all such bloody burning Persecutors.

But to proceed further in the sequel of our story: I could name the man (but I abstain from names) who being then present, and a great doer about the said *Winchester*, reported to us concerning the said Bishop, that when Dr. *Day*, Bishop of *Gloucester*, came to him, and began to comfort him with words of Gods promise, and with the free Justification in the Blood of Christ our Saviour, repeating the Scriptures to him; *Winchester* hearing that, What may Lord (quoth he) will you open that Gap now? then farewell altogether. To me, and such other in my case, you may speak it, but open this Window to the People, then farewell altogether.

Moreover, what Dr. *Boner* then saw in him, or what he heard of him, and what words passed between them about the time of this extremity, betwixt him and him be it. If *Boner* did there behold any thing which might turn to his good example, I exhort him to take it, and to beware in time, as I pray God he may. Here I could bring in the frivolous Epitaph which was made of his death, devised of a Papist for a Popish Bishop: but I pretermitt it, and instead thereof I have here inferred certain gatherings out of his Sermons, Words, and Writings, wherein may appear first, what an earnest and vehement Enemy he was to the Pope, if he would have been constant in himself; then how inconstantly he varied from himself; and thirdly, how he standing upon a singularity of his own wit, varied also from other Papists in certain points. In the gathering whereof although there be some pains, and tediousness also in reading; yet I thought not to pretermitt the same, upon certain Considerations, namely, for that so many yet to this day there be, which stick so much to *Gardiners* wit, learning, and religion, taking him for such a doughty Pillar of the Popes Church. To the intent therefore, that such as hitherto have been deceived by him, may not longer be abused therein, if they will either credit his own Works, Words, Sermons, Writings, Disputations; or else will be judged by his own wimelles of his own party produced, we have here collected such manifest Probations, which may notoriously declare how effectually first he withstood the Popes Supremacy: and likewise afterward may declare manifest contrariety and repugnancy of the said *Gardiner*, first with other Writers, and lastly with himself: first beginning with his Sermon preached before *K. Edward*. The sum and effect of which Sermon briefly collected by Mr. *Udal*, hereunder followeth to be seen.

The sum and effect of the Sermon which Gardiner Bishop of Winchester preached before King Edward, Anno 1550.

Most honourable Audience, I purpose, by the grace of God, to declare some part of the Gospel that is of *St. Gervasius* customably used to be read in the Church at this day. And because that without the special grace of God, neither

Anno
1555.

Dr. Gardiner
especially
haunted for
the life of
the Lady
Elizabeth.

Q. Elizabeth
preferred.

Mr. Bridger
Lieutenant
of the Lords
Organ in fa-
vouring the
Lady *Elizabeth*
born h.c.

Thos. Arundel
Archbishop
of *Canterbury*.

The effect
of *St. Gervasius*
born Bp. of
Winchester
Sermon.

Anno 1555. can I speak any thing to your edifying, nor ye receive the same accordingly, I shall desire you all, that we may joyntly pray all together for the assistance of his Grace. In which Prayer I commend to Almighty God, your most excellent Majesty, our Sovereign Lord, King of England & France, and Ireland, next and immediately under God here on earth, the supreme Head, Queen Katharine Dowager, my Lady Marie's Grace, my Lady Elizabeth's Grace, your Majesties most dear Sisters, my Lord Protectors Grace, with all others of your most Honourable Council, the spirituality and temporality, and I shall desire you to commend unto God with your Prayer, the Souls departed unto God in Christs faith, and amongst these, most especially our late Sovereign Lord, King Henry the Eighth, your Majesties most Noble Father. For these and for Grace necessary, I shall desire you to say a *Pater noster*, and so forth.

Suprem
Head.

Math. 16.
Divers judg-
ments of
Christ.

The Gospel beginneth, *Cum venisset Iesus in partes Cesarea Philippi, &c.* When Iesus was come into the parts of *Cesarea* a City that *Philippus* builded, he asked his Disciples, and said; Whom do Men say that the Son of Man is? They said, Some say that thou art *John* the Baptist, some that thou art *Ely*, some that thou art *Jeremy*, or some one of the Prophets. He said to them, But whom say ye that I am? Then answered *Simon Peter*, and said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, &c. I cannot have time, I think, to speak of the Gospel thoroughly, for other matters that I have here now to say, but I shall note unto you such things as I may, and first of the diversity of opinions concerning Christ, which were among the People variable: but among this, that is, the Disciples of Christs School, there was no variety, they agreed all together in one truth, and among them there was no variety. For when *Peter* had for all the rest, and in the name of all the rest made his answer, that Christ was the Son of God, they all confessed with one consent, that he had spoken the truth. Yet these opinions of Christ that the people had of him, though they were sundry, yet were they honorable and not slanderous: for to say that Christ was *Ely*, and *John* the Baptist, was honorable. For some thought him so to be, because he did frankly, sharply, and openly rebuke vice. They that called him *Jeremy*, had also an honourable opinion of him, and thought him so to be, because of his great learning which they perceived in him, and marvelled where he had it. And they that said he was some of the Prophets, had an honourable opinion of him, and favoured him, and thought well of him.

Man can do
nothing of
himself.

Disagree-
ment among
Men of Law.

Disagree-
ment among
Philosophers.
Disagree-
ment among
simple people.

But there was another sort of people that spake evil of him, and slandered him, and raised on him, saying that he was a glutton, and a drinker of Wine, that he had a devil in him, that he was a deceiver of the people, that he was a Carpenter's Son, as though he were the worse for his Fathers craft. But of these he asked no question: for among these none agreed with the other. Wherein ye shall note that Man of his own power and strength can nothing do: no, nothing that good is he can do of his own invention or device, but erreth and faileth; when he is left to his own invention, he erreth in his imagination. So proud is Man, and so stout of his own courage, that he deviseth nothing well, whensoever he is left to himself without God; and then never do any such agree in any truth, and wander and err in all that they do. As Men of Law if they be asked their opinion in any point touching the Law, ye shall not have two of them agree in opinion; in any point touching the Law, ye shall not have two of them agree in opinion, one with the other. If there be two or three of them asked their opinion in any matter, if they should answer all one thing, they fear lest they should be supposed and thought to have no learning. Therefore be they never so many of them, they will not agree in their answers, but devise each Man a sundry answer in any thing that they are asked.

The Philosophers that were not of Christs School errered every one in their own opinions, and no one of them agreed with the other.

Yea, Men of simplicity, though they mean well, yet being out of Christs School, they agree not, but vary in their opinions. As these simple people here spoken of, because they were not perfect Disciples of Christs School, they varied and agreed not in their opinions of Christ,

though they thought well of him. Some said, he was *John*, some *Ely*, some *Jeremy*, but none made the right answer. He that answered here, was *Simon* the Son of *Jonas*, and he said; Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.

Where ye shall note the properties that were in *Peter*. He was called *Simon*, which is obedience, and *Jonas* is a fish obedient; so that in him that is of Christs School, must be these two properties, obedience and simplicity. He must be humble and innocent as a Dove, that will be of Christs School. Pride is a let of Christs School; for as the wilful man faith, God rethelth the proud, and giveth Grace to the humble and meek. And according to the same doth Christ in the Gospel say, Oh Father, I confess unto thee, that I, I laud and magnific thee; for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise, and hast opened them unto the little ones. Whereupon faith Saint *Augustine*, that the gifts of learning and knowledge of Sciences are no let to Christs School, but a furtherance thereunto, if they be well applied and used as they ought to be: but he that is proud, and feedeth himself with his own conceit and opinion of himself, and abuseth the gifts of God, applying his learning and knowledge to the satisfying and following of his own fantasies, is no right Disciple of Christ, but falleth into error. *Dicentes se sapientes esse, &ulti facti sunt*: When they said and affirmed themselves to be wise, they were made fools.

The Philosophers had every one a sect of his own, and had many gay sentences for the commendation of their opinions, and every Man thought his own opinion to be best: but because they applied all to their own pride and glory, and not to the honour of God, nor humbled themselves as they ought to have done, but followed their own fantasies, they errered, and fell out of the way, and were not of Christs School: and all that have gone out of Christs School, pride hath brought them out of it, and such as have not errered, have kept themselves out of it with pride likewise: therefore all such as will be Scholars of Christs School and Disciples, must be humble and meek; otherwise, *Dicentes se sapientes esse, &ulti facti sunt*.

He that cannot learn this lesson of *Peter*, and humbly confess with *Peter*, that Christ is the Son of the living God, is no Scholar of Christs School, be he otherwise never so well learned, never so well seen in other sciences. But now concerning the answer of *Peter*, *Matthew* here in this place faith he answered, *Tu es Christus filius Dei vivis*. Saint *Luke* faith he answered, *Tu es Christus Dei*. And Saint *Mark* faith he answered, *Tu es Christus*. But in all that is no variety: for to say *Christus filius Dei vivis*, and to say *Christus Dei*, and to say *Christus*, is in effect all one, and no diversity in it, for *Christus* alone is the whole, and he that confesseth thoroughly Christ, is thoroughly a Christian Man, and doth therein confess him to be the Lord and Saviour of the World. But now we must consider what Christ is. Christ was sent to be our Messias, our Saviour: he was sent to be our Bishop and also our Sacrifice: he was sent from the Trinity to be our Mediator between God and us, and to reconcile us to the favour of God the Father, he was the Bishop that offered for our Sins, and the Sacrifice that was offered; and as he is our Bishop, so is he our mean to pacify God for us, for that was the office of a Bishop, to sacrifice for the Sins of the people, and to make intercession for the people; and as he was our Sacrifice, so was he our reconciliation to God again.

But we must confess and believe him thoroughly I say: for as he was our Bishop then, so is he that still keepeth us in favour with God: and like as his Sacrifice then made was sufficient as to deliver us from our Sins, and to bring us in favour with God, so to continue us in the same favour of God, he ordained a perpetual remembrance of himself, he ordained himself for a memory of himself at his last Supper, when he instituted the Sacrament of the Altar, not for another redemption, as though the World needed a new redemption from sin, but that we might thoroughly remember his most holy passion, he instituted the Sacrament by his most holy Word, saying: This is my Body, which word is sufficient to prove the Sacrament, and maketh sufficiently for the substance thereof. And this daily Sacrifice he instituted to be continued among Christian Men, not for need of another redemption or satisfaction for the Sins of the World, for that was sufficiently performed by the Sacrifice of his Body and Blood done upon the Cross; neither

Simon Egri-
tis is a fish obedi-
ent: Jonas
figured
Dive.

Obedience,
simplicity.

Learning
without hu-
mility, con-
ceit, modest
Christs
School.

Humility
force of
Christs
School.

The office of
Christ de-
clared.

To believe
Christ thor-
owly.
None here
was
Winchester.
The Sacra-
ment was
ordained to
keep us in
the perpetu-
al favour of
God.

Winchester
daily Sacra-
ment.

that

that he is now our Bishop for need of any further Sacrifice to be made for sin, but to (a) continue us in the remembrance of his passion suffered for us, to make us strong in believing the fruit of his passion, to make us diligent in thanksgiving for the benefit of his passion, to establish our Faith, and to make it strong in acknowledging the efficacy of his Death and Passion suffered for us. And this is the true understanding of the Mass, not for another redemption, but that we may be strong in believing the benefits of Christ's Death and Blood-shedding for us upon the Cross. And this it is that we must believe of Christ, and believe it thoroughly: and therefore by your patience, as Peter made his confession, so will I make confession, wherein by your Majesties leave and sufferance, I will plainly declare what I think of the state of the Church of England at this day, how I like it, and what I think of it.

Where I laid of the Mass, that it was a Sacrifice offered to make us the more strong in the faith and remembrance of Christ's passion, and for commending unto God the Souls of such as be dead in Christ (for these two things are the special causes why the Mass was instituted) the Parliament very well ordained Mass to be kept; and because we should be the more strong in the Faith and Devotion towards God; it was well done of the Parliament, for moving the people more and more to devotion, to ordain that the Sacrament should be received in both kinds: Therefore I say that the Act of Parliament for receiving of the Sacrament of the Altar in both kinds, was well made.

I say also, that the Proclamation which was made, That no Man should unreverently speak of the Sacrament, or otherwise speak of it than Scripture teacheth them, was well made. For this Proclamation stoppeth the Mouths of all such as will unreverently speak of the Sacrament for in Scripture there is nothing to be found that maketh any thing against the Sacrament, but all maketh with it. Wherefore if they were the Children of obedience, they would not use any unreverend talk against the Sacrament, nor Blaspheme the Holy Sacrament. For no word of the Scripture maketh any thing against it.

But here it may be said unto me, Why Sir: is this your opinion? It is good you speak plainly in this matter, and halt nothing, but declare your mind plainly, without any colouring or covert speaking. The Act for the dissolving and suppressing of the Chauntries seemeth to make against the Mass, how like you that Act? What say you of it? or what would you say of it, if you were alone? I will speak what I think of it, I will use no colourable or covert words, I will not use a devised speech for a time, and afterward (b) go from it again. If Chauntries were abused by applying the Mass for the satisfaction of sin, or to bring Men to Heaven, or to take away sin, or to make Men of wicked just, I like the Act well, and they might well be dissolved, for the Mass was not instituted for any such purpose: yet nevertheless for them that were in them (I speak now, as in the cause of the poor) it were well done that they were provided of livings. The Act doth graciously provide for them during their lives, and I doubt not but that your Majesty, and the Lords of your most Honorable Council have willed and taken order, that they should be well looked unto; but yet how they shall be used at the hands of under officers, God knoweth; full hardly, I fear. But as for the Chauntries themselves, if there were any such (c) abuse in them concerning the Mass, it is no matter if they be taken away.

King Henry the Eighth, a Noble and Wise Prince, not without great pain maintained the Mass, and yet in his Doctrine it was confessed that Masses of *Scala Calvi* were not to be used, nor allowed, because they did pervert the right use and institution of the Mass. For when Men add unto the Mass an opinion of Satisfaction, or of a new redemption, then do they put it to another use than it was ordained for. That allow Mass so well, and I that allow praying for the dead as indeed the dead are of Christian Charity to be prayed for yet can agree with the Realm in that matter of putting down Chauntries.

But yet ye would say unto me, There be fewer Masses by putting away the Chauntries. So were there when Abbeyes were dissolved: So be there when ye unite many

Churches in one. But this is no injury nor prejudice to the Mass; it consisteth not in the number nor in the multitude, but in the thing it self: so that the decay of the Mass by taking away the Chauntries, is answered by the Abbeyes. But yet I would have it considered for the persons that are in them. I speak of the poor Mens livings.

I have now declared what I think of the Act of Parliament made for the receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in both kinds. Ye have my mind and opinion concerning a Proclamation that came forth for the same Act, and I have shewed my mind therein even plainly as I think, and I have ever been agreeable to this point, I have oftentimes reasoned in it, I have spoken and also written in it, both beyond the Seas, and on this side the Seas; my Books be abroad, which I cannot unwrite again. I was ever of this opinion, that it might be received in both kinds, and it was a constitution Provincial, scarce two hundred years ago, made by *Peckam*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that it should be received in both kinds, or at leastwise in *Eccelesius majoribus*, that is, in the great Churches, for in the smaller Churches it was not thought to be so expedient. Thus have I ever thought of this matter, I have never been of other mind, nor have I changed my Confession, but I have obeyed and followed the order of the Realm, and I pray you to obey orders as I have obeyed, that we may all be the Children of obedience.

Now I will return to the Text. When *Simon* had answered, *Tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi*; Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God: Then Christ said unto him, Blessed art thou *Simon Barionah*, for Flesh and Blood have not opened unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven, and I say unto thee, that thou art *Peter*, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. Blessed art thou (faith he) for Flesh and Blood have not opened unto thee. For otherwise in *John*, *Andrew* told of Christ, and said, I have found the Messias, which is Christ. But that is not enough. He that shall confess Christ, must have an inward teaching, and must be spiritually taught by the Father of Heaven, for *Andrew*'s Confession was nothing but a carnal Confession, and such a one as any other might have made by Natural Reason: but the Confession of *Peter* was above reason of Man: for Christ was there a very Man, and *Peter*'s Eyes told him that he was a Man, and nothing else; but he was inwardly taught by the Father of Heaven, and had a secret knowledge given him from Heaven, not by Flesh and Blood, that is to say, by Mans reason, but inwardly by the Father of Heaven: and seeing this was above reason, it is a marvellous thing that reason should be used to impugn faith, which is not within the precinct of carnal Men, and such as use grois reason.

But *Peter* had another reason inwardly taught him, and because he could his lesson, Christ gave him a new name: for *Petra* is a stone, a new name of a Christian Man, for upon this Confession of thy Faith, here I will build my Church, that is, I will stablish all those which I intend to gather unto thee; *Et Demones non prevalebunt adversus eam*, that is, and the Devils shall not prevail against it: for he that with a good Heart, and pure Faith confesseth this, he is sure from all evil: this World nor Satan can do him no harm.

But now for a farther Declaration, it is a marvellous thing, that upon these words the Bishop of *Rome*, should found his Supremacy: for whether it be *super Petram*, or *petram*, *Petrum*, all is one matter, it maketh nothing at all for the purpose to make a foundation of any such Supremacy. For otherwise (when *Peter* spake carnally to Christ as in the same Chapter a little following) Satan was his name, where Christ said, go after me Satan, more than: so that the name of *Peter* is no Foundation for the Supremacy, but as it is said in Scripture *fundatus est super fundamentum Apostolorum & Prophetarum*, that is, the Head of things by participation (for Godly participation giveth names as *River* of things) he might be called the Head of the Church, as the Head of the River is called the Head, because he was the first that made this Confession of Christ, which is not an Argument for dignity, but for the quality that was in the Man. For the first Man is not

(a) Note here
Winchester
allowing to
be said, for
before he
first the Sa-
crament was
ordained to
keep us in
the remem-
brance of
God, and
now he saith
it is to keep
us in re-
membrance
of his passion.

What Win-
chester shew-
eth on the
Church of
England.

What Win-
chester shew-
eth of the
Mass.

Winchester
alloweth the
Sacrament
in both
kinds.

The opinion
of Win-
chester of
Chaunties.

(1) Whether
ye did or
not, let Q.
Mans time
judge.
Note Win-
chester doth
not allow
Mass for sa-
tisfaction to
bring Men
nearer to
take away
sin, or to
make Men
just, &c.

(c) As there
was indeed
Masses of
Scala Calvi.
Winchester
craveth a-
gainst the
abus of the
Mass, not a-
gainst the
Mass.

Winchester
saith
Chaunties
are to be
put down.

Anno
1555.

Winchester
alloweth the
Protestant
on the first
for receiv-
ing in both
kinds.

It was a con-
stitution
provincial of
Voices
to receive
in both
kinds, in
England, in
France, in
Italy, in
Spain, in
Portugal, in
the Indies, in
all Churches
it was thought
not to be ex-
pedient.

Math. 16.

John 1:
Ourward
confessing
without
ward teach-
ing is not
enough.

Peter what
is signifi-
cant.
Note what
Winchester
here saith,
That upon
Christ's Con-
fession of *Peter*
the Church
is builded.

Peter what
is signifi-
cant.
Note what
Winchester
here saith,
That upon
Christ's Con-
fession of *Peter*
the Church
is builded.

evci-

Anno evermore the best. The Head-man of a Quest is not always the best Man in the Quest, but is chosen to be the Head-Man for some other quality that is in him. Virtue may allure Men, so that the inferior person in dignity may be the better in place, as the King sometime chooseth a mean Man to be of his Council, of whom he hath a good opinion, yet is the King the King still. And in some case the King of England might send to Rome, and if the Bishop of Rome were a Man of such Wisdom, Vertue and Learning, that he were able in matter of controversie concerning Religion, to set an unity in the Church of England, the King might well enough send to him for his Counsel and help, and yet should not in so doing give the Bishop of Rome any superiority over the King. For if a King be sick, he will have the best Physician; if he have war, he will have the best Captain; and yet are not these the superiors, but the inferiors.

To a Person A Schoolmaster is a Subject, a Physician is a Subject, a Captain is a Subject, Counsellors are Subjects, yet do these order and direct the King. Wherefore leaving the Bishop of Rome, this I say to declare of what opinion I am of. I do not now speak what I could say. I have spoken beyond the Seas, I have written, my Books be broad. But this is not the place here. I say that this place maketh nothing for the Bishop of Rome, but for Christ only, for none can put *Aliud fundamentum nisi id quod possumus esse, qui est Christus Jesus*.

Winches But now to go forth declaring my mind; in my time had come many alterations. First a great alteration it was to renounce the Bishop of Rome's authority, and I was one that stood in it. A great alteration it was that Abbeyes were dissolved. A great alteration it was that Images were pulled down: and to all these I confounded, and yet have I been counted a maintainer of superstition, and have been called a Master of Ceremonies and of outward things, and I have bin noted to take that Religion which consisteth in outward things, as though he were a right Christian that fulfilled the outward Ceremonies, whereof I promised to declare my Conscience, and so will I, and how I have esteemed Ceremonies, and that I have never been of other opinion than I am concerning Ceremonies, and mine opinion I have gathered of *Augustine*, and *Jerome*, ancient fathers and Doctors of the Church.

Ceremonies Ceremonies serve to move Men to serve God, and as long as they be used for that purpose, they may be well used in the Church: but when Man maketh himself servant to them, and not them to serve him, then be our Ceremonies brought to an abuse. If by over much familiarity of them Men abuse them, they do evil. For we must not serve Creatures, but *Deo*. We had Monks, Nunnery, Friery, of a wondrous number, much variety of garments, variety of devices in dwelling, many sundry orders and fashions in moving of the Body. These things were first ordained to admonish them of their duty to God, to labour for the necessity of the poor, and to spare from their own bellies to the poor; and therefore was their fare ordained and prepared. And because they abused these things, and set them in an higher place than they ought to do, not taking monition thereby the better to serve God, but esteeming perfection to consist in them, they were dissolved, their Houses and Garments were taken away.

Vow of chastity But one thing King Henry would not take away, that was the vow of Chastity. The vow of Obedience he converted to himself, the vow of Chastity he willeth still to remain with them.

W. who We had many Images whereto Pilgrimages were done, and many Tombs that Men used to visit, by reason whereof they fell in a fancy of Idolatry and superstition, above the things that they might have been taken for, because they had not the use that they were ordained for, they were left. When Men put the Images in a higher place than they served for, then were they taken clean away: as give a Child a gay Book to learn upon, and then if he gaze upon the gorgeousness of his Book, and learn not his lesson, according to the intent that that Book was given for, the Book is taken away from him again: So the Images, when Men devised and fell to have them in higher place and estimation than they were

first set up in the Church for, then they might be taken away: and I was never of other mind, nor ever had other opinion of them. Divers things that be in the Church which be in the liberty of the Ruler, or as he will, he may cause; and he that is Ruler, may either let them stand, or else may cause them to be taken away.

There be two manner of reformations. We have had two manner of reformations in the Church, the which if they be abused, may not be taken away. As I say, if it be abused, there may not another thing be put in the place of it, but the thing must be reformed, and brought to the right use again. Allso Preaching, if it be abused, may not be taken away, but must be reformed, and brought to the right use: but there be other things used in the Church, in which the Rulers have liberty either to reform them or to take them away. And because it was an easier way to take them away, than to bring them to the right use that they were ordained for, they were all clean taken away, way all and so they might be. Ye say, will ye say, but ye have maintained and defended them, and have Preached against such persons as despised them. It is truth I have Preached against the despisers of them, and have said, that Images might be suffered and used in the Church as Lay-Mens Books, yet I never otherwise defended them, but to be used for such purpose as they were first set up in the Church for; but now that men be waxed wanton, they are clean taken away, wherein our Religion is no more touched, that when Books were taken away for abusing of them.

There was an order taken for Books not to be used, wherein some might have said, the Books are good, and I know how to use them, I may therefore use them well enough. I will therefore use them though they be forbidden: But if thou have any charity, thou oughtest to be contented rather to have them clean taken away, than to declare thy self to have another opinion then thou oughtest to have.

As touching Ceremonies, I esteem them all as Paul esteemeth them, things indifferent, where he saith, *Regnum Dei non est esca & potus*. So of Ceremonies. Nevertheless we have time, place, and number, as a certain number of Psalms to be said at times, which may be done without superstition; but these things must serve us, and not we serve them. Yet if an order be set in them by such as have power, we must follow it, and we must obey the rulers that appoint such time, place, and number to be kept. Ye may not say, if the time will serve me, then I will come an hour after. No sir, ye must keep this time, and this hour, because it is so appointed by the Rulers, not for the things, but for the order that is set. I have been ever of this opinion.

We had Palms and Candles taken away, which things may indifferently have either of the two Reformations above said. When they were in place, they should have put Men in remembrance of their duty and devotion towards God, but because they were abused, they were and might be taken away. But the Religion of Christ is not in these exercises, and therefore in taking away of them the Religion of Christ is nothing touched nor hindered. But Men must in such things be comfortable, not for the Ceremony, but for obedience sake. Saint Paul saith, that we should rebuke every Brother that walketh inordinately. I have told you mine Opinion, and my Conscience telleth me that I have spoken plainly, that ye may know what I am, and that ye may not be deceived in me, nor be slandered in me, nor make any further search to know my heart.

I like well the Communion, because it provoketh Men more and more to devotion. I like well the Proclamation, because it stoppeth the Mouths of all such as have recently speak or rail against the Sacrament. I like well the rest of the Kings Majesties proceedings concerning the Sacrament. I have now told you what I like. But shall I speak nothing of that I mislike? ye will then say I speak not. I will therefore shew you my Conscience plainly.

I mislike those Preachers which Preach by the Kings Licence, and those Readers which by the Kings Permission and sufferance do read open Lectures, do openly and Blasphemously talk against the Mass, and against the Sacrament. And to whom may I liken such Readers and Preachers? I may liken them unto Poets, for the Prophet saith, that Poets do bear truth in their words.

Letters

Letters, and lies in their mouths : and so do they, and to speak for against the Sacrament, it is the most marvelous matter that ever I saw or heard of. I would wish therefore that there were a lay and an order in this behalf, and that there might be but one order or rule ; for as the Poet saith, (I may use the Verse of a Poet well enough, for so doth Paul of the great Poet)

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυμεταμενέειν, εἰς καθάρσιν ἔστιν.

And let no man of his own head begin matters, nor go before the King. They call it going before the King, and such make themselves Kings. Well, what misliketh me else ?

Ep. Gardiner misliketh the breaking of a vow of Chastity.

It misliketh me that Priests, and men that vowed chastity, should openly marry, and avow it openly : which is a thing that since the beginning of the Church hath not been seen at any time, that men that have been admitted to any Ecclesiastical Administration should marry. We read of married Priests, that is to say, of married men chosen to be Priests and Ministers in the Church. And in *Epiphanius* we read, that some such for necessity were winked at. But that men being Priests already should marry, was never yet seen in Christs Church from the beginning of the Apostles time. I have written in it, and flouted for it ; and the very same places that are therein alleged to maintain the marriage of Priests, being diligently read, shall plainly confound them that maintain your Priests to marry, or at the farthest within two lines after.

Ep. Gardiner against marriage of Priests.

Thus have I shewed my opinion in order, proceeding from the Inferiours, and in order proceeding from the higher Powers. And thus I have (as I trust) plainly declared my self, without any covering or counterfeiting. And I beseech your most excellent Majesty to effect and take me as I am, and not to be slandered in me ; for I have told you the plain truth as it is, and I have opened my Conscience unto you. I have not played the Poet with you, to carry truth in my Letters, and lies in my Mouth : for I would not for all the world make a lye in this place ; but I have disclosed the plain truth as it lieth in my mind. And thus I commit your most excellent Majesty, and all your most honourable Counsellors, with the rest of the devout audience here present, unto God. To whom be all honour, laud, and glory, world without end.

Ep. Gardiner agreeing to reformation of Religion, how fast, and whereto.

Thus having comprised the sum and chief purpose of his Sermon, with other such matter above storied, wherein may appear the double-fac'd doings of this Bishop in matters of Religion : now for the more fortification of that which hath been said, if any shall deny this foresaid Sermon, or any part thereof to be true, to confirm therefore the same, we will here adjoyn certain brief notes and specialties in manner of a summary Table, collected as well out of the Testimonies and Depositions of his own Friends and Servants, and other which were sworn truly to declare their knowledge in this behalf, as also out of his own Writings and Works agreeing with the same. In all which foresaid Allegations it may remain notorious and famous to all men, how, in what points, and how far the said Bishop of Winchester agreed with the Reformation of Religion received, not only in King *Henries*, but also in King *Edwards* days.

And because it would be long, and a double labour to repeat all the words and testimonial sayings of every witness particularly, the same being expressed sufficiently in our first impression before ; it shall therefore suffice by quotations briefly to assign the place to the Reader, where he may find all those Points of Reformation, whereunto the said Bishop Gardiner fully agreed with the Doctrine now received, and first in withstanding the Popes Supremacy, as is hereunder noted.

Places by R. Gardiner Books and Sermons expressed, where he impugneth the Popes Supremacy.

The Popes Supremacy impugned by Bishop Gardiner.

First, as touching the Confession and Judgment of *Stephen Gardiner* against the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, read in his Book *De vera Obedientia*, fol. 6.

Item, Concerning the Disputations and Defensions of Bishop Gardiner at *Lovane*, against the Popes Supremacy,

cy, read in our first Impression, page 802. also in this present Volume.

Item, How the said Bishop Gardiner, in his Sermons and Preachings, as where he expoundeth the place (*Tu es Petrus*) nothing at all to make for the Authority of the Romish Bishop, marveling how the Pope could usurp so much to take up that place to build upon, when Christ had taken it up before to build his Church, read in the old Book, page 845. col. 1. p. 847. col. 1. p. 846. col. 1. and the Depositions of Dr. Redman, p. 853. col. 1.

Item, How the Confession of Peter was the Confession of all the Apostles, like as the Blessing given to Peter pertained as well to all the Apostles as to Peter, read *ibid.* page 847. col. 1.

Item, That the place, *Pasce oves meas*, was not special to Peter alone, but general to all the Apostles. Also that the Greek Church did never receive the said Bishop of Rome for their Universal Head, read in the same Book, p. 847. col. 1. p. 836. col. 2.

Item, That the Authority of the Bishop of Rome was not received of the most part of Christian Princes, read the Depositions of Sir Thomas Smith, page 827. col. 2.

Item, How the said Bishop Gardiner would not grant that the said Authority was received generally. *ibid.* p. 827. col. 2.

Item, That the Church was builded upon Christs Faith, and not upon Peter, read the Depositions of Robert Willenton, p. 836. col. 2.

And though Peter was called *Princeps Apostolorum*, The Head-man of the Church, that was nothing else, but like as it is in an Enquest, where the Fore-man, or Head-man is not so called, because he is best or chiefest of that Company, but because he speaketh first, read in the Deposition of Mr. Bassett, p. 850. col. 2. p. 836. col. 2.

Item, That when the Keys were given, they were given generally to all the Apostles, read the Depositions of Robert Willenton, p. 836. col. 2.

Item, How the said Bishop taketh away all such Scriptures which are thought to serve for the Popes Supremacy, as *Super hanc Petram, Pasce oves meas, Princeps Apostolorum*, &c. proving that they serve nothing for his Authority, read likewise in the same Book in the Depositions of Mr. Bassett, his own Servant, p. 850. col. 2.

Item, How the said Bishop in his Book *De vera Obedientia*, did not only write against the Popes Supremacy, but also did defend the same at *Lovane*, p. 802. And moreover, in his Sermons did alledge and preach the same, p. 874. col. 2. and that also *vehemently*, p. 850. col. 2. l. 50. *Publicly*, p. 846. col. 1. l. 31.

Earnestly, p. 843. col. 1. l. 75.

Very earnestly, p. 843. col. 1. l. 44.

Very forwardly, p. 827. col. 2. l. 82.

And not only did so vehemently, pithily, earnestly and forwardly preach himself against the Popes Supremacy, but also did cause Mr. *White*, then Schoolmaster, after Bishop of Winchester, to make certain Verses extolling the Kings Supremacy against the usurped Power of the Pope, encouraging also his Scholars to do the like, read the Depositions of John White, Schoolmaster of Winchester, p. 845. col. 2.

Item, How he for the space of fourteen years together preached against the Popes Supremacy in divers Sermons, and especially in one Sermon before King Henry, read the Depositions of John Poringe, p. 844. col. 1. l. 1.

Places noted wherein Bishop Gardiner impugned Ceremonies, Monks, Images, Chauntries, &c.

Item, For Ceremonies and Images which were abused, to be taken away by Publick Authority, he did well allow it, as a Child to have his Book taken from him, when he abuseth it, or delighteth only in the golden Cover. Read in the foresaid old Book the Depositions of Christopher Malton, p. 846. col. 2. p. 849. col. 2. p. 841. col. 1.

Item, The Dissolving of Monasteries and Religious Houses, he alloweth and granteth that they were justly suppressed. Read the Depositions of Dr. Wilson, p. 845. col. 1. p. 837. col. 1. p. 851. col. 1.

Anno

1555.

Read in the first Impression of Acts and Monuments.

The Head-man of the Church.

Winchester vehemently, Earnestly, forwardly against the Pope.

Winchester 14 years preached against the Popes Authority.

Winchester against Ceremonies.

yet w^h himself, as Doctor *Kialty* in certain Treatises hath noted well of him: wherein as in a glass may be seen the manifest contrariety and repugnance in him, not only from the truth of Gods Blessed Word, but also how the said Bishop standing so much in singularity by himself, neither agreeth with other his fellow writers of his own faction, nor yet fully accordeth with himself in certain cases of the Sacrament, as the forecited

12. *Winch.* faith, that of the figure it may not be said, Adore it, worship it; and that it is not to be adored which the Bodily Eye seeth, p. 202, l. 38. p. 272. l. 6. *Marc. Anton.* fol. 175. fac. 2. D. *ceter populus non adorare quod vident oculis corporis.* *Smith* faith contrary, fol. 145. fac. 2.

Simpli citate
sermo-
nis sequen-
tur, &c.
id. fol. 171.

A Mouse
may eat
Christ's Body,
saith the
Master of
sentences,
A Mouse
cannot eat
it, saith
Wicle, &c.
Within him,
that is, with-
in his Soul.

13. *Winch.* faith, that reason will agree with the Doctrine of Transubstantiation well enough. *pag. 30. l. 12.* Confutation. *Smith* faith, that Transubstantiation is against reason, and natural operation, *fol. 60.*

14. Other say, that worms in the Sacrament be generated of accidents. *Ex specibus Sacramentalibus generantur vermes. Thom. par. 9. 67. art. 5. Winch.* faith, that they be wrong born in hand to say *fol. 400. l. 1.* Confutation.

15. *Winchester* faith, that the accidents of Bread and Wine do mould, fowre, and wax vinegar, *p. 300. l. 24. and p. 400. l. 6.* Confutation, & *Marc. Ant. object.* 73. But he answered so confusedly, that the Reader cannot understand him, be he never so attentive. *Smith* faith; Thus I say, that the Consecrated Wine turneth not into Vinegar, nor the Consecrated Bread Mouldeth, nor ingendeth worms, nor is burned, nor receiveth into it any poyson, as long as Christs Body and Blood are under the forms of them, which do abide there so long as the natural qualities and properties of Bread and Wine tarry there in their natural disposition and condition, and the Bread and Wine might be naturally there, if they had not been changed into Christs Body and Blood, and also as long as the host and Consecrated Wine are apt to be received of Man, and no longer, but go and depart through by Gods power as it pleaseth him; and then a new substance is made of God, which turneth into Vinegar, ingendeth Worms, Mouldeth, is burned, feedeth Rats and Mice, receiveth poyson, &c. *fol. 64. and fol. 105.*

16. *Winchester* faith, every yea containeth a nay in it naturally: So as whosoever faith, this is Bread, faith it is no Wine. For in the rule of Common Reason, the grant of one substance is the denial of another. And therefore reason hath these conclusions thorowly; whatsoever is Bread is no Wine; whatsoever is Wine is no Milk, and so forth. So Christ saying; This is my Body, faith it is no Bread, *p. 291. lin. 22. and page 300. lin. 17.* *Smith* faith, that a Boy which hath only Learned Sophistry, will not dispute so fondly *fol. 77.*

17. Other say, that the Mass is a Sacrifice Satisfactory by the devotion of the Priest, and of them for whom it is offered, and not by the thing that is offered, *Tho. par. 3. 9. 79. art. 5. Winchester* faith otherwise, *p. 2. l. 5.* Confutation.

18. *Winch.* faith, that the only immolation of Christ in himself upon the Altar of the Cross, is the very satisfaction Sacrifice for the Reconciliation of Mankind unto the Favour of God, *p. 437. l. 31.* *Smith* faith, what is it to offer Christs Body and Blood at Mass, to purchase thereby Everlasting Life, if the Mass be not a Sacrifice to pacify Gods Wrath from Sin, and to obtain his Mercy? *fol. 24. 148. 164.* where he faith further, Priests do offer for our Salvation, to get Heaven, and to avoid Hell.

Matters wherein the Bishop of Winchester varieth from himself.

¹ Proposition. The Body of Christ in the Sacrament is not made of Bread, but is made present of Bread *pag. 89. l. 9. &c. and pag. 228. lin. 44.* Confutation against *Cranmer.* Of Bread is made the Body of Christ, *pag. 388. lin. 42.*

² Proposition. The Catholick Faith hath from the beginning confessed truly Christs intent, to make Bread his Body, *pag. 29. l. 2.* Confutation.

And of many Breads is made one Body of Christ, *pag. 167. l. 2.* Confutation.

And Faith sheweth me, that Bread is the Body of Christ, that is to say, made the Body of Christ, *pag. 333. l. 23. 25.* Confutation.

Christ gave that he made of Bread, *pag. 292. lin. 34.* Christ spake plainly; This is my Body, making demonstration of the Bread, when he said, This is my Body. In the Devils Sophistry, *27.*

The Demonstration (*ibid*) may be referred to the invisible substance, *p. 120. l. 41.* Confutation.

The Verb (*u*) is of the Body and of his Blood, and not of the Bread and Wine, *pag. 284. line 43.*

Illu. verbu (Hoc est corpus meum) substantia corporis significatur, nec de pane quicquam intelligitur,

quando corpus de substantia sua non aliena praedictur. Anno 1555. ³ Proposition. Mar. Anton. *fol. 24. sec. 2.* When Christ said; This is my Body, the truth of the literal sense hath an absurdity in carnal reason, *pag. 157. l. 34.* Confutation.

What can be more evidently spoken of the presence of Christs Natural Body and Blood in the most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, than is in these words; This is my Body? In the Devils Sophistry, *fol. 51.*

Where the Body of Christ is, there is whole Christ, God and Man, and when we speak of Christs Body; we must understand a true Body, which hath both form and quantity, *p. 81. l. 5. Mar. Ant. object. 77. Smith, fol. 105.*

And he is present in the Sacrament, as he is in Heaven, *p. 161. l. 4. &c.* Confutation.

We believe simply the substance of Christs Body to be in the Sacrament, without drawing away of the accidents, or adding, *p. 397. l. 41.* Confutation.

Christ is not present in the Sacrament after the manner of quantity, but under the form and quantities of Bread and Wine, *p. 81. l. 89. and pag. 101. l. 22.*

In such as receive the Sacrament worthily, Christ dwelleth corporally, and naturally, and carnally, *pag. 190. line 7. pag. 197. line 27. pag. 217. line 10.*

The manner of Christs being in the Sacrament is not corporal, not carnal, not natural, not sensible, not perceptible, but only spiritual, *pag. 181. line 18, &c. and line 25. pag. 223. line 21.* Confutation.

We receive Christ in the Sacrament of his Flesh and Blood, if we receive him worthily, *pag. 190. line 7. pag. 197. line 27.* Confutation.

When an unrepentant Sinner receiveth the Sacrament, he hath not Christs Body within him, *pag. 256. l. 18.* Confutation.

He that eateth verily the Flesh of Christ, is by nature in Christ, and Christ is naturally in him, *pag. 18. l. 51.* Confutation.

An evil Man in the Sacrament receiveth indeed Christs very Body, *pag. 18. l. 24. 25.*

Evil Men eat verily the Flesh of Christ, *p. 261. l. 24, 25, &c.* Confutation.

Christ giveth us to eat the same Flesh that he took of the Virgin Mary, *pag. 274. l. 25.*

We receive not in the Sacrament Christs Flesh that was Crucified, *pag. 276. line 1.* Confutation.

Saint Augustines rule in his Book *De Doctrina Christiana*, pertaineth not to Christs Supper, *pag. 132. l. 40.*

S. Augustines meane of the Sacrament, *ibid* and *pag. 10. l. 44.* Confutation.

Reason in the place of service (as being inferior to Faith) will agree with the Faith of Transubstantiation well enough, *pag. 300. l. 12.* Confutation.

And as reason received into Faith service doth not strive with Transubstantiation, but agreeth well with it; so Mens Senses be not such direct adversaries to Transubstantiation, as a matter whereof they cannot skill; for the senses cannot skill of substances, *pag. 307. l. 1. &c.*

Thine eyes fail there is but Bread and Wine, thy tast faith the same, thy feeling and smelling agree fully with them. Hereunto is added the carnal Mans understanding, which because it taketh the beginning of the Senses, proceedeth in reasoning sensually. In the Devils Sophistry, *fol. 6.*

The Church hath not forborn to Preach the truth, to the Confusion of Mans Senses and understanding, *fol. 85.*

It is called Bread, because of the outward visible matter, *pag. 327. line.*

When it is called Bread, it is meant Christ the spiritual Bread, *pag. 320. line 41.*

And the Catholick Faith teacheth, that the fraction is in the outward sign, and not in the Body of Christ, *p. 165. l. 1. and p. 392. l. 47. and in the Devils Sophistry, fol. 17.*

That which is broken is the Body of Christ, *pag. 392. l. 49.*

The inward nature of the Bread is the substance, *pag. 323. l. 14.*

Substance signifieth in *Theodoret* (he faith) the outward nature, *pag. 404. l. 40.*

The Substances of Bread and Wine be visible Creatures, *p. 322. l. 30. and 323. l. 32.*

Anno 1555. Accidents be the visible natures, and visible elements, page 406. l. 16. and 25. &c.

Contradi- Christ is our Satisfaction wholly and fully, and hath tion. paid our whole debt to God the Father for the appeasing of his wrath against us, p. 92. l. 6, 7.

Contradi- The act of the Priest, done according to Gods Com- tion. mandment, must needs be propitiatory, and ought to be trusted on, to have a propitiatory effect, page 437 l. 13.

11. Propo- The Sacrifice of our Saviour Christ was never reite- sition. rare, p. 416. l. 18.

Contradi- Priests do sacrifice Christ, p. 431. l. 16. tion. And the Catholick Doctrine teacheth the daily Sacrifice to be the same in Essence, that was offered on the Cross, p. 439. l. 11.

The *Nestorians* granted both the Godhead and Man- hood always to be in Christ continually, page 348. l. 11, 12.

The *Nestorians* denied Christ, conceived God, or horn God, but that he was afterward God, as a man that is not born a Bishop, is after made a Bishop. So the *Nestorians* said, that the Godhead was an accession after merit, and that he was conceived only Man, p. 347. l. 47, 50, 51. and p. 148. l. 47.

26. Propo- Christ useth us as familiarly as he did his Apostles, sition. page 93. l. 21.

Contradi- Christ is not to be said conuerfant in Earth, p. 114. tion. l. 11, &c.

Certain things that Winchester granted unto.

Notes de- Christ declared eating of himself to signifie believing, claring wherein p. 29. *Lampentuli*. Confutation.

Christ must be spiritually in man, before he receive the Sacrament, or else he cannot receive the Sacrament worthily, p. 54. l. 44. p. 160. l. ultima, p. 169. l. 3. p. 105 l. 32.

How Christ is present, p. 69. l. 29, &c. p. 81. l. 12. p. 181. l. 26. p. 65. l. 17.

By Faith we know only the being present of Christs most precious Body, not the manner thereof, page 70. l. 15.

When we speak of Christs Body, we must understand a true Body, which hath both form and quantity, p. 81. l. 5. l. 35.

Although Christs Body have all those truths of form and quantity, yet it is not present after the manner of quantity, *ibidem*, l. 8, 9.

The demonstrative (*ibis*) may be referred to the invisible substance, p. 120. l. 42.

All the old Prayers and Ceremonies found, as though the people did communicate with the Priest, p. 165. l. 46.

The manner of Christs being in the Sacrament is not corporal nor carnal, nor natural, nor sensible, nor perceptible, but only spiritual, page 181. l. 19, &c. l. 25. p. 223. l. 21.

When the unrepentant sinner receiveth the Sacrament, he hath not Christs Body within him, page 236. l. 18.

We eat not Christ as he sitteth in Heaven reigning, p. 276. l. 18.

The word (*Transubstantiation*) was first spoken of in a General Council, where the Bishop of Rome was present, p. 284. l. 11.

In the Sacrifice of the Church, Christs death is not iterated, but a memory daily renewed of his death; so as Christs offering on the Cross once done and consummate, is now only remembered, p. 440. l. 40, &c.

To these notes and places of Dr. Ridley, let us also adjoin other twelve places or Articles of the like affinity, taken out of this Book called the examination of the proud Hunter, noted in the latter end of Dr. Turners second counseil. By these Articles it may appear how the Bishop sweareth no less from the found Truth of Christs Gospel than he did in the other, both from himself and also from other his fellow Brethren of his own Catholick Mother Church of Rome. The Articles in sum are these:

Twelve new found Articles of Stephen Gardiners Creed, taught in his Book called the Examination of the Hunter.

1. The Ceremonies and Traditions which the Bishop of Rome hath ordained, and are now allowed in England, are the Pale of the Church of England, fol. 7.

2. The Popes Ceremonies and Traditions are good and politick Laws, whereby God hath enclosed the Kings Subjects under his Majesty alone, *ibid*.

3. As King Richard, an evil man, made a good politick Law for the Body and Commonwealth of England, so can the Pope, an evil man, make good Laws and wholsom Doctrine for mans Soul, and Christs Church, fol. 23.

4. Whatsoever is good, spoken and used by man, is much more of God, than Christs Doctrine is his Fathers Doctrine, fol. 33.

5. He that saith, that the Law of the Gospel ought only to be holden in Christs Church, and is sufficient alone for it, speaketh so far out of reason, that he is not worthy to be reasoned withal, fol. 37.

6. They that hold, that the Cross of silver or gold ought not to be worshipped with kissing of it, and bowing and kneeling to it, are Enemies to Christs true Cross, and take away the means that might set out the glory of Christs Cross, fol. 49.

7. Neither Paul nor the Cross can be worshipped with goodly honour, fol. 61.

8. As Christ used Clay for an instrument to heal the blind mans eyes withal, and hath saved divers by Faith, and made it an instrument of salvation; and as God hath ordained Timothy to be an instrument of salvation both to himself, and for others; so may the Pope ordain holy Water to be an instrument of salvation, both of Body and Soul, to all them that are sprinkled with it, fol. 64.

9. No man can commit Idolatry with his Body alone; and in only kissing of an Image or Idol; and in only kneeling to it can no Idolatry be committed; fol. 52.

10. Forasmuch as God understandeth them that sing in Latin, though they understand not themselves, their Prayer is acceptable before God, fol. 76.

11. As a Father may forbid certain of his Children to marry; so may a King in his Kingdom forbid certain of his Subjects to marry; that is to say, all the Priests of this Realm, fol. 83.

12. He that would take away the Popes Ceremonies out of the Church, should drive away all godliness and seemliness, all religious and devout behaviour out of the Church, fol. 94.

Here hast thou (good Reader) this stout Prelate of Winchester, with all his prosperities, doings, and qualities, as in a certain Anatomy proportioned out unto thee, whereby thou maist boldly judge (and nothing err in thy Judgment) what is to be esteemed of him by his fruits, as who neither was true Protestant; nor right Papist; neither constant in his Error, nor yet steadfast in the Truth; neither friend to the Pope, and yet a perfect enemy to Christ: false in King Henries time, a dissembler in King Edwards time, double perjured, and a murderer, in Queen Marias time, mutable and inconsistent in all times. And finally, where in his Letter to the Lord Protector and others, usually he vaunteth so much of his late Sovereign Lord King Henry the Eighth; and of the great reputation that he was in with him, read, I beseech thee, and behold in the depositions of the Lord Payer, in the old Book, pag. 806. fol. 1. and also in the depositions of the Earl of Bedford, pag. 824. and there you shall see the King before his death, both excepting him out of his Pardons, and quite striking him out of his last Will and Testament, so detested and abhorred him as he did no English man more. And whereas the L. Payer being sent in message from the King to the Bishop, by other words than the Kings mind and will was, of his own dexterity gave to him good and gracious words, which indeed the King neither knew; nor yet were sent by him: the Bishop perfwading himself otherwise of

Alledged out of the Book of D. Turner, intituled, The reliques of the Romish Fox.

Overturned well compared with a noother.

Note here blasphemy: Winchester, pre- ferring the words spoken by man, before Christs Doctrine.

Christ never made Clay to be an instrument for salvation of mans Soul.

Even bold alike.

The Bishop of Winchester, manner of Ceremonies.

The Bishop of Worch. and of Salisbury pre- tending the favour of Henry towards him.

the Kings favour towards him, than it was indeed, was therein far deceived, and brought into a fools paradise; whereof read both in the old book before, and also in this present volume.

W. J. Roper
in the
heligion.

read in the
heligion.
p. 502.

To describe and paint out the unstable mutability of this Bishop aforesaid, albeit here need no more to be added besides that which is already declared: yet notwithstanding, seeing the matter is not long, it shall not be out of the way to annex with unto the premises, a piece of *Drianders* Letter written to one *Crispine* Phyitian in *Oxford*, sent from *Antwerp*, concerning the doings and behaviour of this Bishop of *Winchester*, whose story we have now in hand. The Copy of which *Drianders* Letter, written to the said *Crispine* his Friend, beginneth thus.

Dehissimo viro Edmundo Crispino, amico integerrimo Oxoniae.

ANte meam ex Lutetia protectionem, dedi literas ad te per Anglum illum communem amicum nostrum, &c.

The English whereof, as much as to the present purpose pertaineth, here followeth translated.

A letter of
Driander to
one Crispine
reporting
the doings
of the Bishop
of Winchester
at Le-
wase.

BEfore my departure from the City of *Paris*, I wrote unto you by our Friend the English-man, &c.

Now you shall be contented onely with the narration of your Bishop of *Winchester*, who (as appertained to the Ambassadour of so noble a Prince) came to *Louvaine* with a great bravery, and was there received at one *Jeremies* house, and most honourably entertained, where the Faculty of Divines, for honours sake, presented him Wine in the name of the whole Univerfity. But our famous Doctors, and learned Masters, for that they would more deeply search and understand the learning and excellency of the Prelate, perused and scanned a certain Oration made by him, and now extant, intituled *de vera Obedientia*, in the which his Oration he did impugn the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, and preferred his Lords and Kings Authority before the Holy Apostolick See (as they term it) which being read and considered by them, they did not onely repent them for giving him such honour, but also recanted that which they had done: and did not so much honour him aforesaid, but now they were as earnest and as spiteful against him. *Richard Lathomas*, Interpreter of terms, with the favourers of that fraternity, and other Champions of the falling Church, disputed with him concerning the Popes Supremacy. This Bishop stoutly defended his said Oration. The Divines contrary stiffly maintained their opinion, and divers times openly with exclamations, called the said Bishop an excommunicate person, and a Schismatick, to no little reproach and infamy of the *English* Nation. The Bishop not long after minding to say Mass in *Saint Peters* Church, they did deny unto him, as to an Excommunicate Person, the Ornaments and Vestments meet for the same; wherewith he being highly offended, suddenly halted his Journey from thence. The Dean the next day after made an eloquent Oration, wherein he openly disgraced and defamed him. You have heard now a true story, for our Doctor was a beholder of the whole Tragedy, &c.

R. Gardiner
defendeth
his book de
vera obedientia,
at Louane.
Winchester
coursed for
an excommu-
nicate per-
son, and a
Schismatick
at Louane.

And this now being sufficient for *Gardiners* story, to leave him to his Judges, and to let him go, we shall return and proceed (by the grace and leave of the Lord) as the course of these doleful days shall lead us, to prosecute the residue of Christs Martyrs, as now in order followeth.

The burning of John Webbe Gentleman, George Roper and Gregory Parke at Canterbury, as followeth.

NExt after the Death and constant Martyrdom of the two most worthy Champions and standard-bearers of Christs Army, Doctor *Nicholas Ridley*, and Master *Hugh Latimer*, (of whom ye have heard at large) followed three other stout and bold Souldiers, that is to say, *John Webbe* Gentleman, *George Roper*, and *Gregory Parke*.

November 30.
Mr. Webbe,
G. Roper,
G. Parke,
Martyrs.

This *John Webbe* was brought before the Bishop of *Dover*, and *Nicholas Harpsfield*, or some other deputed in their room, long before the other two, *Webbes* the 16 day of *September*, and there had propounded unto him such Ordinary Articles as (it kenecl) were commonly ministred by *Boner* to those of his Jurisdiction, and being willed for that present to depart, and to deliberate with himself upon the matter, against the next time of his appearance, he made answer that he would no otherwise say (by Gods grace) than he had already said, which was this: As touching the Sacrament of Christs Body, I do believe (quoth he) it to be left unto his Church (with thanksgiving in commemoration of his death and passion, until his coming again. So that it is left in remembrance of his Body, and not by the words of Consecration to be made his body, really, substantially, and the same body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*: I utterly deny that.

Anno
1555.

The appearance of Mr. Webbe before the Bishop of Dover.

Answer of Mr. Webbe to the Bishops Articles.

After this (besides sundry other times) the third day of *October*, the said *John Webbe*, and *George Roper*, and *Gregory Parke*, were brought all three together before the said Judges: who there and then agreeing, and steadfastly allowing the former answer made before by Master *Webbe*, were by the Bloody Prelates adjudged Hereticks, and therefore about the end of the same month of *October*, or else as I otherwise find, in the latter end of *November*, they together were taken and brought out of prison to the place of Martyrdom. Who by the way going towards the stake, said certain *Psalms* mournfully.

Roper was a younger man of a fresh colour, courage, and complexion, the other two were somewhat more elderly, all going in white linen, with their gowns upon *Roper*, at his coming to the stake putting off his gown, set a great leap. So soon as the flame was about him, the said *Roper* put out both his arms from his body like a Rood, and so stood steadfast, continuing in that manner, not plucking his arms in, till the fire had consumed them, and burnt them off.

George Roper
leapest at
the stake.
George Roper
stood in the
fire like a
Rood.

And thus these aforesaid Martyrs of Christs being brought (as I said) to the stake, and there compassed about with a chain, were burnt and consumed all three together in one fire at *Canterbury*, abiding most patiently their torments, and counting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for Christs Gospel sake.

The Martyrdom of Mr. Roper, and Parke at Canterbury.

William Wiseman.

THe 13. of *December* in the *Lollards Tower* died *William Wiseman*, a Clothworker of *London*, where he was in prison and bonds for the Gospel and Word of God: How, and whereupon he deceased, it is not fully certain. Some thought that either through famine, or ill handling of some murdering Papists, he was made away. By reason whereof the *Crowner*, named *John Gibbs*, Gentleman, with an Inquest of twelve men, were fain to fit upon him, who although to the outward appearance were fain to find nothing in him else but onely Gods visitation, yet what other privie causes there might be of his death, the Lord knoweth, I have not to say.

W. Wiseman
died in Loll.
Tower, and
cast into the
fields.

After the said *William* was departed (as is said) in the *Tower*, the Holy Catholick Church men cast him out into the fields, commanding that no man should bury him, according as their devout manner is to do with all such as die in like sort, whom they account as prophane, and worthy of no burial, but to be cast to Dogges and Birds, *indeus vulgum*, as the Pope saith. And yet all this their merciles commandment notwithstanding, some good *Tobies* there were, which buried him in the evening as commonly they did all the rest, thrown out in like sort, whom they were wont privily by night to cover, and many times the Archers in the Fields standing by, and singing together *Psalms* at their burial.

James Gore.

IN the same month, about the 7. day of *December*, deceased also *James Gore* in the prison at *Calchefer* laid there in bonds for the right and Truth of Gods Word.

James Gore,
Martyr, died
in Calchefer
prison.
The

Anno
1555.

The order and manner of burying in the fields such as die in prison, and namely, Will Wiseman.



The Process and History of Master John Philpot, examined, condemned, and martyred for the maintenance and defence of the Gospel Cause, against the Antichristian See of Rome.

NExt followeth the constant Martyrdom of Master John Philpot, of whom partly ye heard before in the beginning of Queen Mary's time, in prosecuting the disputation of the convocation-house. He was of a worshipful house, a Knights Son, born in Hampshire, brought up in the New Colledge in Oxford, where he studied the Civil Law the space of 6. or 7. years, besides the study of other liberal Arts, especially of the Tongues, wherein very forwardly he profited, namely, in the knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue, &c. In wit he was pregnant and happy, of a singular courage, in spirit fervent, in Religion zealous, and also well practised and exercised in the same (which is no small matter in a true Divine) of nature and condition plain and apt, far from all flattery, farther from all hypocrisy and deceitful dissimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations penned of his own hand can declare.

From Oxford, desirous to see other Countries as occasion served thereunto, he went over into Italy, and places thereabouts, where he coming upon a time from Venice to Padua, was in danger through a certain Franciscan Friar, accompanying him in his journey, who coming to Padua, sought to accuse him of Heresie. At length returning into England his Country again, as the time mislived more boldness to him in the days of King Edward, he had divers conflicts with Gardiner the Bishop in the City of Winchester, as appeareth by divers of Winchester Letters, and his Examinations. Whereof read before.

After that, having an advowson by the said Bishop, he was made there Archdeacon of Winchester, under Dr. Poinet, who then succeeded Gardiner in that Bishoprick. Thus during the time of King Edward, he continued to no small profit of those parts thereabout. When that blessed King was taken away and Mary his Sister came in place, whose study was wholly bent to alter the state of Religion in the world Realm of England, first she caused a Convocation of the Prelats and learned men to be congregated to the accomplishment of her desire.

In the which Convocation, Mr. Philpot being present according to his room an l degree, with a few other suf-

tained the cause of the Gospel manfully against the adversary part (as is above recited) for the which cause notwithstanding the liberty of the house promised before, he was called to account before Bishop Gardiner the Chancellor, then being his Ordinary, by whom he was first examined, although that Examination came not yet to our hands. From thence again he was removed to Boker and other Commissioners, with whom he had divers and sundry conflicts, as in his Examinations here following may appear.

The first Examination of Master John Philpot before the Queens Commissioners, Master Cholmley, Mr. Roper and Dr. Story, and one of the Scribes of the Arch-bishop, at Newgate Sessions-Hall, Octob. 2. 1555.

DOCTOR Story, before I was called into an inner Parlour where they fate, came out into the Hall where I was, to view me among other that there were, and passing by me said: Ha, Mr. Philpot, and in returning immediately again, staid against me, beholding me, and saying that I was well fed indeed.

Phil. If I be fat, and in good liking (Mr. Doctor) it is no marvel, since I have been stalled up in Prison this twelve months and a half, in a close corner. I am come to know your pleasure wherefore you have sent for me.

Story. We hear that thou art a suspect person, and of heretical Opinions, and therefore we have sent for thee.

Phil. I have been in Prison thus long, only upon the occasion of disputation made in the Convocation-house, and upon suspicion of setting forth the report thereof.

Story. If thou wilt revoke the same, and become an honest man, thou shalt be set at liberty, and do right well; or else thou shalt be committed to the Bishop of London. How saist thou, wilt thou revoke it or no?

Phil. I have already answered in this behalf to mine Ordinary.

Story. If thou answerest thus when thou comest before us anon, thou shalt hear more of our minds, and with that he went into the Parlour, and I within a little while after was called in.

The Scribe. Sir, what is your name?

Phil. My name is John Philpot. And so he intitled my name.

John Philpot
sent from
Gardiner to
Boker.

The first
examination
of M. Phil-
pot before
the Com-
missioners.
Dr. Story
words to
M. Philpot.

John Philpot
imprisoned
for the dis-
putation in
the Convoca-
tion-house.

John Philpot
Archdeacon
of Winchester.
This Dr.
Poinet, Bish.
of Winchester,
died shortly
afterwards
and there-
fore deceased.
In 1557.

Story. This Man was Archdeacon of *Winchester*, of *D. Poinets* presentment.

Philpot. I was Archdeacon indeed, but none of his presentment, but by vertue of a former Advowson, given by my Lord Chancellor that now is.

Story. Ye may be sure that my Lord Chancellor would not make any such as he is Archdeacon.

Roper. Come hither to me Mr. Philpot. We hear say that you are out of the Catholick Church, and have been a disturber of the same; out of the which whofo is, he cannot be the Child of salivation. Wherefore, if you will come into the same, you shall be received, and find favour.

Phil. I am come before your worshipful Masterships at your appointment, understanding that you are Magistrates authorized by the Queens Majesty, whom I own and will do my due obedience to the uttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, wherefore I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the Laws of this Realm, I desire your Masterships that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my long wrongful imprisonment, where I have lien this Twelve month and this half, without any calling to answer before now, and my living taken from me without all Law.

Roper. Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may by our Commission and by the Law drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you: and besides this, we have Statutes to charge you herein withal.

Phil. If I have offended any Statute, charge me therewithal, and if I have incurred the penalty thereof punish me accordingly. And because you are Magistrates and Executors of the Queens Majesties Laws, by force whereof you do now sit, I desire that if I be found no notorious Transgressor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I have done.

Cholmley. If the Justice do suspect a Felon, he may examine him upon suspicion thereof, and commit him to prison though there be no fault done.

Story. I perceive whereabouts this man goeth. He is plain in Cardmakers case, for he made the selfe same allegations. But they will not serve thee; for thou art an Heretick, and holdest against the blessed Maf: how faiest thou to that?

Phil. I am no Heretick.

Story. I will prove thee an Heretick. Whofoever hath holden against the blessed Maf: is an Heretick: but thou hast holden against the same, therefore thou art an Heretick.

Phil. That which I spake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the Convocation, where by the Queens Majesties will and her whole Council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his Confidence, and to say his mind freely of such questions in Religion, as there were propounded by the Prolocutor, for the which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now be compelled of you to answer to the same.

Story. Thou shalt go to the *Lollards Tower*, and be handled there like an Heretick as thou art, and answer to the same that thou there didst speak, and be judged by the Bishop of *London*.

Phil. I have already been convented of this matter before my Lord Chancellour mine Ordinary, who this long time hath kept me in Prison: therefore if his Lordship will take my life away, as he hath done my liberty and living, he may; the which I think he cannot do of his Confidence, and therefore hath let me lie thus long in Prison: wherefore I am content to abide the end of him herein that is mine Ordinary, and do refuse the authority of the Bishop of *London*, because he is an incompetent Judge for me, and not mine Ordinary.

Story. But Sir, thou spakest words in the Convocation-house, which is of the Bishop of *London* Diocess, and therefore thou shalt be carried to the *Lollards Tower*, to be judged by him for the words thou spakest in his Diocess against the blessed Maf:.

Phil. Sir, you know by the Law, that I may have *Exceptionem fori*: and it is against all equity, that I should

be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such as by Anno the Law have nothing to do with me.

Roper. You cannot deny, but that you spake against the Maf: in the Convocation-house.

Story. Dost thou deny that which thou spakest there, or no?

Phil. I cannot deny that I have spoken there, and if by the Law you may put me to death therefore, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be judged unto.

The Scribe. This man is fed of vain glory.

Cholm. Play the wife Gentleman and be conformable, and be not stubborn in your Opinions, neither cast your self away. I would be glad to do you good.

Philpot. I desire you, Sir, with the rest here that I be not charged further at your hands, than the Law chargeth me, for that I have done, since there was no Law directly against that wherewith I am now charged. And your Master Doctor (of old acquaintance in *Oxford*) I trust will shew me some friendship, and not extreme animity.

Story. I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good Catholick man, I would be thy Friend, and spend my Gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to an Heretick, as thou art, but will spend both my Gown and my Coats: but I will burn thee. How sayst thou to the Sacrament of the Altar?

Phil. Sir, I am not come now to dispute with your Masterhip, and the time now serveth not thereto, but to answer to that I may be lawfully charged withal.

Story. Well, since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had into the *Lollards Tower*.

Phil. Sir, since you will needs shew me this extremity, and charge me with my Confidence, I do desire to see your Commission, whether you have this authority to do, and after the view thereof I shall (according to my duty) make you further answer, if you may by the vertue thereof burthen me with my Confidence.

Roper. Let him see the Commission: is it here?

Story. Shall we let every vile person see our Commission?

Cholm. Let him go from whence he came, and on Thursday he shall see our Commission.

Story. No, let him lie in the mean while in the *Lollards Tower*; for I will sweep the *Kings Bench* and all other Prisons also of these Hereticks, they shall not have that resort as they have had, to scatter their Heretics.

Philpot. You have Power to transfer my Body from place to place at your pleasure; but you have no Power over my Soul. And I pass not whether you commit me, for I cannot be worse intreated than I am, kept all day in a close Chamber: wherefore it is no marvel that my flesh is put up, wherewithal Master Doctor is offended.

Story. Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday, and then we shall rid your fingers of him and afterward of your other Hereticks.

Phil. God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in the which he will judge us with righteousness, howsoever you judge of us now.

Roper. Be content to be ruled by M. Doctor, and shew your self a Catholick man.

Phil. Sir, if I should speak otherwise than my Confidence is, I should but dissemble with you: and why be you so earnest to have me shew my self a dissembler both to God and you, which I cannot do?

Roper. We do not require you to dissemble with us to be a Catholick man.

Phil. If I do stand in any thing against that, wherein any man is able to burthen me with one jot of the Scripture, I shall be content to be counted no Catholick man, or an Heretick, as you please.

Story. Have we Scripture, Scripture? and which that he rose up, saying: Who shall be judge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow *Woodman*, which the other day would have nothing else but Scripture. And this is the beginning of this Tragedy.

John Philpot lying in Prison a year and a half before he was called to his answer.

No particular matter against M. Philpot, but only suspicion.

The Major is not universally true, for in the time of K. Edm. he thus spake against the Maf: as M. Thomas did, by whose Laws, was no Heretick, but a perfect Christian.

I. Philpot appointed to his Ordinary by M. Philpot having published leave, spake in the Convocation. M. Roper, he must be committed to *Lollards Tower* by D. St. in Legalle.

1555.

Now consisteth in the Butchers Ass.

M. Philpot requests to see their Commission.

Bishop will not dissemble against his Confidence.

Anno
1555.

The second Examination of Mr. Philpot before the Queens Commissioners, Mr. Cholmley, Roper, D. Story, Dr. Cooke, and the Scribe, the 24. of October, 1555. at Newgate Sessions-Hall.

The second Examination of Mr. Philpot before the Commissioners.

AT my coming, a Man of Aldgate of mine acquaintance said unto me, God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for D. Story said, that my Lord Chancellor had commanded to do you away. After a little consultation had between them, M. Cholmley called me unto him, saying:

Cholm. Mr. Philpot shew your self a wife man, and be not stubborn in your own opinion, but be conformable to the Queens proceedings, and live, and you shall be well assured of great favour and reputation.

Phil. I shall do as it becometh a Christian man to do.

Story. This man is the rankest Heretick that hath been in all my Lord Chancellors Diocess, and hath done more hurt than any man else there: and therefore his pleasures, that he should have the Law to proceed against him, and I have spoken with my Lord herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the Bishop of London, and there to recant or else burn. He howled and wept in the Convocation-house, and made such ado as never man did, as all the Hereticks do when they lack Learning to answer. He shall go after his fellows. How fallest thou, wilt thou recant?

Phil. I know nothing I have done that I ought to recant.

Story. Well; then I pray you let us commit him to the Lollards-Tower, there to remain until he be further examined before the Bishop of London; for he is too fine fed in the Kings-Bench, and he hath too much favour there: For his Keeper said at the door yesterday, that he was the finest Fellow, and one of the best Learned in England; and with this he rose up and went his way.

Cook. This man hath most stoutly maintained Heresies since the Queens coming in, above any that I have heard of; therefore it is most meet he should be adjudged by the Bishop of London, for the Heresies he hath maintained.

Phil. I have maintained no Heresies.

Cook. No, have you not? Did you not openly speak against the Sacrament of the Altar in the Convocation-house? Call you that no Heresie? wilt thou recant that, or not?

Phil. It was the Queens Majesties pleasure that we should reason thereof, not by my seeking, but by other mens procuring, in the hearing of the Council.

Cook. Did the Queen give you leave to be an Heretick? you may be sure her Grace will not so do. Well, we will not dispute the matter with you; my Lord of London shall proceed by inquisition upon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou shalt be burned.

Phil. My Lord of London is not mine Ordinary in this behalf, and I have already answered unto mine Ordinary in this matter: and therefore (as I have said before) you shall do me great wrong, to vex me twice for one matter, since I have sustained this long Imprisonment, besides the loss of my living.

Roper. You were a very unmeet man to be an Archdeacon.

Phil. I know I was as meet a man as he that hath it now.

Cook. A meet man, quoth he? He troubled Mr. Roper and the whole Country.

Phil. There was never poor Archdeacon so handled at your hands as I am, and that without any just cause ye be able to lay unto me.

Cook. Thou art no Archdeacon.

Phil. I am Archdeacon still, although another be in possession of my Living; for I was never deprived by any Law.

Cook. No Sir, that needeth not: for a notorious Heretick should have no ordinary proceeding about his deprivation; but the Bishop may upon knowledge thereof proceed to deprivation.

Phil. Master Doctor, you know that the Common Law is otherwise; and besides this, the Statutes of this Realm be otherwise, which give this benefit to every

person, though he be an Heretick, to enjoy his Living until he be put to death for the same.

Cholm. No, there thou art deceived.

Philpot. Upon the living I pass not. But the unjust dealing grieveth me, that I should be thus troubled for my Conscience, contrary to all Law.

Cholmley. Why, will not you agree that the Queens Majesty may cause you to be examined of your Faith?

Phil. Ask you Master D. Cook, and he will tell you that the temporal Magistrates have nothing to do with matters of Faith, for determination thereof. And S. Ambrose saith *Divina Imperatoria Majestas non sunt subiecta*; That the things of God are not subject to the Power and Authority of Princes.

Cook. No? may not the temporal Power commit you to be examined of your Faith to the Bishop?

Phil. Yea Sir. I deny not that; but you will not grant that the same may examine any of their own Authority.

Cook. Let him be had away.

Phil. Your Mastership promised me the last time I was before you, I should see your Commission by what Authority you do call me, and whether I by the same be bound to answer to so much as you demand.

Roper. Let him see the Commission.

The Scribe. Then he exhibited it to Mr. Roper, and was about to open the same.

Cook. No, what will ye do? he shall not see it.

Phil. Then do you me wrong, to call me and vex me, not shewing your Authority in this behalf.

Cook. If we do you wrong, complain on us; and in the mean while thou shalt lie in the Lollards Tower.

Phil. Sir, I am a poor Gentleman; therefore I trust of your gentleness you will not commit me to so vile and straight a place, being found no haynous Trespasser.

Cook. Thou art no Gentleman.

Phil. Yes, that I am.

Cook. An Heretick is no Gentleman: for he is a Gentleman that hath gentle conditions.

Phil. The offence cannot take away the state of a Gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a Traytor: but I mean not to boast of my Gentlemanship, but will put it under my foot, since you do no more esteem it.

Story. What, will you suffer this Heretick to prate with you all this day?

Cook. He saith he is a Gentleman.

Story. A Gentleman, quoth he? he is a vile Heretick knave: for an Heretick is no Gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards Tower come in, and have him away.

The keeper. Here Sir.

Story. Take this man with you to the Lollards Tower, or else to the Bishops Cole-house.

Phil. Sir, if I were a Dog you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place: but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you Master Cholmley, shew me some friendship, that I be not carried to so vile a place. And he called me aside, and said:

Cholm. I am not skilful of their doings, neither of their Laws; I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good.

Phil. I am content to go whither you will have me. There was never man more cruelly handled than I am at your hands, that without just cause known should thus be entreated.

Story. Shall we suffer this Heretick thus to reprove us? have him hence.

Phil. God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and shew you more mercy in the time of need; *Et quod facis, fac citius, Do quickly that you have in hand.*

Story. Do you not hear how he maketh us Judases?

Phil. That is after your own understanding.

After this, I with four other more were brought to the Keepers House in Paternoster-Row, where we supped, and after supper I was called up to a Chamber by the Archdeacon of London's Servant, and that in his Masters name,

Whether an Heretick suspected may without order by process be deprived of his Living by his Ordinary before his death, and by what Law.

John Philpot signs requirith to see their Commission, and yet it could not be seen, and that also against the Law.

John Philpot commanded to Lollards Tower by D. Story.

Cholmley talketh with Mr. Philpot apart.

who offered me a Bed for that night. To whom I gave thanks, saying, That it should be a grief to me to lye well one night, and the next worse: wherefore I will begin (said I) as I am like to continue, to take such part as my fellows do. And with that we were brought through Paternoster-Row to my Lord of London's Cole-houfe;

unto the which is joynd a little blind Houfe, with a Anno great pair of Stocks, appointed both for hand and foot: but thanks be to God we have not played of those Organs yet, although some before us have tried them, and there we found a Minister of Essex, a married Priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor Man. And this

1555.
This godly
man was
The Whittle
whole story
followeth.

M. T. of
Lond. B.
Baker's Cole-
houfe.

Master Philpots being in the Cole-houfe, where he found Thomas Whittle Priest sitting in the Stocks.



Examples
what an un-
quiet Con-
science doth
Tear W. into
after his re-
conciliation
repenteth,
and care his
Subscription.

B. Bener
plucked away
a great pair
of Stocks
Benedict, and
made his
axe black
and blue.

Minister (at my coming) desired to speak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for that through extremity of Imprisonment he was constrained by writing to yield to the Bishop of London: whereupon he was once set at liberty, and afterward felt such a Hell in his Conscience, that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself, and never could be at quiet until he had gone unto the Bishops Register, desiring to see his Bill again, the which as soon as he had received, he tore it in pieces; and after he was as joyful as any man might be. Of the which when my Lord of London had understanding, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a Lion, and like a manly Bishop buffeted him well, so that he made his Face black and blew, and plucked away a great piece of his Beard: but now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the Cross as any of us, and very sorry of his former infirmity. I write this, because I would all men to take heed how they do contrary to their Conscience; which is, to fall into the pains of Hell. And here an end.

The manner of my calling first before the Bishop of London, the second Night of mine Imprisonment in his Cole-houfe.

The f. Rap-
porting of
I the pre-
are
the Bishop
Bener.
- my sent
- just.

The Bishop sent unto me Mr. Johnson his Register, with a mess of Meat, and a good Pot of Drink, and Bread, saying, That my Lord had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was sorry: therefore he had sent me and my Fellows that Meat, knowing whether I would receive the same.

I thanked God for my Lords Charity, that it pleased him to remember poor Prisoners, desiring Almighty God to increase the same in him and in all others; and therefore I would not refuse his Beneficence, and therewith took the same unto my Brethren, praising God for his Providence towards his afflicted Flock, that he stirred our Adversaries up to help the same in their necessity.

Johnson, My Lord would know the cause of your sending hither (for he knoweth nothing thereof) and wondered that he should be troubled with Prisoners of other Diocets, than his own.

Philpot. I declared unto him the whole cause. After the which he said, My Lords will was, that I should have any friendship I would desire, and so departed.

Within a while after, one of my Lords Gentlemen cometh for me. And I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a Table alone, with three or four of his Chaplains waiting upon him, and his Register.

Bener. Mr. Philpots, you are welcome; give me your hand.

Phil. With that, because he so gently put forth his hand, I to render courtesie for courtesie, kissed my hand and gave him the same.

Bener. I am right sorry for your trouble, and I promise you before it was within these two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cause of your sending hither; for I promise you I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would I you should think, that I was the cause thereof: and I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters; but I must be obedient to my Betters, and I fear men speak otherwise of me than I deserve.

Phil. I shewed him the sum of the matter; that it was for the disputation in the Convocation-houfe, for the which I was against all right molested.

Bener. I marvel that you should be troubled therefore, if there was none other cause but this. But peradventure you have maintained the same since, and some of your Friends of late have asked whether you do stand to the same, and you have said, Yea; and for this you might be committed to Prison.

Phil. If it shall please your Lordship, I am burthened none otherwise than I have told you, by the Commissioners, who sent me hither, because I would not recant the same.

Bener. A man may speak in the Parliament-houfe, though it be a place of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it, as in case he speak words of High-Treason against the King or Queen; and so it might be that you spake otherwise than it became you of the Church of Christ.

Phil.

B. Bener en-
terprising
M. Philpots.

B. Bener
made the
common
Inquisitor
English his
will.

Anno 1555. Phil. I spake nothing which was out of the Articles which were called in question, and agreed upon to be disputed by the whole House, and by the Queens permission and the Council.

Or else why were the Questions there propounded?

1 Pet. 5.

No man is bound to render account of his Faith privately, unless it be to edification.

Ambrosius ad Valentianum.

Our Ch. wrs.

The Faith promised by his God father was the Faith of Christ, after his Creed only.

And why then began you to baptize with him in the Sacrament of your Altars. Bishop Baser offended with John Philpot, singing in Prison.

Boner. Why, may we dispute of our Faith?

Phil. Yea that we may.

Boner. Nay, I trow not, by the Law.

Phil. Indeed by the Civil Law I know it is not lawful, but by Gods Law we may reason thereof. For St. Peter saith, *Be ye ready to render account unto all men of that hope which is in you, that demand you of the same.*

Bon. Indeed St. Peter saith so. Why, then I ask of you what your judgement is of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Phil. My Lord, S. Ambrose saith, that the disputation of Faith ought to be in the Congregation; in the hearing of the People, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edification. But now I cannot shew you my mind, but I must run upon the pikes in danger of my life therefore. Wherefore as the said Doctor said unto *Valentianum* the Emperor, *to say I to your Lordship; tolle legem & fiet certamen; Take away the Law, and I shall reason with you.* And yet if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the Law to answer, I trust I shall utter my Confidence as freely as any that hath come before you.

Bon. I perceive you are learned, I would have such as you be about me. But you must come and be of the Church; for there is but one Church.

Phil. God forbid I should be out of the Church, I am sure I am within the same: for I know as I am taught by the Scripture, that there is but one Catholic Church, *una Columba, una Sponsa, una Dilecta; one Dove, one Spouse, one beloved Congregation*, out of the which there is no salvation.

Bon. How chanceth it then, that you go out of the same, and walk not with us?

Phil. My Lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the Church whereupon she is builded, which is the Word of God.

Bon. What age are ye of?

Phil. I am four and forty.

Bon. You are not now of the same Faith your God-fathers and God-mothers promised for you, in the which you were baptized.

Phil. Yes, I thank God I am: for I was baptized into the Faith of Christ which I now hold.

Bon. How can that be? there is but one Faith.

Phil. I am assured of that by S. Paul, saying; *That there is but one God, one Faith, and one Baptism*, of the which I am.

Bon. You were twenty years ago of another Faith than you be now.

Phil. Indeed my Lord, to tell you plain I was then *nullius fidei, of no Faith*, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold.

Bon. Why, do you not think that we have now the true Faith?

Phil. I desire your Lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure that Gods Word thoroughly with the Primitive Church, and all the ancient Writers do agree with this Faith I am of.

Boner. Well, I promise you I mean you no more hurt, than to mine own person: I will not therefore burthen you with your Confidence as now; I marvel that you are so merry in Prison as you be, singing and rejoicing, as the Prophet saith, *Exultantes in robis pessimis*, Rejoicing in your naughtiness. Me thinketh you do not well herein; you should rather lament and be sorry.

Phil. my Lord, the mirth that we make is but in singing certain Psalms, according as we are commanded by S. Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, singing together, in Hymns and psalms: And I trust your Lordship cannot be displeased with that.

Boner. We may say unto you as Christ said in the Gospel, *Tibi cecimus vobis, & non placestis*.

Phil. Here my Lord stumbled, and could not bring forth the Text, and required his Chaplains to help, and to put him in remembrance of the Text better; but they were dumb: and I recited out the Text unto him, which made him wailing to his piteous, unless he would have unto

mourn, because they, if they laugh, sing still sorrowful things unto us, threatening fagots and fire.

We are my Lord, in a dark comfortless place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, left, as *Solomon* saith, sorrowfulness eat up our heart. Therefore I trust your Lordship will not be angry for our singing of Psalms, since St. Paul saith; *If any man be of an upright mind, let him sing.* And we therefore, to testify that we are of, an upright mind to God, (though we be in misery) do sing.

Bon. I will trouble you no further as now. If I can do you any good, I will be glad to do it for you. God be with you, good Mr. Philpot, and give you good night. Have him to the Cellar and let him drink a Cup of Wine.

Thus I departed, and by my Lords Register I was brought to his Cellar door, where I drank a good Cup of Wine. and my Lords Chaplain M. Cousins followed me, taking acquaintance, saying, that I was welcome, and wished that I would not be singular.

Phil. I am well taught the contrary by *Solomon*, saying, *Vae soli*, Wo be to him that is alone. After that I was carried to my Lords Cole-house again, where I with my six fellows do rout together in draw as cheerfully (we thank God) as others do in their beds of Down.

Thus for the third Fit.

The fourth Examination of Mr. Philpot in the Archdeacons House of London, the said month of October, before the Bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.

Boner. Mr. Philpot, it hath pleased my Lords to take pains here to days, to dine with my poor Archdeacons, and in the dinner time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here of many that knew you in the New Colledge in Oxford: and I also do pity your case, because you seem unto me by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned: and therefore now I have sent for you to come before them, that it might not be said hereafter, that I had to many learned Bishops at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to talk with you, and at my request (I thank them) they are content so to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you shall with all favour be satisfied. I am sorry to see you lie in so evil a case as you do, and would fain you should do better, as you may if you list.

Bathe. My Lords here have not sent for you to fawn upon you, but for Charities sake to exhort you to come into the right Catholick way of the Church.

Worce. Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the Truth.

Phil. With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my Prayer on this manner:

Almighty God, which art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (most miserable sinner in thy sight,) the Spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the consolation of the hearers, before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in any thing.

Bon. Nay, my Lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any Prayer. For this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in the which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant Heretics, of whom *Pliny* maketh mention, that did daily sing *Antelucanus Hymns*, Praise unto God before dawning of the day.

Phil. My Lord, God make me and all you here present such heretics as those were that sung those morning hymns: for they were right Christians, with whom the Tyrants of the World were offended for their well doing.

Bathe. Proceed to that he hath to say. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what.

Bon.

Another examination of 1774 before the Bishops.

And why do not you Bishops yourselves pray also for them that are out of the way?

The Prayer of J. Pinder before the Bishops.

Bishop Baser against Prayer. Bishop Baser here seemed much more skilful in his Law, than in Church history.

Ben. Say on Mr. Philpot; my Lords will gladly hear you.

Phil. I have, my Lords, been thistwelve month and a half in prison without any iust cause that I know, and my living taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from mine own Territory and Ordinary, into another mans jurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your Lordships can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be releafed of this wrongful trouble.

Boner. There is none here goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promise you, ye were sent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore speak your Confidence without any fear.

Phil. My Lord, I have learned to answer in matters of Religion, *In Ecclesia legitime vocatus*, in the Congregation being thereto lawfully called: but now I am not lawfully called, neither is here a just Congregation where I ought to answer.

Boner. Indeed this man told me the last time I spake with him, that he was a Lawyer, and would not utter his Confidence in matters of Faith, unless it were in the hearing of the People, where he might speak to vain-glory.

Phil. My Lord, I said not I was a Lawyer, neither do I arrogate to my self that name, although I was once a novice in the same, where I learned something for mine owne defence, when I am called in judgement to answer to any cause, and whereby I have been taught, not to put my self further in danger than I need, and so far am I Lawyer, and no further.

Bathe. If you will not answer to my Lords request, you seem to be a wilful man in your opinion.

Phil. My Lord of London is not mine Ordinary because whom I am bound to answer in this behalf, as Mr. D. Cole (which is a Lawyer) can well tell you by the Law. And I have not offended my Lord of London wherefore he should call me.

Bon. Yes, I have to lay to your charge, that you have offended in my Diocess by speaking against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar: and therefore I may call you, and proceed against you to punish you by the law.

Phil. I have not offended in your Diocess. For that which I spake of the Sacrament was in *Pauls Church* in the Convocation House, which (as I understand) is a peculiar jurisdiction belonging to the Dean of *Pauls*, and therefore is counted of your Lordships Diocess, but not in your Diocess.

Boner. Is not *Pauls Church* in my Diocess? Well I wot, it costeth me a good deal of money by the year, the leading thereof.

Phil. That may be, and yet be exempted from your Lordships Jurisdiction. And albeit I had so offended in your Diocess, yet I ought by the law to be sent to my Ordinary, if I require it, and not to be punished by you that are not mine Ordinary. And already (as I have told you) I have been convented of mine Ordinary for this cause, which you goe about to enquire of me.

Boner. How say you Mr. D. Cole, may not I proceed against him by the law, for that he hath done in my Diocess?

Cole. Me thinketh Mr. Philpot needeth not to stand so much with your Lordship in that point as he doth, since you seek not to hinder him, but to further him: therefore I thinke best that he go to the matter that is laid against him of the Convocation, and make no longer delay.

Phil. I would willingly shew my mind of the matter, but I am sure it will be laid against me to my prejudice when I come to judgement.

Cole. Why then you may speak by protestation.

Phil. But what shall my protestation avail in a cause of Heresie (as you call it) if I (speak otherwise than you will have me; since that which I spake in the Convocation House, being a place privileged, cannot now help me?

Boner. But Master D. Cole, may not I proceed against him for that offence he hath done in my Diocess?

Cole. You may call him before you, my Lord, if he be found in your Diocess.

Phil. But I have by force been brought out of mine owne Diocess to my Lords, and required to be judged of mine own Ordinary: and therefore I know Master Doctor will not say of his knowledge, that your Lordship ought to proceed against me. And here Master Dr. would say nothing.

Worc. Do you not think to find before my Lord here as good equity in your cause, as before your own Ordinary?

Phil. I cannot blame my Lord of Londons equity, with whom (I thank his Lordship) I have found more gentleness since I came, than of mine own Ordinary (I speak it for no flattery) this twelve month and this half before, who never would call me to answer, as his Lordship hath done now twice. *Sed nemo prohibetur uti jure suo* No man is forbid to use his own right due unto him; but I ought not to be forestalled of my right, and therefore I challenge the same for divers other considerations.

Bon. Now you cannot say hereafter but that you have been gently commended withal of my Lords here, and yet you will be wilful and obdurate in your error, and in your own opinions, and will not shew any cause why you will not come into the Unity of the Church with us.

Phil. My Lords, in that I do not declare my mind according to your expectation, is (as I have said) because I cannot speak without present danger of my life. But rather then you should report me, by this, either obdurate or self-willed without any just ground, whereupon I stand; I will open unto you somewhat of my mind, or rather the whole, desiring your Lordships which seem to be pillars of the Church of England to satisfie me in the same: and I will refer all other causes in the which I differ from you, unto one or two Articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both; in the which if I can by the Scriptures be satisfie at your mouths, I shall as willingly agree to you as any other in all points.

Bon. These Hereticks come always with their ifs, as they rather desire to be satisfie at their own mouths, than to be satisfie at the Scriptures: so that he will always have this exception, I am not satisfie, although the matter be never so plainly proved against him. But will you promise to be satisfie, if my Lords take some pains about you?

Phil. I say (my Lord) I will be satisfie by the Scriptures in that wherein I stand. And I protest here before God and his eternal Son Jesus Christ my Saviour, and the Holy Ghost, and his Angels, and you here present that he judges of that I speak, that I do not stand in any opinion, of wilfulness, or singularity, but only upon my Confidence, certainly informed by Gods Word, from the which I dare not go for fear of damnation, and this is the cause of mine earnestness in this Behalf.

Bon. I will trouble my Lords no longer, seeing that you will not declare your mind.

Phil. I am about so to do, if it please your Lordship to hear me speak.

Bathe. Give him leave (my Lord) to speak that he hath to say.

Phil. My Lords, it is not unknown to you that the chief cause why you do count me, and such as I am, for Hereticks, is because we be not at Unity with your Church. You say you are of the True Church: and we say, we are of the true Church. You say, that whosoever is out of your Church, is damned: and we think verily on the other side, that if we depart from the True Church, whereon we are grafted in Gods Word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore if your Lordship can bring any better Authority for your Church than we can do for ours, and prove by the Scriptures that the Church of Rome now (of the which you are) is the True Catholic Church, as in all your Sermons, writings, and arguments you do uphold, and that all Christian persons ought to be ruled by the same under pain of damnation (as you say) and that the same Church (as you pretend) hath Authority to interpret the Scriptures as it seemeth her good, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only; I shall be as conformable to the same Church as you may desire me, the which otherwise I dare not: therefore I require you for Gods sake to satisfie me in this.

Cole. If you stand upon this point onely, you may soon be satisfie if you list.

Phil.

Mr. Philpot
is called in
and has
a long
speech
went.

Mr. Philpot
called in
and has
a long
speech
went.

Mr. Philpot
called in
and has
a long
speech
went.

This offence
was for speaking
in the
Convocation
house with
publick
blasphemy in the
Parliament.

Mr. Boner not
trouble
Ordinary to J.
Philip.

Note how
these men
have for
scent blood.

Anno
1555.
Mr. Philpot
again appea-
reth from
R. Boner to
his Ordinary

May rather
these Catho-
lick prelates
will be satis-
fied with no
reasonable
offer.

The chiefest
controversie
is the Church
of Christ
now, is to
know which
is the true
Church of
Christ.

Anno 1555. *Phil.* It is the thing that I require, and to this I have said, I will stand, and referr all other controversies wherein I stand now against you, and will put my hand thereto, if you mistrust my word.

S. Paul 28, years before his conversion. Boner. I pray you Mr. Philpot, what faith were you of twenty years ago : This man will have every year a new faith.

Phil. My Lord to tell you plain, I think I was of no faith : for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then, as I ought to do, God forgive me.

Boner. No Faith? that is not so. I am sure you were of some faith.

Phil. My Lord, I have declared to you on my Conscience what I then was, and judge of my self. And what is that to the purpose of the thing I desire to be satisfied of you?

Boner. Master D. Cole, I pray you say your mind to him.

Colo. What will you say, if I can prove that it was decreed by an Universal Council in *Atbanafius* his time, that all the Christian Church should follow the determination of the Church of *Rome*? but I do not now remember where.

Phil. If you Master Doctor can shew me the same granted to the See of *Rome* by the Authority of the Scriptures, I will gladly hearken thereto. But I think you be not able to shew any such thing : for *Athanasius* was President of *Nicene* Council, and there was no such thing decreed I am sure.

Cole. Though it were not then, it might be at another time.

Phil. I desire to see the proof thereof. And upon this Mr. *Harpfield*, Chancellor to the Bishop of *London*, brought in a book of *Irenæus*, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the Bishops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be: the which after the Bishops of *Bath* and *Glocester* had read together, the Bishop of *Glocester* gave me the book.

Glocest. Take the Book, Master *Philpot*, and look up on that place, and there may you see how the Church of *Rome* is to be followed of all men.

A place of
Irreversibil-
ged.

Phil. I took the Book, and read the place, the which
after I had read, I find it made nothing against me, but
against the *Arrians* and other *Hercetics*, against whom
Irenæus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited,
because they did teach and follow after strange Do-
ctrine in *Europa*, and that the chief Church of the same
was founded by *Peter* and *Paul*; and had to this time con-
tinued by faithful succession of the faithful *Bishops* in
preaching the true Gospel, as they had received of the
Apostles, and nothing like to those late sprung *Hercetics*, &c.
Whereby he concludeth against them, that they were
not to be heard, neither to be credited, the which thing
if you may I desire to prove now of the Church of
Rome, then had you as good as proved against me, for
the cause now, which I have had against the *Hercetics*.
But the Church of *Rome* hath swerved from the truth
and simplicity of the Gospel, which it maintained in
Irenæus time, and was corrupted from that which it is now
wherefore your Lordship cannot justly apply the Author-
ity of *Irenæus* to the Church of *Rome* now, which is
manifestly corrupted from the Primitive Church.

The Church
of Rome
now is
was then.

Boner. So will you say still, it maketh nothing for the purpose, whatsoever Authority we bring, and will never be satisfied.

Phil. My Lord, when I do by just reason prove that the Authorities which be brought against me do not make to the purpose (as I have already proved) I trust you will receive mine answer.

The Church
of Rome
never decei-
yed,

Wore. It is to be proved most manifestly by all ancient Writers, that the See of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain Hereticks had defaced the same.

Phil. Let that be proved, and I have done.

Worc. Nay, you are of such arrogancy, singularity and vain-glory, that you will not see it, be it never well proved.

Pil. Ha, my Lords, is it now time (think you) for me to follow singularity or vain-glory, since it is now upon the danger of my life and death, not onely presently, but also before God to come? and I know, if I die not in the

true faith, I shall die everlastingly : and again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me and many thousands more : yet had I rather perish at your hands, than to perish eternally. And at this time I have lost all my commodities of this World; and lie in a colchouse, where a man would not liy a Dogg ; with the which I am well contented.

Cole. Where are you able to prove that the Church of *Rome* hath erred at any time? and by what Historie? certain it is by *Eusebius*, that the Church was established at *Rome* by *Peter* and *Paul*, and that *Peter* was Bishop 25 years at *Rome*.

Phil. I know well that *Eusebius* so writeth: but if we compare that which *Saint Paul* writeth to the *Galatians*, chap. i. the contrary will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He lived not past 35 years after he was called to be an Apostle: and *Paul* maketh mention of his abiding at *Jerusalem* after Christs death more than 12 years.

Cole. What, did Peter write to the Galathians?

Phil. No, I say *Paul* maketh mention of *Peter*, writing to the *Galatians*, and of his abiding at *Jerusalem*: And further, I am able to prove, both by *Eusebius* and other Historiographers, that the Church of *Rome* hath manifestly erred, and at this present doth err, because the agreeeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive Church did use according to the Gospel, and there needeth none other proof but compare the one with the other.

Baner. I may compare this man to a certain man I read of which fell into a desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself, and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on the which he might vouchsafe to hang himself. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you (Master Doctor) go forth with him.

Cole. My Lord, there be on every side on me that be better able to answer him, and I love not to fall into dispute: for that now adays a man shall but sustain shame and obloquie thereby of the People. I had rather shew my mind in writing.

Phil. And I had rather that you should do so than otherwise, for than a man may better judge of your words than by argument, and I beseech you to do so. But if you were a rich man, I durst wager an hundred pounds, that you shall not be able to show that you have said, to be decreed by a general Council in *Albanafius* time. For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general Council in *Africa* many years after, that none of *Africa* (under pain of Excommunication) should appeal to *Rome*, in the which decree I am sure they would not have made, but by the Scriptures and by a Universal Council it had been decreed, that all men should abide and follow the determination of the Church of *Rome*.

Cole. But I can shew that they revoked that error a gain.

Phil. So you say, Master Doctor, but I pray you shew me where. I have hitherto heard nothing of you for my contentation, but bare words without any Authori-
ty.

Bon. What I pray you ought we to dispute with you of our faith? *Justinian* in the law hath a title, *De fide Catholica*, to the contrary.

Phil. I am certain the Civill law hath such a constitution: but our faith must not depend upon the Civil law. For as Saint *Ambrose* saith, *Non lex, sed fides congregavit Ecclesiam, Not the law, but the Gospell* (saith he) hath gathered the Church together.

Worc. Mr. Philpot, you have the Spirit of pride where
with ye be led, which will not let you to yield to the
truth : leave it for shame.

Phil. Sir, I am sure I have the spirit of Faith, by the
which I speak at this present; neither am I ashamed to
stand to my Faith.

Glocest. What? do you think your self better learned
than so many notable learned men as be here?

Phil. Elias alone had the Truth, when there were four hundred Priests against him.

find not
in Enschens
that Peter
should be B-
of Rome 25
years, but
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-iron, 16.
de versillust.
and in Abd 20
1. 1. de 1. 1. 1.
Pete.

Hark my
Lords with
parable.

Neither you
nor they are
able in this
case.

Reason why
it is not lik
that in *all*
times time
all men
were bound
to abide th
determinat
ion of *Rom*

- Not the la
but the Go
pel gather
the Church
together.

400 Ur cft
againft on
Hilber.

Worcester.

Worce. Oh, you would be counted now for *Eliaz*. And yet I tell thee he was deceived: for he thought there had been none good but himself: and yet he was deceived, for there were seven thousand beside him.

Phil. Yea, but he was not deceived in Doctrine, as the other four hundred were.

Worce. By my faith you are greatly to blame, that you cannot be content to be of the Church which ever hath been of that Faithful Antiquity.

Phil. My Lord, I know *Rome*, and have been there, where I saw your Lordship.

A good commendation for Rome by a Roman like

Worce. Indeed I did flee from hence thither, and I remember not that I saw you there. But I am sorry that you have been there: for the wickedness which you have seen there, peradventure causeth you to do as you do.

Phil. No, my Lord, I do not as I do for that cause: for I am taught otherwise by the Gospel, not altogether to refuse the Minister for his evil living, so that he bring forth Doctrine out of Gods Book.

whether the Universal Church may be deceived? a The. 2. A declaration prophesied of the Church.

Worce. Do you think the Universal Church may be deceived?

Phil. St Paul to the *Theſſalonians* prophesieth that there should come an Universal departing from the Faith in the later days before the coming of Christ, saying, *Nem venit Christus, nisi venerit defectio prius*, that is, *Christ shall not come, till there come a departing first*.

Cole. Yea I pray you, how take you the departing there in S. Paul? it is not meant of Faith, but of the departing from the Empire: for it is in Greek, *amotia*.

Phil. Marry indeed you, Mr. Doctor, put me in good remembrance of the meaning of S. Paul in that place, for *Apostasia* is properly a departing from the Faith, and thereof cometh *Apostata*, which properly signifieth one that departeth from his Faith: and S. Paul in the same place after speaketh of the decay of the Empire.

Cole. *Apostasia* doth not only signify a departing from the Faith, but also from the Empire, as I am able to shew.

Phil. I never read it so taken, and when you shall be able to shew it (as you say in words) I will believe it, and not before.

Worce. I am sorry that you should be against the Christian World.

Phil. The World commonly, and such as be called Christians (for the multitude) hath hated the truth, and been enemies to the same.

Gloe. Why, Mr. Philpot, do you think that the Universal Church hath erred, and you only to be in the Truth?

The Pope's Church which now it was never Universal. Of this *Emmona* Council which was about the year 1418. read before. The word of the Church judges its controversies.

Phil. The Church that you are of was never Universal, for two parts of the World, which is *Asia* and *Africa* never consented to the supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, as at this day they do not, neither do follow his decrees.

Gloe. Yes in the *Florentine* Council they did agree.

Phil. It was said so by false report, after they of *Asia* and *Africa* were gone home: but it was not so indeed, as the sequel of them all hitherto doth prove the contrary.

Gloe. I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of Controversie which happen daily?

Phil. By the Word of God. For Christ saith in S. John, *The word that he spake, shall be judge in the latter day*.

Gloe. What if you take the word one way, and I another way: who shall be judge then?

Phil. The Primitive Church.

Gloe. I know you mean the Doctors that wrote there of.

Phil. I mean verily so.

Gloe. What if you take the Doctors in one sense, and I in another: who shall be judge then?

Phil. Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to Gods Word.

Cole. My Lords, why do you trouble your selves to answer him in this matter? It is not the thing which is laid to his charge, but his error of the Sacrament, and he to shift himself of that, brought in another matter.

Phil. This is the matter, Mr. Cole, to the which I have referred all other questions, and desire to be satisfied.

Worce. It is wonder to see how he standeth with a few against a great multitude.

Phil. We have almost as many as you. For we have

Asia, Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of *France*; and daily the number of the Gospel doth increase: so that I am credibly informed, that for this Religion in the which I stand, and for the which I am like to die, a great multitude doth daily come out of *France* through persecution, that the Cities of *Germany* be scarce able to receive them: and therefore your Lordship may be sure, the Word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary.

Worce. They were well occupied to bring you such news, and you have been well kept to have such report unto you. Thou art the arrogant fellow, and stoutest fond fellow that ever I knew.

Phil. I pray your Lordship to bear with my hasty speech: for it is part of my corrupt nature to speak somewhat hastily: but for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your Lordship.

Bon. Mr. Philpot, my Lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you shall go from whence you came and have such favour as in the mean while I can shew you: and upon Wednesday next you shall be called again to be heard what you can say for maintenance of your Error.

Phil. My Lord, my desire is to be satisfied of you in that I have required; and your Lordship shall find me, as I have said.

Worce. We wish you as well as our selves.

Phil. I think the same (my Lords) but I fear you are deceived, and have a zeal of your selves, not according to knowledge.

Worce. God fend you more grace.

Phil. And also God increase the same in you, and open your eyes that you may see to maintain his Truth, and his true Church.

Then the Bishops rose up and consulted together, and caused a writing to be made, in the which I think, my Blood by them was bought and sold, and thereto they put their hands, and after this I was carried to my Coliseum again.

Thus endeth the fourth part of this tragedy. God hasten the end thereof to his glory Amen.

Because I have begun to write unto you of mine examinations before the Bishop and other, more to satisfy your desire than that it is any thing worthy to be written. I have thought it good to write unto you also that which had been done of late, that the same might come to light which they do in darkness and in privie corners, and that the World now and the posterity hereafter might know how unorderly, unjustly, and unlearnedly these ravening Wolves do proceed against the silly and faithful Flock of Christ, and condemn and persecute the sincere Doctrine of Christ in us, which they are not able by honest means to resist, but only by Tyranny and Violence.

The fifth Examination of John Philpot, had before the Bishops of London, Rochester, Coventry, S. Asaph (I trow) and one other, whose Sess I know not, Doctor Story, Curtop, Doctor Saverfon, Doctor Pendleton, with divers other Chaplains and Gentlemen, in the Queens Chamber, and divers other Gentlemen, in the Gallery of my Lord of Londons palace.

Boner. Mr. Philpot come you hither, I have desired my Lords here, and other learned men to take some pains once again, and to do you good and because I do mind to sit in judgment on you to morrow (as I am commanded) yet I would you should have as much favour as I can shew you, if you will be any thing conformable, Therefore play the wise man, and be not singular in your own opinion, but be ruled by these learned men.

Phil. My Lord, in that you say you will sit on me in judgment to morrow, I am glad thereof, For I was promised by them which sent me unto you, that I should have been judged the next day after: but promise hath not been kept with me, to my farther grief. I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready

Ann o

1555.

John Philpot prophesied of the increase of the Gospel.

Phil.

John Philpot put off to another day.

John Philpot

John Philpot

John Philpot

John Philpot

John Philpot

John Philpot

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Anno 1555. to yield my life in Christs cause, as you be to require it.

Bon. Lo what a wilful man is this? By my Faith it is but folly to reason with him, neither with any of these Hereticks. I am sorry that you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to shew extremity against you.

Phil. My Lord, you need not to shew extremity against me unless you list: neither by the Law (as I have said) have you any thing to do with me, for that you are not mine Ordinary, albeit I am (contrary to all right) in your Prison.

Bon. Why the Queens Commissioners sent you hither unto me upon your Examination had before them. I know not well the cause; but I am sure they would not have sent you hither to me, unless you had made some talk to them, otherwise than it becometh a Christian man.

Phil. My Lord, indeed they sent me hither without any occasion then ministered by me. Only they laid unto me the Disputation I made in the Convocation-house, requiring me to answer the same, and to recant it. The which because I would not do, they sent me hither to your Lordship.

Bon. Why did you not answer them thereto?

Phil. For that they were temporal men, and ought not to be Judges in Spiritual causes whereof they demanded me, without shewing any authority whereby I was bound to answer them, and hereupon they committed me to your Prison.

Bon. Indeed I remember now, you maintained open Heresie in my Diocese: wherefore the Commissioners sent you unto me that I should proceed against you, for this you have spoken in my Diocese.

Phil. My Lord, I stand still upon my lawful plea in this behalf; that though it were a great heresie, as you suppose it, yet I ought not to be troubled therefore, in respect of the privilege of the Parliament-house, whereof the Convocation-house is a member, where all men in matters propounded may frankly speak their minds, and here is present a Gentleman of the Queens Majesties that was present at the Disputation, and can tell the questions which were then in controversy, were not set forth by me, but by the Prosecutor, who required in the Queens Majesties name, all men to dispute their minds freely in the same, that were of the House.

The Queens Gentleman. Though the Parliament-house be a place of privilege for men of the house to speak, yet may none speak any Treason against the Queen, or maintain Treason against the Crown.

Phil. But if there be any matter which otherwise it were Treason to speak of, were it Treason for any person to speak therein, specially the thing being proposed by the Speaker? I think not.

The Queens Gentleman. You may make the matter easie enough to you yet, as I perceive, if you will revoke the same which you did there so stubbornly maintain.

S. Af. This man did not speak under Reformation, as many as there did but *ἀποκατάστασις καὶ ἀποκατάστασις*, which is, earnestly and perswably, as ever I heard any.

Phil. My Lords, since you will not cease to trouble me for that I have lawfully done, neither will admit my just defence for that was spoken in the Convocation-house by me, contrary to the Laws and Custom of the Realm; I appeal to the whole Parliament-house, to be judged by the same, whether I ought thus to be molested for that I have there spoken.

Rochester. But have you spoken and maintained the same since that time, or no?

Phil. If any man can charge me justly therewith, here I stand to make answer.

Rochester. How say you to it now? will you stand to that you have spoken in the Convocation-house, and do you think you said then well, or no?

Phil. My Lord, you are not mine Ordinary to proceed *Ex officio* against me, and therefore I am not bound to tell you my Confidence of your demands.

S. Af. What say you now? Is there not in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar (and with that they put off all their Caps for reverence of the Idol) the presence of our

Saviour Christ, really and substantially after the words of Consecration?

Phil. I do believe in the Sacrament of Christs Body, duly ministered, to be such manner of presence, as the Word teacheth me to believe.

S. Af. I pray you, how is that?

Phil. As for that I will declare another time, when I shall be lawfully called to dispute my mind of this matter, but I am not yet driven to that point. And the Scripture saith, *All things ought to be done after an order.*

Another Bish. This is a froward and vain-glorious man.

Boner. It is not lawful for a man by the Civil Laws to dispute of his Faith openly, as it appeareth in the title, *De summa Trinitate & fide Catholica.*

Phil. My Lord, I have answered you to this question before.

Boner. Why, I never asked thee of this before now.

Phil. Yes, that you did at my last examination, by that token I answered your Lordship by St. Ambrose, that the Church is congregated by the Word, and not by mans Law. Wherefore I add now further of this saying, *Quod si fidem repudias, & legem objicis, injustus es, quia justus ex fide vivit. i. That he which refuseth the Word, and objecteth the Law, is an unjust man, because the just shall live by Faith.* And moreover, (my Lord) the title which your Lordship alledgeth out of the Law, maketh it not unlawful to dispute of all the Articles of the Faith, but of the Trinity.

Boner. Thou sayest, it is not so: and I will shew you by the Book how ignorant he is. And with that he went with all haste to his Study, and fetcht his Book and openly read the Text, and the title of the Law, and charged me with such words as seemed to make for his purpose, saying, How sayest thou to this?

Phil. My Lord, I say as I said before, that the Law meaneth of the Catholick Faith, determined in the Council of Chalcedonia, where the Articles of the Creed were only concluded upon.

Bon. Thou art the veriest Beast that ever I heard, I must needs speak it, thou compellest me therunto.

Phil. Your Lordship may speak your pleasure of me. But what is this to the purpose, which your Lordship is so earnest in? You know that our Faith is not grounded upon the Civil Law: therefore it is not material to me whatsoever the Law saith.

Bon. By what Law wilt thou be judged? Wilt thou be judged by the Common Law?

Phil. No, my Lord, our Faith dependeth not upon the Laws of man.

S. Af. He will be judged by no Law, but as he list himself.

Worce. The Common Laws are but abstracts of the Scriptures and Doctors.

Phil. Whatsoever you do make them, they are no ground of my Faith, by the which I ought to be judged.

Bon. I must needs proceed against thee to-morrow.

Phil. If your Lordship so do, I will have *Exceptionem forei*: for you are not my competent Judge.

Bon. By what Law canst thou refuse me to be thy Judge?

Phil. By the Civil Law, *De competente judice.*

Boner. There is no such title in the Law. In what Book is it, as cunning a Lawyer as you be?

Phil. My Lord, I take upon me no great cunning in the Law: but you drive me to my shifts for my defence, and I am sure, if I had the Books of the Law, I were able to shew what I say.

Boner. What? *De competente judice*? I will go fetch thee my Books. There is a title indeed, *De officiis judicis Ordinarii.*

Phil. Verily that is the same *De competente judice*, which I have alledged. With that he ran to his Study, and brought the whole course of the Law between his hands, which (as it might appear) he had well occupied, by the dust they were imbrued withal.

Boner. There be the Books: find it now (if thou canst) and I will promise to release thee out of Prison.

Ambr. s. c. Epist. 3. c. Bodem cont. Auctentum.

Our Faiths not grounded upon the Civil Law.

I. Philpot still standeth to his defence of the Law, in refusing the Judge not to be competent. De officiis Ordinarii, to a title in the first Book of the Decretals. De foro competente, is a title in the second Book of the Decretals.

Philpot then seeketh cause against him, and yet pretendeth to be sorry of his trouble.

M. Philpots just defence for (yea) in the Parliament.

It were the part of a charitable Bishop to make a matter better and not worse.

John Philpot appeals to the whole Parliament-house.

This Bishop would fain have blood.

ANNO
1555.

Phil. My Lord I stand not here to reason matters of the Civil Law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the same; for that I have been a Student in the Law six or seven years; but to answer to the Articles of Faith, with the which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the Law in my defence.

Boner. Why, thou wilt answer directly to nothing thou art charged withal: therefore say not hereafter but you might have been satisfied here by Learned men, if you would have declared your mind.

Philpot. My Lord, I have declared my mind unto you and to other of the Bishops at my last being with you desiring you to be satisfied but of one thing, whereunto I have referred all other Controversies: the which if your Lordships now, or other Learned men can simply resolve me of, I am as contented to be reformable in all things, as you shall require; the which is to prove that the Church of Rome (whereof you are) is the Catholick Church.

Coven. Why, do you not believe your Creed, *Credo Ecclesiam Catholicam*?

Phil. Yes that I do: but I cannot understand Rome (wherewithal you burden us) to be the same, neither like to it.

S. As. It is most evident that St. Peter did build the Catholick Church at Rome. And Christ said, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam.*

Moreover, the succession of Bishops in the See of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place so well, which is a manifest probation of the Catholick Church, as divers Doctors do write.

Phil. That you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain, and that by the Authority which you alledge of Christ, saying unto Peter, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church*, unless you can prove the Rock to signifie Rome, as you would make me falsely believe. And although you can prove the succession of Bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome the Catholick Church unless you can prove the profession of Peters Faith, whereupon the Catholick Church is builded, to have continued in his Successors at Rome, and at this present to remain.

Bon. Is there any more Churches than one Catholick Church? And I pray tell me into what Faith were you baptized?

Phil. I acknowledge one holy Catholick and Apostolick Church, whereof I am a member (I praise God) and am of the Catholick Faith of Christ wherinto I was baptized.

Coven. I pray you, can you tell what this word Catholick doth signifie? shew if you can.

Phil. Yes that I can, I thank God. The Catholick Faith, or the Catholick Church, is not as now adays the People be taught, to be that which is most Universal, or of most part of men received, whereby you do infer our Faith to hang upon the Multitude, which is not so: but I esteem the Catholick Church to be as *S. Austin* defineth the same. *Afirmamus fidem Catholicam à rebus præteritis, præsentibus & futuris. i. We judge, saith he, the Catholick Faith, of that which hath been, is, and shall be.* So that if you can be able to prove that your Faith and Church hath been from the beginning taught, and is, and shall be: then may you count your selves Catholick, otherwise not. And Catholick is a Greek word compounded of *καθολικός*, which signifieth after or according, and *λόγος*, a sum, or principal or whole. So that Catholick Church, or Catholick Faith, is as much to say, as the first, whole, found, or chiefest Faith.

Bon. Doth St. Austin say so as he alleadgeth it? or doth he mean as he taketh the same? how say you Mr. Curtop?

Curtop. Indeed, my Lord, St. Augustine hath such a saying, speaking against the Donatists, that the Catholick Faith ought to be esteemed of things in time past, and as they are practiced according to the same, and ought to be through all Ages, and not after a new manner, as the Donatists began to profess.

Philpot. You have said well, Mr. Curtop, and after the meaning of St. Austin, and to confirm that which I have said for the signification of Catholick.

Coven. Let the Book be seen my Lord.

Bon. I pray you, my Lord, be content, or in good faith I will break even off and let all alone. Do you think the Catholick Church (until it was within these few years, in the which a few upon singularity have swerved from the same) have erred?

Phil. I do not think that the Catholick Church can err in Doctrine; but I require you to prove this Church of Rome to be the Catholick Church.

Curtop. I can prove that *Irenæus* (which was within an hundred years after Christ) came to *Vistor*, then Bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain Hereticks, the which he would not have done (by all likelihood) if he had not taken him to be Supreme Head.

Coven. Mark well this Argument. How are you able to answer the same? Answer, if you can?

Phil. It is soon answered, my Lord, for that it is of no force; neither this fact of *Irenæus* maketh no more for the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, than mine excommunicating the Churches of *Rome* as well as he, and might have spoken with the Pope, if I had list: and yet I would none in *England* did favour his Supremacy more than I.

S. As. You are more to blame (by the Faith of my Body) for that you favour the same no better, since all the Catholick Church (until these few years) have taken him to be the Supreme head of the Church, besides this good man *Irenæus*.

Phil. That is not likely, that *Irenæus* so took him, or the Primitive Church: for I am able to shew seven General Councils after *Irenæus* time, wherein he was never so taken, which may be a sufficient proof, that the Catholick Primitive Church never took him for Supreme Head.

The other Bishop. This man will never be satisfied, say what we can. It is but folly to reason any more with him.

Phil. O, my Lords, would you have me satisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who of us hath better Authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by these many General Councils am able to prove, that he was never so taken in many hundred years after Christ, as by *Nicene*, *Ephesine*, the first and second *Chalcedon*, *Constantinopolitan*, *Carthagi-*

nense, *Aquileense*.

Coven. Why will you not admit the Church of Rome to be the Catholick Church?

Phil. Because it followeth not the Primitive Catholick Church, neither agreeth with the same, no more than an Apple is like a Nut.

Coven. Wherein doth it differ?

Phil. It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, the Supremacy and Transubstantiation.

Cur. As for Transubstantiation, albeit it was set forth and decreed for an Article of Faith not much above 300 years, yet it was always believed in the Church.

Bon. Ye, that it was. Very well said of you Mr. Curtop.

Phil. Ye have said right, that Transubstantiation is but a late plantation of the Bishop of Rome, and you are notable to shew any ancient Writer, that the Primitive Church did believe any such thing; and with this *Curtop* shrank away. And immediately after the Ambassador of Spain came in, to whom my Lord of London went, leaving the other with me. To whom I said, My Lords, if you can shew me that this Church of Rome (whereof you are Members) is the true Catholick Church, I shall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the same as you can require me in all things; for I know there is no salvation but within the Church.

Coven. Can you disprove that the Church of Rome is not the Catholick Church?

Phil. Ye, that I am able, but I desire rather to hear of you for the proof thereof. And seeing I cannot have my request at your hands, neither be satisfied with any such Church, probable Authority. I will shew you good proof why it is not. For if the Primitive Church were Catholick, as it was indeed, and ought to be the form and School-mistress of the Church to the worlds end; then is not the Church of Rome now the Catholick Church, which dissenteth so far from the same both in Doctrine and use of the Sacraments.

Coven.

M. Philpot
recounteth a
gain to this
question of
the Church.

That Peter
did build
the Church
of Rome
is false, for
both the
Scripture
saith, that
Peter was
set over the
the circum-
cised, and
not over the
Gentiles;
and also it
is to be pro-
ved by *Cris-
tos*, *Cyri-
lus*, *Tertul-
lianus*, and
other Doctors,
that the
Faith of
Christ was
in Rome
in *Ther-
tius*
time before
Peter ever
saw Rome.

The Popes
Faith hang-
eth upon the
multitude.
Fides Ca-
tholica
concordium
est.

Where Mr.
Curtop finds
this I cannot
say, but
this I find
that *Euse-
bius* doth
report that
Irenæus did
reprove *Vi-
ctor* Bishop
of Rome, for
his rash in-
terference in
excommuni-
cating the
Churches of
Greece con-
cerning the
observation
of the Feast
of Easter.
Euseb. lib. 5,
cap. 16.

See lib. 5,
c. 12.
Seven Ge-
neral Coun-
cils in which
the Bishop of
Rome was
never taken
for Supreme
Head.
The Church
of Rome
dissenteth
from the
Primitive
Church.

Transub-
stantiation
is but a late
plantation.
John Philpot
recounteth
again to his
issue.

There is use
the Catho-
lic Church
and why.

Anno 1555. *Covent.* How prove you that the Church of Rome now dissenteth in Doctrine and use of the Sacraments from the Primitive Church?

Phil. Compare the one with the other, and it shall soon appear; as you may see both in *Eusebius* and other Ecclesiastical and ancient writers.

Covent. What have you to say more, why it is not the Catholick Church?

Phil. Because it is not (by your interpretation of Catholick) Universal, neither ever was, albeit you falsely persuade the People that it is so. For the World being divided into three parts, *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europa*; two parts thereof, *Asia*, and *Africa* professing Christi as well as we did never consent to the Church of *Rome*, which is of *Europa*; which is a sufficient testimony that your faith was never Universal.

Covent. How prove you that?

Phil. All the Historiographers, which write of the proceedings of the Church, do testify the same. Besides that, this present time doth declare that to be true which I say. For at this present the Church of *Asia* and *Africa* do not consent to the Church of *Rome*. Yea and besides all this, most part of *Europa* doth not agree, neither allow the Church of *Rome*; as *Germany*, the Kingdom of *Denmark*, the Kingdom of *Pole*, a great part of *France*, *England*, and *Zeland*, which is a manifest probation that your Church is not Universal. And after this, the Bishop of *London* called away the other Bishops, and left with me divers gentlemen, with certain of his Chaplains, as *Doctor Saver* an Englishman, which had proceeded *Doctor in Bononie*, who after began with me in this matter.

Doctor Saver. Mr. Philpot, I remember you beyond-Sea since the time you reasoned with a Friar (a notable learned man) coming from *Venice* to *Padua* in a barge.

Phil. I cannot forget that; for the Friar threatened me to accuse me of Heresie as soon as he came to *Padua*, for that I talked with him so boldly of the truth. He was no such learned man as you name him to be, but only in his School points a good Purgatorie Friar.

Doctor Saver. Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am sorry to hear that you this day having communed with so many notable learned men, are no more conformable to them than you be.

Philpot. I will be conformable to all them that be conformable to Christ in his word. And I pray you good Mr. Doctor, be not so conformable to please men more than God, contrary to your learning for worldly eliminations sake.

D. Saver. No that I am not. Upon what occasion should you think thus of me?

Phil. Upon no evil that I do know of you Mr. Doctor; but I speak as one wishing that you should not be led away from the truth for promotions sake, as many Doctors be now days.

D. Saver. I have heard your arguments hitherto, and me think that a great many of the old ancient writers be against you in that you do not allow the Church of *Rome*, neither the supremacy; for Saint *Cyprian* (which is an old ancient writer) doth allow the B. of *Rome* to be supreme head of the Church.

Phil. That I am sure of he doth not. For he, writing unto *Cornelius* then Bishop of *Rome*, calleth him but his companion and his fellow Bishop, neither attributed to him the name either of Pope, or else of any usurped terms which now be ascribed to the Bishop of *Rome* to the setting forth of his dignity.

Saver. You cannot be able to shew that Saint *Cyprian* calleth *Cornelius* his fellow Bishop.

Philpot. I will wager with you what I am able to make, that I can shew it you in *Cyprian*, as I have said.

D. Saver. I will lay none other wager with you, but book for book that it is not so.

Philpot. I agree thereto, and I pray you one of my Lords Chaplains to fet us *Cyprian* hither for the trial hereof. And with that one of them went to my Lords study and brought forth *Cyprian*, and by and by he turned to the first book of his Epistles, the third Epistle, and there would have seemed to me gathered a strong argument for the supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, because he thus saith: I goe not well with the Church when the big Priest is not obeyed, which supplieth the stead of

Christ, after Gods Word, and the consent of his fellow Bishops and the agreement of the People.

D. Saver. How can you avoid this place which maketh so plainly for the Bishop of *Rome*s Supremacy?

Phil. It maketh not so plain, Mr. Doctor, on your side, as you gather, as by and by I will give you to understand. But first I challenge the wager which we made, that your book is mine. For let us see that he calleth *Cornelius* his fellow B. as he doth in other places. And now for the understanding of that place, you shall contrive it to take the high Priest only for the Bishop of *Rome*, and otherwise then it was in his time. For there were by the *Nicene* Council four Patriarchs appointed, the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and the Patriarch of *Rome*, of which four, the Patriarch of *Rome* was placed lowest in the Council, and so continued many years, for the time of seven or eight general Councils, as I am able to shew.

Therefore Saint *Cyprian* writing to *Cornelius* Patriarch of *Rome* (whom he calleth his fellow Bishop) unadvisedly offended, that certain Hereticks being justly excommunicated by him (as the *Novatians* were) did flee from his Diocese, which was their chief Bishop (refusing to be obedient to him and to be reformed) to the B. of *Carthage* and to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and there were received in communion of the same, and in derogation of good order and discipline in the Church, and to the maintaining of Heresies and Schisms: and then he sheweth that such a daily life he led, that he considered him to be in the Church for the time the Priest, and for the time the judge in Christ's stead, as in the case of *Nicene* Council was appointed) not the Bishop of *Rome* only, but every Patriarch in his province who had every one of them a College or Cathedral Church of learned Priests, in hearing of whom by a convocation of his fellow Bishops, with the consent of the People, all Heresies were determined by the Word of God; and this is the meaning of Saint *Cyprian*.

D. Saver. You take it so, but it seemeth to me otherwise.

Phil. Upon what ground it should seem otherwise unto you I know not, but this meaning which I have declared, the general Councils, seven or eight one after another confirmed it so to be, which did not allow one supreme head only.

Pend. There were not so many general Councils, but four only allowed.

Phil. That is not so, Mr. *Pendleton*, although there be four specially allowed for the confirmation of the Trinity; but besides these four there were many other general Councils, as you may learn by many writers.

A Chaplain. Did not Christ build his Church upon Peter? Saint *Cyprian* saith so.

Phil. S. *Cyprian* De simplicitate Praetorium declaratur in what respect he so said; *In persona unius dedit Dominus omnibus claves, ut omnium unitatem denunciantur.* i. God gave in person of one man the keys to all, that he might signifie the unity of all men. And also S. *Augustine* saith in the tenth treatise of S. *John*, *Si in Petro non esset ecclesiae mysterium, non ei diceret Dominus, tibi dabo claves. Si autem hoc Petro dictum est, non habet Ecclesia; si autem Ecclesia habet, quando claves accepit, ecclesiam totam designant: i. If in Peter had not been the mystery of the Church the Lord had not said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys. For if that were said to Peter, the Church hath them not; if the Church have them when Peter received them, he signified the whole Church. And also S. Hier. a Priest of *Rome*, writing to *Nepotian*, saith, That all Churches do lean to their own pastors, where he speaketh of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy or Regiment, where he maketh no mention of the Bishop of *Rome*. And *Ad Evagrium*, he saith, That whosoever a Bishop be, whosoever it be at *Rome*, or at *Evagrie*, or at *Rhegium*, he is of one power and of one jurisdiction.*

D. Saver. S. Hierome De celestibus Hierarchybus? It was *Pamphilus* you mean.

R r

Phil

Phil. I say not that *Hierome* wrote any book so intitled. But I say, that in the Epistle by me alledged, he maketh mention of the Ecclesiastical regiment.

D. Saver. I wonder you will stand so steadfast in your error to your own destruction.

Phil. I am sure we are in no error, by the promise of Christ made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to his true Church such a Spirit of Wisdom, that the Adversaries thereof should never be able to resist. And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by reasoning, neither by writing, your Synagogue of Rome is able to answer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly learned Ministers of Germany, who have disclosed your Counterfeit Religion? Which of you all (at this day) is able to answer *Calvins* Institutions, which is Minister of Geneva.

D. Saver. A godly Minister indeed of receipt of cutpurse, and Runagate Traytors. And of late I can tell you, there is such contention fallen between him and his own sects, that he was faine to flee the Town, about predestination. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneva hinder.

Philpot. I am sure you Blaspheme that godly man, and that godly Church where he is Minister; as it is your Churches condition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppress them with Blasphemies and false reports. For in the matter of predestination he is in none other opinion then all the Doctors of the Church be, agreeing to the Scriptures.

Saver. Men be able to answer him if they list. And I pray you which of you have answered Bishop *Fishers* book.

Phil. Yes (Master Doctor) that book is answered and answered again, if you list to seek what hath been written against him.

D. Saver. And after this Doctor *Story* came in. To whom I said, M. Doctor, you have done me great injurie, and without law have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog then a man. And besides this you have not kept promise with me, for you promised that I should be judged the next day after.

Story. I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a phantastical man as this? Nay, he is no man, he is a beastly yea, these Hereticks be worse then brute beasts: for they will upon a vain singularity take upon them to be wiser then all men, being indeed very fools and idle heads, not able to maintain that which of an arrogant obstinacie they do sustain.

Phil. Master Doctor, I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you list. God forgive it you; yet I am no Heretic. Neither you nor any other shall be able to prove that I hold any jot against the Word of God otherwise then a Christian man ought.

Story. The Word of God? Forsooth the Word of God? It is but a folly to reason with these Hereticks, for they are incurable and desperate. But yet I may reason with thee, not that I have any hope to win thee; whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou standest?

Phil. Verily the word it self.

Story. Do you not see the Ignorance of this beastly Heretic? He willeth the word to be judged of the word. Can the word speak?

Phil. If I cannot prove that which I have said by good Authority, I will be content to be counted an Heretic and an ignorant person, and further what you please.

Story. Let us hear what wise Authority thou canst bring in.

Phil. It is the saying of Christ in S. *John*, *Verbum quod locutus sum judicabit in novissimo die*, The word which I have spoken, fifth Christ, shall judge in the last day. If the word shall judge in the last day, much more it ought to judge our doings now. And I am sure I have my judge on my side, who shall absolve and justify me in another World. Howsoever now it shall please you by Authority unrighteously to judge of me and others, sure I am in another World to judge you.

Story. What? you purpose to be a stinking Martyr, and to sit in judgment with Christ at the last day to judge the twelve tribes of Israel?

Phil. Yea Sir, I doubt not thereof, having the promise of Christ, if I die for righteousness sake, which you have begun to persecute in me.

Story. I told you it was but vain to argue with this Heretic; he is drowned in his Heresies without all learning.

Phil. Sir I have brought you, for that I have said, good Authority out of Gods Book, to the which you answer nothing, but go about still to give railing judgment against me without any cause.

Story. I will come to you by and by. When as the judge in Westminster Hall giveth Sentence, doth the word give Sentence, or the judge? tell me.

Phil. Civil matters be subject to Civil men, and they have Authority by the word, to be judges of them. But the Word of God is not subject to mans judgment, but ought to judge all the Wisdom, thoughts and doings of all men, and therefore your comparison disproveth nothing that I have said, neither answereth any whit thereto.

Story. Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the Church upon the Scriptures?

Philpot. Yes, if it be according to the Word of the True Church: and this I say to you, as I have said heretofore, that if ye can prove the Church of Rome (whereof ye are) to be the True Catholick Church which I ought to follow, I will be as ready to yield thereto (as long as it can be so proved) as you may desire me.

Story. What a fellow is this! he will believe nothing but what he list himself. Are we not in possession of the Church? have not our forefathers these many hundred years taken this Church for the Catholick Church whereof we are now? And if we had none other proof but this, it were sufficient; for the prescription of time maketh a good title in the Law.

Phil. You do well, Mr. Doctor, to alledge prescription of many years, for it is all that you have to shew for yourselves. But you must understand, *In divinis nulla occurrit prescriptio*, that prescription hath no place in matters belonging unto God, as I am able to shew by the testimony of many Doctors.

Story. Well Sir, you are like to go after your Father *Lawmer* the Sophister, and *Ridley*, who had nothing to alledge for himself, but that he had learned his Heresie of *Cyranus*. When I came to him a poor Batchelor of Art, he trembled as though he had had the palls, as these Hereticks have always some token of fear whereby a man may know them, as you may see this mans eyes do tremble in his head. But I dispatched them; and I tell thee that there hath been yet never an one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his dispatch.

Phil. You have themore to answer for, Mr. Doctor, as you shall feel in another World, how much sorer you do now Triumph of your proceedings.

Story. I tell thee I will never be confessed thereof. And because I cannot now tarry to speak with my Lord, I pray one of you tell my Lord, that my coming was to signify to his Lordship, that he must out of hand rid this Heretic out of the way. And going away he said to me, I certify thee, that thou shalt thank none other man but me.

Phil. I thank you therefore with all mine heart, and God forgive it you.

Story. What? dost thou thank me? If I had thee in my study half an hour, I think I should make you sing another song.

Phil. No, Mr. Doctor, I stand upon too sure a ground to be overthrown by you now. And thus they departed all away from me one after another, until I was left all alone. And afterwards with my Keeper going to my Colledge, as I went, I met with my Lord of London, who spake unto me gently, as he hath hitherto in words saying;

London. Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may shew you in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it.

Phil. My Lord, The pleasure that I will require of your L. is to hasten my judgment which is committed unto you, and to dispatch me forth of this miserable World, unto my eternal rest. And for all this fair speech I cannot attain hitherto this fortnights space, neither fire nor candle, neither yet good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this World, and to be counted

Anno
1555.Gods judgment not
Civil judgment not
allike.The judgment of the
Church how far it serveth.prescription
of time maketh a good title in the Law.prescription
of time maketh a good title in the Law.D. Story confesseth him-
self to be the chief dispatcher of all
Gods Sinners that suffered in Queen
Marys time.John Philpot
left alone.The Straits
handling of
John Philpot
in prison, for
all the
fair words.

Anno 1555. ted amongst the vilest, that he may in times of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore praised be God, that hath humbled me, and given me grace with gladness to be content therewithal. Let all that love the truth say Amen,

Thus endeth the fifth Tragedy.

The sixth Examination of John Philpot had before the right honourable Lords, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queens Majestie, the Vicount Hereford, commonly called Lord Ferras, the Lord Rich, the Lord S. Johns, the Lord Windfore, the Lord Shandois, Sir John Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, and two other more whose names I know not, with the Bishop of London and Doctor Chedsey, the sixth day of November. Anno 1555.

The sixth examination of Mr. Philpot before certain Lords, and the B. of London.

Philpot. Before that I was called afore the Lords, and whilst they were in sitting down, the Bishop of London came aside to me and whispered in mine ear, willing me to use my self before the Lords of the Queens Majesties Council prudently, and to take heed what I said; and thus he pretended to give me Counsel because he willed me to do well, as I might now do if I list. And after the Lords and other worshipful Gentlemen of the Queens Majesties Servants were the table, and called me to him, and by the Lords I was placed at the upper end against him; where I kneeling down, the Lords commanded me to stand up, and after in this manner the Bishop began to speak.

The words of R. Bower to Mr. Philpot.

London. Mr. Philpot, I have heretofore both privately my self, and openly before the Lords of the Clergy, more times then once canfed you to be talked withal to reform you of your errors, but I have not found you yet so tractable as I would wish: Wherefore now I have desired these honourable Lords of the temporality and of the Q. Majesties Council, who have taken pains with me this day, I thank them therefore, to hear you what you can say, that they may be judges whether I have sought all means to do you good or no: and I dare be bold to say in their behalf, that if you shew your self conformable to the Q. Majesties proceedings, you shall find as much favour for your deliverance, as you can wish. I speak not this to fawn upon you, but to bring you home into the Church. Now let them hear what you can say.

Mr. Philpot answer to the Bishop.

Phil. My Lord, I thank God of this day, that I have such an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend your Lordships equity in this behalf, which agreeth with the order of the primitive Church, which was, if any body had been suspected of Heresie, as I am now, he should be called first before the Archbishop or B. of the Diocess where he was suspected; secondly in the presence of others his fellow Bishops and learned elders; and thirdly in hearing of the laitie: where after the judgement of Gods Word declared, and with the assent of our Bishops and consent of the People, he was condemned for an Heretick, or absolved. And the second point of that good order I have found at your Lordships hands already in being called before you and your fellow Bishops, and now have the third fort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness in my cause then I have found with my Lords of the Clergy; God grant I may have at last the judgement of Gods Word concerning the same.

Hereticks in the primitive Church once by condemned to exile.

London. Mr. Philpot, I pray you ere you go any further, tell my Lords here plainly whether you were by me or by my procurement committed to prison or not; and whether I have shewed you any cruelty sithen ye have been committed to my prison.

Philpot. If it shall please your Lordship to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward.

R. Bower not the cause of Mr. Philpots imprisonment.

Rich. Answer first of all to my Lords two questions, and then proceed forth to the matter. How say you? were you imprisoned by my Lord or no? can you find any fault since with his cruel using of you?

Phil. I cannot lay to my Lords charge the cause of my imprisonment, neither may I say that he hath used me cruelly, but rather for my part I may say that I have found more gentleness at his Lordships hands, then I did at mine own Ordinaries, for the time I have been within his prison, for that he hath called me three or four times to mine answer, to the which I was not called in a twelvemonth and a half before.

Rich. Well, now go to your matter.

Phil. The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the diffinitions had by me in the Convocation house, against the Sacrament of the Altar, which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the Queens Majestie and of the whole house, and that house, being a member of the Parliament house, ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house, by the ancient and laudable custom of this Realm. Wherefore I think my self to have sustained hitherto great injurie for speaking my Conscience freely in such a place as I might lawfully do it: and I desire your honourable Lordships judgement which be of the Parliament House, whether of right I ought to be impeached therefore, and sustain the loss of my living, (as I have done) and moreover of my life, as it is sought.

Rich. You are deceived herein; for the Convocation House is no part of the Parliament House.

Phil. My Lord, I have always understood the contrarie by such as are more expert men in things of this Realm then I: and again, the title of every Act leadeth me to think otherwise, which alledgeth the agreement of the spirituality and temporality assembled together.

Rich. Yea, that is meant of the spiritual Lords of the upper house.

Windfor. Indeed the Convocation House is called together by one writ of the Summons of the Parliament of an old custom; notwithstanding that house is no part of the Parliament House.

Phil. My Lords, I must be contented to abide your judgements in this behalf.

Rich. We have told you the truth. Mary yet we would not that you should be troubled for any thing that there was spoken, so that you having spoken amiss do declare now that you are forry therefore.

London. My Lords, he hath spoken there manifest Heresie, yea, and there stoutly maintained the same against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar (and with that he put off his cap, that all the Lords might reverence and vail their bonnets at that idol as he did) and would not allow the real presence of the body and Blood of Christ in the same; yet my Lords, God forbid that I should go about to shew him extremity for so doing, in case he will repent and revoke his wicked sayings; and if in faith he will so do, with your Lordships consent he shall be released by and by: if he will not he shall have the extremity of the law, & that shortly.

Chamb. My Lord of London speaketh reasonably unto you: take it whilst it is offered you.

Rich. How say you? Will you acknowledge the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, as all the learned men of this Realm do, in the Mass, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do protest it?

Phil. My Lord, I do acknowledge in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ such a presence, as the Word of God doth allow and teach me.

Rich. That shall be no otherwise then you list.

London. A Sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; So that there is both the sign which is the accident (as the whiteness, roundness, and shape of Bread) and there is also the thing it self, as very Christ both God and Man. But these Hereticks will have the Sacrament to be but bare signs. How say you? declare unto my Lords here whether you do allow the thing it self in the Sacrament or no.

Phil. I do confess that in the Lords Supper there is in due respects both the sign and the thing signified, when it is duly Ministered after the institution of Christ.

London. You may see how he goeth about the busk (as he hath done before) with my Lords of the Clergy, and dare not utter his mind plainly.

Rich. Shew us what manner of presence you allow in the Sacrament.

Phil. If it please you, my Lord of London, to give me leave to proceed orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my mind without interruption, I will thoroughly open my mind therein.

L. Shand. I pray you my Lord, let him speak his mind.

Phil. My Lords, that at the first I have not plainly declared my judgement unto you the reason is this, because I cannot speak hereof without the danger of my life.

Rich. There is none of us here that seeketh thy life or means to take any advantage of that thou shalt speak.

R r 2

Phil.

The Convocation no part of the Parliament House, (saith the Lord Rich.

Whether the Convocation be part of the Parliament House or no yet free liberty was given by the Queen every man to speak his Conscience.

How Bower taketh the Sacrament, to be both the sign and the thing signified.

Both the sign and the thing signified in due respect be in the Sacrament.

Ye say ye seek not his life, and yet ye know to answer so that ye ask will be his death.

Phil. Although I mistrust not your honourable Lordships that be here of the Temporality; yet here is one that futeeth against me (pointing to my Lord of London) that will lay it to my charge even to the death. Notwithstanding, seeing your Honours do require me to declare my mind of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, that ye may perceive that I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, neither do maintain any opinion without probable and sufficient authority of the Scripture, I will shew you frankly my mind without all colour, whatsoever shall ensue unto me therefore, so that my Lord of London will not let me to utter my mind.

Rich. My Lord, permit him to say what he can, seeing he is willing to shew his mind.

Lord. I am content, my Lords, let him say what he can, I will hear him.

The prohibition of *Joan. Pater* before the Lords.

Phil. That which I do intend to speak unto you (right honourable Lords) I do protest here, first before God and his Angels, that I speak it not of vain-glory, neither of singularity, neither of wilful stubbornness, but truly upon a good Conscience, grounded on Gods Word against the which I dare not do for fear of damnation which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge. Neither do I disagree to the proceedings of this Realm in the Religion, for that I love not the Queen, (whom I love from the bottom of my heart,) but because I ought to love and fear God in his Word more than man in his Laws, though I stand, as I seem to do, in this consideration, and for none other, as God I call to witness.

Two things wherein the Clergy deceive the whole Realm.

There be two things principally, by the which the Clergy at this day doth deceive the whole Realm; that is, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, and the name of the Catholick Church: the which both they do usurp, having ended none of them both. And as touching their Sacrament, which they term of the Altar, I say now as I said in the Convocation-house, that it is not the Sacrament of Christ, neither in the same is there any manner of Christs presence. Wherefore they deceive the Queens Majesty, and you of the Nobility of this Realm, in making you to believe that to be a Sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest Idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in testimony of this to be true, besides manifest proof, which I am able to make to the Queens Majesty, and to all you of her Nobility, I will yield my life. The which to do, if it were not upon a sure ground, it were to my utter damnation.

Papists untruly using the name of the Church.

And where they take on them the name of the Catholick Church (whereby they blind many folks eyes) they are nothing so, calling you from the true Religion which was revealed and taught in King *Edward's* time, unto vain superstition. And this I will say for the trial hereof, that if they can prove themselves to be the Catholick Church (as they shall never be able to do) I will never be against their doings, but revoke all that I have said. And I shall desire you, my Lords, to be a mean for me to the Queens Majesty, that I may be brought to the just trial hereof. Yea, I will not refuse to stand against ten of the best of them in this Realm. And if they be able to prove otherwise than I have said, either by writing or by reasoning, with good and lawful Authority, I will here promise to recant whatsoever I have said, and to consent to them in all points. And in the declaration of these things more at large, which now I write in sum, the Bishop of London esteems would have interrupted me, but the Lords procured me liberty to make out my tale, to the great grief of the Lord Bishop of London, as it appeared by the dumps he was in.

M. T. hath offered himself to stand against ten of the best Learned in the Realm, in the proof of his cause.

Lord. It hath been told me before, that you love to make a long tale.

Rich. All Hereticks do boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a Church by himself; as *Joan of Kent* and the Anabaptists. I had my self *Joan of Kent* a sevennight in my house after the Writ was out for her to be burnt, where my Lord of *Canterbury*, and Bishop *Ridley* resorted almost daily unto her: but she was so high in the Spirit, that they could do nothing with her for all their Learnings. But she went wilfully unto the fire, was burnt, and so do you now.

Phil. As for *Joan of Kent*, she was a vain Woman (I knew her well) and an Heretick indeed, well worthy to be burnt, because she stood against one of the manifest

Articles of our Faith, contrary to the Scriptures: and such vain spirits be soon known from the true Spirit of God and his Church, for that the same abideth within the limits of Gods Word and will not go out of the same, neither stubbornly maintain any thing contrary to the Word, as I have Gods Word thoroughly on my side to shew for that I stand in.

Lord. I pray you, how will you joyn me these two Scriptures together; *Pater major me est; & pater & ego unum sumus*. I must interpret the same, because my Lords here understand not the Latin, that is to say, *The Father is greater than I; and I and the Father are one*. But I cry you mercy, my Lords, I have mispoken, in saying you understand no Latin; for the most part of you understand Latin as well as I. But I speak in consideration of my Lord *Shandis* and Mr. *Bridges* his Brother, whom I take to be no great Latin men. Now shew your cunning, and joyn these two Scriptures by the Word if you can.

Phil. Yes that I can right well. For we must understand that in Christ there be two natures, the Divinity and Humanity, and in respect of his Humanity it is spoken of Christ, *The Father is greater than I*. But in respect of his Deity he said again, *The Father and I be one*.

Lord. But what Scripture have you?

Phil. Yes I have sufficient Scripture for the proof of that I have said. For the first, it is written of Christ in the Psalms, *Diminui si eum paulo minus ab Angelis; Thou hast made him a little lesser than Angels*. It is the 15. Psalm, beginning *Caeli enarrant*. And there I misreckoned, wherewithal my Lord took me.

Lord. It is in *Domine Dominus noster*. Ye may see, my Lords, how well this man is used to say his Mattins.

Phil. Though I say not Mattins in such order as your Lordship meaneth; yet I remember of old, that *Domine Dominus noster*, and *Caeli enarrant*, be not far asunder: and albeit I misnamed the Psalm, it is no prejudice to the Truth that I have proved.

Lord. What say you then to the second Scripture? how couple you that by the Word to the other?

Phil. The Text it self declareth, that notwithstanding a Christ did abate himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in Deity with the Father. And this *St. Paul* to the *Hebrews* doth more at large set forth. And as I have by the Scriptures joyned these two Scriptures together, so am I able to do in all other Articles of Faith which we ought to believe, and by the manifest Word of God to expound them.

Len. How can that be, seeing *St. Paul* saith, *That the lesser killeth, but it is the spirit that giveth life*.

Phil. *St. Paul* meaneth not the Word of God written, in it self killeth, which is the Word of life, and faithful testimony of the Lord; but that the Word is unprofitable and killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wisest man of the world, and therefore *St. Paul* said, *That the Gospel to some was a savour of life unto life, and to some other a savour of death unto death*. Also an example hereof we have in the sixth of *John*, of them who hearing the Word of God without the Spirit were offended thereby; wherefore Christ said, *The flesh profiteth nothing, it is the spirit that quickeneth*.

Lord. What? do you understand that of *St. Paul* and of *St. John* to?

Phil. It is not mine own interpretation, it is agreeable to the Word in other places; and I have learned the same of ancient Fathers interpreting it likewise. And to the *Corinthians* it is written, *Animalis homo non percipit ea quae sunt Spiritus Dei; spiritualis judicatur omnia*. The natural man perceiveth not the things that be of the Spirit of God, but the spiritual man which is induced with the spirit judgeth all things.

Lord. You see, my Lords, that this man will have his own mind, and will wilfully cast away himself. I am sorry for him.

Phil. The words that I have spoken be none of mine but the Gospel, whereon I ought to stand. And if you my Lord of London can bring better Authority for the Faith you will draw me unto, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear the same by you or by any other in this Realm.

Where-

Anno

1555

The Popes Catholics, when they have no just reason wherewith to persuade, they fall to railing, and to charge men with stubbornness.

Psalm 110

Scripture alleged:

How the Letter killeth, and whom,

1 Cor. 3

John 6.

1 Cor. 6.

1 Cor. 2

Anno 1555. Id. Philpot request to the Lords. Wherefore I kneeling down besought the Lords to be good unto me a poor Gentleman, that would raise live in the world if I might, and testify as you have heard me to say this day, that if any man can prove that I ought to be of any other manner of Faith then that of which I now am, and can prove the same sufficiently, I will be neither wilful, neither desperate, as my Lord of London would make you believe me to be.

Rich. What Country man be you? are you of the *Philpots of Hampshire.*

Phil. Yes, my Lord, I was Sir P. Philpot's Son of Hampshire.

Rich. He is my near kinsman; wherefore I am the more sorry for him.

Phil. I thank your Lordship that it pleaseth you to challenge kindred of a poor Prisoner.

Rich. In Faith I would go an hundred miles on my bare feet to do you good.

Chamb. He may do well enough if he list.

St. John. Mr. Philpot, you are my Countryman, and I would be glad you should do well.

Rich. You said even now, that you would desire to maintain your belief before ten of the best in the Realm. You did not well to compare with the Nobility of the Realm. But what if you have ten of the best in the Realm to hear you, will you be tried by them?

Phil. My Lord your Lordship mistaketh me to think that I challenge ten of the best of the Nobility in this Realm. It was no part of my mind, but I meant of the best Learned on the contrary side.

Rich. Well, I take your meaning: what if means be made to the Queens Majesty, that you shall have your request, will you be judged by them?

Phil. My Lord, it is not meet that a man should be judged by his Adversaries.

Rich. By whom then would you be judged?

Phil. I will make your Honors judges, that shall be hearers of us.

Rich. I dare be bold to procure for you of the Queens Majesty that you shall have ten Learned men to reason with you, and twenty or forty of the Nobility to hear, so you will promise to abide their judgement. How say you, that you promise here afore my Lords to do?

Phil. I will be contented to be judged by them.

R. Yes, but will you promise to agree to their judgment?

Phil. There be causes why I may not so do, unless I were sure they would judge according to the Word of God.

Rich. O, I perceive you will have no man judge but your self, and think your self wiser then all the Learned men in this Realm.

Phil. My Lord, I seek not to be mine own judge, but am content to be judged by other, so that the order of judgment in matters of Religion be kept that was in the primitive Church, which is, first that Gods will by his Word was fought, and therunto both the Spiritual and Temporality was gathered together, and gave their contents and judgment, and such kind of judgment I will stand to.

Lord. My Lords he would make you believe that he were profoundly seen in ancient writers of the judgments of the Primitive Church, and there was never any such manner of judgment used as he now talketh of.

Phil. In the Epistles of St. Cyprian I am able to shew it you.

Lord. Ah, I tell you there is no such thing; fetch me Cyprian's letter.

Phil. You shall find it otherwise when the Book cometh. And Doctor Chedsey his Chaplain (whom he appointed to fetch his Book) whispered the Bishop in his ear, and fetcht not the Book, by likelyhood that he should have sustained the reproach thereof if the Book had been fetcht. Well my Lord, quoth I, Mr. Doctor knoweth it is so, or else he would have fetcht the Book ere this.

Rich. You would have none other judge, I see, but the Word.

Phil. Yes my Lord: I will be tried by the Word, and by such as will judge according to the Word. As for an example, if there were a controversy between your Lordship and another upon the words of a Statute, must not the words of the Statute judge and determine the controversy?

Rich. No marry, the Judges of the Law may determine of the meaning thereof.

Lord. He hath brought as good an example against himself as can be.

And here the Bishop thought he had good handfast against me, and therefore enlarged it with many words to the judgment of the Church.

The Lords. He hath overthrown himself by his own argument.

Phil. My Lords, it seemeth to your Honors that you have great advantage of me by the example I brought in, to express my cause, but if it be pondered thoroughly, it maketh wholly with me, and nothing against me, as my Lord of London hath pretended. For I will ask of my Lord *Rich* here whom I know to have good knowledge in the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, albeit a Judge may discern the meaning of a Statute agreeable to the words, whether the same may judge a meaning contrary to the express words or no?

Rich. He cannot so do.

Phil. Even so say I, that no man ought to judge the Word of God to have a meaning contrary to the express words thereof, as this false Church of Rome doth in many things; and with this the Lords seemed to be satisfied, and made no further replication herein.

Rich. I marvel then why you do deny the express words of Christ in the Sacrament, saying, *This is my Body*, and yet you will not stick to say it is not his Body. Is not God Omnipotent? and is not he able as well by his Omnipotency to make it his Body, as he was to make man flesh of a piece of Clay? Did not he say; *This is my Body which shall be betrayed for you*? and was not his very Body betrayed for us? therefore it must needs be his Body.

Lord. My Lord *Rich*, you have said wonderful well and learnedly. But you might have begun with him before also in the 6. of *John*, where Christ promised to give his Body in the Sacrament of the Altar, saying, *Panem quem ego dabo caro mea est*; *The Bread which I will give is my flesh*. How can you answer to that?

Phil. If it please you to give me leave to answer first my Lord *Rich*. I will also answer this Objection.

Rich. Answer my Lord *London* first, and after come to me.

Phil. My Lord of *London* may be soon answered, that the saying of S. *John* is, that the humanity of Christ, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the Bread of Life, whereby our Bodies and Souls be sustained to eternal Life, of the which the Sacramental Bread is a lively representation and an effectual participation, to all such as believe on his passion. And as Christ said in the same sixth of *John*, *I am the Bread that came down from Heaven*; but yet he is not material neither natural Bread: Likewise the Bread is his flesh, not natural or substantial, but by signification, and by grace in the Sacrament.

And now to my Lord *Riches* Argument. I do not deny the express words of Christ in the Sacrament, *This is my Body*, but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken: they must be taken sacramentally and spiritually, according to the express declaration of Christ, saying that the words of the Sacrament which the *Catholics* took carnally, as the *Papists* now do, ought to be taken spiritually and not carnally, as they fallily imagine, not weighing what interpretation Christ hath made in this behalf, neither following the intimation of Christ, neither the use of the Apostles and of the primitive Church, who never taught, neither declared any such carnal manner of presence as is now exacted of us violently without any ground of Scripture or antiquity, who used to put out of the Church all such as did not receive the Sacrament with the right, and also to burn that which was left after the receiving, as by the Canon of the Apostles, and by the decree of the Council of *Antioch* may appear.

Lord. No, that is not so; they were only *Catechumens* which went out of the Church at the celebration of the Communion, and none other.

Phil. It was not only of such as were Novices in Faith but all others that did not receive.

Lord. What say you to the Omnipotency of God? is not he able to perform that which he saith, as my Lord *Rich*, hath very well said? I tell thee, that God by his Omnipotency may make himself to be this Carpet if he will.

B. Bower triumphs because the victory. As a Judge of the Law may not discern the meaning of a Statute otherwise than agreeable to the words, so such the Church no power to judge the meaning of Gods Word contrary as he fell.

the words of the Scripture are not to be taken as his Body.

The place John 6. expounded, (The bread that I will give is my flesh, &c.) Answer to the Lord Riches Objection, Papists convert themselves to the Catholics, transubstantiation hath neither ground of Scripture, nor Antiquity.

John Philpot will not be judged by his Adversaries, but by the hearers, so far as they shall judge by Gods Word.

The true order of judgment used in the primitive Church.

B. Bower bewrays his own ignorance.

B. Bower dares not reach out his Book.

Phil. As concerning the Omnipotency of God, I say that God is able to do (as the Prophet *David* saith) whatsoever he willeth; but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to his Word; as that is blasphemy which my Lord of London hath spoken, that God may become a Carpet. For as I have learned of ancient Writers? *Nom potest Deus facere quæ sunt naturæ sue contraria.* That is, God cannot do that which is contrary to his nature, as it is contrary to the nature of God to be a Carpet. A Carpet is a Creature; and God is the Creator; and the Creator cannot be the Creature: wherefore unless you can declare by the word, that Christ is otherwise present with us then spiritually and Sacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the Omnipotency of God in vain.

Lord. Why? Wilt thou not say that Christ is really present in the Sacrament? Or do you deny it?
Phil. I deny not that Christ is really in the Sacrament to the receiver thereof according to Christ's institution.
Lord. What mean you by really present?
Phil. I mean by really present, present indeed.
Lord. Is God really present every where?
Phil. He is so.

Lord. How prove you that?
Phil. The Prophet *Esaï* saith, *That God filleth all places*: and wherefore there be two or three gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst of them.
Lord. What? his humanity?
Phil. No my Lord, I mean the Deity, according to that you demanded.

Rich. My Lord of London, I pray you let Mr. Doctor *Chedsey* reason with him, and let us see how he can answer him, for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whose Doctrine the Queens Majesty and the whole Realm doth well allow, therefore hear him.

Lord. My Lords I pray you, will it please you to drink? you have talked a great while, and much talk is thirsty. I will leave Mr. Doctor and him reasoning together a while, with your leave, and will come to you by and by again. He went (as I suppose) to make room for more drink, after the Lords had drunken.

Rich. My Lord *Rich* said to the Lords, I pray you let the poor man drink, for he is thirsty, and with that he called for a Cup of drink, and gave it me, and I drank before all: God requite it him, for I was a thirst indeed. Afterwards Dr. *Chedsey* began in this wise, making a great process, of the which this is the effect.

Ched. Mr. *Philpot* findeth fault with the Convocation house before your Lordships, that he hath lain thus long in Prison, and that he had there a dozen Arguments, whereof he could not be suffered to prosecute one thoroughly, which is not so; for he had leave to say what he could, and was answered to as much as he was able to bring and when he had nothing else to say, he fell to weeping. I was there present and can testify thereof; albeit there is a Book abroad of the report of the disputation to the contrary, in the which there is never a true word. And whereas you require to be satisfied of the Sacrament, I will shew you the Truth thereof, both by the Scriptures, and by the Doctors.

Phil. It is a shrewd likelihood that you will not conclude with any Truth, since you have begun with so many untruths, as to say that I was answered whiles I had any thing to say, and that I wept for lack of matter to say, and that the Book of the report of the disputation is nothing true. God be praised, there were a good many of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and worshipful men that heard and saw the doings thereof, which can testify that you here have made an unjust report before these honorable Lords. And that I wept, was not for lack of matter, as you slander me; for I thank God, I have more matter then the best of you all shall ever be able to answer, as little learning as I have: but my weeping was, as Christ was upon *Jerusalem*, seeing the destruction that should fall upon her? and I foreseeing then the destruction which you (through violence and unrighteousness which you there declared) would work against the true Church of Christ and her faithful Members, as this day beareth witness, was compelled to weep in remembrance of that which I with infinity more have felt and shall feel.

All these words I did then speak out, being interrupted by my Lord *Rich*, saying that I should suffer him to proceed out in this matter, and afterwards I should have leisure to answer him in every Article. But he promised more then he could perform, as the end did well declare, for he had not the consent of the Spirituality to his promise, which now Rule the roost. God shorten their cruel days, for his Elects sake. And therefore I add this, which I had purposed to have spoken, if then I might have been suffered, left any that perfectly know not the things done in the Convocation-house and now laid to my charge if they should not be answered by me, might reckon Dr. *Chedsey's* sayings to be true. And as concerning the Book of the report of the disputations, I wrote the same, and it is true in every Argument, as Mr. Dean of *Recheſter*, and Mr. *Cheyney* Archdeacon of *Hereford* (yet being alive, and within the Realm) can testify.

Ched. You have of Scriptures the four Evangelists for the probation of Christ's real presence to be in the Sacrament after the words of Consecration, with *St. Paul* to the *Corinthians*; which all say, *Hoc est corpus meum*, *This is my Body*. They say not as you would have me to believe, this is not the Body. But specially the 6. of *John* proveth the same most manifestly, where Christ promised to give his Body, which he performed in his last Supper, as it appeareth by these words, *Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea est, quam ego dabo pro mundi vita*, *The Bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the World*.

Phil. My Lord *Rich*, with your leave, I must needs interrupt him a little, because he speaketh upon blasphemy against the death of Christ: for if that promise brought in by *St. John*, was performed by Christ in his last Supper, then needed he not to have died after he had given the Sacrament.

Rich. Let Mr. Doctor make an end of his Arguments, and afterward object to him what you can.

Ched. You must note that there is twice *Dabo* in this saying of *St. John*, and the first is referred to the Sacrament of the Altar; and the second to the Sacrifice upon the Cross: and besides these manifest Scriptures, there be many ancient Doctors proving the same, as *Ignatius*, *Irenæus*, and *S. Cyprian* (whose Authority he recited at large) which I do omit because I was not permitted to answer the same.

Rich. Now answer, and object to him what you can, and you shall be heard.

Phil. My Lord, the chiefest ground whereon he with the rest of his side do ground themselves against us, be these words, *This is my Body*, with a false pretence of the Omnipotency of God. And before I will come to the particular answers of all that he hath alledged, for that your Lordships may the better understand me, what I mean, and whereupon I stand, I will first require Mr. Doctor to answer me one question. But first of all I do protest to your Honors that I think as reverently of the Sacrament, as a Christian man ought to do, and that I acknowledge the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, ministered after Christ's institution, to be one of the greatest treasures and comforts that he left us on the Earth: and contrarywise it is most discomfort and abominable, not being ministered as it ought to be, as it is used now adays. And now to my question, which is this: whether these words only *Hoc est corpus meum*, *This is my Body*, spoken by a Priest over the Bread and Wine, may make the Body and Blood of Christ, as you suppose or no?

Ched. Staggering what he might say, at last he said, that these words alone, pronounced by the Priest, be sufficient to make the Bread and the Wine the very Body and Blood of Christ really.

Phil. That is blasphemous to say, and against all the Scriptures and Doctors, who affirm that the form and substance in Consecration must be observed which is used and did institute, as *S. Cyprian* saith, *In sacrificio quod Christus est, non nisi Christus sequendus*: *In rite* (this is my Body) make a real presence. *Cyp. lib. 2.* And by the Law it is forbidden to add or take away from Gods Word. And Saint *Peter* saith, *If any man speak let him speak as the Word of God*. Wherefore whosoever saith that these words only, *This is my Body*, do make a presence of Christ, without *Bless*, *Take*, and *Eat*, which

Anno

1555.

John Philpot

intercepted

in his Answer.

Præbe to

the Lord,

for so he

hath.

Chedsey pro-

veth the Sa-

crament by

the flesh of

John.

So is there

twice *Dabo*

too, and yet

but one na-

tural Body.

John Philpot

answers

proposition.

A question

of J. Philpot.

Blasphemy

to say that

these words

only (this

is my Body)

make a real

presence.

Cyp. lib. 2.

And by the

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bidden to add

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Saint Peter

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fore whosoever

saith that these

words only, *This*

is my Body,

do make a

presence of

Christ, without

Bless, *Take*,and *Eat*, which

be

Anno be three as substantial points of the Sacrament, as, *This is my Body*, he is highly deceived.

1555. Therefore St. Augustine saith, *Accedit verbum ad elementum & fit Sacramentum*; Let the word be joyned to the element, and it becometh a Sacrament: So that if the entire words of Christs Institutions be not observed in the ministrat[i]on of a Sacrament, it is no Sacrament; as the sacrifices which the Ten tribes did offer at Beisbel to God, were not acceptable, because they were not in all points done according to Gods Word. Wherefore except blessing be made after the Word (which is a due thanksgiving for our redemption in Christ) and also a shewing forth of the Lords death in such wise as the Congregation may be edified? and moreover a taking and eating after Christs Commandment? except (I say) these three parts be first performed (which is not done in the Mass) these words *This is my Body*, which are last placed in the institution of the Lords Supper, cannot be verified. For Christ commanded as well. *Take ye, Eat ye, as This is my Body*.

Christ said, *Take, Eat, this is my Body*, and not, take ye, Eat ye.

Mr Doctor taken with the manner.

Philpot. No did, Master Doctor? Be not these the words of Christ *Accipite, manducate*? and do not these words in the plural number signifie, *Take ye, Eat ye*, and not take thou, Eat thou, as you would suppose?

Ched. I grant it is as you say.

Phil. Likewise of consecrancy, you (M. Doctor) must needs deny, which you have said, that these words, *This is my Body*, being only spoken, be sufficient to make the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, as you have untruly said.

Lond. Then came in the Bishop again and said, what is it that you would have M. Doctor deny?

Phil. My Lord, M. Doctor hath affirmed that these words, *This is my Body*, spoken by the Priest, only do make the Sacrament.

The words of Christ (This is my Body) except a Priest speak them make no body.

Lond. Indeed if M. Bridges should speak these words over the Bread and Wine, they would be of none effect: but if a Priest speak them after a due manner, they are effectual, and make a real Body.

Phil. M. Doctor hath said otherwise.

Lond. I think you mistake him; for he meant of the words duly pronounced.

Phil. Let him revoke that he hath granted, and then will I begin again with that which before was said; that, *This is my Body*, hath no place, except, *bless, take, and Eat*, duly go before. And therefore because the same words do not go before, *This is my Body*, but preposterously follow in your Sacrament of the Mass, it is not the Sacrament of Christ, neither hath Christ in it present.

Ched. If, *This is my Body* only do not make the Sacrament, no more do, *bless, take, and Eat*.

Phil. I grant that the one without the other cannot make the Sacrament. And it can be no Sacrament unless the whole action of Christ doth concur together according to the first Institution.

Ched. Why, then you would not have it to be the Body of Christ, unless it be received?

Sacraments without their use be no Sacraments.

Phil. No verily, it is not the very Body of Christ to any other, but such as condignly receive the same after his Institution.

Lond. Is not a Loaf a Loaf, being set on the Table though no Body eat thereof?

Phil. It is not like my Lord; for a Loaf is a Loaf before it be set on the Table: but so is not the Sacrament a perfect Sacrament before it be duly ministrated at the Table of the Lord.

Lond. I pray you, what is it in the mean while, before it is received?

Phil. It is, my Lord, the sign begun of a holy thing, and yet no perfect Sacrament until it be received. For in the Sacrament there be two things to be considered, the sign, and the thing it self, which is Christ and his whole passion; and it is that to none but to such as worthily receive the holy signs of Bread and Wine, according to Christs Institution.

The Sacrament without receiving, is no Sacrament.

Wind. There were never any that denied the words of Christ as you do. Did not he say, *This is my Body*?

Phil. My Lord, I pray you be not deceived. We do not deny the words of Christ: but we say, these words

be of none effect, being spoken otherwise than Christ did institute them in his last Supper. For an example: Christ biddeth the Church to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: if a Priest say these words over the water, and there be no Child to be baptized, these words only pronounced do not make Baptism. And again; Baptism is only Baptism to such as be baptized, and to none other standing by.

L. Chamb. I pray you, my Lord, let me ask him one question. What kind of presence in the Sacrament (duly ministrated according to Christs Ordinance) do you allow?

Phil. If any come worthily to receive, then do I confess the presence of Christ wholly to be with all the fruits of his Passion, unto the said worthy Receiver, by the Spirit of God, and that Christ is thereby joyned to him and he to Christ.

L. Chamb. I am answered.

Lond. My Lords, take no heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His similitude that he bringeth in of Baptism, is nothing like to the Sacrament of the Altar. For if I should say to Sir John Bridges bring with me at Supper, and having a fat Capon, Take, eat, this is of a Capon, although he eat not thereof, is it not a Capon still? And likewise of a piece of Beef, or of a Cup of Wine; if I say, Drink, this is a Cup of Wine, is it not so, because he drinketh not thereof?

My Lord is better skilled in a fat Capon, than in Christs Sacrament.

Phil. My Lord, your similitudes be too gross for so high mysteries as we have in hand, as if I were your equal I could more plainly declare, and there is much more dissimilitude between common meats and drinks, than there is between Baptism and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. Like must be compared to like, and spiritual things with spiritual, and not spiritual things with corporal things. And meats and drinks be of their own natures good or evil, and your words, commending or discommending, do but declare what they are. But the Sacraments be to be considered according to the word which Christ spake of them, of the which, *Take ye, and eat ye*, be some of the chief, concurrent to the making of the same, without the which there can be no Sacraments: and therefore in Greek, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ is called *εὐχαριστία*, i. Communion, and likewise in the Gospel Christ commanded, saying, *Dividite inter vos, i. Divide it among you*.

Ched. St. Paul calleth it a Communion.

Phil. That doth more expressly shew, that there must be a participation of the Sacrament together.

Lond. My Lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now: and with that the Lords rose up, none of them saying any evil word unto me, half amazed, in my judgment, God work it to good. Thus endeth the sixth part of this Tragedy: The seventh look for with joy.

You are too weak, my Lord, you may rise when ye will.

The seventh Examination of John Philpot, had the nineteenth of November, before the Bishops of London and Rochester, the Chancellor of Lichfield, and D. Chedley.

Lond. Sirrah, come hither. How chance you come no sooner? Is it well done of you to make Mr. Chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the Faith of my body, half an hour before Mass, and half an hour even at Mass, looking for your coming.

Another calling of the Bishop.

Philpot. My Lord, it is not unknown to you that I am a Prisoner, and that the doors be shut upon me, and I cannot come when I list; but as soon as the doors of my Prison were open, I came immediately.

Lond. We sent for thee to the intent thou shouldst have come to Mass. How say you, would you have come to Mass or no, if the doors had sooner been opened?

Phil. My Lord, that is another manner of question.

Lond. Le, Mr. Chancellor, I told you we should have a froward Fellow of him; he will answer directly to nothing. I have had him before both the Spiritual Lords and Temporal, and thus he saith still; yet he reckoneth himself better learned than all the Realm. Yea, before the Temporal Lords, the other day, he was so foolish to challenge the best: he would make himself learned, and is a very ignorant fool indeed.

You fall before he was learned.

Phil. I reckon, I answered your Lordship before the Lords plain enough.

Lond.

Lord. Why answerest thou not directly, whether thou wouldst have gone to Mass or no, if thou hadst come in time?

Phil. Mine answer shall be thus, that, if your Lordship can prove your Mass, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true service of God, whereunto a Christian ought to come, I will afterward come with a good will.

Note how
insubstantially
Mr. Zuer
proveh the
Mass.

Lord. Look I pray you: the King and the Queen, and all the Nobility of the Realm do come to Mass, and yet he will not. By my Faith thou art well handled: thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee.

Phil. If to lie in a blind Cole-house, may be counted good handling, both without fire and candle, then may it be said, I am well handled. Your Lordship hath Power to intreat my Body as you list.

Lord. Thou art a Fool, and a very ignorant Fool. Master Chancellor, in good Faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleness as they can desire. Let their Friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? the other day they had gotten themselves up into the top of the Leads with a many of Prentices, gazing abroad as though they had been at liberty; but I will cut off your resort: and as for the Prentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them:

The Priests
charg-
ed with
that they
neither did
nor knew of.
He meaneth
Stephen Gar-
diner, which
in this
speech did
a little be-
tray.

Phil. My Lord, we have no such resort to us as your Lordship imagineth, and there cometh very few unto us. And of Prentices I know not one, neither have we any Leads to walk on over our Cole-house, that I wot of: wherefore your Lordship hath mistaken your mark.

Lord. Nay: now you think (because my Lord Chancellor is gone) that we will burn no more: yes I warrant thee, I will dispatch you shortly, unless you do recant.

Phil. My Lord, I had not thought that I should have been alive now, neither so raw as I am, but well rosted to alhes.

Chan. Cast not your self wilfully away Mr. Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my Lord here, and by other Learned men of this Realm, & you may do well enough.

Mr. Philpot
saith
that upon his
Conscience
and the fear
of God.

Phil. My Conscience beareth record that I seek to please God, and that the love and fear of God causeth me to do as I do: and I were of all other Creatures most miserable, if for mine own will only I do lose all the commodities I might have in this life, and afterward be cast to damnation. But I am sure, it is not my will whereon I stand, but Gods will, which will not suffer me to be cast away, I am sure.

Chan. You are not so sure, but you may be deceived.

Mr. Zuer
proceedeth
Ex officio
with Mr.
Philpot.

Lord. Well, since thou wilt not be conformable by fair means I will proceed against thee *Ex officio*, and therefore hearken here to such Articles as I have here written, and I charge thee to make answer to them. And with that he read a Libel which he had in his hand of divers Articles, and when he had done, he bad me answer.

Two Ur-
truchs in
the Bishops
Articles.

Phil. Your libel, my Lord, containeth in sum two special points: The first pretendeth, that I should be of your Diocese, and therefore your Lordship, upon divers suspects and infamies of Heresie going upon me, is moved to proceed against me by your Ordinary office; the which first is not true, for that I am not of your Lordships Diocese, as the Libel doth pretend. And the second is, that I being Baptized in the Catholick Church, and in the Catholick Faith, am gone from them, the which is not so, for I am of that Catholick Faith and Church as I was baptized unto.

Lord. What? art thou not of my Diocese? where are ye now I pray you?

Phil. My Lord, I cannot deny but I am in your Cole-house, which is your Diocese: yet I am not of your Diocese.

Lord. You were sent hither unto me by the Queens Majesties Commissioners, and thou art now in my Diocese: wherefore I will proceed against thee as thy Ordinary.

John Philpot
challengeth
the privi-
ledge of his
Ordinarie
right.

Phil. I was brought hither through violence, and therefore my present being now in your Diocese is not enough to abridge me of mine own Ordinary's Jurisdiction neither maketh it me willingly subject to your Jurisdiction since it cometh by force, and by such men as had no just Authority so to do; no more than a Sanctuary man, being by force brought forth of his place of privilege, doth thereby lose his privilege, but always may challenge the same whereforever he be brought.

Chan. Hath not the Queens Majesty authority, by her Commissioners, to remove your Body whither she will? and ought you not to obey herein?

Phil. I grant that the Queens Majesty (of her just Power) may transpose my Body, whither it shall please her Grace to command the same. But yet by your Laws *Spiritualia non sunt subiecta Imperatoris potestati*. i. *Spiritual causes be not subject to the Temporal Power*. As for example; You Mr. Doctor, if the Queens Majesty would appoint two temporal men to be judges over you in certain spiritual matters, might not you allege the privilege of a Clerk, and demand competent Spiritual judges in your causes?

Lord. Doth not a man (I pray you) *forisiri forum ratione delicti*?

Phil. My Lord, your rule is true in Temporal matters, but in Spiritual causes it is not so: which be otherwise privileged.

Lord. What list thou then to the second Article, and to the other?

Phil. My Lord, I say that I am not bound to answer the second, neither the rest, unless the first be proved.

Lord. Well, suppose the first may be proved, as it will be, what will you say then to the second, that you are not of the same Catholick Faith, neither of the same Church now, as you were baptized in?

Phil. I am of the same Catholick Faith, and of the same Catholick Church which is of Christ, the Pillar and establishment of Truth.

Lord. Nay that you are not.

Phil. Yes that I am.

Lord. Your Godfathers and Godmothers were of another Faith then you be now.

Phil. I was not baptized either into my Godfathers Faith or my Godmothers, but into the Faith and into the Church of Christ.

Lord. How know you that?

Phil. By the Word of God, which is the Touchstone of Faith, and the limits of the Church.

Lord. How long hath your Church stood I pray you?

Phil. Even from the beginning, from Christ and from his Apostles, and from their immediate Successors.

Chan. He will prove his Church to be before Christ.

Phil. If I did so I go not amiss: for there was a Church before the coming of Christ, which maketh one Catholick Church.

Chan. It is so indeed.

Phil. I will define no better rule then the same which is oftentimes brought in of your side, to prove both my Faith and the Catholick Church; that is, Antiquity, Universality, and Unity.

Lord. Do you not see what a bragging foolish fellow this is? He would seem to be very well seen in the Doctors, and he is but a Fool. By what Doctor art thou able to prove thy Church? Name him, and thou shalt have him.

Phil. My Lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and ink, and paper, and I will prove both my Faith and my Church out of every one of them.

Lord. No that thou shalt not have. You shall see how he lieth. *S. Cyprian* saith, *There must be one High Priest, to the which the residue must obey*, and they will allow no Head, neither Vicar general.

Phil. *S. Cyprian* saith not, that there should be a Vicar general overall. For in his Book *De simplicitate Prelatorum*, I am sure he faith the contrary. *Unus Episcopus est, cuius pars in solidum a singulis tenetur*. i. *There is but one Bishoprick, which is wholly possessed of every Bishop in part*.

Lord. Yet hither the Book, thou shalt fee the manifest place against thee.

Doctor *Chedsey* brought the Book, and turned to the place in an Epistle written unto *Cornelius*, then Bishop of *Rome*, and recited these words in sum *That it went not well with the Church, where the high Priest was not obeyed*, and so would have concluded for the confirmation of the Bishops saying.

Phil. Mr. Doctor you misconstrue the place of *S. Cyprian*: for he meaneth not there by the high Priest, the Bishop of *Rome*, but every Patriarch in his precinct, of whom there were four appointed in his time. And in writing

Anto
1555.

Spiritual things are not subject to temporal Powers, and therefore the temporal Commissioners had no power to remove him into another mans Diocese.

A man is not baptized into his Godfathers Faith, nor his Godmothers Faith, but into the Faith of Christ.

John Philpot proveth his Church to be from Christ.

No rule better than Antiquity, Universality, and Unity, to prove the true Faith and Church of the Protestants.

Because you dare not.

S. Cyprian meaneth every Church to have his own Governor, not all Churches to be under one.

Cyp. lib. 1. Epist. 3.

The place of *S. Cyprian* explained.

unty

Anno 1555. unto Cornelius he meaneeth by the high Priest, himself, which was then chief Bishop of Africa, whose Authority the Hereticks began to despise. Whereof he complaineth to Cornelius, and faith, the Church cannot be well ordered, where the chief Minister by order after the judgment of the Scriptures, after the agreement of the People and the content of his fellow Bishops, is not obeyed.

Discoler. London. Hath not the Bishop of Rome always been supreme head of the Church, and Christs vicar in earth even from Peter?

The Bishop of Rome no more head of the Church, then the B. of London.

Peter had no more Authority over the Church then every one of the Apostles had.

Philos. I grant that the Bishop of Rome, as he is the successor of Peter, hath the same Authority as Peter had: but Peter had no more Authority then every one of the Apostles had.

Chanc. Yes that S. Peter had; for Christ said specially unto him, *Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum; I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven;* the which he spake to none other of his disciples singularly, but to him.

Phil. S. Augustine answered otherwise to the objection, and faith, *That if in Peter there had not been the figure of the Church, the Lord had not said to him, To thee I will give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. The which if Peter received not, the Church hath them not. If the Church hath them, then Peter hath them not.*

London. What if I can prove and shew you out of the Civil Law, that all Christendome ought to follow the Holy Catholick Church of Rome; as there is a special title thereof, *De catholica fide & sancta Romana Ecclesia?*

Phil. That is nothing material, seeing the things of God be not subject to mans laws; and the divine matters must be ordered by the Word of God, and not of man.

A Doctor. What will you say if I can prove that Christ builded his Church upon Peter, and that out of S. Cyprian? Will you then believe that the B. of Rome ought to be supreme head of the Church?

Phil. I know what S. Cyprian writeth in that behalf; but he meaneeth nothing as you take it.

A Doctor. S. Cyprian hath these words, *Quod super Petrum fundata fuit Ecclesia, tanquam super originem unitatis, That upon Peter was builded the Church, & upon the first beginning of Unity.*

Philos. He declareth that in an example, that Unitie must be in the Church; he grounded on Peter his Church alone, and not upon men. The which he doth more manifestly declare in the book *De simplicitate Praelatorum*, saying, *In persona unus Christus dedit omnibus claves, ut omnium unitatem denotaret. In the person of one man God gave the keys to all; that be in signification thereby might declare the unitie of all men.*

A Doctor. What will you understand S. Cyprian so? That were good indeed.

Philos. I think you cannot understand S. Cyprian better, then he doth declare himself.

London. I will desire you (Mr. Chancellor) to take some pains with Mr. D. Chadsey, about his examination, for I must go to the Parliament house. And I will desire you to dine with me.

Phil. Then the Doctor took again his former Authority in hand for want of another, and would have made a further circumstance, digressing from his purpose. To whom I said, he knew not whereabouts he went, and therewith he laughed. And I said his divinitie was nothing but scoffing.

Mr. Doctor. Yea, then I have done with you, and so slipped away.

Phil. You are too young in Divinitie to teach me in the matters of my Faith. Though you be learned in other things more then I, yet in Divinitie I have been longer practised then you, for any thing I can hear of you; therefore be not too hafty to judge that you do not perfectly know.

Chanc. Peter and his successors from the beginning have been allowed for the supreme head of the Church, and that by the Scriptures, for that Christ said unto him in S. John thrice, *Feed my sheep, Pasce oves meas.*

Philos. That is no otherwise to be taken, then, *lie, praedicare, Go ye and preach*, which was spoken to all the Apostles, as well as unto Peter. And that Christ said thrice, *Pasce oves meas, Feed my sheep*, it signifieth nothing else but the earnest study that the Ministers of God ought to have in preaching the Word: God grant that you of the Clergy would weigh your dutie in this behalf more then you do. Is this a just interpretation of the Scripture, to take *Pasce oves meas*, for to be Lord of the whole World? In this mean while came in the Bachelor of Divinitie, which is a Reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the Bishop, and he took upon him to help Mr. Chancellor.

Scholar. What will you say if I can shew you a Greek Author called Theophylact, to interpret it so? Will you believe his interpretation?

Phil. Theophyl. is a late Writer, and one that was a favourer of the B. of Rome; and therefore not to be credited, since his interpretation is contrarie to the manifest words of the Scripture, and contrary to the determination of many general Councils.

Scholar. In what general Council was it otherwise, that the B. of Rome was not supreme head over all?

Phil. In Nice Council I am sure it was otherwise; for to Nicomachus Arbanusius was there the chief Bishop and president of the Council, and not the B. of Rome.

Scholar. Nay that is not so.

Phil. Then I perceive you are better seen in words then in knowledge of things: and I will gage with you what you will, it is so, as you may see in the Epitome of the Councils.

Scholar. I will fetch Eusebius and shew the contrary, and the book of general Councils. He went into my Lords closet, and brought Eusebius; but the general Councils he brought not, saying (for favouring of his honesty) that he could not come by them, and there he would have defended that it was otherwise in Eusebius, but was not able to shew the same, and so thrank away confounded.

Chanc. The Church of Rome hath been always taken for the Catholick Church; therefore I would advise you to come into the same with us. You see all the men of this Realm do condemn you. And why will you be so singular?

Phil. I have said, and still do say, that if you can be able to prove it unto me, that I will be of the same. But I am sure that the Church, which you make so much of, is a false Church, and a Synagogue of Satan. And you with the learned men of the Realm do persecute the true Church, and condemn such as be more righteous then you.

Chanc. Do you hear (Mr. Doctor) what he saith, that the Church of Rome is the Devil?

Chad. I wish you did think more reverently of the Church of Rome. What will you say if I can shew you out of S. Austin in his Epistle written unto Pope Innocentius, that the whole general Council of Carthage did allow the Church of Rome to be chiefest over all other?

Phil. I am sure you can shew no such thing. And with that he fet the book of S. Austin, and turned to the Epistle but he could not prove his allegation manifestly, but by conjectures in this wise.

Chad. Here you may see, that the Council of Carthage writing to Innocent, the Bishop, calleth the See of Rome the Apostolick See. And besides this they write to him certifying him of things done in the Council for the condemnation of the Donatists, requiring his approbations in the same, which they would not have done, if they had not taken the Church of Rome for the supreme head of others. And moreover you may see how S. Austin doth prove the Church of Rome to be the Catholick Church by continual succession of the Bishop until his time, which succession we can prove until our daies; therefore by the same reason of S. Austin we say now, that the Church of Rome is the Catholick Church.

Phil. Mr. Doctor, I have considered how you do weigh S. Augustine; and contrary to his meaning and words you would infer your false conclusion. As concerning that it was called by him the Apostolick See, that is not material to prove the Church of Rome now to be the Catholick Church. I will grant it now that it is the Apostolick See, in respect that Paul and Peter did once there preach the Gospel, and abode there for a certain season. I would you could prove it to be the Apostolick See of the true religion and

The word of Christ to Peter, and my deep man, expounded by the Preacher.

Theophylact of no great Authority.

To Nicomachus Arbanusius was there the chief Bishop and president of the Council, and not the B. of Rome.

The scholars of Oxford bristled away.

The Popes side not able to prove the Church to be the holy Catholick Church.

Three mind may be out of the Spittle of Augustine.

How the See of Rome may be called apostolical, and how not apostolical.

The conclusion of the Council of Carthage.

The being of Peter as the head of the whole Church.

and sincerity as the Apostle left it, and did teach the same; the which if ye could do, you might boast of Rome as of the Apostolical See; other wise it is now of no more force, than if the Turk at Antioch and at Jerusalem should boast of the Apostolical Sees, because the Apostles once did there abide, and founded the Church of Christ.

And whereas the whole Council of Carthage did write unto Pope Innocentius, certifying him of that was done in the General Council, and willing him to set his helping hand to the suppressing of the Donatists, as they had done; that fact of the Council proveth nothing the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, no more than if the whole Convocation-house now gathered together, and agreeing upon certain Articles, might send the same to some Bishop, that upon certain impediments is not present, willing him to agree thereto, and to set them forth in his Diocels. The which fact doth not make any such Bishop of greater Authority than the rest, because his consent is Brotherly required.

And touching the Succession of the Bishops of Rome, brought in by S. Augustine, it maketh nothing now thereby to prove the same Catholick Church, unless you can conclude with the same reason as S. Augustine doth. And the rehearsal of the succession of the Bishops doth tend to this only, to prove the Donatists to be Heretics, because they began as well at Rome as in Africa, to found another Church of their own setting up, than was grounded by Peter and Paul, and by their Successors, whom he reciteth until his time, which all taught no such Doctrine, neither such Church as the Donatists: And if presently you be able to prove by the Bishops of Rome (whereof you do glory) that such Doctrine hath not been taught

by any of the Successors of Peters See, as is now taught and believed of us, you have good reason against us: otherwise it is of no force, as I am able to declare.

Chanc. Well M. Doctor, you see we can do no good in perfwading of him: let us minister the Articles which my Lord hath left us, unto him. How say you M. Philpot to these Articles? M. Johnson I pray you write his Answers.

Phil. M. Chancellor, you have no authority to enquire of me my Belief in such Articles as you go about, for that I am not of my Lord of Londons Diocels; and to be brief with you, I will make no further answer herein than I have already to the Bishop.

Chanc. Why then let us go our ways, and let his Keeper take him away.

Thus endeth the seventh part of this Tragedy.

The Sum of a private Conference or Talk between Mr. Philpot, and the Bishop

Private talk between M. Philpot and Bishop Boner.

Philpot. The next day in the morning betime, the Bishop sent one of his men unto me, to call me up into his Chappell to hear Mass.

Bishop Man. M. Philpot, where be you?

Phil. Who is it that calleth me?

Bishop Man. My Lords will is, you should rise and come to hear Mass: Will you come or no?

Phil. My Stomach is not very good this morning: you may tell my Lord I am sick. After this the Keeper was sent to bring me to my Lord.

The Keeper. Mr. Philpot, you must rise and come to my Lord.

Phil. I am at your commandment (M. Keeper) as soon as I can; and going out of the Prison, he asked me, saying:

The Keeper. Will ye go to Mass?

Phil. My Stomach is too raw to digest such raw meats of flesh, blood, and bone, this morning. After this my Keeper presented me to the Bishop in his Hall.

Lord. Mr. Philpot, I charge you to answer unto such Articles as my Chaplain and my Register have from me to object against you; go and answer them.

Phil. My Lord, *Omnia judicium debent esse publica*; Anno All Judgments ought to be publick. Therefore if your Lordship have any thing to charge me lawfully withal, let me be in Judgment lawfully and openly called, and I will answer according to my duty; otherwise in corners I will not.

Lord. Thou art a foolish Knave I see well enough, thou shalt answer whether thou wilt or no; Go thy ways with them, I say.

Phil. I will go with them at your Lordships pleasure; but I will make them no further Answers than I have said already.

Lord. No, wilt thou not Knave? Have him away, and set him in the Stocks: What, foolish Knave?

Phil. Indeed (my Lord) you handle me, with others, like Fools: and we must be content to be made fools at your hands, Stocks and Violence be your Bishop-like Alms. You go about by force in corners to oppress, and beamed that your doings should come to light; God shorten your cruel Kingdom for his Mercies sake. And I was put by and by into the Stocks, in an house alone, separate from my Fellows, God be praised that he hath thought me worthy to suffer any thing for his Names sake. Better it is to fit in the Stocks of this world, than to fit in the Stocks of a damnable Conscience.

Another Conference between the Bishop and Mr. Philpot, and other Prisoners.

Philpot. The next day after, an hour before day, the Bishop sent for me again by the Keeper.

The Keeper. Mr. Philpot arise, you must come to my Lord.

Phil. I wonder what my Lord meaneth, that he sendeth for me thus early, I fear he will use some violence towards me, wherefore I pray you make him this answer, That if he did send for me by an order of Law, I will come and answer; otherwise, since I am not of his Diocels, neither is he mine Ordinary, I will not (without I be violently constrained) come unto him.

Keeper. I will tell my Lord what answer you make: and so he went away to the Bishops Men, saying, that I must come whether I would or no.

Phil. If by violence any of you will enforce me to go, then I must go, otherwise I will not; and therewith one of them took me with force by the arm, and led me up into the Bishops Gallery.

Lord. What, Thou art a foolish Knave indeed; thou wilt not come without thou be fetched.

Phil. I am brought indeed (my Lord) by violence unto you, and your cruelty is such, that I am afraid to come before you, I would your Lordship would gently proceed against me by the Law.

Lord. I am blamed of the Lords the Bishops, for that I have not dispatched thee ere this. And in Faith I made sure to my Lord Cardinal, and to all the Convocation, of these things, that they would hear thee. And my Lord of Lincoln stood up, and said, that thou wert a frantick Fellow, and a man that will have the last word. And they all have much blamed me, because I have brought thee so often before the Lords openly: and they say, it is meat and drink to you to speak in an open audience, you glory so of your self. Wherefore I am commanded to take a further order with thee, and in good Faith if you will not relent, I will make no further delay. Marry, if thou wilt be conformable, I will yet forgive thee all that is past, and thou shalt have none hurt for any thing that is already spoken or done.

Phil. My Lord, I have answered you already in this behalf, what I will do. And as for the report of Master White, Bishop of Lincoln, I pass not: who is known to be mine enemy, for that I being Archdeacon did excommunicate him for preaching naughty Doctrine. If Christ my Master were called a mad man, it is no marvel though ye count me frantick.

Lord. Hadst thou not a Pig brought thee the other day with a Knife in it? Wherefore was it (I pray thee) but to kill thy self? or, as it is told me (marry I am counselled to take heed of thee) to kill me? but I fear thee not. I row I am able to tread thee under my feet; do the best thou canst.

Philpot.

The Council of Carthage wrote to Innocentius B. of Rome, to confirm their calls with his fabrication, Arg. the B. of Rome above all Bishops.

The scope of S. Augustines Argument is not to prove the Church of Rome therefore to be found in the Doctrine, because it hath succession of Bishops from the Apostles, but to prove the Donatists to be Schismatics, for that the Church of Rome containing both found in the Doctrine of the Apostles, and also in retaining still succession of Bishops from the Apostles time, yet they would forsake the unity of that Church, and set up another Church of their own.

The Argument is this. To differ from that Church which by continual succession of Bishops descended from the Apostles and keepeth the same Inhabitation still in Faith and Doctrine, is to break the unity of the Church, and to be Schismatics.

The Donatists do so from the Church of Rome, having no just cause of Difference to do so. Ergo, the Donatists be Schismatics.

The Chancellor's book to minister Articles against J. Philpot. John Philpot reciteth the Chancellor to be his Ordinary.

Private talk between M. Philpot and Bishop Boner.

A murrel how the Philots carried up a whole man, flesh, blood, and bone, to breakfast, can have such a hungry Stomach to other dinner afterward, as they have, as it they had eaten never a bit of meat before.

Anno 1555.

Philpot reciteth to be set in the Stocks of the College.

John Philpot commanded to be set in the Stocks of the College.

Another days talk of the Bishop with J. Philpot, and other Prisoners.

John Philpot brought to the Bishop by violence.

Non here the just dealings of these Bishops.

This Bishop of Lincoln was Dr. White.

John Philpot being Archdeacon excommunicated Bishop White for preaching false Doctrine.

Anno 1555. **Martyr made** of a Knife sent to John Philpot in a ship belly.

Philpot. My Lord I cannot deny but that there was a knife in the Piggs belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpose I know not, unless it were because he that sent the meat, thought I was without a Knife, and so put it in. But other things your Lordship I came to Prison. And touching your own person, you should live long if you should live until I go about to kill you; and I confess by violence your Lordship is able to overcome me.

Articles against John Philpot.

London. I charge thee to answer to mine Articles. Hold him a Book. Thou shalt swear to answer truly to all such Articles, as I shall demand of thee.

Phil. I will first know your Lordship to be mine Ordinary, before I swear herein.

London. What, we shall have an Anabaptist of thee, which thinketh it not lawful to swear before a judge?

Phil. My Lord, I am no Anabaptist, I think it lawful to swear before a competent judge, being lawfully required. But I refuse to swear in these causes before your Lordship, because you are not mine Ordinary.

London. I am thine Ordinary, and here do pronounce by sentence peremptory. that I am thine Ordinary, and that thou art of my Diocess: and here he bad call in more to bear him witness. And I make thee (taking one of his Servants by the arm) to be my notary. And now hearken to my Articles, to the which (when he had read them) he monished me to make answer, and said to the Keeper, Let me his fellows, and I shall make them to be witnesses against him.

False Articles feigned against John Philpot.

In the mean while came in one of the Sheriffs of London, whom the Bishop (calling for two Chairs) placed by him, saying, Master Sheriff I would you should understand how I do proceed against this man. Master Sheriff, you shall hear what Articles this man doth maintain; and so read a rablement of feigned Articles: That I should deny Baptism to be necessary to them that were born of Christian parents, that I denied Fasting and Prayer, and all other good deeds, and I maintained only bare Faith to be sufficient to salvation whatsoever a man did besides, and I maintained God to be the Author of all sin and wickedness.

Phil. Ha, my Lord, have ye nothing of Truth to charge me withal, but ye must be fain to imagine these blasphemous lies against me? You might as well have said I had killed your Father. The scriptures say, *That God will destroy all men that speak lies.* And is not your Lordship ashamed to say before this worlshipful Gentleman (who is unknown to me) that I maintain these abominable blasphemies which you have rehearsed? which if I did maintain, I were well worthy to be counted an Heretick, and to be burned an hundred times if it were possible.

London. I do object them unto thee, to hear what thou wilt say in them, and how thou canst purge thy self of them.

Phil. Then it was not justly said of your Lordship in the beginning, that I did maintain them, since almost I hold none of these Articles you have read, in form as they are written.

London. How saist thou? Wilt thou answer to them or no?

Phil. I will first know you to be mine Ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with such things, and then afterward being lawfully called in judgment, I will shew my mind fully thereof, and not otherwise.

London. Well, then I will make thy Fellows to be witnesses herein against thee? where are they? come.

Keep. They be here my Lord.

London. Come hither Sirs, hold them a Book, you shall swear by the contents of that Book, that you shall (all manner of affections laid apart) say the Truth of all such Articles as you shall be demanded of concerning this man here present, which is a very naughty man, and take you heed of him that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth you much hurt, and strengtheneth you in your Errors.

Prisoners. My Lord, we will not swear, except we know whereto: we can accuse him of no evil, we have been but a while acquainted with him.

Phil. I wonder your Lordship knowing the Law will

go about, contrary to the same, to have infamous persons to be witnesses, for your Lordship doth take them to be Hereticks; and by the Law an Heretick cannot be a witness.

London. Yes, one Heretick against another may be well enough. And Mr. Sheriff, I will make one of them to be a witness against another.

Phil. You have the Law in your hand, and you will do what you list.

Prisoners. No, my Lord.

London. No, will you not? I will make you swear, whether you will or no. I wene they be Anabaptists, Master Sheriff, they think it not lawful to swear before a Judge.

Philpot. We think it lawful to swear for a man judicially called as we are not now, but in a blind corner.

London. Why then, seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you shall swear for your selves, and I do here in the presence of Mr. Sheriff object the same Articles unto you as I have done unto him, and do requite you under the pain of Excommunication, to answer particularly unto every one of them when ye shall be examined, as ye shall be by and by examined by my Register and some of my Chaplains.

Prisoners. My Lord, we will not accuse our selves. If any man can lay any thing against us, we are here ready to answer thereto: otherwise we pray your Lordship not to burthen us; for some of us are here before you, we know no just cause why.

London. Mr. Sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with these forward men. And so he rose up and was going away, talking with Mr. Sheriff.

Phil. Mr. Sheriff, I pray you record how my Lord proceedeth against us in Corners, without all order of Law, having no just cause to lay against us. And after this were all commanded to be put in the Stocks, where I fate from morning untill night, and the Keeper at Night upon favour let me out.

Another Private conference between the Bishop and Philpot in the Cole-house

Phil. The Sunday after, the Bishop came into the Cole-house at night with the Keeper, and viewed the house, saying that he was never here afore: whereby a man may guess how he hath kept Gods Commandment in visiting the Prisoners, seeing he was never with them that have been so nigh his nose: and he came not then for any good zeal but to view the place, and thought it too good for me, and therefore after Supper, between eight and nine, he sent for me, saying,

London. Sir, I have great displeasure of the Queen and the Council for keeping you so long, and letting you have so much liberty; and besides that, you be yonder and strengthen the other Prisoners in their Errors, as I have laid wait for your doings, and am certified of you well enough: I will sequester you therefore from them, and you shall hurt no more as you have done, and I will out of hand dispatch you, as I am commanded, unless you will be a comfortable man.

Phil. My Lord, you have my Body in your custody; you may transport it whither you please: I am content. And I would you would make as quick expedition in my judgment, as you say, I long therefore; and as for Conformity, I am ready to yield to all Truth, if any can bring better then I.

London. Why, will you believe no man but your self, whatsoever they say?

Phil. My belief must not hang upon mens sayings, without sure Authority of Gods Word, the which if any can shew me, I will be pliant to the same; otherwise, I cannot go from my certain Faith to that which is uncertain.

London. Have you then the Truth only?

Phil. My Lord, I will speak my mind freely unto you, and upon no malice I bear to you, before God. You have not the Truth, neither are you of the Church of God; but you persecute both the Truth and the true Church of God, for the which cause you cannot prosper long. You see God doth not prosper your doings according to your expectations: He hath of late shewed his just judgment against one of your greatest doers, who by report died miserably. I envy not your Authority

B. Boner gains doth against the Law.

Note how the Bishop makes Answer.

B. Boner fetcheth Court.

B. Boner viewing his Cole-house.

He misseeth S. Crispian B. of Winch.

God shall
let it rest
and answer.

you are in. You that have Learning should know best how to rule. And seeing God hath restored you to your dignity and living again, use the same to Gods glory, and to the setting forth of his true Religion; otherwise it will not continue, do what you can. With this saying he was paused, and said at length:

Lord. That good man was punished for such a thou art. Where is the Keeper? Come let him have him to the place that is provided for him. Go your way before.

Phil. And he followed me, calling the Keeper aside, commanding to keep all men from me, and narrowly to watch me (as the sequel did declare) and brought me to his privy door that goeth into the Church, and commanded two of his men to accompany the Keeper, and to see me placed.

J. Tholp
conveyed
into a close
Tower
by going to
St. Pauls
Church.

And afterwards I passed through *Pauls* up to *Lollards Tower*, and after that turned along all the West-side of *Pauls* through the Wall and passing through six or seven Doors, came to my lodging through many straits; where I called to remembrance, that strait is the way to Heaven, and it is in a Tower right on the other side of *Lollards Tower*, as high almost as the Battlements of *Pauls*, 8 foot of breadth and 13 of length, and almost over the Prison where I was before, having a window opening toward the East, by the which I may look over the tops of a great many houses, but see no man passing into them: and who so walketh in the Bishops utter Gallery going to his Chappel, may see my Window and me standing in the same.

Mr. Boner
furnished
with
Writings

And as I was come to my place, the Keeper plucked off my Gown, and searched me very narrowly, and took away Penner, Inkhorn, Girdle and Knife, but (as God would) I had an inkling a little before I was called, of my removing, and thereupon made an errand to the Stool, where full fore against my will I cast away many a sweet Letter and friendly: but that I had written of my last Examination before, I thrust into my Hofs, thinking the next day to have made an end thereof, and with going it was fallen down to my Leg, the which he by feeling did soon spy, and asked what that was. I said, they were certain Letters: and with that he was very busy to have them out. Let me alone (said I) I will pluck them out; with that I put in my hand, having two other Letters therein, and brought up the same writing to my Coodpiece, and there left it, giving him the other two Letters that were not of any great importance; the which to make a shew that they had been weighty, I began to tear as well as I could, till they snatched them from me, and so deluded him (I thank God) of his purpose.

The Copy
of his Ex-
amination
by G. St.
great work-
ing prefer-
red.

After this he went his way, and as he was going, one of them that came with him, said, that I did not deliver the Writings I had in my Hofs, but two other Letters I had in my hand before. No dill, quoth he? I will go search him better: the which hearing, conveyed my Examination I had written, into another place besides my Bed, and took all my Letters I had in my purse, and was tearing of them when he came again, and as he came I threw the same out of my Windows, saying, That I heard what he said; wherefore I did prevent his searching again, wherefore I was right glad. God be praised that gave me that present shift to blind their eyes from the knowledge of my writings, the which if they had known, it would have been a great occasion of more stricter keeping and looking unto, although they look as narrowly as they may.

The eighth Examination of John Philpot, before the Bishop of London, the Bishop of St. Davids, Mr. Mordant, and others, in the Bishops Chappel.

The eighth
Examina-
tion of Mr.
Philpot.

The next day after, my Keeper came before day in the morning to call me down, and so was I brought down into his Wardrobe, where with a Keeper I was left and there continued all the day. But after dinner I was called down into the Chappel, before the Bishop of London, the Bof St. Davids, Mr. Mordant one of the Queens Council, Mr. Archdeacon of London, and before a great many more *Baslamites*, and the Bishop spake unto me in this wise.

Lord. Sir, here I object and lay unto you in the presence of my Lord of St. Davids, and of Mr. Mordant, and of these worshipful men, these Articles here in this Libel contained, and openly he read them.

To whom when I would particularly have answered to some of his Blaphemies, he would not permit me, but said, I should have leisure enough to say what I would, when he had said: And unto these here I add another Schedule. Also I require thee to answer to the Catechism set forth in the Schismatical time of K. Edward. Also I will thee to answer to certain Conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And I here do bring forth these Witnesses against thee in thine own presence, namely my Lord of St. Davids, Mr. Mordant, and Mr. Harpfield, with as many of you as were present in the Disputation he made in the Convocation-house; willing you to testify, of your Oaths taken upon a Book, his stubborn and unrepentant behaviour he did there use against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar. Give me a Book, and receiving one, he opened the same, saying, I will teach him here one trick in our Law which he knoweth not; that is, my Lord of St. Davids, because you are a Bishop, you have this privilege, that you may swear, *Insuper Evangelium, & non tactis*; By looking on the Gospel Book, without touching of the same. And so he opened the Book in his sight, and shut it again, and caused the other to put their hands on the Book, and took their Oath, and willed them to refer to his Register to make their Depositions when they might be best at leisure; and afterwards he turned to me and said, Now Sir, you shall answer but two words, whether you will answer to these Articles which I have laid unto you, directly, yea or nay?

Annō
1555.
Articles
objected
and read to
J. Philpot.

Witnesses
swore as-
gault Mr.
Insuper.

Phil. My Lord, you have told a long Tale against me, containing many lying Blaphemies, which cannot be answered in two words: besides this, you promised me at the beginning, that I should say what I could for my defence, and now will you not give me leave to speak? What Law is this?

Papists keep
no promise.

Lord. Speak, yea or nay, for you shall say no more at this time.

The cause was, as I guess, that he saw so many there gathered to hear.

Phil. Then my two words you would have me speak shall be, that I have appealed from you, and take you not for my sufficient judge.

John Philpot
appealed
from B.
Boner.

Lord. Indeed, Mr. Mordant, he hath appealed to the King and to the Queen; but I will be so bold with her Majesty, to stay that appeal in mine own hands.

Phil. You will do what you list, my Lord, you have the Law in your hands.

Lord. Wilt thou answer or no?

Philpot. I will not answer otherwise than I have said.

Lord. Register, note his answer that he maketh.

Phil. Knock me on the head with an hatchet, or set up a stake and burn me out of hand, without further Law; as well you may do so, as do that you do, for all is without order of Law: such tyranny was never seen as you use now adays; God of his mercy destroy your cruel Kingdom. And whilst I spake this, the Bishop went away in haste.

B. Boner
doth with-
out order
of Law.

St. Davids. Mr. Philpot, I pray you be quiet, and have patience with you.

Phil. My Lord, I thank God I have patience to bear and abide all your cruel intents against me: notwithstanding I speak this earnestly, being moved thereto justly, to notify your unjust and cruel dealing with men in Corners, without all due order of Law.

After this, at night I was conducted again by three or four into the Cole-house.

The ninth Examination of Mr. Philpot before Bishop Boner and his Chaplains

In the morning the next day I was called down betimes by my keeper, and brought again into the Wardrobe, where I remained until the Bishop had heard his Mass, and after said he sent up for me into his inward Parlour, and there he called for a Chair to sit down, and brought his infamous Libel of his forged Articles in his hands, and laid it down, willing me to draw near unto him, and read:

The ninth
Examina-
tion of Mr.
John Philpot
before the
Bishop and
his Chap-
lains

1555.

Anno 1555. *Lord.* I am this day appointed to tarry at home from the Parliament Houfe, to examine you and your Fellows upon these Articles, and you stand dallying with me, and will neither answer to nor fro. I wis all your Exceptions will not serve you. Will it not be a fair honesty for you, think ye, that when thou comest before my Lord Maior and the Sheriffs, and other worshipping Audience, when I shall say before them all, that I have had thee these many times before me, and before so many learned men, and then thou couldst say nothing for that thou standest in, for all thy brags of learning, neither wouldst answer directly to any thing?

John Philpot
will stand
to his
former Plea
to answer
before his
own Ordina-
ry.

Phil. My Lord, I have told you my mind plain enough; but yet I do not intend to lose that privilege the Law giveth me, the which is free choice to answer where I am not bound, and this privilege will I cleave unto, until I be compelled otherwise.

Lord. Well, I perceive you will play the obdurate fool. Lay thine Appellation when thou comest in Judgment, and answer in the mean while to these Articles.

Phil. No, my Lord, by your leave I will not answer to them, until my lawful Appeal be tried.

Lord. Well, thou shalt hear them, and with that he began to read them.

John Philpot
will not
hear his
Articles
read.

Phil. I thrank back to the window, and looked on a Book, and after he had read them over he said unto me;

Lord. I have read them over, although it hath not pleased you to hear me. I marvel, in good faith, what thou meanest to be so wilful and stubborn, seeing thou maist do well enough if thou list. It is but a singularity; dost thou not see all the Realm against thee?

Phil. My Lord, I speak unto you in the witness of God, before whom I stand, that I am neither wedded to mine own will, neither stand upon mine own stubbornness or singularity, but upon my Conscience instructed by Gods Word: and if your Lordship can shew better evidence than I have for a good Faith, I will follow the same.

Lord. What thou wilt not, lo, for all that. Well, all that is past shall be forgotten; and be thou conformable unto us. I wis thou mightest find as much favour as thou wouldst desire.

Phil. Then I perceiving that he fawned so much upon me, thought it good to give him some comfort of my relenting, to the intent I might give him and his hypocritical Generation openly a further foil, perceiving that they dare reason openly with none, but with such as be unlearned, and for lack of knowledge not able to answer, or else with such as they have a hope, that for fear or love of the world, will recant: I said, my Lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly, in the audience of a great number, stood to the maintenance of these Opinions I am in, and by learning did offer to defend them; therefore, my Lord, I would it might openly appear to the world that I am won by learning, or else what will they say, but that either for fear, or love of the world, I am without any ground turned from the Truth? and if I hear any kind of learning openly shewed, I shall be as conformable as you may require me.

Lord. Yea marry, now ye speak somewhat like a reasonable man. I wis you might have had a great deal more favour in my house, and liberty, then you have had; and you shall lack nothing that is within my house; call for it, and you shall have it. And what is it that you would openly by learning somewhat be satisfied in? tell me.

Phil. My Lord, I have openly said, and do believe it also, that your Sacrifice of the Mass is no Sacrament.

Lord. What, do you deny the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament?

Talk of the
Sacrament.

Phil. No, my Lord, I deny not the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, but I have denied the Sacrament of the Altar, as it is used in your Mass, to be the true Sacrament of Christs institution; and first it must be proved a Sacrament before there can be any Presence granted.

Lord. Why, do you deny the Mass to be a Sacrament?

This Argu-
ment in the
second fi-
gure conde-
mnates irra-
tively, doth
not hold by
Logic.

I pray you what is a Sacrament? Is it not a sign of a holy thing, as S. Augustine doth define it?

Phil. Yes verily that it is.

Lord. Then I make this Argument unto you, a Sacrament is the sign of a holy thing: but the Mass is the sign of a holy thing, ergo, it is a Sacrament.

Phil. You must add this to your Major, or first Proposition, as S. Augustine doth mean, that a Sacrament is the sign of a holy thing instituted of God, and commanded; for otherwise it can be no Sacrament, for all men cannot make a Sacrament.

Lord. I grant that; and such a sign of a holy thing is the Mass of Christs institution.

Phil. I deny that, my Lord.

Lord. I will prove this by S. Augustine by and by. I will go shew you the Book, and you shall have any Book I have that you will demand. Ho, who is without there. Call me Mr. Doctor Chedsey, Mr. Archdeacon, Mr. Cofins, and other Chaplains hither.

Here my Lord, Mr. Doctor Chedsey is gone to Westminister, and Mr. Archdeacon was here even now.

Lord. Mr. Cofins, I pray you examine him upon these Articles, and write his answer he maketh to every one of them. I will go examine his Fellows, and send you S. Augustine by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before.

Cofins. I trust, my Lord, you shall find him at length a good Catholick man. Marry, here be a fight of Heresies; I dare say you will hold none of them, nor stand in any of them. How say you to the first?

Phil. Mr. Cofins, I have told my Lord already, that I will answer to none of these Articles he hath objected against me; but if you will with learning answer to that which is in question between my Lord and me, I will gladly hear and commune with you.

Cofins. No, will you? Why what is that then that is in question between my Lord and you.

Phil. Whether your Mass be a Sacrament, or no.

Cofins. What, the Mass to be a Sacrament? Who ever doubted thereof?

Phil. If it be an undoubted truth, you may the sooner prove it; for I doubt much thereof.

Cofins. Why, I will prove it. It is the sign of a holy thing; Ergo, it is a Sacrament.

Phil. I deny your Antecedent.

Cofins. What, will you so? then there is no reasoning with you.

Thus Mr. Cofins gave over in the plain field for want of further proof. And then the morrow Mass Chaplain began to speak for his Occupation; and with that Mr. Harpsfield came out from my Lord with S. Augustines Epistles, saying:

Harps. My Lord hath sent you here S. Augustine to look upon, and I pray you look what he saith in a certain Epistle which he writeth; I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the Mass, and how it reprooveth them that went a hawking and hunting before the celebration of the same, on the Sabbath and Holydays.

Phil. I perceive the Contents of this Epistle, and I see nothing herein against me, neither anything that maketh for the proof of your Sacrament of the Mass.

Harps. No, doth he not make mention of the Mass, and the celebration thereof? what can be spoken more plain?

Phil. S. Augustin meaneth of the celebration of the Communion, and of the true use of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, and not of your private Mass, which you of late years have erected in the stead thereof; for this word *Mass*, hath been an old term attributed to the Communion even from the Primitive Church. And I pray you tell me what *Missæ* doth signifie. I think not many that say Mass can well tell.

Cofins. No, cannot? that is marvel.

Phil. Then tell me if you can. But Mr. Cofins and my morrow Mass Chaplain were both dumb, looking upon Mr. Harpsfield for help, and at length he spake.

Harps. You think it cometh of the Hebrew word *Masah*, as though none were seen in the Hebrew but you.

Phil. I have not gone so long to School, to derive the signification of *Missæ*, which is a Latin word, out of Hebrew; but I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew by Hebrew; I take the Communion to be called *Missæ*, à mittere, of such things as at the celebration of the Communion were sent by such as were of ability, to the relief of the Poor, where the Rich brought after their Devotion and Ability, and required the Minister in the Celebration of the

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The Bishop
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Whether
the Mass be
a Sacrament

Mr. Cofins
gave over
in this plain
field.

The Epistle
of S. Augu-
stine allegor-
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the Mass, an-
swered how
it is derived.

The word
Missæ.

Communion to pray unto God for them, and to accept their common Aims, which they at such times did send for the help of their poor Brethren and Sisters; and for this cause was it called *Missa*, as learned men do witness. At the which Celebration of the Mass, all that were present did communicate under both kinds, according to Christs institution, as they did in S. *Augustine's* time. But unless you can shew that your Mass is used as then it was, ye shall never by the name of Mass (which S. *Augustine* attributed to the true use of the Communion) prove your private Mass to be a Sacrament, unless ye can prove the same now to be in your Masses as was then, which is clean contrary.

Harph. What, deny you the Mass to be a Sacrament? for shame speak it not.

Phil. I will not be ashamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it.

The Mass is a Sacrifice, a holy thing, &c.

Harph. Why, it is a Sacrifice, which is more than a Sacrament.

Phil. You may make of it as much as you list: but you shall never make it a Sacrifice, as you may imagin thereof, but first it must be a Sacrament, for of the Sacrament you deduce your Sacrifice.

Harph. Why? doth not Christ say, *This is my Body*? and doth not the Priest pronounce the same that Christ did?

A Sacrament is no Sacrament without his use.

Phil. The pronounciation only is not enough, unless the words be therewithal applied to the use, as Christ spake them to. For though ye speak the words of Baptism over water never so many times, yet there is no Baptism unless there be a Christian person to be baptized:

Harph. Nay, that is not like; for, *Hoc est corpus meum*, is an Indicative proposition, shewing a working of God in the Substance of Bread and Wine.

Phil. It is not only an Indicative proposition, but also Imperative or commanding. For he that said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, i. This is my Body; said also, *Accipite, manducate*, i. Take ye, eat ye. And except the former part of the institution of Christs Sacrament be accomplished according to the Communion; the later, *This is my Body*, can have no verification, take it which way you will, and how you will.

Al vrow-Mass Chap. Why then you will make the Sacrament to stand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a Sacrament.

Receiving maketh not the Sacrament, yet the Sacrament of the Lords Supper without it be received, is no Sacrament.

Phil. I do not say, that the receiving only maketh it a Sacrament, but I say, that a common receiving must needs be concurrent with the true Sacrament, as a necessary Member, without the which it cannot be a Sacrament, because Christ hath made this a principal part of the Sacrament, *Take ye, eat ye*, which you do not in your Mass according to Christs institution; wherefore, it can be no Sacrament, for that it wanteth of Christs institution.

Cosins. We do forbid none to come to it, but as many as list may be partakers with us at the Mass, if they require it.

Phil. Nay, that they shall not, though they require it, you will minister but one kind unto them, which is not after Christs institution. Besides that, you ought before you go to Mass, to exhort all that be present, to make a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, for Christs Passion with you, and exhort them to be partakers with you, according to Christs Commandment, saying unto all that be present, *Take ye, eat ye*: And likewise by preaching shew forth the Lords death, which you do not.

What the Priests ought to do at their Mass.

Cosins. What, if all things be done, even as you would have it, and whilst the Minister is about to minister the Sacrament, before any have received it, there rise a sudden hurly burly, that the Communicants be compelled to go away; is it not a Sacrament for all that none hath communicated before the Priest?

Phil. In this case, where all things are appointed to be done according to Gods word, if incident necessity had not let, I cannot say but it is a Sacrament, and that he which hath received, hath received the true Sacrament. After this, the Morrow-mass Priest findeth this apish reason.

The Morrow-mass Priest. If the Sacrament of the Mass be no Sacrament, unless all do receive it, because Christ said, *Take ye, eat ye*; then the Sacrament of Baptism is no Sacrament where there is but one baptized,

because Christ said to his Apostles, *Go preach the Gospel to all Creatures, baptizing all Nations in the Name of the Father, &c.*

Anno 1555.

Phil. In that saying of Christ, baptizing all Nations, is a commandment to the Apostles, to baptize all sorts of men, and to exclude none that believe, be he Gentile or Jew, not meaning all at once, for that were impossible. And there are many examples that Baptism may be singularly ministered to one person, as we have example in Christ baptized of *John*, and in the *Eunuch* baptized of *Philip*, with many more such like: but fo have you not of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, but contrariwise by the expresse words of S. *Paul*, you are commanded to use it in a communion and participation of many together; *Cor. 11. Quisquis comedit ad manducandum, alius alium expectat*; as oft as ye come together to eat (meaning the Lords Supper) tarry one for another. And also the Minister in the celebration of the Sacrament speaketh unto all that be present in Christs behalf, to communicate with him, saying, *Take ye, and eat ye*. Wherefore, as many as be present and do not communicate, break Gods commandment in not receiving the same, and the Minister is no just Minister that doth not distribute the Sacrament, as Christ did, to all that are present; and where Gods word is transgressed, there is not Christ present, and consequently it is no Sacrament.

The Sacrament of Baptism may be ministered unto any singular person.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper requires a Communion.

Harph. What, would you have it no Sacrament without it be a Communion?

Phil. I make it not so, but Gods expresse word teacheth me fo, yea, also all the ancient Writers; as S. *Chrysostom* Chrysost. in writing upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, faith, *That the oblation is in vain, whereas none doth communicate with the Priest*. If by his judgment the action of the Priest alone is in vain, where is no Communion, how can that be a Sacrament, which he calleth a vain Oblation, and a vain standing at the Altar?

At the ministeration of the Supper the all that be present ought to communicate.

Cosins. You are such another Fellow as I have nothard, that will not have the Mass to be a Sacrament; you are no man for me to reason withal. Come, let us go, pointing to the Morrow-mass Chaplain: we will leave you (Mr. Archdeacon) and him together; and so they went away. Afterward the Archdeacon fell into earnest persuasions with me, saying:

Cosins and the Chaplain give over their part.

Harph. Mr. *Philpot*, you and I have been of old acquaintance a long time; we were School-fellows both in *Winchester*, and in *Oxford* many years. Wherefore I must with you as well to do as my self, and I pray you to think of me.

Phil. I thank you for your good will towards me. But if you be deceived, (as I am sure you are) I shall desire you not to with me deceived with you. For afore God I tell you plainly, you are highly deceived, and maintain false Religion, and be not those men you take your selves for: and if you do not repent, and leave off your persecuting of Christs Truth, you will go to the Devil for it. Therefore consider it in time, I give you warning, for else in the Day of Judgment I shall be a witness against you, that I told you this here talking together.

Harph. Fie, that is but your own vain singular opinion; I perceive you are now still that man you were in *Oxford*.

Phil. I trust you can report no notorious evil that ever you knew by me there.

Harph. I can say no evil of your Conversation, but I knew you to be a studious man. Marry, if you remember when we met in disputation in *parvis*, you would not lightly give over, and for that cause I speak what I have said.

Phil. Mr. *Harpsfeld*, you know in the Schools of *Oxford*, when we were young men, we did strive much upon vain glory, and upon contention, more than for the truth; but now our years and our ripper learning teach us to fall to a truth, which must be our portion for ever. And if I was then, in my time of ignorance, earnest in my own cause, I ought now to be earnest in my Master Christs cause, and his truth. I know now that nothing done upon vain glory and singularity can please God, have it never so godly a shew: wherefore I pray you judge not fo of me now.

Harph. What, will you think your self better learned, then all the learned men in this Realm?

Phil.

Anno
1555.What this
Proton
the doth
demonstrateThat is a
gainst the
opinion of
Winchester,
Read before
the Tra-
dition of
Winchester
Sermon.M. Harpsfield
in a double
tale.Contrariety
in Popish
doctrine.Presence of
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nipotence.The fab-
stantial parts
of the Sac-
rament tak-
ken away
by the Pa-
pists.M. Harpsfield
giveth over
for lack of
good matterHis tenth
Examina-
tion before
the Bishop
and others.

Phil. My Faith hangeth not upon the learned of the world, but upon the learned of Gods Word.

Harps. Well, I will talk with you no more as now, but pray to God to open your heart.

Phil. I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will, than we have done in times past.

Harps. Ho Keeper, take him away with you.

Phil. I pray you Mr. Harpsfield, tell me what this Pronoun (*Hoc*) doth demonstrate and shew, in this Indicative Proposition, as you call it, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my Body?

Harps. It doth demonstrate the Substance of Bread, which by the words spoken by the Priest, and by the Omnipotency of God, is turned into the Substance of Christs very Body.

Phil. Is the Substance of the Bread, as you say, turned into Christs Body?

Harps. Yea, that it is.

Phil. Why, then Christs Body receiveth daily a great increase of many thousand pieces of Bread into his Body, and that is his Body become now, which was not before, and by this you would seem to make, that there is an alteration in Christs glorified Body, which is a wicked thing to think.

Harps. Then he fet about again, and remembering better himself, and seeing the inconvenience of his first assertion, of the Transubstantiation of Bread into Christs Body, he said, That the Substance of Bread, after the words spoken by the Priest, was evacuated or vanished away by the Omnipotency of God.

Phil. This is another Song than you sang first: and here you may see how contrary you are to your selves. For indeed your Schoolmen do hold, That the very Substance of Bread is really turned into the Substance of Christs Body. And now you perceiving of late the inconvenience which is objected against you in that Opinion, you are driven to imagine a new shift, and say, the Substance of Bread is evacuated, contrary to that your Church hath first believed and taught. O what contrariety is there among you, and all to deface the sincere Truth?

Harps. Is not God omnipotent? and cannot he do as he hath said?

Phil. But his omnipotence will not do as you say, contrary to his word and to his honour. It is not Gods honour to include him bodily into a piece of Bread, and of necessity to tie him thereto. It is not Gods honour for you to make a piece of Bread God and Man, which you see before your face doth putrify after a certain time. Is not Gods Omnipotency as able to give his Body with the Sacramental Bread, as to make so many turnings away of the Bread, as you do, and that directly against the Scripture, which calleth it Bread many times after the Consecration? Are you not ashamed to make so many alterations of the Lords holy Institution as you do, and to take away the substantial parts of the Sacrament, as, *Take ye, eat ye, drink ye all of this; do ye this in remembrance of me*: and to place in their steads, Hear ye, gaze ye, knock ye, worship ye, offer ye, sacrifice ye for the quick and the dead? If this be not blasphemy to God and his Sacraments, to add and to pluck away in this sort, and that contrary to the mind of all ancient Writers, and contrary to the example of Christ and all his Apostles, tell me.

Harps. I know you have gathered the sayings of the Doctors together, which make for your purpose; I will talk no longer with you.

Phil. I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will than we have done in times past.

Harps. Ho Keeper, take him away with you.

The tenth Examination of John Philpot before Bishop Boner, his Register, and others.

The next day after Dinner I was brought into my Lords upper Hall, and there he called me before him and his Register, and before Dr. Chedsey, in the presence of two homely Gentlemen, and a Priest which I knew not: At what time the Bishop said,

Lond. I do here lay unto this man in your presence. (requiring you to be a witness against him, as much as you know in any of them) these Articles, this Book of the Catechism made in King Edwards days, also these Conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge;

also I lay unto him, that he hath despised the Censures of the Church, and hath stood accursed more than this twelve-month, and never required Absolution thereof: How say you, wast thou not accursed by my Lord Chancellor?

Phil. I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and ^{John Philpot} without any just cause, and without order of Law, being ^{accused by} never personally cited: ^{Syn. Gentiles}

Lond. Didst thou not tell me the other day, when I required thee to come to the Mass, that thou wast excommunicated, and therefore by the Law couldst not hear Mass? How long hast thou been thus excommunicated?

Phil. More than a twelve-month and a half.

Lond. Lo, you may hear what he saith: write it.

Phil. But as you would have written that I have said, ^{John Philpot} I have been thus long excommunicated; so also let him ^{required as-} write, that I did require of my Lord Chancellor that did ^{olution of} excommunicate me, my Absolution, but he would not give ^{Winchester,} it me, saying, That I was *excommunicatus ipso jure*, be- ^{and was de-} cause I was a Heretick, as it pleased him to call me, there- ^{ined.} fore accursed by your Law, and so commanded me to Prison, where I remain.

Gentleman. Why do you not require Absolution at my Lords hands here now?

Phil. Because he is not mine Ordinary, neither hath by the Law any thing to do with me of right.

Lond. What an obstinate Fool is this? I tell thee I will ^{Sp. Tamer} be thine Ordinary whether thou wilt or no. ^{will needs}

Phil. And because of this your unrighteous force to- ^{be his Ordi-} wards me, I have appealed from you, and require you, ^{nary.} Mr. Register, that my Appeal may be entered in writing.

Lond. Have you heard such a forward Fellow as this? he ^{Mr. Philpot} seemed yesterday to be very tractable, and I had a good ^{appeareth} hope of him. I tell thee thou art of my Diocess. ^{from the S.}

Phil. I am of Winchester Diocess, and not of London ^{of London} Diocess. ^{again.}

Lond. I pray you may not a man be of two Diocesses at once?

Phil. No, that he cannot.

Lond. Lo, will you see what an ignorant Fool this is ^{How one} in the Law, in the which he would seem to be seen? I tell ^{may be of} thee a man may be of three Diocesses at once: as if thou ^{Diocess} wert born in London, by reason thereof thou shouldst be ^{as once,} of my Diocess; or else if thou wert not born, but hadst a Dignity here, also thou art to be counted of my Diocess, or else by reason of thy habitation in my Diocess.

Phil. In none of these respects I am of your Lordships Diocess. But for all that, this will not follow, that I, dwelling at Winchester, am at that present of London Diocess.

Lond. What wilt thou lay thereof? Wilt thou recant if I prove it?

Phil. But what shall I win if you do not?

Lond. I will give thee my Bishoprick if I prove it not.

Phil. Yea, but who shall deliver it me if I win?

Lond. Thou art an arrogant Fool, enter their Oaths, and take these Witnesses Depositions. I must be gone to the Parliament House.

After this spake unto me a Priest standing by, asking me whether I was kin to my Lord Rich, or no.

Phil. I said, he said to himself to me the other day, but how I know not.

Ched. I heard him say he was his nigh Kinsman.

Baalamie. Why, then you and I must be of kin, for he is my nigh Kinsman. How chance it that you and I ^{His Beasle} be of contrary judgments? ^{mine Kin-}

Phil. It is no marvel, for Christ prophesied, *That the Father shall be divided against the Son, and the Son against the Father for my Truths sake*.

Baal. You do hold (as I understand) against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and against the holy Mass.

Phil. If you can prove it a Sacrament, I will not hold against you.

Baal. What, prove it a Sacrament, quoth he? doth not ^{Scripture} S. Paul say, *Quia oculus non vidit, & auris non audivit, ea ^{headstrongly} *preparavit Deus diligenter* ^{applied.} *Je*; That such things as the eye hath not seen, neither ear heard, hath God prepared for them that love him?*

Phil. That saying of S. Paul concerneth nothing your Sacrament, but is meant of the heavenly joys that be prepared for all faithful Believers.

Basil. Why, then I perceive you understand not S. Paul. By God, you are deceived.

Phil. You ought not to swear Kinsman, if you will that I shall so call you: and without disworship of our Kindred, I understand S. Paul as well as you, and know what I say, and with that shewed him a Greek Testament with Erasmus's translation, and with the old also, demanding him which Text he was best acquainted withal.

Basil. I knew Greek too once, as well as you, I care not which you read.

Phil. You know them then all alike; you understand the one as well as the other. With this my Baalamite Kinsman departed in a fury.

The next
days talk
with the
Bishops.

The next day after I was brought down again after dinner to the Chappel, and there my Baalamite Kinsman (to verify the Scriptures, that a mans own Kinsfolks shall be his enemies) came in with the Bishop as a Witness against me: and there the Bishop caused another that came to him about other matters, to swear also to be a witness against me, which was a Priest also, saying,

Witnesses
again for
against John
Tunstall.

Lord. You shall swear to depose all the truth of certain Articles you shall be inquired of concerning this man; and here I (according to the Law) do bring them forth in thy presence.

John Philpot
appears
again from
the Bishop.

Phil. My Lord, I do not agree to the production of them, but do appeal from all these and other your proceedings against me: and require you Mr. Register, that my Appeal may be entered, and I will give you for your labour.

Reg. Your Appeal shall be entered at Leisure. Whom do you appeal unto? tell me.

Phil. I appeal to a higher Judge, as to the Lieutenant of the Archbishoprick of Canterbury; for I know not who is Bishop thereof at this present. With that the Bishop went away, and my Baalamite Kinsman looking big upon me, but said never a word.

Thus have I in hast scribbled out all mine Examinations hitherto, that the same which hath been done unto me in dark, might come to light, and that the Papists unjust proceedings, and nakedness in their false Religion, might be known to their confusion. Jesus is Emanuel, that is, God with us, Amen. 1555.

The eleventh Examination of John Philpot, had on S. Andrews day, before the Bishop of Duresin, the B. of Chichester, the B. of Bath, the B. of London, the Prosecutor, Mr. Christopherston, and Dr. Chedley, Mr. Morgan of Oxford, Mr. Hufsey of the Arches, Dr. Weston, Dr. Harpsfield Archdeacon, Mr. Collins, and Mr. Johnson Register to the B. of London, in his Palace.

Yet another
Examination
of John
Philpot be-
fore Bishops
and Doctors.

I Was coming, being sent for with my Keeper, and the Bishop of London met me in his Hall-door, and full mannerly he played the Gentleman-Usher to bring me before the Lords, saying,

Lord. My Lords, I shall desire you to take some pains with this man, he is a Gentleman, and I would he should do well, but he will wilfully cast away himself.

Dures. Come hither Sir, what is your name?

Phil. My name is Philpot.

Dures. I have heard of that name to be a worshipful stock, and since you be a Gentleman, do as you may live worshipfully among other Gentlemen. What is the cause of your trouble now?

Phil. I told him the cause, as in my former Examinations is expressed.

Dures. Well, all causes set apart, will you now be a conformable man to the Catholick Faith, and leave all new fangled Opinions and Heresies? I wis I was in Germany with Luther at the beginning of these Opinions, and can tell how they began. Leave them, and follow the Catholick Church throughout the whole world, as the whole Realm now doth.

Selling of a
mans con-
science in
Religion re-
quiesh
good ad-
vancement.

Phil. My Lord, I am in the Catholick Faith, and desire to live and dye in the same: but it is not unknown to your Lordship, that I with others these twenty years have been taught another manner of Faith then you now go about to compel us unto; wherefore it is requisite that we have a time to weigh the same, and to hear how it agreeth with Gods word. For Faith is at a sudden neither won, neither removed, but as S. Paul faith, Faith cometh by

bearing, and bearing by the word; Fides ex auditu, auditus per verbum.

Chich. And if you will give me leave, my Lord, I will shew him how he taketh the saying of S. Paul amiss, as many other now adays alledging the same do, that they ought not to be compelled to believe, whereas S. Paul meaneth of Infidels, and not of the Faithful; and so S. Austin, writing against the Donatists, faith, That the Faithful may be compelled to believe.

Phil. S. Bernard (if it please your Lordship) doth take that sense of S. Paul as I do, saying, that Fides est suadenda, & non imponenda; Faith must be persuaded to a man, and not imposed. And S. Augustine speaketh of such as were first thoroughly persuaded by manifest Scriptures, and yet would resist of stubborn wilfulness.

Chich. So Bernard meaneth of Infidels also.

Phil. No, my Lord, that he both not, for he writeth not of the Infidels, but he writeth of such as were deceived by Errors.

Chich. My Lord of Durham, I have been so bold to interrupt your Lordship of your tale, I pray you now proceed on.

Dur. Mr. Philpot, will you be of the same Catholick Faith and Church with us you were baptized in, and your Godfathers promised for you, and hold as we do, and then may you be rid out of trouble? I perceive you are learned, and it is pity but you should do well.

Phil. I am of the same Catholick Faith and Catholick Church I was baptized unto, and in that will I live and dye.

Dur. That is well said; if you hold there you cannot do but well.

Chich. Yea, my Lord, but he meaneth otherwise then you do; Are you of the same Faith your Godfathers and Godmothers were, or no?

Phil. I cannot tell what Faith they were of certainly, but I am of the Faith I was baptized unto, which is, the Faith of Christ: for I was not baptized in the Faith of my Godfathers, but in the Faith of Christ.

Chich. S. Austin faith, That Infants are baptized in fide de susceptorem, in the Faith of their Godfathers.

Phil. S. Augustine in so saying, meaneth of the Faith of Christ, which the Godfathers do or ought to believe, and not otherwise.

Dures. How say you, will you believe as we do, and all the Learned of the Realm, or no? and be of one Church with us?

Phil. My Lords, It is not unknown to you, that there hath been always two Churches.

Chich. Nay, that is not so: there is but one Catholick Church.

Phil. I shall desire your Lordships to hear out my tale, and to take my meaning. For I know there is but one true Church; but always from the beginning there hath been joynt to the same true Church a false Church, Adversary to the true: and that was declared at the first in Abel and Cain, who percutured and slew his Brother, in whom (as S. Augustine witnesseth) is represented the false and true Church. And after that, as soon as God had chosen his peculiar people, and shewed unto them his Sanctuary, holy Statutes, and Will, anon after rose the false Church, and ten of the twelve Tribes of Israel divided themselves from the true Church of Juda and Benjamin, and made to themselves at Bethel, and set up golden Calves, and yet pretended therewith to serve God, and so abused his word. Notwithstanding, God was displeased with them, and ceased not his wrath, until he had utterly destroyed them.

Chich. I will grant you before the coming of Christ, there were two Churches in the old Law: but in the new Law since Christs coming, you cannot shew it to be so by the Scripture.

Phil. Yes, my Lord, that I can, if you will give me leave. After Christ had chosen his twelve Apostles was there not a Judas in the new Law, and a Simon Magus? and were not they of the false Church?

Chich. Yea, but I mean after the Gospel was written, where can you find me two Churches after Christ had ascended, and sent the Holy Ghost?

Phil. The Gospel was within eight years after the Ascension written by S. Matthew, and the writing there-
of

Anno

1555.

Papists will
have Faith
not to be
compelled.

Bernard. in
Cant. Ser. 4. d.
Faith ought
not to be
compelled.

John Philpot
is of the
same Faith
and Church
still as he
was baptiz-
ed.

No man
bound to be
of the Faith
of his God-
fathers in e-
very respect

The place of
S. Augustine
in fide sus-
ceptorum,

The true
Church and
the false
Church ever
joynted to-
gether. Aug.
de Civ. Dei
lib. 1. c. 11.
The true
and false
Church de-
clared first
in Abel and
Cain.

The Bp. of
Chichester D.
Dy. driven
to a strait

Anno 1555. of is not material to the Declaration of these two Churches to have been always from time to time, as by example it may be shewed: and yet as evil as my memory is, I remember in the New Testament is mention made of two Churches, as it appeareth in the *Apocalyp.* and also *S. Paul* to the *Thessalonians* maketh mention that Antichrist, with his false Generation, shall sit in the Temple of God. To the which *Chichester* replied not.

Duref. The Church in the Scripture is likened to a great Fishers net, which containeth in it both good fishes and bad fishes. I trust you will be of the better sort, and lean to the truth.

Phil. My Lord, it is my whole desire now to follow that which is good, whatsoever I have done in times past, and to cleave to Gods Truth.

Duref. Do you so, and then shall you do well: it is almost night, my Lord of *London*, I must needs be gone.

Lord. Nay, my Lord of *Duref.*, I must desire your Lordship, and my *L. of Chichester*, to tarry a little while. And before he had said, the Bishop of *Bathe* went his way without saying any word. What, my Lords, I have earnest matters to charge this man withal, whereof I would your Lordships to be made privy, and I have them here written in a Libel, I pray you sit down again, or else I will. First, I lay to him here, that he hath written in a Bible, which I took from him, this erroneous saying, *Quod Spiritus est Vicarius Christi in terra; i. The Holy Ghost is Christs Vicar in earth.* Wilt thou abide by this saying of thine; that the Spirit is Christs Vicar on earth?

Phil. My Lord, it is not my saying, it is a better learned mans than mine: For I use not to write mine own sayings, but the notable sayings of other ancient Writers, as all others be where ye find the same written. And as I remember, it is even the saying of *S. Bernard*, and a saying that I need not to be ashamed of, neither you to be offended at, as my Lord of *Duref.* and my Lord of *Chichester*, by their learning can discern, and will not reckon it evil said.

Lord. No will? why, take away the first syllable, and it foundeth *Arim*.

Phil. That is far fetched indeed; if your Lordship will scan mens sayings in such wise, you may find out what you list.

Lord. But to help this, I find moreover written with his own hand in another Book; *In me Johanne Philpot ubi abundavit peccatum, superabundavit & gratia;* that is, in me *Johan Philpot*, where fin did abound, grace hath superabounded. I pray you what superabundant grace have you more then other men? So said *Arim*, That he had the abundance of grace above all other.

Phil. My Lord, you need not be offended with that saying more than the other, for it is the saying of *S. Paul* himself, and I did apply it to my self for my comfort, knowing that though my sins be huge and great in the sight of God, yet is his mercy and grace above them all. And concerning *Arim* and his Adherents, I desire them, as it is well known I have written against them.

Lord. Alas I lay to thy charge that thou killedst thy Father, and was accused of thy Mother in her Death-bed, as I can bring witness thereof.

Phil. O Lords, what Blasphemy is this? Hath your Lordship nothing of truth to charge me withal, but (as I may speak it with your Honour) such forged blasphemous lies? If any of these can be proved, I will promise here to recant at *Pauls Cross*, what you will have me do, so sure they are as great blasphemies as may be objected against any man. Ha, my Lords, I pray you consider how my Lord of *London* hath hitherto proceeded against me: For indeed he hath none other but such pretended slanderous lies.

Chic. They be *Parerga*; that is, matters, beside the purpose.

Duref. My Lord, I must needs bid you farewell.

Lord. Nay, my Lord, here is a Letter which I shall desire your Lordship to hear ere ye go. This man (being in my keeping) hath taken upon him to write Letters out of Prison, and to pervert a young Gentleman, called *Mr. Green*, in my House, (call him thither) and hath made a false report of his examination, as you shall hear, not being content to be evil himself, but to make others as bad as him-

himself. He all to tare the Letter when he saw my man went about to search him, but yet I have pierced it again together, and caused a Copy to be written thereof, and he read the torn Letter, bidding *Mr. Chichester* and *Morgan* to mark the Copy thereof.

The Contents of the Letter was the Examination of *Mr. Green* before the Bp. of *London* in the presence of *Mr. Fecknam* Dean of *Pauls*, and of divers others, whose ready answers in the Scriptures and in the Doctors were wondered at of the Dean himself, and of many others, as *Fecknam* did report: and that he was committed to *Dr. Chedsey*, and to have his meat from the Bishops own Table. How say you my Lords, was this well done of him, being my Prisoner, to write this? And yet he hath written a shameful lye, that he was in *Dr. Chedseys* keeping. How say you *Mr. Doctor Chedsey*, is it not a shameful lye?

Ched. Yes, my Lord, he was never in my keeping.

Lord. Art not thou ashamed to write such shameful Letters?

Come hither *Mr. Green*, did not I shew you this Letter? *Mr. Green* called.

Green. Yea forsooth, my Lord, you shewed it me.

Lord. How think you, my Lords, is not this an honest man to belye me?

Phil. Your Lordship doth mistake all things. This Letter (as your Lordship may perceive, and all other that have heard the same) was not written by me, but by a Friend of mine, certifying me at my request, how *Mr. Green* sped at the Bp. of *London*s hands: And there is nothing in the Letter that either I, or he that wrote it, need to fear, but that might be written as my report.

Lord. Then tell me who wrote it, if you dare.

Phil. No, my Lord, it is not my duty to accuse my Friend: and specially seeing you will take all things at the worst: Neither shall you ever know of me who wrote it. Your Lordship may see in the end of the Letter, that my Friend did write unto me upon the occasion of my Appeal, which I have made to the whole Parliament House about such matters as I am wrongfully troubled for.

Lord. I would see any so hardy to put up thine Appeal.

Phil. My Lord, I cannot tell what God will work, I have written it, speed it as it may.

Lord. My Lords, I have used him with much gentleness since he came to me. How fallest thou, have I not?

Phil. If to lye in the vilest Prison in this Town, being a Gentleman, and an Archdeacon, and in a Cole-house, by the space of five or six weeks already, without fire or candle, to be counted gentleness at your hands, I must needs say I have found gentleness. But there were never men so cruelly handled as we are at these days.

Lord. Lo, what a Varlet is this? Besides this, my Lords, even yesterday he procured his man to bring a bladder of black powder, I cannot tell for what purpose, I.

Phil. Your Lordship needeth not to mistrust the matter: it is nothing but to make ink withal, for lack of ink, as I had it before in the *Kings Bench*, when my Keeper took away my Inkhorn.

Lord. And why shouldst thou go about any such thing unknowing unto me, being thy Keeper? for I am thy Keeper in this House, I tell thee.

Phil. My Lord, because you have caused my penman and inkhorn to be taken from me, I would yet him that my Friends might understand what I lack, not that I intend to write any thing that I would be afraid should come to your sight.

Lord. More than this, my Lords, he caused a Pig to be roasted, and made a Knife be put between the skin and the flesh, for what purpose judge you. How fallest thou, didst thou not so?

Phil. I cannot deny but there was half a Pig sent me, and under the same a Knife lying in the Sauce; but for no ill purpose that I know; your Lordship may judge what you will. It was not to kill my self nor any other, as you would have men to believe; for I was never yet without a Knife since I came to Prison. Therefore all these be but false firmities, and not worth rehearsal.

Lord. I have here to lay to his charge (chiefest of all) his Book of the Report of the Disputation had in the Convocation-house, which is the ranciest Herein that may be, against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar. How say you *Mr. Doctor Westcott* did he maintain the same there stubbornly, or no?

S f 3

West.

This Letter turn in the blind Tower, read below.

The contents of the Letter of Mr. Philpot Letter to Mr. Green.

Mr. Green called.

Mr. Green called.

None was great gentleness this day, because of Philpot, and compare the same with the handling now of him in his imprisonment.

Black powder sent to John Philpot to make ink.

False firmities against John Philpot.

The Bishop begins to be weary of their par.

Bishop Bure would faine pick out matter till he could will how.

Another matter pickt against John Philpot.

Rom. 5: 1 Tim. 1.

John Philpot falsely charged with untruth, when no truth can be found against him.

Hilp. Yes, my Lord, that he did, and would never be answered. And it is pity that the same worlhipful Congregation should be flandered with such untrue reports.

Phil. You answered me indeed, Mr. Doctor (being then Prolocutor) goodly, with hold thy peace, and have him to Prison, and put him out of the House. I have read the Book, and I find the report of every mans Argument to be true in all points. And if there be any fault, it is, because he fetterth forth your doings too favourably, and nothing like to that you did use me, being an Archdeacon, and not of the work of the House.

Hilp. Thou art no Archdeacon.

Phil. Indeed, Mr. Doctor, ye have amongst you un-Archdeaoned me as now, (I thank God of it) and that without all order of Law.

Lord. I pray you my Lords hearken what he writeth of himself, I read it over this morning, and made a note of it. He saith, that Dr. *Weston* called him frautick and madman, and said, he should go to *Bethlehem*.

Phil. Indeed my Lord, so it pleased Dr. *Weston* to taunt at me, and say his shameful pleasure, but yet I was no whit the more for all his sayings, than Christ was when the Scribes and the Pharisees said likewise he was mad, and that he was possessed of a Devil, most blasphemously.

Duref. My Lord of *London*, I can tarry no longer, I must needs bid you farewell. Mr. *Philpot*, me thinketh you have said well that you will abide in the Catholick Faith, and in the Catholick Church: I pray you to do, and you shall do right well. And so departed with Mr. *Weston* and Mr. *Hussey*.

Phil. I have purposed so to do, howsoever I speed, by Gods grace.

Lord. I pray you my Lord of *Chichester*, and Mr. Prolocutor, and Mr. Doctor *Morgan*, to commune with him whiles I bring my Lord of *Duref* going.

Christ. Mr. *Philpot* I was acquainted with you at *Rome*, if you be remembered, but you have forgotten me, and talked some what with you of these matters, and I find you now the same man that you were then, I wish it were otherwise. For Gods sake be conformable to men that be better learned than you, and stand not in your own conceit.

Phil. Whereas you call me in remembrance of acquaintance had at *Rome*, indeed it was so, though it were but very strange on your part, to me-ward, being driven to necessity.

Christ. You know the world was dangerous at that time.

Phil. Nothing so dangerous as it is now; but let that pass. Whereas you say, you find me to be the same man I was then, I praise God for that you see me not like a Reed wavering with every wind. And whereas you would have me follow better learned men than my self: indeed I acknowledge that you, with a great many other, are far better learned than I, whose Books, in respect of learning, I am not worthy to carry after you: but faith and the wisdom of God consisteth not in learning only, and therefore *S. Paul* willeth that our faith be not grounded upon the wisdom of man. If you can shew by learning out of Gods Books, that I ought to be of another faith than I am, I will hear you, and any other man whatsoever he be.

Christ. I marvel why you should dissent from the Catholick Church, since it hath thus long universally been received, except within this five or six years here in *England*.

Phil. I do not dissent from the true Catholick Church, I do only dissent from the Bishop of *Rome*, which if you can prove to be the Catholick Church of Christ, I will be of the same also with you.

Christ. Will you believe *S. Cyprian*, if I can shew out of him, *Quod Ecclesia Romana est talis ad quam perfidia accedens non potest*, That the Church of *Rome* is such a one, unto the which misbelief cannot approach?

Phil. I am sure you cannot shew any such saying out of *S. Cyprian*.

Christ. What will you say then?

Phil. I will say as much as I am able to make.

Morgan. Will you promise to recant, if I shew his saying to be true.

Phil. My faith shall not hang upon any Doctors saying, further than he shall be able to prove the same by Gods Word.

Christ. I will go fetch the Book, and shew it him by and by, and therewithal he went into the Bishops Study, and fetch *Cyprian*, and appointed out these words in one of his Epistles, *Ad Romanos autem, quorum fides Apostolo predicante laudata est, non potest accedere perfidia*; But unto the *Romans*, whose faith by the testimony of the Apostle is praised, misbelief can have no access.

Phil. These words of *Cyprian* do nothing prove your pretended Assertion, which is, that to the Church of *Rome* there could come no misbelief.

Christ. Good Lord, no doth? What can be said more plainly?

Phil. He speaketh not of the Church of *Rome* absolutely.

Christ. By God, a Child that can but his Grammar will not deny that you do, the words be so plain.

Phil. Swear not, Mr. Doctor, but weigh *Cyprians* words with me, and I shall make you to say as I have said.

Christ. I am no Doctor, but I perceive it is but labour lost to reason with you.

Boner. And with that the Bishop of *London* came in blowing again, and said, What is my Lord of *Chichester* gone away also? (for he even a little before departed also without any other word saying, but he must needs be gone.) What is the matter you now stand upon?

Morg. Mr. *Christoferson* hath shewed Mr. *Philpot* a notable place of the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, and he maketh nothing of it.

Boner. Where is the place? let me see. By my faith here is a place alone. Come hither, Sir, what say you to this? Nay, tarry a while, I will help this place with *S. Pauls* own testimony, the first to the *Romans*, where he saith, That their faith is preached throughout the world; how can you be able to answer to this?

Phil. Yes, my Lord, it is soon answered, if you will consider all the words of *Cyprian*: for he speaketh of such as in his time were faithful at *Rome*, and followed the Doctrine of *S. Paul*, as he had taught them, and as it was notified throughout the world, by an Epistle which he had written in the commendation of their faith. With such as are praised of *S. Paul* at *Rome*, for following the true faith, misbelief can have no place. And if you can shew, that the faith which the Church of *Rome* holdeth now, is that faith which the Apostle praised and allowed in the *Romans* in his time, then will I say that *S. Cyprian* then said, and with you, That infidelity can have no place there; but otherwise it maketh not absolutely for the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, as you do mistake it.

Christ. You understand *Cyprian* well indeed; I think you never read him in your life.

Phil. Yes, Mr. Doctor, that I have, I can shew you a Book noted with mine own hand: though I have not read so much as you, yet I have read somewhat. It is a frame for you to wrest and wrath the Doctors as you do, to maintain a false Religion, which he altogether against you, if you take them aright; and indeed your false packing of Doctors together hath given me and others occasion to look upon them, whereby we find you shameful liars, and misreporters of the ancient Doctors.

Morg. What, will you be in hand to allow Doctors now? they of your Sect do not so. I marvel therefore you will allow them.

Phil. I do allow them in as much as they do agree with the Scriptures, and so do all they which be of the Truth, howsoever you term us, and I praise God for that good understanding I have received by them.

Christ. What, you understand not the Doctors, you may be ashamed to say it.

Phil. I thank God I understand them better then you; for you have *Excavationem cordis*, the blindness of heart; so that you understand not truly what you read, no more than the wall here, as the taking of *Cyprian* doth well declare. And afore God you are but deceivers of the people, for all your brag you make of learning; neither have ye Scripture nor ancient Doctor on your side, being truly taken.

Morg. Why, all the Doctors be on our side, and against you altogether.

Phil. Yes, so you say when you be in your Pulpits alone, and none to answer you. But if you will come to cast accounts with me thereof, I will venture with you a recantation;

Dr. Weston
ch. et. Argu-
ments in the
Convocation
House.

Dr. Weston
and Mr. West-
on give over
the matter.

Wisdom in
Gods mes-
sages con-
firms true
mans learn-
ing.

Anno
1555.
Cyprian ad
Cornel. lib.
i. Epist. 1.

Dr. Day, B. of
Chichester
shrinketh
also away.

The place of
Cyprian ex-
pounded.
Ad Roman-
os, quorum
fides Aposto-
lo predi-
cane laudi-
ta est, per-
fidia accedens
non potest.

Epistles
to writers
and mis-
reporters of
the Doctors.

Doctors
make as-
saults in
the Pulpits
they be
rightly in-
sulted.

Anno 1555. tation, that I (as little fight as I have in the Doctors) will bring more authorities of Ancient Doctors on my side then you shall be able for yours, and he that can bring most, to him let the other side yield. Are ye so content herewith?

Christo. It is but folly to reason with you, you will believe no Man but your self.

Phil. I will believe you or any other Learned Man if you can bring any thing worthy to be believed. You cannot win me with vain words from my faith. Before God there is no truth in you.

Morgan. What, no truth? no truth? ha, ha, ha.

Phil. Except the Articles of the Trinity, you are corrupt in all other things, and found in nothing.

Morgan. What say you, do we not believe well on the Sacrament?

Philpot. It is the thing which (among all other) you do most abuse.

Morgan. Wherein I pray you? tell us.

Phil. I have told you before M. Doctor, in the Convocation House.

Morgan. Yes marry: indeed you told us there very well. For there you fell down upon your knees, and fell to weeping, ha, ha, ha.

Phil. I did weep indeed, and so did Christ upon Jerusalem, and am not to be blamed therefore, if you consider the cause of my weeping.

Morg. What, make you your self Christ? ha, ha, ha.

Phil. No sir, I make not my self Christ: but I am not ashamed to do as my Master and Saviour did, to bewail and lament your Infidelity and Idolatry, which I there fore saw through tyranny you would bring again to this Realm, as this day doth declare.

Morgan. That is your Argument.

Christo. Wherein do we abuse the Sacrament? tell us.

Phil. As I may touch but one of the least abuses, you minister it not in both kinds as you ought to do, but keep the one half from the people, contrary to Christ's institution.

Christo. Why, is not there as much contained in one kind, as in both? And what need is it then to minister in both kinds?

Phil. I believe not so: for if it had, Christ would have given but one kind only: for he instituted nothing superfluous, and therefore you cannot say that the whole effect of the Sacrament is as well in one kind, as in both, since the Scripture teacheth otherwise.

Christo. What if I can prove it by Scripture, that we may minister it in one kind? The Apostles did so, as it may appear in the Acts of the Apostles in one or two places, where it is written that the Apostles continued *In orationibus & fractione panis*, In Prayers and in breaking of Bread, which is meant of the Sacrament.

Phil. Why, M. Doctor, do you not know that S. Luke by making mention of Breaking of Bread, meaneth the whole use of the Sacrament, according to Christ's institution, by a figure which you have learned in Grammar, *Synecdoche*, where part is mentioned, and the whole understood to be done, as Christ commanded it?

Christo. Nay, that is not so. For I can shew you out of *Ench. in Eccl. hist.* that there was a Man of God (whom he named) that sent the Sacrament in one kind by a boy, to one that was sick.

Phil. I have read indeed that they did use to give that was left of the Communion Bread, to Children, to married men, and to women, and so peradventure the Boy might carry a piece of that was left to the sick Man.

Christo. Nay, as a Sacrament it was purposely sent unto him.

Phil. If it were so, yet can you not precisely say, that he had not the Cup ministered unto him also by some other sent unto him: but though one Man did use it thus, doth it follow that all Men may do the like? S. *Cyprian* noteth many abuses of the Sacrament in his time, which rose upon singular Mens Examples, using of Water in stead of Wine, therefore he saith, *Non respiciendum quid aliqui ante nos fecerunt, sed quid Christus qui unum primum ante nos fecerit & mandavit*, that is, we must not look what any Man hath done before us, but what Christ hath of all Men did and commanded.

Christo. Hath not the Church taught us so to use the Sacrament? and how do we know that Christ is *Homo unicus*, or, that is, of one substance with the Father, but by the Determination of the Church? How can you prove that otherwise by express words of Scripture, and where find you *Homo unicus* in all the Scripture?

Phil. Yes that I do, in the first of the *Hebrews*, where it is written that Christ is the express Image of Gods own substance, *eiusdem substantia*.

Christo. Nay, that is not so. That is, There is no more but *expressio imago substantia*, The express Image of Gods Substance, and Image is accident.

Phil. It is in the text, Of his substance, *Substantia illius*, or of his own substance, as it may be right well interpreted. Besides this, that which Christ spake of himself in S. *John* manifesteth the same, saying, I and the Father be one thing, *Ego & pater unum sumus*. And whereas you say, *Imago* here is accident, the ancient Fathers use this for a strong Argument, to prove Christ to be God; because he is the very Image of God.

Christo. Yea do? is this a good Argument, because we are the Image of God, Ergo, we are God?

Phil. We are not called the express Image of God, as it is written of Christ, and we are but the Image of God by participation; and as it is written in *Genesis*, we are made to the likeness and similitude of God. But you ought to know (M. *Christofer*) that there is no accident in God, and therefore Christ cannot be the Image of God, but he must be of the same substance with God.

Christo. Tush.

Morgan. How say you to the Presence of the Sacrament? will you stand to the judgment here of your Bookyours, or will you recant?

Phil. I know you go about to catch me in words. If you can prove that Book to be of my setting forth lay it to my charge when I come to judgment.

Morgan. Speak, be you of the same mind as this Book is of, or no? Sure I am you were once, unless you are become another manner of Man then you were.

Phil. What I was, you know; what I am, I will not tell you now; but this I will say to you by the way, that if you can prove the Sacrament of the Mass (as you now use it) to be a Sacrament, I will then grant you a presence, but first you must prove the same a Sacrament and afterward intreat of the presence.

Morg. Ho, do you doubt that it is a Sacrament?

Philpot. I am past doubting, for I believe you can never be able to prove it a Sacrament.

Christo. Yea do? good Lord, doth not S. *Augustine* call it the Sacrament of the Altar? How say you to that?

Phil. That maketh nothing for the probation of your Sacrament. For so he with other ancient writers do call the Holy Communion or the Supper of the Lord, in respect that it is the Sacrament of the Sacrifice which Christ offered upon the Altar of the Cross, the which Sacrifice all the Altars and Sacrifices done upon the Altars in the Old Law did prefigure and shadow, the which pertaineth nothing to your Sacrament hanging upon your Altars of Lime and Stone.

Christo. No doth? I pray you what signifyeth Altar?

Phil. Not as you falsely take it, materially, but for the Sacrifice of the Altar of the Cross.

Christo. Where find you it ever so taken?

Phil. Yes that I do in Saint Paul to the *Hebrews* the thirteenth, where he saith, *Habemus Altare de quo non est fas edere his qui tabernaculo deserviant, We have an Altar, of the which it is not lawful for them to eat that serve the Tabernacle*. Is not Altar in this place taken for the Sacrifice of the Altar, and not for the Altar of Lime and Stone?

Christo. Well, God bless me out of your company. You are such an obstinate Heretic, as I have not heard the like.

Phil. I pray God keep me from such blind Doctors, which when they are not able to prove what they say, then they fall to Blaspheming (as you now do) for lack of better proof. In the mean while the Bishop of London was talking with some other by, and at length came in to supply his part, and said.

Boner. I pray you Masters, harken what I shall say to this Man: come hither Master Green. And now Sir (pointing to me) you cannot think it sufficient to be taught your

Morgan here begins to play the wiper.

The Sacrament abused by the priests, how and where-in.

Sacrament in one kind.

* Synecdoche is a figure when by one thing or by part, the whole is understood. *Ench.* hath it there, *Parum Evangelicorum parva desit.*

† He gave a little of the Sacrament to the boy: which words may very well comprehend both parts: and it cometh by the words that follow, that part of it was liquor, for it is written in the same place, *Iustus ut id infans, & in oenis infans res.* 2. He commanded that he should pour it and drop it into the Mans mouth, and so he did. *Ench. hist.* 1.6.c.44.

the Image of God, is not like in Christ, and in an...

Presence of the Sacrament.

The Sacrament of the Mass as it is used, is no Sacrament.

Altar what it signifyeth.

Christofer for lack of better proof, falleth to exclaiming.

Wrangling
master a-
gainst Mr.
Keeper.

your self, but must go about to procure this young Gentleman by your Letters to do the like.

Phil. My Lord, he cannot say, that I ever hitherto wrote unto him concerning any such matter, as he here can tell lie.

Green. No you never wrote unto me.

Boner. Why, is not this your Letter which you did write concerning him.

Phil. I have shewed your Lordship my mind concerning that Letter already: it was not written to Master *Green*, neither was he privy to the writing thereof.

Lord. How say you then, if a Man be in an error, and you know thereof, what are you bound to do in such a case?

Phil. I am bound to do the best I can to bring him out of it.

Lord. If *M. Green* here be in the like, are you not bound to reform him thereof if you can?

Phil. Yes that I am, and will do to the uttermost of my power therein. The Bishop remembering himself, thinking that he would but shrewdly after his expectation be holpen at my Mouth, but rather confirmed in that which he called an error, ceased to go any further in his demand, and called *M. Green* aside, and before his Register read him a Letter, I know not the contents thereof: and therewithal he gave *M. Green* the Book of my disputation in the Convocation-House, and afterward went aside, communing with Master *Christopher*, leaving *M. Morgan*, *M. Harpsfield*, and *M. Cefins*, to reason with me in the hearing of Master *Green*.

Morgan. *M. Philpot*, I would ask you how old your Religion is?

Phil. It is older then yours by a thousand years and more.

Morgan. I pray you where was it fifty years ago?

Phil. It was in *Germany* apparent by the testimony of *Hulse*, *Hierom* of *Prague* and *Wickliffe*, whom your generation an hundred years ago and more, did burn for Preaching the Truth unto you; and before their time and since hath been, although under Persecution it hath been put to silence.

Morgan. That is a marvellous strange Religion, which no Man can tell certainly where to find it.

Philpot. It ought to be no marvel unto you to see Gods Truth thorow violence oppressed; for so it hath been from the beginning from time to time, as it appeareth by Stories, and as Christs true Religion is now to be found here in *England*, although Hypocrites hath by violence the upper hand. And in the *Apocalypsi* you may see it was Prophecied, that the true Church should be driven into corners, and into the Wilderness, and suffer great Persecutions.

Morg. Ah are you seen in the *Apocalypsi*? there are many strange things.

Phil. If I tell you the truth which you are not able to refel, believe it, and dally not out so earnest matters: Me think you are liker a scotter in a play, then a reasonable Doctor to instruct a Man, you are bare-arsed, and dance naked in a Net, and you see not your own nakedness.

Morg. What, I pray you, be not so quick with me, let us talke a little more coldly together.

Phil. I will talk with you as mildly as you can desire, if you will speak Learnedly and Charitably. But if you go about with tants to delude the truth, I will not hide it from you.

Morg. Why will not you submit your judgment to the Learned Men of this Realm?

Phil. Because I see they can bring no good ground whereupon I may with a good Conscience settle my Faith more surely then on that which I am now grounded upon by Gods manifest Word.

Morgan. No do? that is marvel that so many Learned Men should be deceived.

Phil. It is no marvel by Saint *Paul*, for he saith, *That not many Wife, neither many Learned after the World be called to the knowledge of the Gospel.*

Morg. Have you then alone the Spirit of God, and not we?

Philpot. I say not that I alone have the Spirit of God, but as many as abide in the True Faith of Christ, have the Spirit of God, as well as I.

Morg. How know you that you have the Spirit of God?

Phil. By the Faith of Christ which is in me.

Morg. Ah, by Faith do you so? I ween it be the Spirit of the Buttery, which your fellows have had that have been burned before you, who were drunk the night before they went to their death, and I ween went drunken unto it.

Phil. It appeareth by your Communication, that you are better acquainted with the Spirit of the Buttery, then with the Spirit of God; wherefore I must now tell thee, thou painted wall and Hypocrite, in the name of the living Lord, whose truth I have told thee, that God shall rain Fire and Brimstone upon such scornors of his Word and Blasphemers of his people, as thou art.

Morg. What, you rage now.

Phil. Thy foolish Blasphemies have compelled the Spirit of God, which is in me, to speak that which I have said to thee, thou enemy of all righteousness.

Morg. Why do ye judge me so?

Phil. By thine own wicked words I judge of thee, thou Blind and Blasphemous Doctor: for as it is written, *By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words: thou shalt be Condemned.* I have spoken on Gods behalf, and now I have done with thee.

Morg. Why then I tell thee *Philpot*, thou art an Heretic, and shalt be burned for thine Heresie, and afterwards go to Hell-fire.

Philpot. I tell thee, thou Hypocrite, that I pass not this for thy Fire and Fagots, neither, I thank God my Lord, stand in fear of the same: my Faith in Christ shall overcome them. But the Hell Fire which thou threatnest me is thy portion, and is prepared for thee (unless thou speedily repent) and for such Hypocrites as thou art.

Morg. What, thou speakest upon Wine, thou hast tipped well to day by likelihood?

Phil. So said the cursed Generation of the Apostles being replenished with the Holy Ghost, and speaking the Wondrous Works of God, they said they were drunk, when they had nothing else to say, as thou dost now.

Morg. Why, I am able to answer thee, ywis, I trow.

Phil. So it seemeth, with Blasphemies and lies.

Morg. Nay, even with Learning, say what thou canst.

Phil. That appeared well at my disputation in the Convocation-House, where thou tookst upon thee to answer those few Arguments I was permitted to make, and yet wast not able to answer one, but in thine answers didst fumble and flammer, that the whole House was ashamed of thee: and the final conclusions of all thine answer was, that thou couldst answer me if I were in the Schools at *Oxford*.

Morg. What, did I so? thou believest me.

Phil. I do not belie thee, the Book of the report of the disputation beareth record thereto, and all that were present then can tell, if they list, thou saidst so. And I tell thee plain, thou art not able to answer that Spirit of truth which speaketh in me for the defence of Christs true Religion. I am able by the might thereof to drive thee round about this Gallery before me, and if it would please the Queens Majesty and her Council to hear thee and me, I would make thee for shame shrink into the door.

Morg. Yea, would you so?

Phil. Thou hast the Spirit of Illusion and Sophistry, which is not able to countervail the Spirit of Truth. Thou art but an ass in the true understanding of things appertaining unto God. I call thee ass, not in respect of malice, but in that thou kickest against the truth, and art void of all Godly understanding, not able to answer to that thou braggest in.

Morg. Why, have I not answered thee in all things thou hast said unto me? I take them to record.

Phil. Ask of my fellow whether I be a thief.

Cefins. Hark, he maketh us all thieves.

Phil. You know that phrase of the proverb, that like will hold with like. And I am sure you will not judge with me, against him, speak I never so true; and in this sense I speak it. The strongest answer that he hath made against me is, that you will burn me.

Morg. Why, we do not burn you, it is the Temporal Men that burn you, and not we.

Phil. Thus you would (as *Pilate* did) wash your hands of all your wicked doings. But I pray you, *invocate secular brachium*; call upon the secular power to be Executors of your unrighteous judgments. And have you not

Anno
1555.

Morgan saith to foot-
ing and rail-
ling at the
good Mar-
tyrs of God.

J. Philpot
with great
zeal denoun-
ceth Hell
Fire to
Morgan un-
leish ere-
puit.

Morgan am-
bling and
flammering
in the Con-
vocation
House.

Morgan is
on up for
haling.

J. Philpot
Religion el-
der than po-
pery by a
1000 years
This Religi-
on was not
seen openly
a 100 years
ago. Ergo,
this Religion
was not
True since
it is true,
and the con-
sequence
false.
December.

*Scolding
Morgan.*

1 Cor. 2.

Anno not a title in your Law, *De hereticis comburendis*, to burn Hereticks?

1555. Harp. I have heard you both a good while reason together, and I never heard of stout an Heretick as you are, M. Philpot.

Cofins. Neither I in all my Life.

Phil. You are not able to prove me an Heretick, by one jot of Gods Word.

Mr. Harpfield and Cofins depart. Harpfield. You have the Spirit of Arrogancy, I will reason with you no more. And so he was departing, and Master Cofins also. And with that the Bishop and Christoferson came in again, and said.

Boner. Master Doctor, how doth this Man and you agree?

Morgan. My Lord, I do ask him where his Church was fifty years ago.

Boner. Are you not half agreed? as one Man said once to two parties, in whom the one was equally disagreeing from the other.

Christof. My Lord, it is but folly to reason with him any further, your Lordship shall but lose time, for he is incurable.

Boner. Well then, let his Keeper have him away. And with that Doctor Chedsey led me a way by the which we could not pass, and therefore came back again through the Bishops Chamber, where all these Doctors were clustered together; and as I was passing by, the Bishop took me by the gown and said, wote you what what Mr. Christoferson telleth me? I pray you Master Christoferson rehearse the Sentence in Latin; and so he did. The contents whereof were, That an Heretick would not be won. *Christof. S. Paul fidei, Hereticum hominem post unam atque alteram admonitionem devota; Fly an Heretick after once or twice warning.*

Christian truth called Heretic. All the Doctors. Yea, my Lord, it is best you do, and trouble your Lordship no more with him.

Phil. You must first prove me justly to be an Heretick, before you use the judgment of S. Paul against me: for he speaketh of such as hold opinion against the manifest Word, the which you cannot prove by me: and because you want in your proof, and be able to prove nothing against me, therefore you go about falsely to suppose me to be an Heretick, for the safeguard of your own counterfeit honories; but afore God, you are the Hereticks which so stoutly and stubbornly maintain so many things directly against Gods Word, as God in his time shall reveal. As I went out of his Chamber, the Bishop called me aside and said:

The Holy Ghost is Christ's vice upon Earth and bow. Boner. I pray thee in good sadness, what meanest thou by writing in the beginning of thy Bible, *Spiritus est Vicarius Christi in terra; The Spirit is the Vicar of Christ on the Earth*? wis you have some special meaning thereof.

Phil. My Lord, I have none other meaning than as I have told you already, That Christ since his ascension worketh all things in us by his Spirit, and by his Spirit doth dwell in us. I pray you my Lord let me have my Bible, with other lawful Books and Writings which you have of mine, whereof many of them be none of mine, but lent to me by my friends.

Boner. Your Bible you shall not have, but I will perhaps let you have another, and after I have perused the rest, you shall have such as I think good.

Phil. I pray your Lordship then, that you would let me have Candle-light.

Boner. To what purpose I pray you?

Phil. The Nights be long, and I would fain occupy my self about somewhat, and not spend my time idly.

Boner. You may then pray.

Phil. I cannot well say my Prayers without light.

Boner. Can you not say your *Pater-noster* without a Candle? I tell you Sir, you shall have some meat and drink of me, but candles you get none.

Phil. I had rather have a Candle than your meat and drink; but seeing I shall not have my request, the Lord shall be my light.

Boner. Have him down.

Ched. I will bring him to his Keeper, my Lord. Master Philpot, I wonder all these learned Men whom you have talked withal this day can nothing at all persuade you.

Phil. Why, Master Doctor, would you have me to be persuaded with nothing? or would you have me build my Faith upon sand? What do you all bid me, whereby I might by any sufficient authority to be persuaded to you?

Ched. I am sorry you will so wilfully cast away your self, whereas you might live worshipfully; do you not think other have Souls to save as well as you have?

Phil. Every Man shall receive according to his own doings. Sure I am you are deceived, and maintain a false Religion; and as for my casting away, I would my burning day were to morrow, for this delay is every day to die, and yet not to be dead.

Ched. You are not like to die yet I can tell you.

Phil. I am the more sorry thereof. But the Will of God be done of me to his Glory. Amen.

The twelfth Examination of John Philpot, on Wednesday the fourth of December before the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Worcester, and the Bishop of Bangor.

In the morning I was fet down to the wardrobe adjoining to the Chappel, and within a while after came three of the Bishops Chaplains unto me saying:

Chaplain. Master Philpot, my Lord hath sent us unto you, to desire you to come to Maf, certifying you that there is a Doctor of Divinity, a Chaplain of my Lords, a notable learned Man, called Doctor Chedsey, going to Maf: Therefore we also pray you good Master Philpot, be content to come; it is hard hereby.

Phil. I wonder my Lord would trouble you in sending you about this matter, seeing he knoweth I am a Man (by your Law) that cannot hear Maf, because I stand Excommunicate.

Bish. Chap. Your Excommunication is but upon a contumacy, and my Lord will dispence with you, if you will come.

Phil. My Lord cannot, for he is not mine Ordinary, and I will not seek any such thing at his hands. With this answer they went their way. And after Maf the Bishop called me before him into his Chappel, and there in the presence of his Register, (after he had said his mind, because I would not come to Maf) recited the Articles, which he oftentimes before had done in that behalf, with his depositions of the witnesses, of whom some were not examined.

Bon. Sir, what can you now say, why I should not proceed to give Sentence against thee as an Heretick?

Phil. Why my Lord, will you proceed to give Sentence against me before your witnesses be examined? that is plain against your own Law, as all your doings have been hitherto.

Bon. See what a fool thou art in the Law. I need not to recite the depositions of the witnesses, but if I list; for I know them well enough already.

Phil. It appeareth indeed you may do what you list.

Bon. Tell me, I say whether thou wilt answer, or no; and whether if thou wert absolved of thine Excommunication, thou wouldst come to Maf, or no?

Phil. I have answered as much as I intended to do until I be called to lawful judgment: and as concerning my Conscience I will not make you God to sit there as yet; it is Gods part only to be searcher of my Heart.

Bon. Look how foolishly he speaks. Art thou God? and yet dost thou not sit in thine own Conscience?

Phil. I sit not in mine own Conscience; but I know it, and God there only ought to sit, and no Man else.

Bon. Thou art a naughty fellow, and hast done much hurt, and hast seduced other poor fellows here in prison with thee, by thy comforting of them in their errors, and hast made them joyce and sing with thee.

Phil. Yea my Lord we shall sing, when you and such other as you are shall cry *Vae, Vae, Wo, wo*, except you repent.

Boner. What an arrogant fool is this? I will handle thee like an Heretick and that shortly.

Phil. I fear nothing (I thank God) you can do to me. But God shall destroy such as thou art, and that shortly, as I trust.

Boner. Have him away this is a loose indeed.

Phil. And I washad into the Wardrobe again by my keeper, and within an hour after was sent for to come before

The 12. Examination of M. Philpot before certain Bishops. See Poynters account of Maf's recitation to come

The Bishop layeth out his Articles, depositions of the witnesses, of whom some were not examined.

The Bishops depositions against the Law.

John Philpot is persuaded by the Bishop and Boner.

before him and the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Banger*.

Sir, I have talked with you many times, and have caused you to be talked with of many Learned Men, yea and honourable both Temporal and Spiritual, and it availeth nothing with you. I am blamed that I have brought thee afore so many, for they say, thou gloriest to have many to talk withal. Well, now it lyeth upon thee to look to thy self; for thy time draweth near to an end, if thou dost not become conformable. And at this present we are sent from the Synod to offer you this Grace, that if you will come to the Unity of the Church of *Rome* with us, and acknowledge the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar with us, all that is past shall be forgiven, and you received to favour.

Talk betwixt
John
Poulet and
the B. of
Worcester
and *Banger*.

Worc. M. Philpot, we are sent (as you here have heard by my Lord of *London*) from the Synod, to offer you mercy, if you will receive it, and of good-will I bear you I wish you to take it, whilst it is offered, and be not a singular Man against a whole Multitude of Learned Men, which now in fasting and Prayer are gathered together to devise things to do you good. There have many very Learned Men talked with you, why should you think your self better Learned than them all? Be not of such arrogance, but have humility, and remember there is no Salvation but in the Church.

Banger. Me thinketh my Lord hath said wonderfully well unto you, that you should not think your self so well Learned, but other Men are as well Learned as you, neither of so good wit, but other be as wise as you, neither of so good Memory, but other have as good Memories as you. Therefore mistrust your own judgment, and come home to us again. I wis I never liked your Religion, because it was set forth by violence and tyranny, and that is no Token of True Religion. And I was the same manner of Man then that I am now, and a great many more. Marry, for fear we held our peace, and bear with that time. Wherefore M. Philpot, I would you did well, for I love you; and therefore be content to come home with us again into the Catholic Church of *Rome*.

If violence
and tyranny
be no token
of true Reli-
gion: what
may Men
judge then
of the Pope's
Religion? I
pray you?

Phil. Where, my Lord (as I may begin first to answer you) you say, that Religion is to be nullified, which is set forth by tyranny, I pray God you give not Men occasion to think the same by yours at this day, which had none other Argument to stand by, but violence. If you can shew me any good sufficient ground, whereby to ground my Confidence, that the Church of *Rome* is the true Catholic Church, whereunto you call me, I will gladly be of the same; otherwife I cannot so soon change the Religion I have learned these many years.

The Pope's
Religion
hath no o-
ther ground
to stand up-
on but vi-
olence.
Where this
Religion was
over hundred
years ago.

Banger. Where was your Religion to be found (I pray you) an hundred years ago, that any Man knew of it?

Phil. It was in *Germany*, and in divers other places apparent.

Worc. Jesus! will you be still so singular a Man? What is *Germany* to the whole World?

Quere: Is it at *La-
tine*.

Bon. My Lords, I pray you give me leave to tell you; that I sent for him to hear Mass, this Morning. And wot you what excuse he made unto me, forsooth that he was accused, alledging his own shame. He playeth as the varlet *Latimer* did at *Cambridge*: when the Vicechancellor sent for him (who intended to have Excommunicated him for some of his Heresies) and the Chancellor was coming to his Chamber, he hearing that the Chancellor was coming, made answer that he was sick of the Plague, and so deluded the Chancellor; even so this Man saith, he was accused, because he will not come to Mass.

Worc. My Lord (I am sure) here doth behave himself like a Father unto you; therefore be admonished by him, and by us, that come now friendly unto you, and follow your Fathers before you.

Phil. It is forbidden us of God by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, to follow our Fathers, or to walk in their Commandments. *Worc.* It is written also in another place, *Interroga Patres, Ask of your Fathers.*

Fathers may
be asked,
but not fol-
lowed fur-
ther than
they follow
the Scrip-
tures.

Phil. We ought to ask indeed our Fathers that have more experience and knowledge than we, of Gods will, but no more to allow them, then we perceive they agree with the Scripture.

Worc. You will be a contentious Man, I see well; and *S. Paul* saith, that neither we, nor the Church of God have any such custom.

Phil. I am not contentious but for the verity of my Faith, in the which I ought to contend with all such as do impugn the same without any just objection.

Anno
1555.

Worc. Let us rise, my Lord, for I see we shall do no good.

Boner. Nay, I pray you tarry and hear the Articles I lay to his charge. And after he had recited them, they arose, and after standing, they reasoned with me a while.

Worc. M. Philpot, I am very sorry that you will be so singular. I never talked with any yet in my Diocess, but after once Communication had with me, they have been contented to revoke their errors, and to teach the people how they were deceived, and so do much good, as you may if you list. For as I understand you were Archdeacon of *Winchester* (which is the eye of the Bishop and you may do much good in that Country if you would for sake your errors, and come to the Catholic Church.

Phil. Wherewithal you do four perfwaded them to your will, I see not. Error, that I know, I hold none; of the Catholic Church I am sure I am.

Worc. The Catholic Church doth acknowledge a real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and so will not you.

Phil. That is not for I acknowledge a very essential presence in the * duly using of the Sacrament.

Worc. What, a Real Presence?

Phil. Yea a Real Presence by the Spirit of God in the right Administration.

Worc. That is well said: and do you agree with the Catholic Church also?

Phil. I do agree with the true Catholic Church.

Worc. My Lord of *London*, this Man speaketh reasonably now.

Bon. You do agree in generalities, but when it shall come to the particularities, you will far disagree.

Worc. Well, keep your self here, and you shall have other Learned Bishops to commune further with you, as my Lord of *Durham*, and my Lord of *Chichester*. Whom I hear say you do like well.

Phil. I do like them as I do all other that speak the truth. I have once already spoken with them, and they found no fault with me.

Worc. Pray in the mean season for Grace to God.

Phil. Prayer is the comfortable Exercise I feel in my trouble, and my Confidence is quiet, and I have the peace of mind, which cannot be the fruits of Heresie.

Worc. We will bid you farewell for this time.

Phil. After Dinner they called for me again, and demanded of me whether I meant as I spake before dinner, and would not go from it. To whom I answered, that I would not go from that I had said.

After Din-
ner M. Phil-
pot called a-
gain.

Worc. You said at my departing from you before Dinner, that if we did burn you, we should burn a Catholic Man: will you be a Catholic Man? and stand to the Catholic Church.

Phil. I will stand to the true Catholic Church.

Worc. Will you stand to the Catholic Church of *Jack Church*, *Rome*?

To stand to
the Catho-
lic Church,
is not e-
nough with
these Men,
except you
be in the
Church of
Rome.

Phil. If you can prove the same to be the Catholic Church, I will be one thereof.

Worc. Did not Christ say unto Peter, and to all his successors of *Rome*, *Pasce oves meas, pasce agnos meas? Feed my Sheep, Feed my Lambs?* Which doth signifie that he gave him a more authority than the rest.

Phil. That saying pertaineth nothing to the Authority of Peter, above others, but declareth what Christ requirith of his beloved Apostles, that they should with all diligence Preach to the Flock of Christ the way of Salvation, and that doth the iteration of feeding, spoken to Peter, only signifie. But the Bishop of *Rome* little regardeth the spiritual feeding, and therefore he hath imagined an easier way to make himself Lord of the whole World, yea and of Gods Word too, and doth not feed Christs Flock as Peter did.

December.
The Words
of Christ
(Feed my
Sheep) open-
ed.
The Pope is
no feeder.

Worc. How can you tell that?

Phil. Yes I have been there, and I could not learn of all his Countrien, that ever he Preacheth.

Worc. Though he Preacheth not one way, he Preacheth another, by procuring good order for the Church to be kept in.

Phil. I am sure that it will be his Damnation before God, that

Anno 1555. that he leaveth that he is commanded of Christ, and setteth forth his own Decrees to deface the Gospel.

Worc. It is the evil living that you have seen at Rome, that causeth you to have this ill judgment of the Church of Rome. I cannot now tarry with you to reason further of the matter.

How say you to the real presence of the Sacrament, will you stand to that?

Phil. I do acknowledge (as I have said) a real presence of the Sacrament, in the due Administration thereof, to the worthy receivers by the Spirit of God.

Worc. You add now a great many more words than you did before: and yet you say more of the Sacrament, than a great many will do.

Thus they departed, and after them came into me D. Chedsey, and D. Wright Archdeacon of Oxford with a great many more.

Ched. M. Philpot, here is M. Archdeacon of Oxford come to you, to give you good Counsel, I pray hear him.

Phil. I will refuse to hear none that will Counsel me any good; and if any can bring any matter better than I have, I will stick thereto.

Wright. I would with you M. Philpot to agree with the Catholick Church and not to stand in your own conceit: you see a great many of learned Men against you.

Phil. I am (M. Doctor) of the unfeigned Catholick Church, and will live and die therein: and if you can prove your Church to be the true Catholick Church, I will be one of the same.

Wright. I came not to dispute with you, but to exhort you. Here be better learned than I that can inform you better than I.

Ched. What proof would you have? I will prove unto you, our Church to have his being and Foundation by the Scriptures, by the Apostles, and by the Primitive Church, confirmed with the Blood of Martyrs, and with the Testimony of all Confessors.

Phil. Give me your hand, M. Doctor, prove that, and have with you.

Ched. If I had my Books here, I could soon prove it. I will go fetch some; and with that he went and fet his Book of Annotations, saying, I cannot bring my Books well, therefore I have brought my Book of Annotations, and turned there to a common place of the Sacrament, asking me whether the Catholick Church did allow the presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, or not? hear say you do confess a real presence; but I will be hanged if you will abide by it: You will deny it by and by.

Philpot. That I have said, I cannot deny; neither intend, whatsoever you say.

Ched. If there be a real presence in the Sacrament, then evil Men receive Christ, which thing you will not grant, I am sure.

Phil. I deny the Argument, for I do not grant in the Sacrament, by Transubstantiation, any real presence, as you falsely imagine, but in the due Administration to the worthy receivers.

Ched. I will prove that the Evil and Wicked Men eat the Body of Christ, as well as the good Men, by S. Austin here.

Phil. And in the beginning of his Text Saint Austin seemeth to approve his assertion; but I had him read out to the end, and there Saint Austin declareth most evidently that it was quodammodo, after a certain manner the evil Men received the Body of Christ, which is sacramentally only in the outer sign, and not really, or indeed, as the good doth. And thus all the Doctors that you seem to bring in for your purpose, be quite against you, if ye did rightly weigh them.

Ched. By God you are a subtil fellow. See how he would write S. Augustines words.

Phil. See who of us writeth Saint Austin more, you or I, which take his meaning by his own express words. And seeing you charge me of subtilty, who subtilty is this of you, to say, that you will prove our matter of the Church, even from the beginning, promising to shew your Books therein, and when it cometh to the shewing, you are able to shew none, and for want of proof slip into a by matter, and yet faint in the proof thereof: Alas God you are bare art in your Religion.

Ched. You shall be constrained to come to us at length, whether you will or no.

Phil. Hold that Argument fast; for it is the best you have, for you have nothing but violence.

The thirteenth Examination of M. Philpot, before the Archbishop of York, and divers other Bishops.

The Thursday after, I was called in the morning before the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of Bath, and the Bishop of London. The Bishop of Chichester being first come began to talk with me.

Chich. I am come of good will to talk with you, to instruct you what I can, to come to the Catholick Church, and to will you to instruct your own judgment, and to learn first to have humility, and by the same to learn of others that be better learned than you, as they did learn of such as were their betters before them.

Philpot. We must all be taught of God, and I will with all humility learn of them that will inform me by Gods Word, what I have to do: I confess I have but little learning in respect of you, that both of your years and great exercise do excel therein: but Faith consisteth not only in learning, but in simplicity of believing that which Gods Word teacheth. Therefore I will be glad to hear both of your Lordship, and of any other (that God hath revealed unto by his word) the true Doctrine thereof, and to thank you, that it doth please you to take pains herein.

Chich. You take the first alledged amiss, as though all Men should be taught by inspiration, and not by learning. How do we believe the Gospel, but by the authority of the Church, and because the same hath allowed it?

Phil. S. Paul saith, He learned not the Gospel by Men, neither of Men, but by the Revelation of Jesus Christ. Which is a plain and sufficient proof that the Gospel taketh not his Authority of Man, but of God only.

Chich. Saint Paul speaketh but of his own knowledge how he came thereto.

Phil. Nay he speaketh of the Gospel generally, Which cometh not from Man but from God; and that the Church must only teach that which cometh from God, and not Mans precepts.

Chich. Doth not S. Augustine say, I would not believe the Gospel if the Authority of the Church did not move me thereto.

Phil. I grant, that the Authority of the Church doth move the unbelievers to believe; but yet the Church giveth not the Word his Authority; for the Word hath his Authority only from God, and not of Men. Men be but the disposers thereof. For first, the Word hath his being before the Church, and the Word is the Foundation of the Church, and first is the Foundation sure, before the building thereon can be steadfast.

Chich. I perceive you mistake me, I speak of the knowledge of the Gospel, and not of the Authority; for by the Church, we have all knowledge of the Gospel.

Phil. I confess that, for Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word. And I acknowledge that God appointeth an ordinary means for Men to come unto the knowledge now, and not miraculously, as he hath done in times past; yet we that be taught by Men, must take heed that we learn nothing else but that which was taught in the primitive Church by Revelation. Here came in the Bishop of York and the Bishop of Bath, and after they had saluted one another, and communed a while together, the Archbishop of York called me unto them, saying,

York. Sir, we hearing that you are out of the way, are come of charity to inform you, and to bring you into the true Faith, and to the Catholick Church again; willing you first to have humility, and to be humble and willing to learn of your betters, for else we can do no good with you. And God saith by his Prophet; On whom shall I rest, but on the humble and meek, and such as tremble at my Word? Now if you will so be we will be glad to travel with you.

Phil. I know that humility is the door whereby we enter unto Christ; and I thank his goodness, I have entered in at the same unto him, and with all humility will hear whatsoever truth you shall speak unto me.

York. What be the matters you stand on, and require to be satisfied in?

The 13. Examination of M. Philpot before the Archbishop of York and other Bishops.

Faith cometh not by learning, but by believing.

The authority of the Church.

The place of S. Augustin, I would not believe the Word if the Church did not move me &c. The Word hath his Authority only from God, and not of the Church. The Word is the Foundation of the Church, and not the Church of the Word.

Talk between the Archbishop of York and John Philpot.

By really he meaneth truly.

Talk with D. Chedsey, and D. Wright and others.

You promise more, Chedsey, than you can prove.

D. Chedsey fetcheth his book of Annotations.

Whether evil Men receive the Body of Christ.

Quodammodo.

D. Chedsey saith in his proof.

Phil. My Lord, if it shall please your Grace, we were entered into a good matter before you came, of the Church, and how we should know the truth but by the Church.

Tork. Indeed that is the head we need to begin at, for the Church being truly known we shall sooner agree in the particular things.

Phil. If your Lordships can prove the Church of Rome to be the true Catholic Church, it shall do much to persuade me toward that you would have me incline unto.

Tork. Why, let us go to the definition of the Church. What is it?

Phil. It is a Congregation of people dispersed thorough the World, agreeing together in the Word of God, using the Sacraments and all other things according to the same.

Tork. Your definition is of many words to no purpose.

Phil. I do not precisely define the Church, but declare unto you what I think the Church is.

Tork. Is the Church visible or invisible?

Phil. It is both visible and invisible. The invisible Church is of the Elect of God only; the visible consists both of Good and Bad, using all things in Faith, according to Gods Word.

Tork. The Church is an universal Congregation of Faithful people in Christ thorough the World, which this word Catholic doth well express; for what is Catholic else? doth it not signify universal?

Phil. The Church is defined by S. Austin to be called Catholic in this wise, *Ecclesia ideo dicitur Catholica, quia universaliter perfecta est & in nullo claudicat. The Church is called therefore Catholic, because it is thoroughly perfect, and halts in nothing.*

Tork. Nay, it is called Catholic, because it is universally received of all Christian Nations for the most part.

Phil. The Church was Catholic in the Apostles time, yet was it not universally received of the World; but because their Doctrine which they had received of Christ was perfect, and appointed to be Preached and received of the whole World, therefore it is called the Catholic Church, and all persons receiving the same, to be counted the Catholic Church. And S. Austin in another place writeth, that the Catholic Church is that which believeth aright.

Tork. If you will learn, I will shew you S. Austin, writing against the Donatists, that he proveth the Catholic Church by two principal points, which is, universality and succession of Bishops in one Apostolic See from time to time. Now thus I will make mine Argument.

The Church of Rome is universal and hath her succession of Bishops from time to time.

Ergo, It is the Catholic Church.

How answer you to this Argument?

Phil. I deny the antecedent, that the Catholic Church is only known by Universality and Succession of Bishops.

Tork. I will prove it, and with that he brought forth a Book which he had noted out of the Doctors, and turned to his common places therein of the Church, and recited one or two out of S. Austin, and specially out of his Epistle written against the Donatists, where S. Austin manifestly proveth, that the Donatists were not the Catholic Church, because they have no succession of Bishops in their opinions, neither universality; and the same force hath S. Austins Argument against you.

Phil. My Lord, I have weighed the force of that Argument before now, and I perceive it maketh nothing against me, neither cometh it to your purpose; for I will stand to the Trial of S. Austin for the Approbation of the Catholic Church whereof I am. For S. Austin speaketh of Universality joined with verity, and of Faithful Successors of Peter before corruption came into the Church. And so if you can deduce your Argument for the See of Rome now, as S. Austin might do in his time, I would say it might be of some force, otherwise not.

Tork. S. Austin proveth the Catholic Church principally by Succession of Bishops, and therefore you understand not S. Austin. For what, I pray you, was the opinion of the Donatists, against whom he wrote, can you tell? What Country were they of?

Phil. They were a certain sect of Men, affirming a among other Heresies, that the dignity of the Sacraments

depended upon the worthiness of the Minister; so that if the Minister were good, the Sacraments which he ministered were available, or else not.

Chick. That was their error, and they had none other but that. And he read another authority of S. Austin out of a Book which he brought, even to the same purpose that the other was.

Phil. I challenge S. Austin to be with me thoroughly in this point, and will stand to his judgment, taking one place with another.

Chick. If you will not have the Church to be certain, I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy?

Phil. I do not deny the Church to be certain; but I deny that it is necessarily tied to any place, longer then it abideth in the word; and for all Controversies the word ought to be judge.

Chick. But what if I take it one way, and you another, how then?

Phil. S. Austin sheweth a remedy for that, and willeth, *Quod unus locus per plura intelligi debet; That one place of the Scripture ought to be understood by the more.*

Tork. How answer you to this Argument? Rome hath known Succession of Bishops, which your Church hath not.

Ergo, That is the Catholic Church, and yours is not, because there is no such Succession can be proved in your Church.

Phil. I deny (my Lord) that Succession of Bishops is an infallible point to know the Church by; for there may be a Succession of Bishops known in a place, and yet there be no Church, as at Antioch, and Hierusalem, and in other places, where the Apostles abode as well as at Rome. But if you put to the Succession of Bishops Succession of Doctrine withal, (as S. Austin doth) I will grant it to be a good proof for the Catholic Church; but a local Succession only is nothing available.

Tork. You will have no Church then I see well?

Phil. Yes my Lords I acknowledge the Catholic Church, as I am bound by my Creed; but I cannot acknowledge a false Church for the true.

Chick. Why is there two Catholic Churches then? *Phil.* No. I know there is but one Catholic Church, but there have been, and be at this present, that take up on them the Name of Christ and of his Church, which be not so indeed, as it is written; *There be they that call themselves Apostles, and be not so indeed, but the Synagogue of Satan and liars.* And now it is with us, as it was with the two Women in Solomons time, which lay together, and the one suppressed her Child, and afterward went about to Challenge the true Mothers Child:

Chick. What a babbling is here with you now? I see you lack humility. You will go about to teach, and not to learn.

Phil. My Lords, I must desire you to bear with my hasty Speech; it is my infirmity of nature. All that I speak is to learn by, I would you did understand all my mind, that I might be satisfied by you through better Authority.

Chick. My Lord, if it please your Grace, turn the Argument upon him, which you have made, and let him shew the Succession of the Bishops of his Church, as we can do. How say you, can you shew the Succession of Bishops in your Church from time to time? I tell you, this Argument troubled Doctor Ridley so fore, that he could never answer it; yet he was a Man well learned, I dare say you will say so.

Phil. He was a Man so learned, that I was not worthy to carry his Books for Learning.

Chick. I promise you he was never able to answer that. He was a Man that I loved well, and he me; for he came unto me divers times being in Prison, and conferred with me.

Phil. I wonder, my Lord, you should make this Argument which you would turn upon me, for the trial of my Church whereof I am, or that you would make B. Ridley so ignorant that he was not able to answer it, since it is of no force. For behold, first I denied you, that local succession of Bishops in one place is a necessary point alone to prove the Catholic Church by, and that which I have denied

Anno

1555.

The error of the Donatists.

The Church may be certain, and yet not tied to one place.

August 26 doctrine, Christi.

December. Augustus' a soul non sufficiens & non tota.

The Argument is dead.

Local succession without succession of Doctrine nothing available.

Reg. 2. The Mother Church of Rome compared to the woman in Solomons time, that falsly challenged the true Mothers Child.

Chick. I see you lack humility. You will go about to teach, and not to learn.

So ye say now when ye would give him no leave nor time when he was able to make his answers.

Succession of Bishops alone is no sufficient point to prove the Catholic Church.

Anno
1555.

you cannot prove : and is it then reason that you should put me to the trial of that, which by you is unproved, and of no force to conclude against me ?

Chich. I fee, my Lords, we do but loose our labours to reason with him; he taketh himself better learned than we.

Phil. I take upon me the name of no learning. I boast of no knowledge, but of Faith and of Christ, and that I am bound undoubtedly to know, as I am sure I do.

Chich. These Hereticks take upon them to be sure of all things they stand in. You should say rather with humility, I trust I know Christ, then that you be sure thereof.

Phil. Let him doubt of his Faith that listeth; God giveth me always grace to believe that I am sure of true Faith and favour in Christ.

Bathe. How will you be able to answer Hereticks, but by the determination of the known Catholick Church ?

Phil. I am able to answer all Hereticks by the Word of God, and convince them by the same.

Chich. How arrogantly is that spoken ? I dare not say so.

Phil. My Lord, I pray you bear with me; for I am bold on the Truths side, and I speak somewhat by experience that I have had with Hereticks; and I know the Arians be the subtillest that ever were; and yet I have manifest Scriptures to bear them down withal.

Chich. I perceive now you are the same manner of man I have heard of, which will not be satisfied by learning.

Phil. Alas, my Lord, why do you say so ? I do desire most humbly to be taught, if there be any better way that I should learn, and hitherto you have shewed me no better, therefore I pray your Lordship not to misjudge without a cause.

Bathe. If you be the true Catholick Church, then will you hold with the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which the true Church have ever maintained.

Phil. And I, my Lord, with the true Church do hold the same in the due ministratiō of the Sacrament : but I desire you, my Lord, there may be made a better conclusion in our first matter, before we enter into any other; for if the Church be proved, we shall soon agree in the rest.

In the mean while my Lord of York was turning his Book for more places to help forth his cause.

York. I have found at length a very notable place, which I have looked for all this while, of S. *Augustine*, De simplicitate credendi.

Chich. It is but folly, my Lord, that your Grace do read him any more places, for he esteemeth them not.

Phil. I esteem them, inasmuch as they be of force, as your Lordship doth hear me deny no Doctors you bring, but only require the true application of them, according to the writers meaning, and as by his own words may be proved.

York. I will read him the place, and so make an end. After he had read the Sentence, he said, that by four special points here S. *Augustine* proveth the Catholick Church. The first is, By the consent of all Nations, the second, by the Apostolick See, the third, by Universality, and the fourth, by this word Catholick.

Chich. That is a notable place indeed; if it please your Grace.

Phil. I pray you my Lord, of what Church doth S. *Augustine* write the same, of Rome, or not ?

York. Yea, he writeth it of the Church of Rome.

Phil. I will lay with your Lordship as much as I can make, it is not so; and let the Book be fen.

Bathe. What art thou able to lay, thou hast nothing ?

York. Doth he not make mention here of the Apostolick See, whereby he meaneth Rome ?

Phil. That is very freightly interpreted, my Lord, as though the Apostolick See had been no where else but at Rome. But let it be Rome, and yet you shall never verifie the same, unless all the other conditions do go therewith, as S. *Augustine* doth proceed withal, whereof none, except the Apostolick See can now be verified of the Church of Rome. For the Faith which that See now maintaineth hath not the consent of all Nations, neither hath had. Besides that, it cannot have the name of Catholick, because it differeth from the Catholick Churches which the Apostles planted, almost in all things.

York. Nay, he goeth about here to prove the Catholick Church by Universality; and how can you shew your Church to be Universal fifty or an hundred years ago ?

Phil. That is not material, neither any thing against S. *Augustine* : for my Church (whereof I am) were to be accounted Universal, though it were but in ten persons, because it agreeth with the same that the Apostles did universally plant.

York. I perceive you are an obstinate man in your Opinion, and will not be taught; wherefore it is but lost labour to talk with you any longer, you are a Member to be cut off.

Chich. I have heard of you before, how you troubled the good Bishop of Winchester, and now I see in you that I have heard.

Phil. I trust you see no evil in me by this; I desire of you a sure ground to build my Faith on, and if you shew me none, I pray you speak not ill of him that meaneth well.

Chich. Thou art as impudent a Fellow as I have commined withal.

Phil. That is spoken uncharitably, my Lord, to blaspheme him whom you cannot justly reprove.

Chich. Why? thou art not God: Blasphemy is counted a rebuke to Godward, and not to man.

Phil. Yes, it may be as well verified of an infamy laid to man, speaking in Gods cause, as you now do lay unto me, for speaking freely the Truth afore God, to maintain your vain Religion. You are void of all good ground. I perceive you are blind Guides, and leaders of the blind: and therefore (as I am bound to tell you) very Hypocrites, tyrannously persecuting the Truth, which otherwise by just order you are by no means able to convince. Your own Doctors, and Testimonies which you bring, be evidently against you, and yet you will not see the Truth.

Chich. Have we this thank for our good will, coming to instruct thee ?

Phil. My Lords, you must bear with me, since I speak in Christs cause; and because his glory is defaced, and his people cruelly and wrongfully slain by you, because they will not consent to the dishonor of God, and to hypocrite with you; if I told you not your fault, it would be required at my hands in the day of Judgment. Therefore know you, ye Hypocrites indeed, that it is the Spirit of God that telleth you your sin, and not I; I pass not, I thank God, of all your cruelty. God forgive you, and give you grace to repent : and so they departed.

Christs Church consisteth not to be his Church, albeit in time of persecution he had some time in conversion.

First answer to his reason, and call him obstinate after-ward.

Veritas odii in parit. The free heart of John Philpot in telling truth.

Another calling of Mr. Philpot before the Bishop.

Concernin these four points answered sufficiently before.

Another talk the same day.

The same day at night before Supper, the Bishop sent for me into his Chappel, in the presence of the Archdeacon *Harpfield*, Dr. *Chedsey*, and other his Chaplains, and his Servants; at what time he said :

Lord. Mr. *Philpot*, I have by sundry means gone about to do you good, and I marvel you do so little consider it. By my truth, I cannot tell what to say to you : tell me directly whether you will be a conformable man; or no; and whereupon you chiefly stand.

Phil. I have told your Lordship often times plain enough, whereon I stand chiefly, requiring a sure Probation of the Church whereunto you call me.

Harpf. S. *Augustine* writing against the Donatists, declareth four special notes to know the Church by; the consent of many Nations, the Faith of the Sacraments confirmed by Antiquity, Succession of Bishops, and Universality.

Lord. I pray you Mr. Archdeacon, fetch the Book hither; it is a notable place, let him see it. And the Book was brought, and the Bishop read it, demanding how I could answer the same.

Phil. My Lord, I like S. *Augustines* four points for the trial of the Catholick Church, whereof I am: for it can abide every point thereof together, which yours cannot do.

Harpf. Have not we Succession of Bishops in the See and Church of Rome? Wherefore then do you deny our Church to be the Catholick Church ?

Phil. S. *Augustine* doth not put Succession of Bishops only to be sufficient, but headeth the use of the Sacraments according to Antiquity and Doctrine universally taught & received of most Nations from the beginning of the

the Primitive Church, the which your Church is far from. But my Church can avouch all these better than yours; therefore by S. *Augustinus* judgment, which you here bring, mine is the Catholick Church, and not yours.

Harpl. Ched. It is but folly (my Lord) for you to reason with him, for he is irrecoverable.

Phil. That is a good shift for you to run unto, when you be confounded in your own sayings, and have nothing else to say; you are evidently deceived, and yet will not see it when it is laid to your face.

THUS have I at large set forth as many of the said *John Philpot* his Examinations and privy Conferences as are yet come to light, being faithfully written with his own hand. And although he was divers other times after this examined, both openly in the Confistory at *Pauls*, and also secretly in the Bishops House; yet what was there said is not yet sufficiently known, either because *Mr. Philpot* was not himself suffered to write, or else for that his writings are by some kept close, and not brought forth, otherwise then as the Bishops Register hath noted, whose handling of such matters because it is (either for fear or favour of his Lord and Master) very slender, little light of any true meaning can be gathered, especially in the behalf of the Answerer; howbeit, such as it is, such thought I good to put forth; requiring the Reader to judge hereof according to his Answers in his former Examinations.

The last Examinations of Mr. Philpot in open Judgment, with his final Condemnation by Bishop Boner in the Confistory at Pauls.

THE Bishop having sufficiently taken his pleasure with *Mr. Philpot* in his private talks, and seeing his zealous, learned, and immutable constancy, thought it now high time to rid his hands of him, and therefore on the thirtieth and fourteenth days of *December*, sitting judicially in the Confistory at *Pauls*, he caused him to be brought thither before him and others, as it seemeth, more for orders sake, than for any good affection to justice and right judgment. The effect as well of which their two sundry proceedings, as also of one other had the eleventh day of the same Month in his Chappel, appear in a manner to be all one. The Bishop therefore first speaking to *Mr. Philpot*, said;

Lord. *Mr. Philpot*, amongst other things that were laid and objected unto you, these three things ye were especially charged and burdened withal.

The first is, That you being fallen from the unity of *Christ's* Catholick Church, do refuse and will not come to be reconciled thereunto.

The second is, That you have blasphemously spoken against the Sacrifice of the Mass, calling it Idolatry.

And the third is, That you have spoken against the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the Real Presence of *Christ's* Body and Blood to be in the same.

And according to the will and pleasure of the Synod Legative, ye have been oft by me invited and required to go from your said Errors and Heresies, and to return to the unity of the Catholick Church, which if ye will now willingly do, ye shall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favour I can shew you. And now to tell you true, it is assigned and appointed me to give Sentence against you, if you stand hard, and will not return. Wherefore if ye so refuse, I do ask of you, whether you have any cause that you can shew, why I should not now give Sentence against you?

Phil. Under Protestation, not to go from my Appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent Judge, I say, touching your first objection concerning the Catholick Church, I neither was nor am out of the same. And as touching the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the Sacrament of the Altar, I never spake against the same. And as concerning the pleasure of the Synod, I say, that these twenty years I have been brought up in the Faith of the true Catholick Church, which is contrary to your Church, whereunto you would have me to come; and in that time I have been many times sworn (as well in the reign of *King Henry 8.* as in the reign of good *K. Edward* his Son) against the usurped Power of the *Rof Rome*,

which Oath I think that I am bound in my Conscience to keep. *Quia tenor reddere Domino juramentum.* But if you, or any of the Synod, can by Gods word perfwade me that my said Oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by Gods Law to come to your Church, Faith, and Religion, whereof you be now, I will gladly yield, agree, and be conformable unto you, otherwise not.

Boner then, not able with all his learned Doctors, to accomplish this his offered condition, fell to perfwading all his Doctors out of him, as well by his accustomed vain promises, as also by his bloody threatnings, to return to their Church: to the which he answered,

Phil. You, and all other of your sort, are Hypocrites, and I would all the world did know your Hypocrisy, your Tyranny, Ignorance, and Idolatry.

Upon these words, the Bishop did for that time dismiss him, commanding that on *Monday* the 16 day of the same Month, between the hours of one and three in the Afternoon, he should again be brought thither, there to have the Definitive Sentence of Condemnation pronounced against him, if he remained then in his former constancy.

The last Examination of Mr. John Philpot.

AT which day and time, *Mr. Philpot* being there presented before the Bishops of *London*, *Bathe*, *Worcester*, and *Litchfield*, *Boner* Bishop of *London* began to talk in this manner.

Lord. My Lords, *Stokeley*, my Predecessor, when he went to give Sentence against an Heretic, used to make this Prayer.

Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam possint redire, iustitiae veritatem, tunc lumen ostendis, da cunctis qui Christianam professionem censentur, & illa respuere que basic inimica sunt, nomini, & ea que sint apud seclari per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen. Which I will follow. And so he read it with a loud voice in Latin. To which *Mr. Philpot* said:

Phil. I would ye would speak in English, that all men might hear and understand you; for *Paul* willeth that all things, spoken in the Congregation to edifie, should be spoken in a Tongue that all men might understand.

Whereupon the Bishop did read it in English: and when he came to these words, *To refuse those things which are foes to his Name*; *Philpot* said,

Phil. Then they all must turn away from you; for you are Enemies to that Name (meaning *Christ's* Name) and God save us from such Hypocrites as would have things in a Tongue that men cannot understand.

Lord. Whom do you mean?

Phil. You and all other that be of your Generation and Sect. And I am sorry to see you fit in the place that you now sit in, pretending to execute Justice, and to do nothing less but deceive all men in this Realm.

And then turning himself unto the People, he further said, Oh all you Gentlemen, beware of these men (meaning the Bishops) and all their doings, which be contrary unto the Primitive Church. And I would know of you, my Lord, by what Authority you proceed against me.

Lord. Because I am Bishop of *London*.

Phil. Well, then ye are not my Bishop, nor have I offended in your Diocese: and moreover, I have appealed from you, and therefore by your own Law you ought not to proceed against me, especially being brought hither from another place by violence.

Lord. Why, who sent you hither to me?

Phil. That did *Dr. Story* and *Dr. Cook*, with other the King and Queens Commissioners; and my Lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own Sheep, but ye must also meddle with other mens Sheep?

Then the Bishop delivered to *Philpot* two Books, one of the Civil Law, and the other of the Canon, out of the which he would have proved that he had Authority to proceed against him in such sort as he did. *Mr. Philpot* then perusing the same, and seeing the small and slender proof that was there alledged, said unto the Bishop:

Phil. I perceive your Law and Divinity is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I would ye did know your own ignorance: but ye dance in a Net, and think that no man doth see you. Hereupon they had much talk, but what it was, is not yet known. At last *Boner* spake unto him, and said:

Lord. *Philpot*, as concerning your Objections against my

The last Examinations of Mr. Philpot in open Judgment, with his final condemnation by B. Boner in the Confistory at Pauls.

Mr. Philpot called into open Judgment.

These special Articles in the last Examination.

*None of the Register believeth Mr. Philpot, or else he misrepresents the Law, thereby to be accused, for either wide or his former Examinations declare that he spoke against the Sacrament of the Altar.

Anno 1555.

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Phil. Then they all must turn away from you; for you are Enemies to that Name (meaning Christs Name) and God save us from such Hypocrites as would have things in a Tongue that men cannot understand.

Lord. Whom do you mean?

Phil. You and all other that be of your Generation and Sect. And I am sorry to see you fit in the place that you now sit in, pretending to execute Justice, and to do nothing less but deceive all men in this Realm.

And then turning himself unto the People, he further said, Oh all you Gentlemen, beware of these men (meaning the Bishops) and all their doings, which be contrary unto the Primitive Church. And I would know of you, my Lord, by what Authority you proceed against me.

Lord. Because I am Bishop of London.

Phil. Well, then ye are not my Bishop, nor have I offended in your Diocese: and moreover, I have appealed from you, and therefore by your own Law you ought not to proceed against me, especially being brought hither from another place by violence.

Lord. Why, who sent you hither to me?

Phil. That did Dr. Story and Dr. Cook, with other the King and Queens Commissioners; and my Lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own Sheep, but ye must also meddle with other mens Sheep?

Then the Bishop delivered to Philpot two Books, one of the Civil Law, and the other of the Canon, out of the which he would have proved that he had Authority to proceed against him in such sort as he did. Mr. Philpot then perusing the same, and seeing the small and slender proof that was there alledged, said unto the Bishop:

Phil. I perceive your Law and Divinity is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I would ye did know your own ignorance: but ye dance in a Net, and think that no man doth see you. Hereupon they had much talk, but what it was, is not yet known. At last Boner spake unto him, and said:

Lord. Philpot, as concerning your Objections against my

Anno 1555. my Jurisdiction, ye shall understand that both the Civil and Canon Laws make against you; and as for your Appeal, it is not allowed in this case: For it is written in the Law, *A iudice diffinitionem juris exequente non est appellandum.*

B. Bener noted to be ignorant in the Law.

Phil. My Lord, it appeareth by your Interpretation of the Law, that ye have no knowledge therein; and that ye do not understand the Law; for if ye did, ye would not bring in that Text.

Hereupon the Bishop recited a Law of the Romans, That it was not lawful for a Jew to keep a Christian man in captivity, and to use him as a slave, laying then to the said *Philpots* charge, that he did not understand the Law, but did like a Jew. Whereunto *Philpot* answered:

Phil. No, I am no Jew, but you my Lord are a Jew. For you profess Christ, and maintain Antichrist, you profess the Gospel, and maintain Superstition, and ye be able to charge me with nothing.

Lord and other Bish. With what can you charge us?

Phil. You are Enemies to all Truth, and all your doings be naught, full of Idolatry, saving the Article of the Trinity.

Whilst they were thus debating the matter, there came thither, Sir *William Garret* Knight, then Maior of London, Sir *Martin Bowes* Knight, and *Tho. Leigh* then Sheriff of the same City, and fare down with the said Bishops in the said Consistory, where and what time Bishop *Bener* spake these words in effect as followeth.

Lord. Philpot, before the coming of my Lord Maior, because I would not enter with you into the matter wherewith I have heretofore, and now intend to charge you withal, until his coming, I did rehearse unto you a Prayer both in English and in Latin, which *Bp. Stokesley*, my Predecessor, used when he intended to proceed to give Sentence against an Heretic.

And here he did again read the said Prayer both in English, and also in Latin: which being ended, he spake again unto him, and said:

Lord. Philpot, amongst other, I have to charge you specially with three things.

1. First, Where you have fallen from the unity of Christs Catholick Church, you have thereupon been invited and required, not only by me, but also by many and divers other Catholick Bishops, and other learned men, to return and come again to the same: and also you have been offered by me, that if you would so return, and confess your errors and heresies, you should be mercifully received, & have so much favour as I could shew unto you.

2. The second is, That you have blasphemously spoken against the Sacrifice of the Mass, calling it Idolatry and Abomination.

3. And thirdly, That you have spoken and holden against the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the Real Presence of Christs Body and Blood to be in the same.

This being spoken, the Bishop recited unto him a certain Exhortation in English, the tenor and form whereof is this.

Bishop Beners Exhortation.

MR. Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconciled to the unity of the Catholick Church, from whence ye did fall in the time of the late *Schism* here in this Realm of England, against the See Apostolick of Rome, will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unity of the same Catholick Church, professing and promising to observe and keep to the best of your power the Faith and Christian Religion observed and kept of all faithful people of the same: and moreover, if ye which heretofore, especially in the year of our Lord 1553. 1554. 1555. or in one of them have offended and trespassed grievously against the Sacrifice of the Mass, calling it Idolatry and Abominable, and likewise have offended and trespassed against the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the Real Presence of Christs Body and Blood to be there in the Sacrament of the Altar, affirming also withal, material Bread and material Wine to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, and not the Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ; if ye, I say, will be reconciled as is aforesaid, and will for sake your heresies and errors before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will also allow the Sacrament

of the Mass, ye shall be mercifully received, and obediently used with as-much favour as may be; if not, ye shall be reputed, taken, and judged for an Heretic (as ye be indeed.) Now do you chuse what ye will do; you are counselled herein friendly and favourably.

Isa est quod Edm. Bener Episc. Lond.

The Bishops Exhortation thus ended, Mr. *Philpot* turned himself unto the Lord Maior, and said;

Phil. To you my Lord Maior bearing the Sword, I am glad that it is my chance now to stand before that Authority that hath defended the Gospel and the Truth of Gods Word; but I am sorry to see, that that Authority, which representeth the King and Queens persons, should now be changed, and be at the commandment of Antichrist; and ye (speaking to the Bishops) pretend to be the followers of the Apostles of Christ, and yet be the very Antichrists and Decivers of the People; and I am glad that God hath given me power to stand here this day, and to declare and defend my Faith, which is founded on Christ.

Therefore, as touching your first Objection, I say, that I am of the Catholick Church, whereof I was never out, and that your Church (which ye pretend to be the Catholick Church) is the Church of Rome, and so the Babylonical, and not the Catholick Church; of that Church I am not.

As touching your second Objection, which is, that I should speak against the Sacrifice of the Mass, I do say, that I have not spoken against the true Sacrifice, but have spoken against your private Masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true Sacrifice; for your Sacrifice daily reiterated is a blasphemy against Christs death, and it is a lye of your own invention: and that abominable Sacrifice which yest upon the Altar, and use in your private Masses in stead of the living Sacrifice, is Idolatry, and ye shall never prove it by Gods Word; therefore ye have deceived the People with that your Sacrifice of the Mass, which ye make a Masquing.

Thirdly, where you lay to my charge, that I deny the Body and Blood of Christ to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, I cannot tell what Altar ye mean, whether it be the Altar of the Crose, or the Altar of Stone: and if ye call it the Sacrament of the Altar in respect of the Altar of Stone, then I defie your Christ, for it is a rotten Christ.

And as touching your Transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was brought up first by a Pope. Now as concerning your offer made from the Synod, which is touching gathered in Antichrists name; prove me that the be of the Catholick Church (which ye shall never do) and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But ye are Idolaters, and daily do commit Idolatry. Ye be also Traitors; for in your Pulpits ye rail upon good Kings, as King *Henry*, and King *Edward* his Son, which have stood against the usurped Power of the Bishop of Rome; against whom also I have taken an Oath, which if ye can shew me by Gods Law that I have taken un-justly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the King and Queens heart from your Synagogue and Church, for you do abuse that good Queen.

Here the Bishop of *Coventry* and *Luthefield* began to shew where the true Church was, saying;

Covent. The true Catholick Church is sit upon an high hill.

Phil. Yea, at Rome, which is the Babylonical Church.

Cov. No, in our true Catholick Church are the Apostles, Evangelists, and Martyrs; but before *Martin Luther* there was no Apostle, Evangelist, or Martyr of your Church.

Phil. Will ye know the cause why? Christ did prophecy that in the latter days there should come false Prophets and Hypocrites, as you be.

Cov. Your Church of Geneva, which ye call the Catholick Church, is that which Christ prophesied of.

Phil. I allow the Church of Geneva, and the Doctrine of the same, for it is *una, Catholica, & Apostolica*, and doth follow the Doctrine that the Apostles did preach: and the Doctrine taught and preached in *K. Edwards* day, was also according to the same. And are ye not ashamed to persecute me and others for your Churches sake, which is Babylonical, and contrary to the true Catholick Church?

T t 2 And

John Philpot answered to the Bishops exhortation before the L. Maior.

To the first Article. John Philpot is of the Catholick Church, but not of the Babylonical Church.

To the second Article. John Philpot speaketh not against the true Sacrifice, but against the Sacrifice used upon the altar, used in private Masses.

To the third Article. Philpot denyeth not the Sacrament of the be of the Catholick Church (which ye shall never do) and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But ye are Idolaters, and daily do commit Idolatry. Ye be also Traitors; for in your Pulpits ye rail upon good Kings, as King Henry, and King Edward his Son, which have stood against the usurped Power of the Bishop of Rome; against whom also I have taken an Oath, which if ye can shew me by Gods Law that I have taken unjustly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the King and Queens heart from your Synagogue and Church, for you do abuse that good Queen.

D. Bener B. of Coventry speaketh. How can the Apostles be of that Church, where their Doctrine is against it?

The Church at England in King Edwards time.

The Maior with the Sheriffs assistant to B. Bener against Mr. Philpot.

The three Articles against him repeated.

An exhortation of Bp. Bener to John Philpot Decem. 15.

And after this they had great conference together, as well out of the Scriptures, as also out of the Doctors. But when Boner law that by learning they were not able to convince Mr. Philpot, he thought then by his defamations to bring him out of credit; and therefore turning himself unto the Lord Maior of London, he brought forth a Knife, and a Bladder full of Powder, and said;

It is the
case
of
him
with
the
form
of
the
true
mat
ter.

Lord. My Lord, this man had a roasted Pig brought unto him, and this Knife was put secretly between the skin and the Brist thereof, and so it was sent him, being in Prison. And also this Powder was sent unto him, under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat or drink; which Powder was only to make Ink to write withal. For when his Keeper did perceive it, he took it and brought it unto me. Which when I did see, I thought it had been Gunpowder, and thereupon I put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for Poyson, and so gave it to a Dog, but it was not so. Then I took a little water, and it made as fair Ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my Lord, you may understand that a naughty Fellow this is.

Philpot had a
knife
brought him
under a Pig's
death? Doth
the Knife in
the Pig prove
the Church of
Rome to be a
Catholick
Church.
Articles
condemned in
Oxford and
Cambridge.
The Catholick
Church
forbid in K.
Edwards
days.
The Book of
Report of the
Disputation
in the
Convocation
House.

Phil. Ah my Lord, have you nothing else to charge me withal but these trifles, seeing I stand upon life and the Brist thereof? Doth the Knife in the Pig prove the Church of Rome to be a Catholick Church? &c.

Then the Bishop brought forth a certain Instrument, containing Articles and Questions, agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge, whereof you have mention before. Also he did exhibit two Books in print; the one was the Catechism made in King Edwards days, An. 1552. the other concerning the true Report of the Disputation in the Convocation House, mention whereof is above expressed.

Moreover he did bring forth, and laid to Mr. Philpot charge two Letters; the one touching Bartlet Green, the other containing godly exhortations and comforts; which both were written unto him by some of his godly friends; the tenour whereof we thought here also to exhibit.

A Letter exhibited by Boner, written by some Friend of Mr. Philpots, and sent to him, concerning the handling of Mr. Green in Boners House at London.

A Letter
written to
Mr. Philpot
concerning
the
handling
of
Mr. Green,
exhibited
by Boner.
Wherein
breaketh
the promise.

You shall understand that Mr. Green came unto the Bishop of London on Sunday last, where he was courteously received; for what policy the sequel declareth. His entertainment for one day or two, was to dine at my Lords own Table, or else to have his meat from thence. During those days he lay in Dr. Chedseyes Chambers, and was examined. Albeit in very deed the Bishop earnestly and faithfully promised many right worshipful men (who were Sutors for him, but to him unknown) that he in no case should be examined; before which, Mr. Fecknam would have had him in his friendly custody, if he would have desired to have conferred with him, which he utterly refused. And in that the Bishop objected against him singularity and obliquity; his Answer therunto was thus. To avoid all suspicion thereof, although I my self am young and utterly unlearned in respect of the learned, (and yet I understand, I thank my Lord) yet let me have such Books as I shall require; and if I, by Gods Spirit, do not thereby answer all your Books and Objections contrary thereto, I will assent to you. Whereunto the Bishop and his attendants, permitting him at the first to have such Books. Who at sundry times have reasoned with him, and have found him so strong and ripe in the Scripture and godly Fathers, that sithence they have not only taken from him such liberty of Books, but all other Books, nor leaving him so much as the New Testament. Since they have baited and used him most cruelly. This Mr. Fecknam reported; saying farther, that he never heard the like young man, and so perfect. What shall become farther of him, God knoweth; but death I think, for he remaineth more and more willing to dye, as I understand. Concerning your Bill, I shall confer with others therein, knowing that the same Court is able to redress the same. And yet I think it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or will speak therein, or prefer the same, because it concerneth spiritual things. Notwithstanding, I will ascertain you thereof; committing you to the Holy Ghost, who keep you and us all, as his. Your own, &c.

Mr. Green
Brought in
Scriptures
and Doctors.

Fecknam's
report of
said, Green.

This Bill
was a Sup
plication to
be offered
up to the
Parliament.

The Copy of another Letter written by the Faithful and Christian hearted Lady, the Lady Vane, to Mr. Philpots, exhibited likewise by the Bishop Boner.

Anno
1555.

I Early thanks rendered unto you my wellbeloved in Christ, for the Book ye sent me, wherein I find great consolations, and according to the Doctrine thereof, do by the faithful prepare my cheeks to the strikers, and my womanish back to the burthens of reproof; and join the strength of my God I trust to leap over the wall; for his sweetest overcoming me daily, and maketh all these Apothecary drugs of the world, even medecinal-like in my mouth. For the continuance whereof, I beseech thee (my dear Fellow-souldier) make thy faithful prayer for me, that I may with a strong and glad some Conscience finish my course, and obtain the reward, though it be no whit due to my work. I am not content that you so often gratifie me with thanks for that which is none worthy, but duty on my part, and small relief to you. But if you would love me so much, that I might supply your lacks, then would I think ye believed my offers to be such, as agreed with my heart. And for the short charges ye speak of, the means are not so pleasant, if God (whom my trust is in) will otherwise prepare; but Solomon saith, All things have here their time; Thou to day, and I to morrow, and so the end of Adams line is soon run out. The mighty God give us his grace, that during this time, his glory be not defaced through our weakness. Because you desire to know your self a worthy Souldier, if need so require, I will supply your request for the Scarf ye wrote of, that ye may present my handy-work before your Captain, that I be not forgotten in the odours of incense, which our beloved Christ offered for his own; to whom I bequeath both our Bodies and Souls.

A Letter
written to
Mr. Philpot
by the faith
ful and Chris
tian Lady, the
Lady Vane.

Your own in the Lord, F. E.

Over and besides these Letters, the Bishops did also bring forth a Supplication made by Mr. Philpot unto the high Court of Parliament, whereof mention is made in the first of the two Letters last mentioned; the Copy whereof doth here infuse, as followeth.

To the King and Queens Majesties Highness, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this present Parliament assembled.

In most humble wise complaineth unto this honourable Court of Parliament John Philpot Clerk, that where there was by the Queens Highness a Parliament called in the first year of her gracious reign, and after the old custom a Convocation of the Clergy, your Suppliant then being one of the said Convocation House, and matters there rising upon the using of the Sacraments, did dispute in the same, knowing that there all men had and have free speech, and ought not to be after-troubled for any thing there spoken, and yet, that notwithstanding, not long after the said Parliament, your said Suppliant (without any act or matter) was commanded to Prison to the Kings Bench by the late Lord Chancellor, where he hath remained ever since, until now of late that my Lord the Bishop of London hath sent for your said Suppliant to examine him (being none of his Diocess) upon certain matters, wherein they would have your Orator to declare his Conscience, which the said Bishop saith he hath Authority to do, by reason of an Act of Parliament made in the first and second years of the King and Queens Majesties reigns, for the reviving of three Statutes made against them that hold any Opinion against the Catholick Faith, whereby he affirmeth, that every Ordinary may, ex officio, examine every mans Conscience: and for that your said Orator hath and dare refuse, that the said Bishop of London hath any authority over your said Orator, for that he is neither his Diocessan, nor hath published, preached, nor held any opinion against the Catholick Faith (notwithstanding the said Bishop of London detaineth him in the Cole-house in the Stocks, without either bed or any other thing to lie upon but straw) and for that your said Orator cannot appeal for his relief, from the said Bishop, to any other Judge, but the same Bishop may refuse the same by their Law, and therefore hath no succour and help, but by this high Court

A Supplic
ation of John
Philpot to
the King
and Queen.

The straight
handling of
John Philpot
by the Col
lege-house.

Anno 1555. Court of Parliament, for the explanation of the said Act, therefore if any please you, that it may be enacted by the King and Queens Majesties, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, that no Bishop nor Ordinary shall commit or detain in Prison any suspected person or persons for the Catholick Faith, except he or they have spoken, written, or done some manifest act against the Catholick Faith, and the same to be lawfully proved against every such person or persons, by the testimony of two lawful Witnesses, to be brought before the said person or persons so accused, before he or they shall either be committed to prison, or convicted for any such offence or offences; the said former Statute, made in the said first and second year of our said Sovereign Lord and Lady notwithstanding: whereby your said Orator shall not only be set at liberty, and divers other more remaining in Prison; but also the blood of divers of the Queens Majesties true and faithful Subjects preserved.

The Condemnation of the worthy Martyr of God, John Philpot.

Of this Book of Disputation in the Convocation, read before. These Books, Letters, Supplications, and other Matters being thus read, the Bishop demanded of him, if the Book intituled, *The true Report of the Disputation*, &c. were of his penning, or not? Whereunto Philpot answered, That it was a good and true Book, and of his own penning and fitting forth.

The Bishops waxing now weary, and being not able by any sufficient ground, either of Gods Word, or of the true ancient Catholick Fathers, to convince and overcome him, fell by fair and flattering speech to perfwade with him; promising, that if he would revoke his Opinions, and come home again to their Romish and Babylonical Church, he should not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would with all favour and cheerfulness of heart, receive him again as a true Member thereof. Which words when *Boner* saw would take no place, he demanded of Mr. Philpot (and that with a charitable affection I warrant you) whether he had any just cause, to allege why he should not condemn him as an Heretick. Well, (quoth Mr. Philpot) your idolatrous Sacrament, which you have found out, ye would fain defend, but ye cannot, nor ever shall.

In the end the Bishop, seeing his unmoveable steadfastness in the Truth, did pronounce openly the Sentence of Condemnation against him. In the reading whereof, when he came to these words, *Teque etiam tanquam hereticum, obsequium, perniciem, & impenitentem, &c.* Mr. Philpot said, I thank God that I am an Heretick out of your cursed Church; I am no Heretick before God. But God bless you, and give you once grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody Church.

Moreover, whilst *Boner* was about the midst of the Sentence, the Bishop of *Bathe* pulled him by the sleeve, and said, My Lord, my Lord, know of him first, whether he will recant, or no. Then *Boner* said, (full like himself) O let him alone; and so read forth the Sentence.

And when he had done, he delivered him to the Sheriffs, and so two Officers brought him thorow the Bishops House into *Pater-noster-Row*, and there his Servant met him, and when he saw him, he said, Ah dear Master.

Then Mr. Philpot said to his man, Content thy self, I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again.

And so the Officers thrust him away, and had his Master to *Newgate*; and as he went, he said to the People, Ah, good People, blessed be God for this day; and so the Officers delivered him to the Keeper. Then his man thrust to go in after his Master, and one of the Officers said unto him, Hence Fellow, what wouldst thou have? And he said, I would go speak with my Master. Mr. Philpot then turned him about, and said to him, To morrow thou shalt speak with me.

Then the under Keeper said to Mr. Philpot, Is this your man? and he said, Yea. So he did licence his man to go in with him; and Mr. Philpot and his man were turned into a little Chamber on the right hand, and there remained a little time, until *Alexander* the chief Keeper did come unto him; who at his entering greeted him with these words;

Art thou done well to bring thyself hither? Well, said Mr. Philpot, I must be content, for it is Gods appointment; and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour; for you and I have been of old acquaintance. Well, said *Alexander*, I will shew thee gentleness and favour, so thou wilt be ruled by me. Then said Mr. Philpot, I pray you shew me what you would have me to do.

He said, If you would recant, I will shew you any pleasure I can. Nay, said Mr. Philpot, I will never recant, whilst I have my life, that which I have spoken, for it is most certain truth, and in witness hereof I will shed it with my blood. Then *Alexander* said, This is the laying of the whole pack of you Hereticks. Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many Irons upon his legs as he could bear, for that he would not follow his wicked mind.

Then the Clerk told *Alexander* in his ear, that Mr. Philpot had given his man money. And *Alexander* said to his man, What money hath thy Master given thee?

He answered, My Master hath given me none. No, said *Alexander*, hath he given thee none? That will I know, for I will search thee. Do with me what you will, and search me all that you can, quoth his Servant; he hath given me a Token or two to send to his Friends, as to his Brother and Sisters. Ah, said *Alexander* unto Mr. Philpot, thou art a maintainer of Hereticks; Thy man should have gone to some of thine Affinity, but he shall be known well enough. Nay, said Mr. Philpot, I do send it to my Friends; there he is, let him make answer to it. But good Mr. *Alexander*, be so much my Friend, that these Irons may be taken off. Well, said *Alexander*, give me my Fees, and I will take them off; if not, thou shalt wear them still.

Then said Mr. Philpot, Sir, what is your Fee? He said, Four pound was his Fees. Ah, said Mr. Philpot, I have not so much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in Prison. What wilt thou give me then, said *Alexander*? Sir (said he) I will give you twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for, else I will lay my Gown to gage; for the time is not long (I am sure) that I shall be with you; for the Bp. said unto me that I should be soon dispatched.

Then said *Alexander* unto him, what is that to me? and with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into Limbo, and so his commandment was fulfilled; but before he could be taken from the block, this Clerk would have a groat.

Then one *Witterence*, Steward of the House, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whether. Wherefore Mr. Philpot said to his man, go to Mr. Sheriff, and shew him how I am used, and desire Mr. Sheriff to be good unto me; and so his Servant went straight way, and took an honest man with him.

And when they came to Mr. Sheriff, (which was Mr. *Macnam*) and shewed him how Mr. Philpot was handled in *Newgate*, the Sheriff hearing this, took his Ring off from his finger, and delivered it unto that honest man which came with Mr. Philpot's man, and bad him go unto *Alexander* the Keeper, and commanded him to take off his Irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him. And when they came again to the said *Alexander*, and told them messlage from the Sheriff, *Alexander* took the Ring, and said, Ah, I perceive that Mr. Sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such Hereticks as he is, therefore to morrow will shew it to his betters: Yet at ten of the Clock he went into Mr. Philpot, where he lay, and took off his Irons, and gave him such things as he had taken before from his Servant.

Upon Tuesday at Supper, being the seventeenth day of December, there came a Messenger from the Sheriffs, and bade Mr. Philpot make him ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. Mr. Philpot answered and said, I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful Resurrection. And so he went into his Chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks that he of his mercy had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

In the morning the Sheriffs came according to the order, about eight of the Clock, and called for him, and he most joyfully came down unto them. And there his man

Mr. Philpot brought to the place of martyrdom.

Mr. Philpot words going to the Stake.

did meet him, and said, Ah dear Master, farewell: His Master said unto him, Serve God, and he will help thee. And so he went with the Sheriffs to the place of Execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two Officers took him up to bear him to the Stake. Then he said merrily, What? will ye make me a Pope? I am content to go to my journeys end on foot. But first coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there, saying these words, *I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield.*

And when he was come to the place of Suffering, he kissed the Stake, and said, Shall I disdain to suffer at this Stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer most vile death upon the Cross for me? And then with an obedient heart full meekly he said the Cvi. Cviij. and Cviij. Psalms: and when he had made an end of all his Prayers, he said to the Officers; What have you done for me; and every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave to every of them money.

Anno 1555.

Mr. Philpot's prayers.

John Philpot giveth the Officers money.

The martyrdom of Master John Philpot Archdeacon, with the manner of his kneeling and praying at the Stake.



Then they bound him to the Stake, and set fire unto that constant Martyr: Who the eighteenth day of December, in the midst of the fiery flames, yielding his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and full like a Lamb gave up his breath, his body being consumed into ashes.

Thus hath thou (gentle Reader) the life and doings of this learned and worthy Souldier of the (Lord, John Philpot; with all his Examinations that came to our hands first penned and written with his own hand, being marvelously reserved from the light and hand of his enemies; who by all manner of means sought not only to stop him from all writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of that which he had written. For the which cause he was many times stripped and searched in the Prison of his Keeper: but yet so happily these his writings were conveyed and hid in places about him, or else his Keepers eyes so blinded, that notwithstanding all this malicious purpose of the Bishops, they are yet remaining, and come to light.

A Prayer to be said at the Stake, of all them that God shall account worthy to suffer for his sake.

The writings and examinations of Mr. John Philpot, by the Providence of Almighty God, preserved.

A godly prayer to be said at the time of martyrdom.

Merciful God and Father, to whom our Saviour Christ approached in his fear and need by reason of death, and found comfort: Gracious God and most bounteous Christ, on whom Stephen called in his extreme need, and received strength; most benign holy Spirit, which in the midst of all crosses of death didst comfort the Apostles. Paul with more consolations in Christ; then he felt sorrow; and terror; which now draw near the gates of death, deserved both in soul and body eternally, by reason of manifold, horrible, old and new transgressions, which to thine eyes (O Lord) are open and known: Ob be merciful unto me, for the bitter death and blood-shedding of thine own only Son Jesus Christ. And though thy justice doth require (in respect of my sins) that now thou shouldst not bear me, measuring me in the same measure I have measured thy Maje-

sty, contemning thy daily calls; yet let thy mercy which is above all thy works, and wherewith the earth is filled, let thy mercy (I say) prevail towards me, through and for the mediation of Christ our Saviour. And for whose sake in that it hath pleased thee to bring me forth now as one of his witnesses, and a record-bearer of thy verity and truth taught by him, to give my life therefore (to which dignity I do acknowledge, dear God, that there was never any so unworthy and so unmeet, as not the thief that hanged with him on the Cross): I most humbly therefore pray thee that thou wouldst accordingly aid, help, and assist me with thy strength and heavenly grace, that with Christ thy Son I may find comfort, with Stephen I may see thy presence, and gracious power, with Paul, and all others, which for thy Names sake have suffered affliction and death, I may find so present with me thy gracious consolations, that I may by my death glorify thy holy Name, propagate, and raise thy verity, comfort the hearts of the heavy, confirm thy Church in thy verity, convert some that are to be converted, and so depart forth of this miserable world, where I do nothing but daily heap sin upon sin, and so enter into the fruition of thy blessed mercy; whereof now give and increase in me a lively trust, sense, and feeling, wherethrough the terrors of death, the torments of fire, the pangs of sin, the darts of Satan, and the dolours of Hell may never depress me, but may be driven away through the working of that most gracious Spirit; which now plentifully endue me withal, that through the same Spirit I may offer (as I now desire to do in Christ by him) my self wholly, soul and body, to be a lively Sacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy sight. Dear Father, whose I am, and always have been, even from my mothers womb, yea even before the world was made, to whom I commend my self, soul and body, family and friends, Country and all the whole Church; yea even my very enemies, according to thy good pleasure; beseeching thee intirely to give once more to this Realm of England the blessing of thy Word again, with godly peace, to the teaching and setting forth of the same. O dear Father, now give

He prayeth for restoring of the Gospel and peace in England.

Anno 1555. *me grace to come unto thee. Purge and so purifie me by this fire in Christs death and passion through thy Spirit, that I may be a Burnt-offering of a sweet smell in thy sight which livest and reignest with the Son and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever more world without end, Amen.*

Letters of Mr. Philpot.

A Letter which he sent to the Christian Congregation, exhorting them to refrain from the idolatrous Service of the Papists, and to serve God after his Word.

A Letter of Mr. Philpot to the Congregation.

Hebr. 6. **T** is a lamentable thing to behold at this present in England the faithles departing both of men and women, from the true knowledge and use of Christs sincere Religion, which so plentifully they have been taught, and do know, their own Consciences bearing witness to the verity thereof. If that earth be cursed of God, which estoons receiving moisture and pleasant dews from Heaven, doth not bring forth fruit accordingly; how much more grievous judgement shall such persons receive, which having received from the Father of Heaven the perfect knowledge of his word by the ministry thereof, do not shew forth Gods worship after the same? If the Lord will require in the day of judgement a godly usury of all manner of Talents which he lendeth unto men and women, how much more will he require the fame of his pure Religion revealed unto us (which is of all other Talents the chiefest and most pertaining to our exercise in this life) if we hide the same in a Napkin, and set it not forth to the usury of Gods glory, and edifying of his Church by true Confession? God hath kindled the bright light of his Gospel, which in times past was suppressed, and hid under the vile ashes of mans Traditions, and hath caused the brightness thereof to shine in our hearts, to the end that the same might shine before men to the honour of his Name. It is not only given us to believe, but also to confess and declare what we believe in our outward conversation. For as **Rom. 10.** **S. Paul** writeth to the *Romans*, *The belief of the heart justifieth, and to acknowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe.* It is all one before God, not to believe at all, and not to shew forth the lively works of our belief. For **Math. 7.** **Christ** saith, *Either make the tree good and his fruits good; or else make the tree evil and the fruits evil; because a good tree bringeth forth good fruits, as an evil tree doth evil fruits.* So that the person which knoweth his Masters will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. And not all they which say *Lord, Lord*, shall enter into the Kingdom of God, but he that doth the will of the Father. And *whosoever in the time of trial is ashamed of me (saith Christ) and of my words, of him the Son of Man will be ashamed before his Father.* After that we have built our selves into the true Church of God, it hath pleased him by giving us over into the hands of the wicked Synagogues to prove our building, and to have it known as well to the world as to our selves, that we have been wise builders into the true Church of God upon the Rock, and not on the Sand, and therefore now the Tempest is risen, and the Storms do mightily blow against us, that we might notwithstanding stand upright, and be firm in the Lord, to his honour and glory, and to our eternal felicity. There is no new thing happened unto us, for with such Tempests and dangerous Weathers the Church of God hath continually been exercised. Now once again, as the Prophet **Aggeus 2.** *Aggeus* tells us, *The Lord shaketh the earth, that those might abide for ever, which be not overcome.*

Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stable and immovable in the word of God, and in the faithful observation thereof, and let no man deceive you with vain words, saying, that you may keep your Faith to your selves, and dissemble with Antichrist, and to live at rest and quietness in the world, as most men do, yielding to necessity. This is the wisdom of the flesh; but the wisdom of the flesh is death and enmity to God, as our Saviour for example aptly did declare in *Peter*, who exhorted Christ not to go to *Jerusalem* to celebrate the Passover, and there to be slain, but counselled him to look better to himself.

Likewise the world would not have us to forsake it, neither to associate our selves to the true Church, which is the Body of Christ, whereof we are lively Members, and to use the Sacraments after Gods word with the dan-

ger of our lives. But we must learn to answer the world as Christ did *Peter*, and say, *Go behind me Satan; thou savourest not the things of God. Shall I not drink of the Cup which the Father giveth me?* For it is better to be afflicted and to be slain in the Church of God, then to be counted the Son of the King, in the Synagogue of false Religion. Death for righteousness is not to be abhorred, but rather to be desired, which assuredly bringeth with it the Crown of everlasting Glory. These bloody Executioners do not persecute Christs Martyrs, but crown them with everlasting felicity; we were born into this world to be witnesses unto the Truth, both learned and unlearned.

Now since the time is come that we must shew our Faith, and declare whether we will be Gods Servants in righteousness and holiness, as we have been taught, and are bound to follow, or else with hypocrisy to serve unrighteousness: let us take good heed that we be found faithful in the Lords Covenant, and true Members of his Church, in the which through knowledge we are ingrafted; from the which if we fall by transgression with the common sort of people, it will more tragically be required of us, than many yet do make account thereof. We cannot serve two Masters; we may not halt on both sides, and think to please God; we must be fervent in Gods cause, or else he will cast us out from him. For by the first Commandment we are commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our power and strength; but they are manifest transgressors of this Commandment, which with their heart, mind, or bodily power, do communicate with a strange Religion, contrary to the word of God, in the Papistical Synagogue, which calleth it self the Church, and is not. As greatly do they offend God now which so do, as the Israelites did in times past by forsaking *Jerusalem*, the true Church of God, and by going to *Babel* to serve God in a Congregation of their own setting up, and after their own Imaginations and Traditions: for the which doing God utterly destroyed all *Israel*, as all the Prophets almost do testify. This happened unto them for our ensample, that we might beware to have any fellowship with any like Congregation to our destruction.

God hath one Catholick Church dispersed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our Creed to believe one Catholick Church, and to have communion therewith: which Catholick Church is grounded upon the foundation of the Prophets, and of the Apostles, and upon none other, as **S. Paul** witnesseth to the *Ephesians*. Therefore wherefore we perceive any people to worship God truly after his word, there we may be certain the Church of Christ to be; unto the which we ought to associate our selves, and to desire with the Prophet *David*, to praise God in the midst of his Church. But if we behold through the iniquity of the time, segregations to be made with counterfeit Religion, otherwise then the word of God doth teach, we ought then, if we be required to be companions thereof, to say again with *David*, *I have hated the Synagogue of the malignant, and will not sit with the wicked.* In the *Apocalypse* the Church of *Ephesus* is highly commended, because she tried such as said they were Apostles, and were not indeed, and therefore would not abide the company of them. Further, God commanded his People that they should not seek *Babel*, neither enter into *Gilgal* where Idolatry was used, by the mouth of his Prophet *Amos*. Also we must consider that our Bodies be the Temple of God, and whosoever (as **S. Paul** teacheth) doth profane the Temple of God, him the Lord will destroy. May we then take the Temple of Christ, and make it the Member of an Harlot? All strange Religion and Idolatry is counted whoredom with the Prophets; and more detestable in the sight of God, than the adventurous abuse of the Body.

Therefore the Princes of the earth, in the *Revelation* of **S. John**, be said to go a whoring, when they are in love with false Religion, and follow the same. How then by any means may a Christian man think it tolerable to be present at the Popish private Mass (which is the very profanation of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ) and at other idolatrous worshippings and rites, which be not after the word of God, but rather to the derogation thereof, in setting mans Traditions above Gods Precepts, since God by his word judgeth all strange Religion, which

Hebr. 11.
Eph. 1.6.

Death for
righteousness
is not to be
abhorred, but
rather to be
desired, which
assuredly
bringeth
with it
eternal
felicity.

Godly com:
fel.
Luke 18.
3 Reg. 18.

Apos. 1.

3 Reg. 21.
God will
not be
served
after
mans
intelligences,
but
as himself
prescribeth;

Eph. 5.

Psalm 118.

Psalm 118.

Apos. 21.

Amos 4.

1 Cor. 6.

Not lawful
for a true
Christian
to come to the
Mass.

which is not according to his institution, for whoredom and adultery?

Some fondly think that the presence of the Body is not material, so that the heart do not consent to their wicked doings. But such persons little consider what S. Paul writeth to the *Corinthians*, commanding them to glorify God as well in Body as in Soul.

Moreover, we can do no greater injury to the true Church of Christ, then to seem to have forsaken her, and disallow her by cleaving to her adversary: whereby it appeareth to others which be weak, that we allow the same, and so contrary to the word, do give a great offence to the Church of God, and do outwardly slander, as much as Men may, the truth of Christ. But we be unto him by whom any such offence cometh. Better it were for him to have a Millstone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the Sea. Such be traitors to the truth, like unto Judas, who with a kiss betrayed Christ. Our God is a jealous God, and cannot be content that we should be of any other then of that unsported Church, whereof he is the head only, and wherein he hath planted us by Baptism. This jealousy which God hath towards us, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance, against all such as now have so large Consciences to do that which is contrary to Gods Glory, and the sincerity of his word, except they do in time repent, and cleave unfeignedly to the Gospel of Christ, how much sorer at this present both Men and Women otherwise in their own corrupt judgment, do flatter themselves. God willet us to judge uprightly, and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his sight, and to abstain from all manner of evil, and therefore Christ commandeth us in the Gospel to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is Hypocrisie.

St. Paul to the *Hebrews* saith, if any Man withdraw himself from the Faith, his Soul shall have no pleasure in him: therefore he saith also, *That we are none such as do withdraw our selves unto perdition, but we belong unto Faith, for the attainment of Life.* St. John in the *Apocalypse* telleth us plainly that none of those, who are written in the Book of Life, do receive the mark of the Beast, which is of the Papistical Synagogue, either in their foreheads, or in their hands, that is apparently or obediently.

St. Paul to the *Philippians* affirmeth, that we may not have any fellowship with the works of darkness, but in the midst of this wicked and froward Generation we ought to shine like lights upholding the word of truth. Further he saith, that we may not touch any unclean thing; which signifieth that our outward conversation in foreign things ought to be pure and undefiled as well as the inward, that with a clean Spirit and rectified Body we might serve God justly in Holiness and Righteousness all the days of our Life.

Finally in the 18 of the *Apocalypse*, God biddeth us plainly to depart from the Babylonical Synagogue, and not to be partakers of her trespasses. S. Paul to the *Thess.* commandeth us in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to withdraw our selves from every Brother that walketh inordinately, and not according to the institution which he hath received of him.

Ponder ye therefore well, good Brethren and Sisters, these Scriptures which be written for your erudition and reformation, whereof one jot is not written in vain: which be utterly against all counterfeit illusion to be used of us with the Papists in their phantastical Religion, and be adversaries to all them that have so light Consciences in so doing: and if they do not agree with this adversary (I mean the Word of God) which is contrary to their attempts, he will (as is signified in the Gospel) deliver them to the judge, which is Christ, and the judge will deliver them to the Executioner, that is to the Devil, and the Devil shall commit them to the horrible prison of Hel-Fire (where is the portion of all Hypocrites) with sulphure and brimstone, with wailing and gnashing of teeth World without end. But yet many will say for their vain excuse; God is merciful, and his mercy is over all. But the Scripture teacheth us, That cursed is he that sinneth upon hope of forgiveness: Truth it is, that the mercy of God is above all his works, and yet but upon such as fear him: for it is written in the *Psalms*, *The mercy of God is on them that fear him, and on such as put their trust in him.* Where

we may learn, that they only put their trust in God, that serve him; and to fear God, is to turn from evil and do that is good. So that such as do look to be partakers in Gods mercy, may not abide in that which is known to be manifest evil and detestable in the sight of God.

Another sort of persons do make them a Cloak for the rain under the pretence of obedience to the magistrates, whom we ought to obey although they be wicked. But such must learn of Christ to give to *Cæsar* that is *Cæsar*, and to God that is due to God, and with S. Peter to obey the higher powers in the Lord, albeit they be evil, if they command nothing contrary to Gods Word, otherwise we ought not to obey their commandments, although we should suffer death therefore, as we have the Apostles for our example herein to follow, who answered the Magistrates as we ought to do in this case, not obeying their wicked precepts, saying, *Judge ye whether it be more righteous that we should obey Man rather then God.*

Also Daniel chose rather to be cast into the Den of Lions to be devoured, then to obey the Kings wicked Commandments. If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the Ditch. There is no excuse for the transgression of Gods Word, whether a Man doth it voluntarily or at Commandment, although great Damnation is to them, by whom the offence cometh. Some others there be that for an extremest refuge in their evil doings, do run to Gods predestination and election, saying, that if I be elected of God to Salvation, I shall be saved, whatever I do. But such be great tempters of God, and abominable blasphemers of Gods Holy Election and cast themselves down from the Pinnacle of the Temple in presumption, that God may preserve them by his Angels through predestination. Such verily may reckon themselves to be none of Gods elect Children, that will do evil that good may ensue; whose damnation is just, as S. Paul saith: Gods predestination and election ought to be with a simple eye considered, to make us more warily to walk in good and Godly conversation according to Gods Word, and not set cock in the hoop, and put all on Gods back to do wickedly at large: for the Elect Children of God must walk in righteousness and holiness after that they be once called to the true knowledge. For so saith Saint Paul to the *Ephesians*, *That God hath chosen us before the Foundations of the World were laid, that we should be holy and blameless in his sight.*

Therefore Saint Peter willet us through good works to make our vocation and election certain to our selves, which we know not but by the good working of Gods Spirit in us, according to the rule of the Gospel; and he that conformeth not himself to the same in Godly conversation, may justly tremble, and doubt that he is none of the elect Children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a Child of darkness. For the Children of light will walk in the works of light and not of darkness, though they fall, they do not lie still.

Let all vain excusations be set apart, and whiles ye have light, as Christ commandeth, believe the light and abide in the same, lest eternal darkness overtake you unawares. The light is come into the World, but (alas) Men love darkness more then light. God give us his pure eye-salve to heal our blindness in this behalf. O that Men and women would be healed, and not seek to be wilfully blinded. The Lord open their eyes, that they may see how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their Conscience.

But what said I, Conscience? many affirm their Conscience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the Idolatrous Church to service, whose Conscience is very large to satisfy Man more then God. And although their Conscience can bear them so to do, yet I am sure that a good Conscience will not permit them so to do; which cannot be good, unless it be directed after the knowledge of Gods Word; and therefore in Latin this feeling mind is called *Conscientia*, which soundeth by interpretation, as much as with knowledge.

And therefore if our Conscience be led of her self, and not after true knowledge, yet we are not to be excused, as Saint Paul beareth witness saying, *Although my Conscience accuseth me not, yet in this I am not justified.* And he joyneth a good conscience with these three, Sisters, charity, a pure heart, and unfeigned Faith. Charity keepeth

Not enough to confide
God in
heart, but in
morality.

A lesson for
large Con-
science.

Mark. 8.

Reasons pro-
ving that
true Christi-
ans ought in
no wise to
participate
with Papists.

Heb. 10.

Apoc. 13.

Ephes. 5.

Phil. 2.

1 Cor. 6.

Apoc. 18.

2 Thes. 1.

The pleasure of
Meth. 24.
poised

Meth. 24.

A cursed
thing to sin
upon hope
of forgive-
ness.

Psal. 102.
145.

Annō
1555.

Luk. 20.
1 Pet. 2.

Obedience
to Magi-
strates, what,
and how far.

Abt. 4.
Daniel. 6.
Math. 23.

Against such
as sin wil-
lingly upon
hope of
election.

Rom. 9.

Ephes. 1.

1 Pet. 1.

John 12.

John 3.

Heb. 10.

Large Con-
science.

Gods

ving Faith against Satan, and is pleased with your mighty resistance. The Spirit which is in you, is mightier then all the adversaries power. Tempt he may, and lying await at your heels, give you a fall unawares; but overcome he shall not: yea he cannot, for you are sealed up already with a lively Faith to be the Child of God for ever: and whom God hath once sealed for his own, him he never utterly forsaketh. The just falleth seven times, but he riseth again. It is Mans frailty to fall, but it is the property of the Devils Child to lie still.

Gods Children all.
The Devils Children
ly shall.

Strife against Sin is
a token of
Gods Child.
Luke 11.

1st Cor. 4.

This strife against Sin is a sufficient testimony that you are the Child of God: for if you were not, you should feel no such malice as he now troubleth you withal. When this strong *Goliath* hath the hold, all things are in peace which he possesseth: and because he hath you not, he will not suffer you unassaulted. But stand fast, and hold out the Buckler of Faith, and with the Sword of Gods promises smite him on the scalp: that he may receive a deadly wound, and never be able to stand against you any more. Saint *James* telleth you that he is but a coward, saying, *Resist the Devil, and he will flye from thee.* It is the will of God that he should thus long tempt you and not go away as yet, or else he had done with you long ere this. He knoweth already that he shall receive the foil at your hands, and increase the Crown of your glory: for he that overcometh shall be Crowned. Therefore glory in your temptations, since they shall turn to your felicity. Be not afraid of your continual assaults which be occasions of your daily victory. The Word of God abideth for ever. In what hour soever a Sinner repenteth him of his Sins, they be forgiven. Who can lay any thing to the charge of Gods elect? Do you not perceive the manifest tokens of your election? First, your vocation to the Gospel, and after your vocation, the manifest gifts of the Spirit of God given unto you above many other of your condition, with Goodlines which believeth and yieldeth to the authority of the Scriptures, and is zealous for the same? Seeing you are Gods own deareling, who can hurt you? Be not of a dejected mind for these temptations, neither make your unfained friends to be more sorrowful for you then need doth require.

True Christians how
they ought
to be circumspect
in their
circumstances.

Since God hath willed you at your Baptism in Christ to be careles, why do you make your self careles? Cast all your care on him. Set the Lord before your eyes always, for he is on your right side, that you should not be then moved. Behold the goodness of God toward me. I am careles, being fast clofed in a pair of stocks, which pinch me for very straints; and will you be careles? I would not have that unfeinly addition to your name. Be as your name pretendeth, for doubtless you have no other cause but so to be. Pray, I beseech you, that I may be still careles in my careles estate, as you have cause to be careles in your easier condition. Be thankful, and put away all care, and then I shall be joyful in my strait present care. Commend me to all our Brethren, and desire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my temptations: for the Devil rageth against me. I am put in the stocks in a place alone, because I would not answer to such Articles, as they would charge me withal in a corner at the Bishops appointment, and because I did not come to Mass when the Bishop sent for me. I will lye all the daies of my Life in the stocks by Gods Grace, rather then I will consent to the wicked Generation. Praise God, and be joyful, that it hath pleased him to make us worthy to suffer somewhat for his name sake. The Devil must rage for ten days. Commend me to Master F. and thank him for his Law Books: but neither Law nor Equity will take any place among these Blood-thirsty. I would for your sake the unjust dealing were noted unto the Parliament-House, if it might avail. God shorten these evil days. I have answered the Bishop meety plain already, and I said to him, if he will call me in open judgment, I will answer him as plainly as he will require: otherwise I have refused, because I fear they will condemn me in hagger muggar. The peace of God be with you my dear Brother. I can write no more for lack of light, and that I have written I cannot read my self, and God knoweth it is written far unceasily. I pray God you may pick out some understanding of my mind towards you. Written in a Cole-House of darkness, out of a pair of painful stocks, by thine own in Christ,

John Philpot.

Another Letter of Master Philpot, to certain Godly Women, forsaking their own Country for the Gospel, full of fruitful precepts and lessons for all good Women.

Anno
1555.

Another
Letter of
M. Philpot to
certain Godly
Women.

The Spirit of truth, revealed unto you my dearly beloved by the Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, be continually abiding with you, and augmented into a perfect building of you into the lively Temple of God, through the mighty operation of his holy power. Amen. I read in the *Evangelists*, of certain Godly Women, that ministred unto Christ; following him in the days of his passion, and never forsook him, but being dead in his Grave, brought Oyl to anoint him, until that he had shewed himself unto them after his resurrection, and bidden them shew unto his Disciples, which at his passion were disperfed, and tell them that he was risen, and that they should see him in *Galile*. To whom I may justly compare you (my loving Sisters in Christ) who of late have seen him suffer in his members, and have ministred to their necessity, anointing them with the comfortable Oyl of your charitable assistance, even to the death: and now since ye have seen Christ to live in the ashes of them, whom the tyrants have slain, he willed you to go away upon just occasion offered you, and to declare to our disperfed Brethren and Sisters, that he is risen, and liveth in his elect members in *England*, and by death doth overcome infidelity, and that they shall see him in *Galile*, which is by forsaking this World, and by a faithful desire to pass out of this World by those ways, which he with his holy Martyrs hath gone on before.

God therefore (intire Sisters) direct your way, as he Wholefom did *Abraham* and *Tobias* unto a strange Land: God give you health both of Body and Soul, that ye may go from virtue to virtue, and grow from strength to strength, until ye may see face to face the God of *Sion* in his holy hill, with the innumerable company of his blessed Martyrs and Saints. Let there be continual affections unto Heaven in your hearts. Let there be no decrease of any virtue, which is already planted in you. Be as the light of the just, such as *Solomon* faith, increaseth to the perfect day of the Lord. Let the strength of God be commended in your weak Vessels, as it is. Be examples of Faith and sobriety, to all that ye shall come in company withal. Let your Godly conversation speak where your Tongue may not, in the Congregation. Be swift to hear, and slow to speak, after the Counsel of Saint *James*. Be not curious about other Mens doings, but be occupied in Prayer, and continual meditation, with reverent talking of the Word of God, without contentions among the Saints. Let your Faith shine in a strange Country, as it hath done in your own, that your Father which is in Heaven, may be glorified by you to the end.

This farewell I send you, not as a thing needful (which know already what your duty is, and be desirous to perform the same) but as one that would have you understand that he is mindful of your Godly Conversation, whereof he hath had good experience, and therefore writeth this to be a perpetual memorial betwix you and him, until our sheeting together before God, where we shall joy that we have here lovingly put one another in memory of our duty to perform it.

Farewel again mine own Bowels in Christ, and take me with you wheresoever you go, and leave your selves with me, that in Spirit we may be present one with another. Commend me to the whole Congregation of Christ, willing them not to leave their Country without witness of the Gospel, after that we all be slain, which already be stalled up and appointed to the slaughter, and in the mean season to pray earnestly for our constancy, that Christ may be glorified in us and in them, both by Life and Death. Farewel in the Lord.

Yours for ever, John Philpot.

An Exhortation to his own Sisters, constantly to stick to the truth, which she had fruitfully professed.

Another
Letter of
M. Philpot to
his own
Sisters full of
fruitful exhortations.

God the eternal Father, who hath justified you by the Blood of his Son Jesus Christ, and called you to hallow his name through a good conversation & profession of

Anno
1555.Spirital
containe it
ty and natu-
ral compa-
red.The flower
of afflictions.
Luke 22.Eccles. 1.
Christ our
first born
Brother.A Christian
Mane Back
should as-
ways be re-
ady to bear
Christs
Crofe.Ungodly
fellowship
to be
cirkled.

of Life, he fan'tise you with daily increafe of Vertue and Faith by his Holy Spirit, that you may appear a vessel of Sanctification in the midst of this wicked & perverse Generation, to the laud and praise of the Gospel. Amen.

I have occasion (mine own dear Sister) to praise God in you for two causes: the one, that to your ability you are ready to shew your self a natural loving Sister to me your poor afflicted Brother, as by your gentle tokens you have effusions testified being absent, and also presently visiting me; which well declareth that you be a very natural Sister indeed, and to be praised in this behalf. But in the other, that you be also a Sister to me in Faith after Christs Gospel, I am occasioned to thank God so much the more, how much the one excelleth the other, and the spiritual consanguinity is more perdurable than that which is of Flesh and Blood, and is a worker of that which is by nature for commonly such as be ungodly, be unnatural, and only lovers of themselves, as daily experience teacheth us.

The living Lord, which through the incorruptible seed of his word hath begotten you to be my leige Sister, give you Grace so to grow in that Generation, to that you may increafe to a perfect Age in the Lord, to be my Sister with Christ for ever.

Look therefore that you continue a Faithful Sister as you are called and are Godly entered, not only to me, but to all the Church of Christ, yet to Christ himself, who voucheth you in this your unfained Faith, worthy to be his Sister. Consider this dignity to surmount all the vain dignities of the World, and let it accordingly prevail more with you then all Earthly delights: For thereby you are called to an equal proportion of the Everlasting Inheritance of Christ; if now in no wise you do shew your self an unnatural Sister to him in forsaking him in trouble, which I trust you will never for any kind of Worldly respect do.

You are under dangerous temptations to be turned from that natural love you owe unto Christ, and you shall be tried with Gods people through a sieve of great affliction: for so Satan desireth us to be sifted, that through fear of sharp troubles we might fall from the stables of our Faith, and so be deprived of that honour, joy, and reward, which is prepared for such as continue Faithful Brothers and Sisters in the Lords Covenant to the end. Therefore the Wise Man in the Book of Ecclesiasticians, biddeth them that come to the service of the Lord, To prepare themselves to suffer temptations.

Since then that for the Glory of God and our Faith, we are called now to abide the brunt of them, and that when our adversary hath done all that he can, yet we may be stable and stand; this Christ our first begotten Brother looketh for at our hands, and all our Brethren and Sisters in Heaven desire to see our Faith through afflictions to be perfect, that we might fulfill their number: and the Universal Church here militant, rejoiceth at our constancy, all whom by the contrary we should make sorry, to the danger of the loss both of Body and Soul. Fear not therefore, whatsoever be threatened of the wicked World; prepare your back, and see it be ready to carry Christs Crofs. And if you see any outwardness in you (as the Flesh is continually repugnant to the Will of God) ask with Faithful Prayer, that the good Spirit of God may lead your Sinful Flesh whither it would not: for if we will dwell in the Flesh and follow the Counsel thereof, we shall never do the Will of God, neither work that tendeth to our Salvation.

You are at this present in the confines and Borders of Babylon, where you are in danger to drink of the Whores Cuppels: you be vigilant in Prayer. Take heed the Serpent seduce you not from the simplicity of your Faith, as he did our first Mother Eve. Let not Worldly fellowship make you partaker of iniquity. He that toucheth Tar, cannot but be defiled thereby. With such as be perverse, a Man shall soon be perverted; with the holy you shall be holy. Therefore continually with the Prophet David, Psalm 15. Unto the Saints that be on the Earth, all ye, will ye on them. You have been sanctified and made pure through the truth; take heed you be not unholy, and defiled, lest the last be worse then the first. I write not this because I stand in any doubt of your sincere continuance, of the which I have had so good experience: but because the days be evil, and in the same it is the duty of every of us to exhort and stir up one

another; I am bold to put you (my good Sister) in remembrance of that which doth not a little comfort me to remember, in my troubles and daily temptations. Wherefore I doubt not, you will take that in good part which cometh from your Brother both in Spirit and Body, who tendereth your Salvation as earnestly as his own, that we might joy together eternally with such joy as the world shall never be able to take from us. Thanks be unto God, you have begun to run a good and a great time well in the ways of the Lord: Run out the race to the end, which you have begun, and then shall you receive the Crown of Glory. None shall be Crowned, but such as lawfully strive. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good, and the Lord shall make you one of those Faithful Virgins that shall follow the Lamb where ever he goeth: the which Christ grant both you & me, Amen.

Commend me to all them that love me in the Lord unfainedly. God increafe our Faith, and give us never to be ashamed of his Gospel. That same request which I have made to my Brother Thomas, I make also to you, desiring you by all means you can to accomplish my request, that my furies might be satisfied with that mine own, to the contentation of my mind, which cannot be quiet until they be discharged: therefore I pray you help to purchase quietness, that I might depart out of this World in peace. My dissolution I look for daily, but the Lord knoweth how unworthy I am of so high an honour, as to die for the testimony of his truth. Pray that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy, as he hath done, of long Imprisonment, for the which his name be praised for ever. Pray and look for the coming of the Lord, whose wrath is great over us, and I will pray for you as long as I live. The 9. of July in the Kings Bench.

Your own loving Brother as well in
Faith as in Body, John Philpot.

Another Letter of John Philpot to certain Godly Brethren.

The Grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Saviour Jesus Christ his eternal Son, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost our comforter, strengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds, that you may rejoice, and live in the truth of Christs Gospel to the end, Amen.

I do much rejoice, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your constant Faith in the Word of God, which you have so purely received; which do not with the worldlings decline from the purity thereof, albeit you suffer grief and trouble thereby: for the which I praise God most heartily: and the Lord of all strength, who hath begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for the Faithful zeal ye have to his truth and to his afflicted Church. Therefore that ye may the better stand and bear the brunt of many temptations, which you are all like to be assaulted withal in these wicked and stormy days; I thought it good, as it is the duty of one Christian Man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance thereof, and to will you with the Wife Man to prepare your selves to temptations; and to beware that ye, which yet do stand by the goodness of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an easie thing to begin to do well, but to continue out in well doing, is the only property of the Children of God, and such as assuredly shall be saved. For so faith our Saviour in his Gospel, Blessed are they that persevere to the end.

Let not therefore this certainty of your Salvation, which is continuance in the sincerity of Faith, slide from you. Esteem it more then all the riches and pleasures of this World, for it is the most acceptable treasure of eternal life. This is that precious stone, for the which the wise Merchant Man, after the Gospel, doth sell all that he hath, and buyeth the same God in the 3. of the Apocal. doth signify to the Church, that there shall come a time of temptation upon the whole World, to try the dwellers on the earth. From the danger of the which temptation all such shall be delivered as observe his word: which word there is called the word of patience; to give us to understand that we must be ready to suffer all kind of injuries and slanders for the profession thereof.

Therefore God commandeth us there to hold it fast, that no Man might bereave us of our Crown of Glory, and Saint

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Saint Peter telleth us now we are afflicted with divers affays, as it is need it should so be, That the trial of our Faith bring much more precious then Gold that periseth, and yet is tried by fire, might redound to the laud, Glory, and honour of Jesus Christ. S. Paul to the *Hebrews* sheweth us; that Christ our Saviour was in his humanity made perfect by afflictions, that we being called to perfection in him, might more willingly sustain the troubles of the World, by the which God giveth all them that be exercised in the same for his sake, his holiness. And in the 12. Chapter of the said Epistle is written, My Son, refuse not the correction of the Lord, nor shrink when thou art rebuked of him: for the Lord doth chastise every Son whom he receiveth, &c. Christ in the Gospel of Saint *John* biddeth his Disciples to look after afflictions, saying, In the World ye shall have trouble, but in me ye shall have joy. And therefore in the midst of their trouble, in the 21. of Saint *Luke* he biddeth them look up and lift up their heads, for your redemption, faith he, is at hand. And in the 22. he saith to all such as be afflicted for him, you are those that have abidden with me in my temptations, and therefore I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed for me, to eat and drink upon my Table in my Kingdom.

Oh how glorious be the Crosses of Christ, which bring the bearers of them unto so blessed an end! Shall we not be glad to be partakers of such shame as may bring us to so high a dignity? God open our eyes to see all things as they be, and to judge uprightly. Then doubtless we would think with *Moses*, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, then to be counted the King of *Egypt* Son. Then should we joyfully say with *David* in all our adversities and troubles, It is good (O Lord) thou hast brought me low, to the end I might learn thy righteousness. Therefore S. Paul would not glory in any other thing of the World, but in the Cross of Christ, and in other his infirmities: We have the Commandment of Christ, daily to take up his Cross and follow him. We have the Godly ensamples of all his Apostles and Holy Martyrs, which with great joy and exultation have suffered the loss of all Lands, Goods, and Life, for the hope of a better reward: which is laid up for all those in Heaven, that unfeignedly cleave to the Gospel, and never be ashamed thereof.

Great is the felicity of the World to the outward Man, and very pleasant are the transitory delights thereof: but the reward of the righteous after the Word of God, doth incomparably excel them all, inasmuch that S. Paul to the *Romans* doth plainly affirm, that all the tribulations of this World cannot deserve that Glory which shall be shewed unto us.

Let us therefore (good Brethren and Sisters) be merry and glad in these troublesome days, the which be sent of God to declare our Faith, and to bring us to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lords Sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but desire the Lord to hasten the day of our death, in the which we might set forth by true Confession his Glory. Neither should we be afraid to meet our adversaries, which so earnestly seek our spoil and death, as Christ did *Judas* and that wicked rout, which came to apprehend him, saying, I am he whom ye seek. It is commanded us by the Gospel, not to fear them that kill the Body, but to fear God, who can cast both Body and Soul into Hell-Fire. So much we are bound to observe this Commandment as any other which God hath given us. The Lord increase our Faith, that we fear God more than Man. The Lord give us such love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forsake all and follow him. Now will it appear what we love better for to that we love, we will stick. There is none worthy to be counted a Christian, except he can find in his heart for Christs sake, if the confession of his truth doth require, to renounce all which he hath and follow him; and in so doing he gaineth an hundred fold more in this Life (as our Saviour said to *Peter*) and hereafter is assured of eternal Life. Behold, I pray you, what he loseth which in this Life receiveth an hundred for one, with assurance of eternal Life. O happy Exchange! Perchance your outward Man will say; if I were sure of this great recompence here, could be glad to forsake all; But where is

this hundred fold in this Life to be found? yes truly; for in stead of the Worldly Riches which thou dost forsake, which be but temporal, thou hast found the everlasting Riches of Heaven, which be glory, honour, and praise, both before God, Angels, and Men; and for an Earthly habitation, hast an eternal mansion with Christ in Heaven; for even now thou art of the City and Household of the Saints with God, as it is verified in the fourth to the *Philippians*. For Worldly peace, which can last but a while, thou dost possess the peace of God, which passeth all understanding; and for the loss of a few friends, thou art made a fellow of the innumerable company of Heaven, and a perpetual friend of all those that have died in the Lord, from the beginning of the World. Is not this more then an hundred fold? Is not the peace of God which we in this World have through Faithful imitation of Christ (which the World cannot take from us) ten thousand fold more, then those things that most highly be esteemed in the World, without the peace of God? All the peace of the World is no peace, but a meer anguish and a gnawing fury of Hell. As of late God hath set example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evil it is to forsake the peace of Christs truth, which breedeth a worm in conscience that never shall rest.

Oh that we would weigh this indifferent ballance. Then should we not be dismayed of this troublesome time, neither sorrow after a Worldly manner, for the loss which we are now like to sustain, as the weak faithless persons do, which love their goods more then God, and the things visible above those which be invisible: but rather would heartily rejoice and be thankful, that it pleased God to call us to be Souldiers in his cause against the works of Hypocrite, and to make us like unto our Saviour Christ in suffering, whereby we may assure our selves of his Eternal Glory: For blessed are they, faith Christ, that suffer persecution for righteousness sake. 2 Tim. 2. And as S. Paul witnesseth to *Timothy*; If we die with Christ, we shall live with Christ; and if we deny him, he will deny us.

O that we would enter into the veil of Gods promises. Then should we with S. Paul to the *Philippians*, reject all, and count all things but for dross, so that we may gain Christ. God which is the lightner of all darkness, and putter away of all blindness, anoint our eyes with the true eyesalve, that we might behold his glory, and our eternal felicity, which is hidden with Christ, and prepared for us that do abide in his Testament: for blessed is that servant, whom the Master when he cometh (as Christ said) doth find faithful. Let us therefore watch and pray one for another, that we yield not in any point of our Religion to the Antichristian Synagogue, and that we be not overthrown of these temptations. Stand therefore, and be no cowards in the cause of your salvation; for his Spirit that is in us, is stronger then he which in the World doth now rage against us. Let us not put out the Spirit of God from us, by whose might we shall overcome our enemies, and then death shall be as great a gain to us as it was to the Blessed Apostle Saint Paul. Why then do ye mourn? Why do ye weep? why be ye so careful, as though God hath forsaken you? he is never more present with us, then when we be in trouble, if we do not forsake him. We are in his hands, and no Body can do us any injury or wrong without his good will and pleasure. He hath commanded his Angels to keep us, that we stumble not at a stone without his divine providence. The Devil cannot hurt any of us, and much less any of his Ministers, without the good will of our eternal Father.

Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks unto God for our estate, whatsoever it be; for if we murmur against the same, we murmur against God, who sendeth the same which if we do, we kick but against the prick, and provoke more the wrath of God against us, which by patient suffering, otherwise would sooner be turned into our favour through Faithful Prayer.

I beseech you with Saint Paul, to give your Bodies pure and holy Sacrifices unto God. He hath given us Bodies to bestow unto his glory, and not after our own concupiscence. If many years God hath suffered us to use our Bodies, which be his Temples, after the lust of the Flesh, in vain delights, not according to his glory; is it not our duty

Anno
1555.

How a Christian Man gaineth an hundred fold in this Life.
Phil. 4.
A comparison between the loss and gain that cometh by following of Christ.
Peace with God a thing incomparable. The lack of Gods peace a thing most miserable.

The fruit that cometh by wearing of the Cross.

The delights of the World nothing comparable to them that are to come.

Consideration of joy to come.

The more of a true Christian.

Phil. 1.

He exhorteth to be joyful in affliction.

To be patient, and not to murmur in affliction.

Anno 1556. duty in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yield unto Gods glory our bodies, with all that we have, in demonstration of true repentance of that we have evil spent before? Cannot the example of the blessed man Job horribly afflicted, cause us to say? *The Lord hath given it, the Lord hath taken it: blessed be the name of the Lord.* Even as it hath pleased the Lord, so it come to pass: If we cast our whole care likewise upon God, he will turn our misery into felicity, as well as he did to Job. God tempteth us now as he did our Father

Job 1.

Genes. 22.

How to fa-
vour our
Isaac to God.Remedies a-
gainst the
temptations
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and the
world.Christs
temptations
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applied.Another
Letter of Jo.
Philpot to M.
Harrington,
his Friend.

Abraham, commanding him to slay his Son Isaac in Sacrifice to him; which Isaac by interpretation doth signifie mirth and joy. Who by his obedience preserved Isaac unto long life, and offered in his stead a Ram that wastied by the horns in the brambles. Semblably we are all commanded to Sacrifice unto God our Isaac, which is our joy and consolation: the which if we be ready to do, as Abraham was, our joy shall not perish, but live, and be increased, although our Ram be sacrificed for our Isaac; which doth signifie that the pride and concupiscence of our flesh intangled through sin, with the cares of this stinging world, must be mortified for the preservation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is sealed up for us in Christ.

And to withstand these present temptations wherewith we are now encombred, ye cannot have a better remedy then to set before your eyes how our Saviour Christ overcame them in the desert, and to follow his example? that if the Devil himself or any other by him, willetth you to make fumes Bread, that is, to take such a worldly wise way, that you may have your fair houses, Lands and Goods to live on still; ye must say, that man liveth not only by Bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Again, if the Devil cancelleth you to cast your selves down to the earth, as to revoke your sincere belief and godly conversation, and to be conformable to the Learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content therewith; ye must answer that it is written, that a man shall not tempt his Lord God.

Further, if the Devil offer you large promises of honour, dignity, and possessions, so that ye will worship Idols in his Synagogue, ye must say, Go behind me Satan, for it is otherwise written, that a man must worship his Lord God, and serve him only.

Finally, if your Mother, Brothers, Sister, Wife, Child, Kinsman, or Friend, do seek of you to do otherwise then the Word of God hath taught you, ye must say with Christ, that they are your Mothers, Brothers, Sisters, Wives, Children, Kinsmen, which do the will of God the Father. To the which will the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfaignedly to the end, Amen.

Your loving and faithful Brother
in Christ, in Captivity, John
Philpot, Anno 1555.

To his Friend and faithful Brother in the Lord, Master
Robert Harrington

Gentle Mr. Harrington, I cannot tell what condign thanks I may give unto God for you, in respect of the great gentleness and pain which you have taken for the relief of me and of other our afflicted Brethren in Christ. God be praised for his mercy, whose loving providence we have seen towards us by such faithful stewards as you have been towards a great many. Blessed be you of God for the loving care which you have taken for his poor flock. God hath reserved your reward of thanks in Heaven, and therefore I go not about to render you any, lest I might seem to judge that you looked for that here, which is reserved to a better place. I thank God for that I have found by your faithful and diligent industry, and God forgive me my unworthiness for so great benefits. God gave me grace to serve him faithfully, and to run out my race with joy. Glorious is the course of the Martyrs of Christ at this day. Never had the elect of God a better time for their glory than this is. Now may they be assured under the Cross, that they are Christs Disciples for ever.

Me think I see you desiring to be under the same.

The flesh draweth back, but the Spirit saith, it must be brought whither it would not. Here is the victory of the World: here is true faith and everlasting glory. Who is he which desireth not to be found faithful to his Master? And now is the time that every faithful Servant of Christ hath just opportunity to shew himself a glorious Souldier in the Lords fight. Now do the Amalekites invade the true Israelites, that the Israelites might with speed be glorified, I need not for want of understanding to admonish you hereof, but as a willing Souldier in Christ, to exhort you so to run as you may get the victory, and that speedily with us. A man that is bid to a glorious feast, witheth his Friend to go with him, and be partaker thereof. God doth call me most unworthy; among other, to drink of the Bride-Cup of his Son, whereby we shall be made worthy (as many of our Brethren have been before us) to sit at the right hand and at the left hand of Christ. O what unpeakeable condition is that? May any worldly thing stay us from the desire thereof? Since we seek the Kingdom of God, why do we not apprehend it, being so near offered unto us?

Let us approach near unto God, and God will draw near unto us. God draw us after him, that we may all run after the favour of his sweet ointments. Christ anoint us, that we may be supplied in these evil days to run lightly unto the glory of the Lord. Shame, imprisonment, loss of goods, and shedding of our Blood, be the just price which we must willingly bestow for the same.

Wherefore (dearly Beloved in the Lord) let not the great charges keep you back from buying this glory: for the reward is ten thousand fold greater then the price.

That you have married a wife, whom God bless, I cannot excuse you from this Mart, but you must bring your wife for an usury to the Lord, whose pleasure is in godly yoke-fellows. I wish you to be as I am, except these horrible bands, but yet most comfortable to the Spirit, assuring you that we are made worthy through Christ of the Kingdom for the which we suffer. Praised be the Lord for the affliction which we suffer, and he give us strength to continue to the end.

Commend me to Mr. Heath, and tell him that I would with him with me, to prove how apt he is to carry the Cross of Christ. I pray for his continuance in Christ, as for mine own. Commend me to his wife, and to Mrs. Hall, certifying them that I am brought to the gates of Hell, that I might never enter into the same, but be raised up from Hell to Heaven, through the word that sanctifieth us. Commend me to Mr. Elsing and his wife, and thank them that they remembered to provide me some ease in Prison, and tell them that though my Lords Cole-house be but very black, yet it is more to be desired of the faithful, than the Queens Palace. God make her a joyful Mother, and preserve them both to the comfort of Gods People. Thus for this time farewell dear Brother. Written in post-hast because of strait keeping.

This day I look to be called before the Commissioners again. Pray (dear Brother) for the Spirit of wisdom to remain with me. Commend me to your wife, and I thank you both for your tokens. Your token I have sent to your wife; and my Token unto you, is my faithful heart with this Letter. Commend me to all my Friends, and tell them, I thank God I am cheerful in Christ, wishing them to fear God more then man, and to learn to despise earnestly the vanities of this World; desiring you all to pray for me, that I may end my journey with fidelity, Amen.

John Philpot.

Here followeth another Letter of Mr. Philpot to the Lady Vane: which because for the length I could not wholly insert, I have excerpted certain specialities thereout as followeth.

The principal Spirit of God the Father, given unto us by Christ our merciful Saviour, confirm, strengthen, and stablish you in the true knowledge of the Gospel, that your faithful heart (worshipful and dear Sister in the Lord) may attain and talk with all the Saints what is the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth of the sweet Cross of Christ, Amen, &c.

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Oh,

John 2:1

Reward
greater than
the price.
Godly Ma-
trimony
how to be
used.

Oh, happy are you amongst all other women, that have found this precious Stone which is hidden in the Gospel; for the which we ought to fill all other things, and to purchase the same. Oh happy woman, whose heart God hath moved and enlarged to be in the profession thereof. Others seek worldly goods, honours, and delights; but you seek with a good understanding to serve God in Spirit and verity. This is the gate that leadeth to Heaven, this is your portion for ever. By this you shall see God face to face (which sight is unspeakable joy) and by this shall ye see a full sight of all the beautiful Heavenly Powers, and of all the celestial Paradise. By this shall you know them that you never knew, and be joyous and glad with those which you have known here in God, world without end, &c.

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of Eng. and
Plagues pro-
phesied to
England
though the
Gospel be
restored a-
gain.

Ah, I lament the infidelity of England, that after so great light is steeped into so huge darkness again. The Servant that knoweth his masters will and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. Ah, great be the plagues that hang over England, yea though the Gospel should be restored again. Happy shall that person be whom the Lord shall take out of this world, not to see them. Ah the great perjury which men have run into so wilfully against God by receiving Antichrist again and his wicked Laws? which do threaten a great ruine unto England. Oh that the Lord would turn his just judgments upon the Authors of the truce breaking between God and us, that they might be brought low (as Nabuchadonisor was) that his People might be delivered, and his glory exalted. God grant that that good luck which you hope shortly to come upon the house of God, be a true prophesie, and not a well wishing only. Ah Lord, take away thy heavy hand from us, and stretch it out upon thine enemies those hypocrites, as thou hast begun, that they may be confounded. O let not the weak perish for want of knowledge through our sin. Although thou kill us, yet will we put our trust in thee.

Good luck
foretold
in restoring
again the
Gospel.

Thus (dear heart) you teach me to pray with you in writing. God hear your prayers, and give us the Spirit of effectual Prayer, to pour out our hearts continually before God, that we may find mercy both for our selves, and for our afflicted Brethren and Sisters. I cannot but praise God in you, for that pitiful heart that taketh other folks calamities to heart, as your own. Blessed be they that mourn, for such shall be comforted. God wipe away all tears from your pitiful eyes, and forrow from your merciful heart, that you may (as doublets you shall do shortly) rejoice with his elect for ever. You have fo armed me to the Lords battle both inwardly and outwardly, that except I be a very Coward, I cannot faint, but overcome by death. You have appointed me to so good and gracious a General of the field, to so victorious a Captain, and to so favourable a Marshall, that if I should not go on lustily, there were no spectacle of heavenly manhood in me. I will present your Coat-armour before my Captain, and in the same I trust by him to overcome. The Scarf I desire as an outward sign to shew our enemies, who see not our glorious end, neither what God worketh inwardly in us, through the blindness of their hearts, that they persecute Christs Crofs in us, whereby he hath sealed up the Truth of his Gospel by his death unto us, that we by our death (if need be) might confirm the same, and never be ashamed whatsoever torment we do suffer for his Names sake; and our weak Brethren seeing the same might be more encouraged to take up Christs Crofs, and to follow him. God give us grace to do all things to his glory, Amen, &c.

Plagues
Scall.

The world wondereth how we can be merry in such extreme misery, but our God is Omnipotent, which turneth misery into felicity. Believe me (dear Sister) there is no such joy in the world as the People of Christ have under the Crofs. I speak by experience; therefore believe me, and fear nothing that the world can do unto you. For when they imprison our bodies, they set our Souls at liberty with God. When they cast us down, they lift us up; yea, when they kill us, then do they bring us to everlasting life. And what greater glory can there be, than to be at conformity with Christ? which afflictions do work in us.

Experience
of Gods
comfort in
the time of
affliction.
Persecutors
when they
prison men
Bodies, they
release
Souls at li-
berty.

God open our eyes to see more and more the glory of God in the Crofs of Jesus Christ, and make us worthy

partakers of the same. Let us rejoice in nothing with St. Paul but in the Crofs of Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto us, and we to the world. The Crofs of Christ be our standard to fight under for ever. Whiles I am thus talking with you of our common consolation, I forget how I trouble you with my rude and unordained tediousness; but you must impute it to love which cannot quickly depart from them whom he loveth, but desireth to pour himself into their bosoms.

Therefore though your flesh would be offended (as it might justly be) at such rudeness, yet your Spirit will say nay, which taketh all things in good part that cometh of love. And now I am departing yet will I take my leave ere I go, and would fain speak somewhat that might declare my sincere love to you for ever: Farewell O elect vessel of the Lords, to the comfort of his afflicted flock, farewell on earth, whom in Heaven I am sure I shall not forget. Farewell under the Crofs most joyfully and until we meet, always remember what Christ saith; Be of good cheer, for I have overcome the world, &c.

God pour his Spirit abundantly upon you, mine own dear bowels in Christ, until you may come to see the God of all Gods with his elect in the everlasting Stem. I send to you the kiss of Peace, with the which I do most entirely take my leave of you at this present. It is necessary we depart hence, or else we could not be glorified. Your heart is heavy because I say I must depart from you: It is the calling of the merciful Father, wherewithal you are content, and so am I. Be of good comfort, hold our buckler of Faith: for by the strength thereof we shall shortly meet in eternal glory: to the which Christ bring both us Amen, Amen. The 10. of December. 1555.

Death why should I fear thee? since thou canst not hurt me, but rid me from misery unto eternal glory.

Dead to the world, and living to Christ, your own Brother, sealed up in the verity of the Gospel for ever.

John Philpot

Another Letter of Mr. Philpot written to the same Lady, being a great supporter of him.

I Cannot but most heartily give God thanks for these his gifts in you, whose brightness many beholding that are weak, are much encouraged to seek God likewise, and to cleave to him, having the example of so faithful and constant a Gentlewoman before their eyes. If the Queen of the South shall rise with the men of Christs generation, and condemn them, for that she came from the end of the world to hear the wisdom of Solomon? than shall your sincere and godly conversation, thus shining in this dangerous time of the trial of Christs People (being a woman of worshipful estate and wealthy condition) condemn in the latter day a great many of these faint-hearted Gospellers, which so soon be gone back and turned from the truth, at the voice of a hand-maiden; seeing that neither the fear of imprisonment, neither the possession of the world, (wherewithal you are sufficiently induced above a great many) can separate you from the love of the truth, which God hath revealed unto you, whereby it appeareth that the seed of Gods Word which was sown in you, fell neither in the high way, neither among the thorns, neither upon the stones, but upon a good ground, which is blessed of God, and bringeth forth fruit with great affliction, an hundred fold to the glory of God, and the increase of his Church, &c.

Another
Letter of Mr.
Philpot to a
certain god-
ly Lady.

Against
faint hearted
Gospellers.

In consideration whereof St. James biddeth us highly to rejoice, whensoever we fall into many temptations, knowing that it is but the trial of our Faith, that we might bring forth that excellent virtue Patience, by the which we are made like to our Redeemer Christ, with whom we here being like in suffering, assuredly shall hereafter be partakers of his eternal glory. Therefore St. Paul saith; God forbid that I should glory in any thing but in the Crofs of our Lord Jesus Christ. I that am under the Crofs with you (thanks be given to God therefore) have felt in the same more true joy and consolation, then ever I did by any benefit that God hath given me in my life before. For the more the world doth hate us, the higher God is unto us, and there is

ANNO 1556.
John 16.
Luke 22.
no perfect joy but in God. Wherefore Christ said; *In me ye shall have joy, but in the World affliction.* Blessed be God which sendeth us this affliction, that we might perfectly joy in him. For this cause in the ripest time of iniquity, and in the most fervent season of persecution of the True Church, which Christ in the 21. of *Luke* prophesied to come, he willeth us to be of good cheer, and to lift up our heads, for our redemption is at hand.

Oh that the Lord would come and deliver us from this World, which is a vale of misery, unto his own Kingdom, where floweth perpetual joy and Consolation. And verily that is the true and only joy which is conceived, not of the Creature, but of the Creator, the which when we do possess, no body can take away from us. To the which joy all other joys being compared, are but mournings, all delights sorrow, all sweetnesses sowe, all beauty filth, and finally all other things that be counted pleasant, are tediousness. Your own self is better witness of this then I: Ask your self, with whom you are best acquainted. Doth not the Holy Ghost speak the same in your heart? Have you not perished your self this to be true, before I wrote thereof? For how should you being a Woman, and a young Gentlewoman, beautiful, and at your own liberty, have overcome this your frail kind and age, and despised your excellent beauty and estate, unless all those things which be subject to the senses had been counted of you vile, and little to be esteemed in comparison of those things which inwardly do comfort you to overcome the Flesh, the World, and the Devil?

God increase your joy in all spiritual things, and stablish your hope to the day of eternal rest. You have forsaken darkness, and are entered into light, God grant the same may thine fill in you, until the perfect day come of the Lord, in the which is all our Consolation. Here we must be darkened, that there we may appear as bright as the Sun in the face of the whole World, and of all them that now condemn us for our well-doing; whose Judges then we shall be, to their horrible grief, though now wrongfully they judge us. Pray heartily, and that often, that God once again for his Christs sake would be merciful to his afflicted Church in *England*. Faithful prayer is the only remedy that we have against the fiery darts of the Devil, that be kindled against us. By prayer the *Amalekites* shall be overcome, and the roarings of the Lion, which seeketh still to devour us, shall be stopped and put to silence. The Lord stop *Leviathans* mouth, that he swallow not up Gods filly People, according to his expectation.

Praise the Lord for the faithful Testimony and Sacrifice which two of our Brethren of late have through fire rendered to the Truth of the Gospel, which now triumpheth by the death of godly Martyrs. The Lord is at hand, therefore watch and pray. The last of May. 1555. Captive in the Kings Bench.

Yours with heart in Christ,
John Philpot.

Another Letter of Mr. Philpot to the godly Lady Vane.

ANOTHER LETTER OF MR. PHILPOT TO THE GODLY LADY VANE.
God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ increase in your godly heart the faith of the Gospel, which is your eternal inheritance, and the Holy Ghost comfort your Spirit with all Spiritual Consolation, to the day of the Lord, Amen.

I cannot but praise God most highly and earnestly (my dear and faithful Lady) for the great and unfained love which you bear unto me in Christ, declared oftentimes, as well now as of late, by manifest and liberal tokens. Blessed be God that hath made you so worthy a member in his Kingdom. For it cannot be but such shall reap with abundance in time of reward, that here do sow so plentifully in well doing; Albeit I am most unworthy to receive any such benefit at your hands, as in respect of a pillar of Christs Church, which am scarce a shadow thereof. But the zeal of Christs Church in you willeth me to be such a one as the time doth require. God fulfil your desire of me, that I may be found constant, and no wandering star. I am not worthy of the name of a Prophet, or of a Minister of Gods Word, for that I have (being letted by the iniquity of the time) little or nothing laboured therein. I am a friend of our common Spouse Iesus, and do rejoyce of the verity of his word; for the which (praised be his name) he hath counted me worthy to suffer: and indeed *who that giveth a draught of water in the name of a Disciple (as Christ promised) shall not lose his reward.* Therefore that your gentleness doth in the name of him, which I am not, the Lord recompence unto you in all his blessings, which he is accustomed to pour on them which love his flock unfainedly.

Good Lady, you have to joy that the Kingdom of God is thus continually before your eyes, and that you are not ashamed of the bands of Christ, which you with his People in part do suffer. They may be assured of the glory everlasting, which here are not ashamed to take up the Cross of Christ, and to follow him. Here we must weep and lament, whilst the World laugheth and triumpheth over us; but our tears shall shortly be turned into unspeakable joy, and we shall eternally be merry together, when the World shall lament their infidelity without end, &c.

I would I were able to do any thing that might these condign thanks for that sincere love you bear unto me in Christ: you adjure me (as it were) by your gentle letters to be bold on you in all my needs. I thank God which ceaseth not to provide for his, I lack nothing at this present, but only habitude to thank your faithful heart for your goodness towards me. I love you and not yours, as it is meet Christians to love one another in God; and your faith which I behold in you, is more worth unto me then all your possessions. And I think I shall not need long to be chargeable unto you, for that this week I look for Commissioners to sit on me, and my fellow-prisoners in prison, lest the Spirit of our breath might blow further abroad. The will of God be done. We are not so good as *John* the Baptist which was beheaded in prison. Darkness cannot abide the light. Therefore their doings must declare what they are. We are as sheep appointed for a sacrifice to the Lord. We must not fear the fire for our Lord is a consuming fire, which will put out the fierceness of raging torments from us. Be not afraid of them that can kill the body, but fear him that can cast both body and soul into hell fire. God forbid that we should rejoyce otherwise then in the Cross of Christ, and pray that he would make us worthy to suffer for his sake. God will have our faith tried and known; and therefore let us willingly humble our selves under the mighty hand of God, that he may gloriously lift us up in his good time. There is none perfectly faithful indeed till he can say with *S. Paul*, *I am persuaded that neither death, neither life, neither angels, neither princes or powers, neither things present, neither things to come, neither highness, neither lowness, neither any other creature is able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Iesus our Lord.* This faith God plant both in you and me unmovably. In this faith we have to rejoyce, and in none other.

All the tribulations of the World are not worthy of the eternal weight of glory which is prepared for them, that here do with patience abide the Cross. Wherefore let us be strong with the strength in him, that is able to make us strong, and lament the weakness, I might say the infidelity of our faint Gospellers. Christ whom we would pretend to have put upon us the strength of God, and how then may they be weak where Christ is? We have more to be glad, touching our selves, of this time, then we have had of any time before, in the which we have so ready away to go unto God, and so good occasion to shew our duty in glorifying his holy name. For if we be imprisoned in this cause, we are blessed. If we lose all that we have, we are blessed an hundred fold. If we die, we are blessed eternally; so that in suffering of persecutions, all is full of blessings. Be blessed therefore (O elect Lady) of God, with the blessed of God, and therefore (O elect Lady) of the conspience of the World. Embrace that which is perfect, and joyfully look for the coming and Cross of our Lord Iesus Christ, &c. Thus desiring God to preserve you to his true peace, and to give you victory of that temptation which now is come to try our faith, Christ be with you, and bless you both in Body and Soul; and my prayer shall follow you whosoever you go, as I desire that yours may be with me. The last week I sent your benediction to *Oxford*, I could not before have a Convenient messenger,

Mark 7.

A perfect Christian is known, Rom. 8.

The time of tribulation better for a Christian then the time of joy.

Messenger. As soon as I have word, you shall be satisfied of your request. Love me as you do, and the God of Love be with you. The 20. day of August.

*By yours, with all his power
in the Lord, John Philpot.*

Another Letter full of spiritual Consolation to the said Lady.

*Another
Letter of
Mr. Philpot
to the same
Lady.*

THe mercy of God the Father, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost through Jesus Christ, be with you, and strengthen you my dear Mother and Sister in the Lord, in these dangerous days, to the Crown of eternal Glory, which is now offered to all faithful Soulers in the Gospel, Amen.

As your good Ladyship doth desire to hear from me, so am I desirous to write, as your gentleness and daily goodness bindeth me. But Satan of late hath letted me, who envying all good exercises which I have had and received by mine ease imprisonment in times past, hath brought me out of the *Kings Bench* into the Bishop of *London's* Cole-houfe, a dark and an ugly Prison as any is about *London*, (but my dark Body of sin hath well deserved the same, and the Lord now hath brought me into outward darkness, that I might the more be lightened by him, as he is most present with his Children in the midst of darkness,) where I cannot be suffered to have any Candle-light, neither Ink nor Paper, but by stealth. Wherefore I cannot write to you as I would, neither as my duty is. As Christ, my Master, was sent from *Annas to Caiaphas*, so am I sent from *Winchester Diocese to London*, I trust to make a speedy end of my course; God give me grace and patience to be a faithful follower of my Master. I have been already this Seven-year in his Cole-houfe, and have of late been four times called to mine Answer, but hitherto not called to Judgment which I do daily look for; but I fear they will prolong me, and try me by strict Imprisonment a while, in the which Gods will be done.

*Experience
of Christ,
comforting
his Saints
in their
persecution.*

Pray (dear Lady) that my Faith faint not, which I praise God is presently more lively with me than it hath been in times past. I taste and feel the faithfulness of God in his promise, who hath promised to be with his in their trouble, and to deliver them. I thank the Lord, I am not alone, but have six other faithful Companions; who in our darkness do cheerfully sing hymns and praises unto God for his great goodness. We are so joyful, that I with you part of my joy. For you that are so careful of my bodily relief, how can I but with your spiritual consolation, and that abundantly? Let not (dear Heart) my strict Imprisonment any thing molest you: for it hath added and daily doth unto my joy; but rather be glad and thankful unto God with me, that it hath pleased him to make me, most wretched sinner, worthy to suffer any thing for his sake. Hitherto we have not resisted unto blood. God make us never to count our blood more precious in our eyes than his Truth.

Ah, my dear Sister, I thank you again for the last Letter you sent me; it is a singular comfort unto me, as oft as I read the same. I have it in my bosom, and will carry the same even to the Stake with me, in witness that Christ hath so constant and faithful a Lady in *England*. God succour and keep that spirit in you; for it is the very Spirit of Adoption of the Child of God. Such cheerful and holy Spirits under the Cross be acceptable Sacrifices in the sight of God; for Christ came to cast fire into the Earth, and looketh that it should be kindled. Be you fervent in spirit in our Christs cause, as you have begun, for that is the principal spirit wherewith *David* desired to be confirmed. O, how do I rejoice, your Ladyship to go arm in arm with me unto Christ, or rather before me? I cannot but joy of such a worshipful Fellow. Me thinketh I see you to mourn, and desire to be loosed out of the earthly and frail habitation of this Body. O, how amiable and pleasant is it to dwell in the Lords Tabernacle? Our Christ and his heavenly company look for us; let us hasten and run thereto, for behold the Lord is ready to embrace us. Mine own bowels in the Lord, be merry in the Lord with your afflicted Brother, who daily offereth your merciful alms,

which most unworthily I do receive still of you, unto the Lord. But now (dear Mother) you need not to burthen so much your self (as my last Letters did signify) for that my chargeable Imprisonment is cut off, and a little now serveth me; wherefore I pray you send no more until I send to you, for I have sufficient and abound. Gods peace be with you for ever. Out of my Lord of *London's* Cole-houfe, the last of October.

Your own, John Philpot.

Another Letter of Mr. Philpot to the said Lady, wherein partly he complaineth of the dissimulation and perjury of Englishmen, falling again to the Pope, and partly he expresseth his joy in his afflictions.

I Cannot but joy with you (my heartily Beloved in Christ) of the fall of *Senacherib*: since it is to the glory of God, and to the consolation of his Church, to see the fall of their enemies before their face, according as it is written, *The just shall rejoice, when he seeth the vengeance of the wicked.* God make this your joy perfect; for as concerning my self, I count not to see those good days whereof you have a glimmering in this life. For although the Cockatrice be dead, yet his pestilent Chickens, with the Whore of *Babylon*, still liveth. But a great hope there is of their short confusion, because God doth not prosper their doings according to their expectation. Most happy shall be, whom the Lord shall soonest take out of this life, that he may not see the plagues which the manifest perjury, and the manifold Idolatry and detestable dissimulation, and that of such as do know the Truth, do threaten to come.

The Lord is just, and all unrighteousness displeaseth him, and either here or else in another world he will punish this gross Infidelity of the world: but his elect, and such as he loveth, will be punished here, that they should not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally: we have nothing so much to rejoice in, as in the Cross of Jesus Christ, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which be the earnest-penalty of that eternal Kingdom, which he upon the Cross for us hath purchased. For as *Paul* his faithful witness saith, *If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him. If we die with him, we shall live with him.*

Wherefore (mine own dear Bowels) praise God with me most intirely, that it hath pleased him now mercifully to visit the sins of my youth, and my huge unthankfulness, and by the same doth give me much consolation, that he assureth me of his great goodness and mercy, and turneth his Fatherly caitigation into my Crown of glory. O good God! what am I on whom he should shew this great mercy? To him that is immortal, invincible, and only wise, be all honour, praise, and glory therefore, Amen.

This is the day that the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in the same. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the Peace of God, and leadeth to eternal Bliss. O how my heart leapech for joy, that I am so near the apprehension thereof! God forgive me mine unthankfulness and unworthiness of so great glory. The Swords which pierced *Maries* heart in the Passion of our Saviour, which daily also go through your faithful heart, be more glorious and to be desired than the golden Scepters of this World. O blessed be they that mourn in this world to Godward, for they shall eternally be comforted! God make my stony heart to mourn more than it doth. I have so much joy of the reward that is prepared for me most wretched Sinner, that though I be in place of darkness and mourning, yet I cannot lament, but both night and day am so joyful, as though I were under no Cross at all: yea, in all the days of my life I was never so merry, the Name of the Lord be praised therefore for ever and ever, and he pardon mine unthankfulness. Our enemies do fret, fume, and gnash their Teeth to see and hear that we, under this grievous affliction in the world, can be so merry. We are of them counted as desperate persons, for the certain salvation: and it is no marvel, for the worldly men cannot perceive the things of God, it is meer foolishness and abomination to them.

Anno
1556.

*Another
Letter of
Mr. Philpot.
By this
Senacherib,
meaneeth the
death of the
Bishop of
Winchester.*

*He expect-
eth the
great joy
which Gods
Pitifulnes
feed in their
sufferings.*

*John Philpot
never so
merry in
all his life
before.*

Anno 1556. Be thankful unto our God (mine own dear helper) for his wonderful working in his chosen People. Pray instantly that this joy be never taken from us, for it palleth all the delights of this World. This is the peace of God which surmounteth all understanding: this peace the more his chosen be afflicted, the more they feel, and therefore cannot faint, neither for fire, neither for water. Let us pray for our weak Brethren and Sisters sake, that it may please God to alleviate the grievous and intolerable burden of these cruel days. But touching our selves, let us heartily beseech our Saviour to vouchsafe to give us this glorious gift to suffer for his Gospels sake, and that we may think the shame of the World to be our glory, as it is indeed. God increase our Faith, and open our eyes to behold what is prepared for us. I lack nothing, praise be to God. I trust my Marriage Garment is ready. I will send you my examinations as soon as I can get them written, if you be desirous of them.

God of his mercy fill your merciful heart with all joy and consolation of the hope to come. Out of the Colic-houfe the 19. of November.

Your own lover, John Philpot.

A Letter of Mr. Philpot to a friend of his, prisoner the same time in Newgate, wherein is debated and discussed the matter or question of Infants to be Baptized.

A Letter of Mr. Philpot, Establishing a certain Brother in the matter of Baptizing of Infants.

THe God of all light and understanding lighten your heart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, Amen.

I received yesternight from you (dear Brother, Saint, and fellow-prisoner for the truth of Christs Gospel) a Letter, wherein you gently require my judgment concerning the Baptism of Infants, which is the effect thereof. And before I do heere you what I have learned out of Gods Word and of his true and infallible Church touching the same, I think it not out of the matter first to declare what vision I had the same night whilst musing on your Letter. I fell asleep, knowing that God doth not without cause reveal to his People who have their minds fixed on him, special and spiritual Revelations to their comfort, as a taste of their joy and Kingdom to come, which Flesh and Blood cannot comprehend.

A vision revealed to M. Philpot upon a Letter to be answered.

Being in the midst of my sweet rest, it seemed me to see a great beautiful City, all of the colour of azure, and white, four square in a marvellous beautiful composition in the midst of the sky, the sight whereof so inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to express the Consolation I had thereof, yea the remembrance thereof causeth as yet my heart to leap for joy: and as charity is no churl, but would others to be partakers of his delight, so me thought I called to others (I cannot tell whom) and whilst they came and we together beheld the same, by and by to my great grief it vaded away.

The vision expounded.

This dream I think not to have come of the illusion of the senses, because it brought with it so much spiritual joy, and I take it to be of the working of Gods Spirit for the contentation of your request, as he wrought in Peter to satisfy Cornelius. Therefore I interpret this beautiful City to be the glorious Church of Christ, and the appearance of it in the sky, signifieth the Heavenly State thereof, whose Conversation is in Heaven, and that according to the Primitive Church which is now in Heaven, men ought to measure and judge the Church of Christ now in earth, for as the Prophet David saith; *The foundations thereof be in the holy hills, and glorious things he spoken of the City of God.* And the marvellous quadrature of the same, take to signify the universal agreement in the same, and that all the Church here militant ought to consent to the Primitive Church throughout the four parts of the World, as the Prophet affirmeth, saying; *God maketh us to dwell after one manner in one house.* And that I conceived so wonderful joy at the contemplation thereof, I understand the unspeakable joy which they have that be at unity with Christs Primitive Church: For there is joy in the Holy Ghost, and peace, which palleth all understanding, as it is written in the *Psalms*; *As of*

joyful persons the dwelling of all them that be in thee. And that I called others to the fruition of this vision, and to behold this wonderful City, I construe it by the will of God this Vision to have come upon me musing on your Letter, to the end, that under this figure I might have occasion to move you with many others, to behold the Primitive Church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conform your self in all points to the same, which is the pillar and stablishment of truth, and teacheth the true use of the Sacraments, and having with a greater fulness then we have now, the first fruits of the Holy Ghost, did declare the true interpretation of the Scriptures according to all verity, even as our Saviour promised to send them another Comforter, which should teach them all truth.

And since all truth was taught and revealed to the Primitive Church, which is our Mother, let us all that be obedient Children of God, submit our selves to the judgment of the Church for the better understanding of the Articles of our faith, and of the doubtful sentences of the Scripture. Let us not go about to shew in us, by following any private mans interpretation upon the Word, another Spirit then they of the Primitive Church had, lest we deceive our selves. For there is but one Faith and one Spirit, which is not contrary to himself, neither otherwise now teacheth us then he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the Scriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true Catholick Church is at this day: and the God of peace assuredly will be with us, and deliver us out of all our Worldly troubles and miseries, and make us partakers of their joy and bliss, through our obedience to faith with them.

Therefore God commandeth us in *Job*, to ask of the elder generation, and to search diligently the memory of the Fathers. For we are but yesterdays Children, and be ignorant, and our days are like a shadow, and they shall teach thee (saith the Lord) and speak to thee, and shall utter words from their hearts. And by *Solomon* we are commanded, not to reject the direction of our Mother. The Lord grant you to direct your steps in all things after her, and to abhor contention with her. For as *S. Paul* writeth; *If any man be contentious, neither we, neither the Church of God hath any such custom.*

Hitherto I have shewed you (good Brother S.) my judgment generally of that you stand in doubt and dissent from others, to the which I wish you as mine own heart to be conformable, and then doubtless you cannot err, but boldly may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the hour of your death, that you shall dy in the Church of God a faithful Martyr, and receive the Crown of eternal glory. And thus much have I written upon the occasion of a Vision before God unfained. But that you may not think that I go about to satisfy you with uncertain Visions only, and not after Gods Word, I will take the ground of your Letter, and specially answer to the same by the Scriptures, and by infallible reasons deduced out of the same, and prove the Baptism of Infants to be lawful, commendable, and necessary, whereof you seem to stand in doubt.

Indeed if you look upon the Papistical Synagogue onely, which had corrupted Gods Word by false interpretations, and hath perverted the true use of Christs Sacraments, you might seem to have good handfull of your opinion against the Baptism of Infants. But for as much as it is of more antiquity, and hath his beginning from Gods Word, and from the use of the Primitive Church, it must not in respect of the abuse in the Popish Church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be used in Christs Church. *Auxentius*, one of the *Arrians* sect, with his adherents, was one of the first that denied the Baptism of Children, and next after him *Pelagius*, the Heretic, and some other there were in *S. Bernards* time, as it doth appear by his writings, and in our days the Anabaptists, an inordinate kind of men stirred up by the Devil, to the destruction of the Gospel. But the Catholick truth delivered unto us by the Scriptures, plainly determineth, that all such are to be Baptized, as whom God acknowledgeth for his People, and voucheth them worthy of Sanctification or remission of their sins. Therefore since that Infants be in

Prov. 6.

1 Cor. 11.

proof by the Scriptures and Scriptures.

Baptism of Infants of old antiquity in the Church.

Every thing abused in the Popish Church is not to be rejected, but the antiquity thereof to be feared and to be reduced again to the same.

the number or scroll of Co. is People, and be partakers of the promise by their purification in Christ, it must needs follow thereby, that they ought to be baptized as well as those that can profess their faith. For we judge the People of God as well by the free and liberal promise of God, as by the Confession of Faith. For to whomsoever God promisseth himself to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, those no man without great impiety may exclude from the number of the faithful. But God promisseth that he will not only be the God of such as do profess him, but also of infants, promising them his grace and remission of sins, as it appeareth by the words of the Covenant made unto Abraham. *I will set my Covenant between thee and me (saith the Lord) and between thy seed after thee in their generations, with an everlasting Covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee.* To the which Covenant Circumcision was added to be a sign of sanctification as well in Children as in men; and no man may think that this promise is abrogated with Circumcision and other Ceremonial Laws. For Christ came to fulfil the promises, and not to dissolve them. Therefore in the Gospel he saith of Infants, that is, of such as yet believed not; *Let the little ones come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.* Again, *It is not the will of your Father which is in Heaven, that any of these little ones do perish.* Also, *He that receiveth me, receiveth those that are with me, and he that receiveth those that are with me, receiveth me.* Take heed therefore that ye despise not one of these babes, for I tell you their Angels do continually see in heaven my Father's face. And what may be said more plainer then this? It is not the will of the Heavenly Father, that the Infants should perish; whereby we may gather that he receiveth them freely unto his grace, although as yet they confess not their faith. Since then that the word of the promises, which is contained in Baptism, pertaineth as well to Children as to men, why should the sign of the promise, which is Baptism in water be withdrawn from Children, when Christ himself commandeth them to be received of us, and promisseth the reward of a Prophet to those that receive such a little infant, as he for an Example did put before his Disciples?

Now will I prove with manifest Arguments that Children ought to be Baptized, and that the Apostles of Christ did Baptize Children. The Lord commanded his Apostles to Baptize all Nations; therefore also Children ought to be Baptized, for they are comprehended under this word, *All Nations.*

Further, whom God doth account among the faithful, they are faithful, for it was said to Peter, *That thing which God hath purified, thou shalt not say to be common or unclean*: But God doth repute Children among the faithful: Ergo, they be faithful, except we had rather to resist God, and seem stronger and wiser then he.

And without all doubt the Apostles Baptized those which Christ commanded: but he commanded the faithful to be Baptized, among the which infants be reckoned: The Apostles then Baptized infants.

The Gospel is more then Baptism, for Paul said; *The Lord sent me to preach the Gospel, and not to Baptize*: not that he denied absolutely that he was sent to Baptize, but that he preferred Doctrine before Baptism, for the Lord commanded both to the Apostles: but Children be received by the Doctrine of the Gospel of God, and not refused: therefore what person being of reason may deny them Baptism, which is a thing lesser then the Gospel? for in the Sacraments be two things to be considered, the thing signified, and the sign, and the thing signified is greater then the sign, and from the thing signified in Baptism, Children are not excluded, who therefore may deny them the sign, which is Baptism in water?

Saint Peter could not deny them to be Baptized in water, to whom he saw the Holy Ghost given, which is the certain sign of Gods People: For he saith in the Acts, *May any body forbid them to be Baptized in water who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?* Therefore S. Peter denied not Baptism to infants, for he knew certainly both by the Doctrine of Christ, and by the Covenant which is everlasting, that the Kingdom of Heaven pertained to infants.

None be received into the Kingdom of Heaven, but such as God loveth, and which are indured with the Spirit: for who hath not the Spirit of God, he is none of his. But infants be beloved of God, and therefore want not the Spirit of God: wherefore if they have the Spirit of God as well as men, if they be numbered among the People of God as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withstand Children to be Baptized with water, in the name of the Lord?

The Apostles in times past being yet not sufficiently instructed, did murmur against those which brought their Children unto the Lord, but the Lord rebuked them, and said; *Let the Babes come unto me.* Why then do not these Rebellious Anabaptists obey the Commandment of the Lord? For what do they now adays else that bring their Children to Baptism, then that they did in times past, which brought their Children to the Lord, and our Lord received them, and putting his hands on them, blessed them, and both by words and by gentle behaviour towards them, declared manifestly that Children be the People of God, and entirely beloved of God. But some will say, Why then did not Christ Baptize them? Because it is written, Iesus himself Baptized not, but his Disciples.

Moreover, Circumcision in the old Law was ministered to infants; therefore Baptism ought to be ministered in the new Law unto Children. For Baptism is come in the stead of Circumcision, as Saint Paul witnesseth, saying to the Colossians; *By Christ ye are Circumcised with a Circumcision which is without hands, when ye put off the Body of sin of the Flesh, by the Circumcision of Christ, being buried together with him through Baptism.* Behold, Paul calleth Baptism the Circumcision of a Christian man, which is done without hands, but that which hands no man any longer ought to be Circumcised, albeit the mystery of Circumcision do still remain in faithful People.

To this I may add, that the Servants of God were always ready to minister the Sacraments to them, for whom they were instituted. As for an example, we may behold Iesus, who most diligently procured the People of Israel to be Circumcised before they entered into the land of promise; but since the Apostles were the Preachers of the word, and the very faithful Servants of Iesus Christ, who may hereafter doubt that they Baptized Infants, since Baptism is in place of Circumcision?

Item, the Apostles did attemperate all their doings to the shadows and figures of the old Testament: therefore it is certain that they did attemperate Baptism accordingly to Circumcision, and Baptized Children because they were under the figure of Baptism; for the People of Israel passed through the Red Sea, and the bottom of the water of Jordan, with their Children. And although the Children be not always expressed, neither the Women in the Holy Scriptures, yet they are comprehended and understood in the same.

Also the Scripture evidently telleth us, that the Apostles Baptized whole Families or households: But the Children are comprehended in Family or household, as the chiefest and dearest part thereof. Therefore we may conclude, that the Apostles did Baptize Infants or Children, and not only men of lawful age. And that the house or household is taken for Man, Woman, and Child, it is manifest in the 17. of Genesis, and also in that Joseph doth call Jacob with all his House, to come out of the Land of Canaan into Egypt.

Finally, I can declare out of ancient Writers, that the Baptism of Infants hath continued from the Apostles time unto ours, neither that it was instituted by any and of ancient Councils, neither of the Pope, nor of other men, but commanded from the Scripture by the Apostles themselves. Origen upon the declaration of Saint Pauls Epistle to the Romans, expounding the sixth Chapter, saith, *That the Church of Christ received the Baptism of Infants from the very Apostles.* Saint Hierome maketh mention of the Baptism of Infants, in the third book against the Pelagians, and in his Epistle to Laeta. Saint Augustine reciteth for this purpose a place out of John Bishop of Constantinople,

1. The People of God are to be judged by the promise, and not by their Confession.

Gen. 17.

Math. 5.

Math. 10.

Math. 19.

Math. 28.

Math. 28.

Another argument.

1 Cor. 1.

Another argument.

Acts 10.

Another argument.

1 Cor. 1.

Another argument.

1 Cor. 1.

Another argument.

Acts 10.

Another argument.

Acts 10.

In Sacraments two things to be considered.

Acts 10.

Another argument.

Acts 10.

Anco 1556.

Another reason.

Math. 10.

Another reason.

Math. 10.

Another reason.

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Anno
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hannis Con-
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Hæb. 11.
de Verbo

in his first Book againſt *Julian*, Chap. 2. and he again writing to *St. Hierom*, *Epiſt.* 28. ſaith, *That* *St. Cypryan* *not making any new Decree, but ſtirmly obſerving the Faith of the Church, judged with his fellow Biſhops, that as ſoon as one was born; he might be lawfully baptized.* The place of *Cypryan* is to be ſeen in his *Epiſt*le to *Fidus*.

Alfo *S. Augustine* in writing 'againſt the *Donatiſts* in the 4th Book, Chap. 23, and 24. ſaith, That the Baptiſm of Infants was not derived from the authority of man, neither of Councils, but from the tradition or doctrine of the Apoſtles.

Cyprianus *Lewisius*, Chap.8. approveth the Baptism of Children, and condemneth the iteration of Baptism. These Authorities of men I do alledge, not to tye the Baptism of Children unto the Testimonies of men, but to shew how Mens Testimonies do agree with Gods Word, and that the verity of Antiquity is on our side, and that the Anabaptists have nothing but Lyes for them, and new imaginations, which feign the baptism of Children to be the Pones commandment.

After this I will answer to the sum of your Arguments for the contrary. The first, which includeth all the rest, is, It is written, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidings to all Creatures. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that believeth not, shall be damned, &c.*

To this I answer, That nothing is added to Gods Word by baptism of Children, as you pretend, but that is done which the fame Word doth require, for that Children are accounted of Christ in the Gospel among the number of such as believe, as it appeareth by these words; *He that offendeth one of these little Babes which believe in me, it were better for him to have a Mill-gone round about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the Sea.* Where plainly Christ calleth such as be not able to confess their Faith, Believers, because of his meere grace he reupeth them for Believers. And this is no wonder to be taken, since God imputeth Faith for Righteousness unto Men that be of ripe age: for both in Men and Children, righteousness, acceptation, sanctification is of meere grace, and by imputation, that the glory of Gods grace might be praised.

g. And that the Children of faithful Parents are sanctified, and among such as do believe, is apparent in the 1 Cor. 7. And whereas you do gather by the order of the words in the fifth commandment of Christ, that Children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end you alleadge many places out of the *Ath.*, proving that such as confessed their Faith first, were baptized: I answer, that if the order of words might weigh any thing in this cause, we have the Scripture that maketh as well for us. For in *St. Mark* we read, that *John* did baptize in the Desert, preaching the baptism of Repentance. In the which place we see baptizing go before, and preaching to follow after.

And also I will declare this place of *Matthew*, exactly confidered, to make for the use of baptifm in Children; for St. *Matthew* hath it written in this wife, *All power is given me* (saith the Lord) *in heaven and in earth*, therefore giving forth *mattheus*, that is, *Disciple ye*, (as I may exprels the fignification of the word;) that is, make or gather to me Difciples of all Nations. And following, he declareth the way how they fhould gather to him Difciples out of all Nations, *baptizing them and teaching*; by baptizing and teaching ye fhall procure a Church to me. And both thefe aptly and briefly ferverally he fet forth, faying, *Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoft*, teaching them to *obferve all things whatfoever I have commanded you*. Now then Baptifm goeth before Doctrine.

The place
Mark 8:16
is opened.

But hereby I do not gather, that the *Gentiles*, which
never heard any thing before of God, and of the Son of
God, and of the Holy Ghost, ought to be baptized,
neither they would permit themselves to be baptized be-
fore they knew to what end. But this I have declared
to shew you upon how feeble foundation the Anabaptists
be grounded. And plainly it is not true which they
imagine of this Text, that the Lord did only command

such to be baptized whom the Apostles had first of all taught. Neither here verily is signified who only be to be baptized, but he speaketh of such as be at perfect age, and of the first foundations of Faith, and of the Church to be planted among the *Gentiles*, which were as yet rude and ignorant of Religion.

Such as be of age may hear, believe and confesse that which is preached and taught, but so cannot Infants; therefore we may justly collect, that he speaketh here nothing of Infants or Children. But for all this they ought not to be excluded from baptisim.

It is a general Rule, *He that doth not labour, must not eat.* But who is so barbarous that might think hereby, that Children should be famished?

The Lord lent his Apologies at the beginning of his setting up of his true Religion unto all Nations, unto such as were both ignorant of God, and were out of the Covenant of God; and truly such persons it behoved not first to be baptized, and afterward taught; but first to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we should go to the *Turks* to convert them to the Faith of Christ, verily first we ought to teach them, and afterward baptize such as would yield to be the Servants of Christ. Likewise the Lord himself in time past did, when first he renewed the Covenant with *Abraham*, and ordained Circumcision to be a Seal of the Covenant after that *Abraham* was circumcised. But he, when he perceived the Infants also to be circumcised to the Covenant, that Circumcision was the sealing up of the Covenant, did not only circumcise *Ishmael* his Son, that was 13. years of age, but all other Infants that were born in his house, among whom we reckon *Isaac*.

Even so faithful People which were converted from Heathen Idolatry, by the preaching of the Gospel, and confesting the Faith, were baptized; when they understood their Children to be counted among the People of God, and that Baptism was the token of the People of God, they procured also their Children to be baptized. Therefore, as it is written, *Abraham circumcised all the male Children of his house*. Scrambly we read in the acts and writings of the Apostles, that after the Master of the house was turned to the Faith, all the whole house was baptized. And as concerning those which of old time were compelled to confess their Faith before they received Baptism, which were called *Catechumens*, they were such as with our Fore-fathers came from the *Gentiles* into the Church, who being yet rude of Faith, they did instruct in the principles of their Belief, and afterward they did baptize them; but the same ancient Fathers notwithstanding did baptize the Children of Faithful men, as I have already partly declared.

And because you do require a hasty answer of your Letter of one that is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to censure particularly to go through your Letter answering thereto, knowing that I have fully answered every part thereof in that I have already written, although not in such order as it had been met, and as I purpose. But so far as I understand that you will be no Contentious man, neither in this matter, neither in any other, contrary to the judgment of Christs Primitive Church, which is the body and fulness of Christ, I desire you in the entire love of him, or rather Christ desireth you by me (that your joy may be perfect, whereto you are now called) to submit your judgment to that Church, and to be at peace and unity in the same; that the Coast of Christ which ought to be without feame, but now also most miserably is torn in pieces by many dangerous Sects and damnable Opinions, may appear by you in no part to have been rent, neither that any giddy head in these Dog-days, might take an ensamble by you to dissent from Christs true Church: I beseech, dear Brother in the Gospel, follow the steps of the Faith of the glorious Martyrs in the Primitive Church, and of such as at this day follow the same; decline from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then shall Death, be it never so bitter, be more sweeter than this life; then shall Christ with all the Heavenly *Jerusalem* triumphantly embrace your spirit with unspeakable gladness and exaltation, who in this Earth was content to joyne your spirit with

In the first
converting
of Infidels,
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tizing: but
where Faith
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Why Children of Christian Parents be received to Baptism.

is as much
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their Imitations, according as it is commanded by the Word, that the spirit of the Prophets should be subject to the Prophets. One thing ask with *David* ere you depart, and require the same, that you may dwell with a full accord in his House, for there is glory and worship: and so with *Simoon* in the Temple embracing Christ, depart in peace: to the which Peace Christ bring both you and me, and all our loving Brethren that love God in the unity of Faith, by such ways as shall please Him, to his glory. Let the bitter passion of Christ, which he suffered for your sake, and the horrible torments which the godly Martyrs of Christ have endured before us, and also the inestimable reward of your life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Christ, strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in, *Amen*.

a Cot 14.

Concerning the party to whom this Letter was written, note that he was converted and afterward died in the same Faith as this Letter did persuade him.

Your Take-fellow in Captivity for the verity of Christ's Gospel, to love and dye with you in the unity of Faith.

John Philpot.

Divers other Letters were written by Mr. Philpot to divers, but these are most principal I have excerpted and inserted. Amongst which I thought here not much impertinent to the place, to adjoin another certain Letter of a godly and zealous Gospeller (whose name in her writing doth not appear) who in defending and commending the quarrel of this Mr. John Philpot, Christ's most famous and worthy Martyr, was therefore troubled and brought before Bishop Boner. And therefore being appointed by the said Bishop to appear upon a certain day to answer for her self; indeed kept not her day with the Bishop, but instead of her appearance sent him this Letter here following.

We be unto the Idolatrous Shepherds of England, that feed themselves. Should not the Shepherds feed the Flock? but ye have eaten the fat, ye have clothed you with the wool; the best fed have ye slain, but the Flock have ye not nourished, the weak have ye not holden up, the sick have ye not healed, the broken have ye not bound together, the cut-cast, have ye not brought again, the lost have ye not sought, but charitably and cruelly have ye ruled them, Ezek.

34.

FOrasmuch (my Lord) as my business is such that I cannot come to your Lordship, according to my promise, I have been so bold to write these few words unto you, partly to excuse mine absence, and partly to answer your Lordships demands at my last most happy departure from you. As touching the breach of my Promise with you in not coming again at the hour appointed, your Lordship shall understand that I take the counsel of the Angel, which warned the Wife men not to come again to *Herod* according to their promise, but to turn home again another way. Now, my Lord, I perceiving your Lordship to be a more cruel Tyrant than ever was *Herod*, and more desirous to destroy Christ in his poor Members than ever he was, which to destroy Christ killed his own Son, I thought good to take the Angels counsel, and to come no more at you; for I see that you are set all in a rage like a ravening Wolf against the poor Lambs of Christ, appointed to the slaughter for the testimony of the Truth. Indeed you are called the common Cut-throat and general Slaughter-house to all the Bishops of England; and therefore it is wisdom for me and all other simple Sheep of the Lord, to keep us out of your Butchers-hall as long as we can: especially seeing that you have such store already, that you are not able to drink all their Blood, lest you should break your Belly; and therefore let them lye still and dye for hunger. Therefore (my Lord) I thought it good to tarry a while until your Lordships stomach were come to you a little better; for I do perceive by your great fat Cheeks, that you lack no Lambs-flesh yet, and believe you are almost glutted with supping so much Blood, and therefore you will let some of the leanest dye in Prison, which will then be meat good enough for you:

barking Beagles, *Harpfield* and his Fellows: but yet, my Lord, it were a great deal more for your Lordships Honour, if your Chaplains might have the meat roasted in *Smithfield* at the fire of the Stake, yea, and when it is something fat and fair-looking; for now they have nothing but skin and bones, and if the Dogs come hastily to it, they may chance shortly to be choked, and then your hunting will be hindered greatly, if it be not altogether marred. I hear say, my Lord, that some of the butcherly Curs came of late to my house to seek their Prey, and that they go round about the City (as *David* saith) grinning and grudging that they have not meat enough; therefore believe they have killed my poor Brethren and Sisters that have lain so long upon the Butcherly-Stall, and eaten them up: for I hear say their Friends could not be suffered to see them these three days and more; therefore I perceive now that if I had come again according to my promise, your Lordship, like a ravening Wolf, or else some of your Hell-hounds would quickly have worried me: but I see well my appointed time is not yet come, therefore I will yet live and thank him for my deliverance, with continual Songs of laud and praise. Thus have I been bold to trouble your Lordship with telling you the truth, and the very cause that I came not to you again according to my unpurposed Promise. I trust your Lordship will take this in good part; and accept it as a lawful excuse, and not doubting but your Lordship would have done the like, if you had been in my case.

Now as concerning the second part that caused me to write unto your Lordship, which is to answer unto your subtle or rather cruel demand of my judgment of the death of that blessed Martyr of Christ Jesus, good Master *John Philpot*, I will answer your Lordship simply and plainly, what peril forever shall come thereof. Truly, my Lord, I do not only think, but I am also most certain and sure, that he as a very man of God, died a true Martyr and constant Confessor of his dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom he did most faithfully commit his sweet Soul, who will surely keep the same with him in joy for evermore. Alas, my Lord, I do verily believe and know that your Lordship hath committed an horrible and most cruel murder in the unjust condemning and killing of him, and that you shall make as heavy an account for his Blood, which shortly shall be required at your hand, as ever your great Grandfather cruel *Cain* did or shall do for his innocent Brother *Abel*. Moreover, because I am credibly informed that your Lordship doth believe, and have in secret said, that there is no Hell, I certify you, that your Lordship did never any thing in all your life that so much did redound to your Lordships dishonour, and perpetual shame and infamy, as your killing the Body of this blessed Prophet doth; especially seeing that he was none of your Dioceses, nor had offended any of your Lordships devilish and cruel Laws. Verily I hear almost every Body say in all places where I come, that your Lordship is made the common Slaughter-house to all your Fellows, Bishops, Bishops I would say; yea, the very Papists themselves begin now to abhor your blood-thirstiness, and speak shame of your Tyranny. Like Tyranny, believe me my Lord, every Child that can any whit speak, can call upon by your name and say, Bloody Boner is Bishop of London, and every man hath it as perfectly upon his fingers ends, as his *Paternoster*, how many you for your part have burned with fire, and famished in prison; they say the whole sum furmounteth to forty Persons within this three quarters of this year. Therefore, my Lord, though your Lordship believeth that there is neither Heaven nor Hell, nor God nor Devil: yet if your Lordship love your own honesty, which was lost long ago, you were best to surcease from this cruel burning of true Christian men, and also from murdering of some in Prison; for that indeed offendeth mens minds most; yea, even your old friends the rankest Papists that be. For, say they, *Felix* the Heathen Ruler did not forbid *Paul's* Friends to visit him in Prison, and to bring him necessary relief; and therefore it is a very great shame and

Anno

1556.

Your deeds declare and bear witness to the same.

sin,

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fin, to see a Bishop that beareth the name of a Christian, to be more cruel upon his poor Brethren, than an Heathen, Turk, or Indian.

This is mens sayings in every place, not only of this Realm, but also of the most part of the World, and the common talk they have of your Lordship; Therefore I thought to be bold so with your Lordship, as to tell you of it, though perchance you will give me but small thanks for my labour. Well, as for that, I put it to your Lordships choice, for I have as much already as I look for: Finally, my Lord, I will give you to understand, that the death of this constant Martyr and valiant Souldier of Jesus Christ hath given a greater shake towards the overthrowing of your Papistical Kingdom, than you shall ever be able to recover again these seven years, do the best you can, and let as many crafty dawblers to patch it up with untimpered Clay as you will; yea, though prating *Pendleton*, that wicked *Apollata*, apply all his wily wits to help them. Verily, my Lord, by all mens reports, his blessed life could never have done the like forrow to Satans Synagogue, whereof some say your Lordship is a mighty Member, as his happy death hath done. You have broken a Pot indeed, but the precious Word contained therein is so notably therewithall shed abroad, that the sweet favour thereof hath wonderfully well refreshed all the true Household or Congregation of Christ, that they cannot abide any more the stinking favour of your filthy Ware that came from the dunghill of *Rome*, though your Lordships *Judas* do set them to file every where to fill your Bags. I put your Lordship out of doubt, that if you do break any more such Pots, you will mar your own Market altogether: for I promise you, most men begin to mislike your devilish doings, and wonderfully to loath your Popish Pedlary Wares.

Thus have I (according to your Lordships commandment) shewed you simply what I think of that good mans death, whose Blood crieth for vengeance against your Lordships butcherly bloody proceedings in the cars of the Lord of Hosts, who will shortly revenge the fame upon your pillid Pate, and upon the rest of all your Poll-thorn Brethren, the very marked Cattel of the great Antichrist of *Rome*. The measure of his Iniquity is filled up to the brim, therefore will God shortly pour in double unto your deserved destruction. And then I when your new made Profelytes will be glad to cover their Crowns with a Cow-turd (savouring your Lordships Reverence I should have said first.) Well, I rather desire their conversion than confusion, the Lord send the one of them shortly, as may be most to his glory, Amen.

I signifie also unto your Lordship, that the railing words which your lying Preacher shewed forth of his filthy Fountain upon Sunday against the dear Servant of God, good Master *Philpot*, do greatly redound to your Lordships dishonour, and much deface your spiritual Honour. Verily I see that the great wrath of God hath so blinded your eyes, that you see not what is with you, nor what is against you, but still you vomit out your own shame, and make all the world wonder upon you. Was it not enough for you to condemn him most unjustly, yea contrary to your own Laws, and to kill his innocent Body most tyrannously, but you must also set a lying Limb of the Devil to blaspheme, slander, and belye him now he is dead? Oh Viperous generation, feed of the Serpent, and right Children of the Devil! Full well do you counterfeit your Fathers steps, whom Christ calleth a Murderer, and a Lyar from the beginning; which two things be the only weapons of your War, wherewith you maintain all your mischief, that is to say, Lying and Murder; for those whom ye cannot overcome with your lying persuasions, them you kill most cruelly, and then blaspheme and belye them with railing Sentences when they are dead. But all this will not blind the People of God, nor yet make them any whit the less believe the Truth, nor abate their love from the true Preachers thereof, yea, it is a true sign and a token that they are the very Disciples of Christ; for he hath said, Blessed are ye when men revile you, and say all manner of evil sayings against you for my Names sake. Rejoyce and be glad, for great is your

reward in Heaven. And doubtless great is the good mans reward in Heaven by this time, as your Lordships damnation shall be great in Hell, except you repent and surcase from shedding innocent Blood. But it is to be feared your heart is hardened as *Pharao*s was, seeing that with *Judas* ye have sold and betrayed your Master. Take heed, my Lord, lest you come to the same end or a worse than he did. For verily I cannot perceive how you should escape it long; therefore say not, but a Woman gave you warning, if you list to take it. And as for the obtaining of your Popish purpose in suppressing the Truth, I put you out of doubt, you shall not obtain it so long as you go this way to work as ye do; for verily I believe that you have lost the hearts of 10000. that were rank Papists within this twelve Months.

It is found very true that one holy Doctor saith: The Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of the Gospel; when one is put to death a thousand doth rise for him. And that this is true, you may well perceive by the heavy love that the People shewed unto good Master *Philpot* at his going to his death. They went not about to make an Idol of him, as your Address-brood would bear men in hand; but they worshipped God which gave such strength to his dear Child, to dye so constantly for the testimony of his Truth, unto the utter destruction of that detestable Idolatry which your Lordship doth most devilishly maintain with the force of Fire, Faggots, and Sword: yea, and rather than fail, to famish Men in Prison again, as ye have done already. It is reported of your own Tormentors, that the six Prisoners that you have in your Prison, be put in six several places all the day, and every night brought together, and set in the Stocks. Forsooth, my Lord, this doth get you a foul name all abroad the Countrey, and yet all will not help your Lordships pestilent purpose, but every way hinder the same. For *Zorobabel* will be found no Lyar, which said, The Truth shall have victory. You do but strive against the stream, and kick against the prick; the Lord doth laugh your doings to scorn, and will bring all your counsels and devices to nought (as knoweth the Lord God) who of his great mercy shortly convert your Lordship, or utterly confound you, and get his Name a glory over you, Amen.

Your Lordships Orator, who prayeth daily to God that he may reward you according to your deeds, Anno 1556.

The Story of seven Martyrs suffering together at London, for the testimony of Christs Gospel.

THE Catholic Prelates of the Popes band being as yet not satisfied with this their one years bloody murdering of the Reverend, Learned, and principal Members of Christs Church (whereof there were now very few, which either were not consumed by most cruel fire, or else, for the avoiding of their Popish rage, compelled to flee their natural Country) continued still this next year also, which was Anno 1556. in no less cruelty towards the poor, simple and inferior sort of People (I mean in degree, though God be praised, not in steadfastness) having yet sometimes amongst them such as were both learned and of good estimation, as in continuance of this story shall appear.

Wherefore (as the first Fruits thereof) to begin this year withal, about the 27 day of January were burned in Smithfield at London these seven persons hereafter following, to wit:

Thomas Whittle, Priest.
Bartlet Green, Gentleman.
John Tudson, Artificer.
John Went, Artificer.
Thomas Browne.
Isabel Foster, Wife.
Joan Worne, alias Lashford, Maid.

Seven godly
Martyrs
suffering to-
gether in
Smithfield,
Anno 1556:
January 27.

All which Seven, as they were burned together in one fire, so were they likewise all upon one sort and form of Articles condemned in one day. Howbeit, forasmuch as the gifts of God in them were diverse (some more abounding in knowledge than others) their dealings withal were also diverse, as shall be more plainly perceived in the discoursing of their several processes hereafter following. And therefore for the better understanding hereof, I will first (by the leave of the Lord) passing over their private Articles and Examinations had at sundry times in the Bishops house, set forth their general Examinations in the publick Consistory, upon the Bishops Articles there ministred unto them, with their Answers also unto the same, according as they all agreed after one manner and sort together, as here by the words both of the Articles, and their Answers under-written, may appear.

The form and words of Boners Articles ministred to the seven Persons above-mentioned in his Consistory.

And first to behold the manner of speech in these Bishops, sitting in their Majesty to terrifie the ears of the simple withal, let us hear the Pontifical phrase of this Bishop, beginning in this sort.

The within written Articles, and every of them, and every part and parcel of them, we Edmund, by the permission of God, Bishop of London, do object and minister to thee Thomas Whittle, &c. of our meere Office, for thy Soules health, and for the reformation of thine offences and misdemeanours, monishing thee in the vertue of obedience, and under the pains of both censures of the Church, and also of other pains of the Law, to answer fully, plainly, and truly to all the same.

First, that thou N. hast firmly, stedfastly, and constantly believed in times past, and so dost now believe at this present, that there is here in Earth a Catholick Church, in the which Catholick Church the Faith and Religion of Christ is truly professed, allowed, received, kept and retained of all faithful and true Christian People.

Seven Sacraments.

2. Item, That thou the said N. in times past hast also believed, and so dost believe at this present, that there are in the Catholick Church seven Sacraments, instituted and ordained by God, and by the consent of the holy Church allowed, approved, received, kept, and retained.

The God-fathers Faith.

3. Item. That thou the said N. wast in times past baptized in the Faith of the said Catholick Church, professing by thy Godfathers and Godmother, the Faith and Religion of Christ and the observation thereof, renouncing there the Devil and all his pomps and works, and was by the said Sacrament of Baptism incorporate to the Catholick Church, and made a faithful Member thereof.

4. Item, That thou the said N. coming to the age of fourteen years, and so to the age of discretion, didst not depart from the said Profession and Faith, nor didst mislike any part of the same Faith or doings, but didst like a faithful Christian person abide and continue in all the same by the space of certain years, ratifying and confirming all the same.

Sacrifice of the Mass.

5. Item, That then the said N. notwithstanding the premises, hast of late, that is to say, within these two years last past, within the City and Diocess of London, swerved at the least way from some part of the said Catholick Faith and Religion: and amongst other things thou hast misliked and earnestly spoken against the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Unity of the Church, railing and maligning the Authority of the See of Rome, and the Faith observed in the same.

See of Rome.

6. Item, That thou the said N. hast heretofore refused, and dost refuse at this present to be reconciled again to the unity of the Church, not acknowledging and confessing the Authority of the said See of Rome to be lawfull.

7. Item, That thou the said N. misliking the Sacri-

fice of the Mass, and the Sacrament of the Altar, hast refused to come to thy Parish Church to hear Mass, and to receive the said Sacrament, and hast also expressly said, that in the said Sacrament of the Altar, there is not the very Body and Blood of our saviour Christ, really, substantially, and truly, but hast affirmed expressly, that the Mass is Idolatry and abomination, and that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is none other substance, but only material Bread, and material Wine, which are tokens of Christs Body and Blood only, and that the substance of Christs Body and Blood is in no wise in the said Sacrament of the Altar.

Anno 1556.
Sec of Rome

The Sacrament of the Altar.

8. Item, That thou the said N. being convented before certain Judges or Commissioners, for thy disorder herein, and being found obstinate, wilful and heady, wast by their commandment sent unto me and my Prison, to be examined by me, and process to be made against thee for thy offence herein.

9. Item. That all and singular the premises have been, and be true and manifest, and thy self not only inflamed and suspected thereof, but also culpable therein; and by reason of the same, thou wast and art of the Jurisdiction of me Edmund, Bishop of London, and before me, according to the order of the Ecclesiastical Laws, are to be convented, and also by me to be punished and reformed.

Here follow likewise their Answers, in general, made to the Articles above rehearsed.

And first concerning the first Article, in believing there is a Catholick Church.

TO the first Article they altogether agreeing, affirmed the same to be true: *John Tudsom*, and *Thomas Broun*, further adding, that the Church of England, as it was at that present used, was no part of the true Catholick Church.

Answer to the 1. Article.

Concerning the second Article, that there be in the Church seven Sacraments.

To the second Article they answered, that they acknowledged but only two Sacraments in Christs Catholick Church, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord: *John Went* and *Tudsom* affirming, that the Sacrament of the Altar, as it is used, is an Idol, and no Sacrament at all.

To the 2. Article.

Concerning the third Article, that they were first baptized in the Faith of the Catholick Church, professing by their Godfathers the profession of the same, &c.

To the third Article they all agreed, and confessed it to be true, that they were baptized in the Faith of Christ, and of the Church then taught; and afterward during the time of King Edward the sixth, they hearing the Gospel preached, and the Truth opened, followed the order of the Religion and Doctrine then used and set forth in the reign of the said King Edward.

To the 3. Article.

Concerning the fourth Article, that they for the space of certain years did ratifie or allow, and not depart from any part of the profession of the same Church.

To this fourth Article they granted also and agreed; *John Went* adding moreover, that about seven years past, he then being about twenty years of age, began to mislike certain things used in the Church of England, as the ministrations of the Sacrament of the Altar; likewise all the Ceremonies of the said Church, and did likewise at that present time mislike the same as they were used, although his Godfathers and Godmother promised for him the contrary.

To the 4. Article.

John Tudsom added also in much like sort, and said, that when he came to the years of discretion, that is about nine years past, being about eighteen years of age, he did mislike the Doctrine and Religion then taught and set forth in the Church of England, saving in King Edwards time, in whose time the Gospel was truly set forth: and further said, that the Doctrine set forth in the

Queens

Anno 1556. Queens reign was not agreeable to Gods Word, nor yet to the true Catholick Church that Christ speaketh of, &c.

The Faith which they were baptised in, was in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, believing the Articles of the Creed, with promise made to abrenounce the Devil, the Flesh, and the World, of the which Faith their Godfathers and Godmothers were Sureties for them, and in this Faith they continue still. As for other Ceremonies and abuses of the Church, they never made any promise in their Baptism. To weare from the corruptions of the See of Rome, and heretics of the Mass, is not to go from the Catholick Church or Christi.

Isabel Foster with other granted, adding likewise, and saying to the said four Articles, that she continued in the same Faith and Religion which she was baptized in, after she came to the years of discretion as other Common People did; howbeit, blindly and without knowledge, till the reign of King Edward the sixth: at which time she hearing the Gospel truly preached and opened to the People, received thereupon the Faith and Religion then taught and set forth, &c.

Concerning the fifth Article, that they of late years have swerved and gone away, misliked, and spoken against the profession of the same Church, at least some part thereof, especially the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Authority of the Church of Rome.

To the fifth Article, they answered the same to be true, according to the contents thereof: *Thomas Whittle* adding moreover, that he had swerved and gone away, and not in whole but in part, not from the whole Catholick Church, but from the Church of Rome, in speaking against the Mass, the Sacrifice thereof, and the See of Rome.

Joan Lashford (alias Joan Warr) granting with the other the said Articles, addeth moreover, that she never hitherto swerved or went away, nor yet doth, from any part of Christs Catholick Faith and Religion: but faith, that from the time she was Eleven years of age, she hath misliked the sacrifice of the Mass, the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Authority of the See of Rome, with the Doctrine thereof, because they were against Christs Catholick Church, and the right Faith of the same.

Barlet Green answering with the other to this Article, addeth and faith, that he swerved not from the Catholick Faith, but only from the Church of Rome, &c.

Concerning the sixth Article, that they refuse to be reconciled to the unity of the said Church of Rome.

To the sixth Article they answer and confesse the same to be true, rendering the cause thereof, because (say they) the same Church and Doctrine therein set forth and taught, disagree with the unity of Christs Word, and the true Catholick Faith, &c.

Whereunto *Barlet Green* answered that he is contented to be reconciled to the unity of Christs Catholick Church, but not of the Church of Rome. In like manner added also *Joan Went*.

Concerning the seventh Article, that they refuse to come to bear Mass, and to receive the said Sacrament, calling it an Idol, &c.

To the seventh Article they answer, and confesse the contents thereof to be true, giving withal the reason and cause of this their so doing, for that the Mass with the Sacrament thereof, as it was then used and set forth in the Church of England, is dissonant to the word and teaching of the People, &c.

Joan Went furthermore said, as concerning the Mass, that he believeth no less, but the Mass which he calleth the Supper of the Lord, as it is now used in the Realm of England, is naught, full of Idolatry, and against Gods Word so far as he seeth it; howbeit, he faith that since the Queens Coronation by chance he hath been present where the Mass hath been said, whereof he is sorry.

Isabel Foster also answering to the said Articles, with the other before, confessed moreover, that since Queen *Maries* reign she hath not heard Mass, nor received the Sacrament, but hath refused to come in place where it was ministered: for the knoweth no such Sacrament to be. And being demanded of her Belief in the same, she faith, that there is but only material Bread, and material Wine, and not the real substance of the Body of Christ in the same Sacrament: for so she hath been taught to believe by the Preachers in the time of King *Edward*, whom she believeth to have preached the Truth in that behalf.

Concerning the eighth Article, that they were sent by the Commissioners to the Bishop to be examined and imprisoned.

To the eighth Article they grant the same and the contents thereof to be so.

Thomas Whittle adding and affirming that the Lord Chancellor that then was, sent him up to the Bishop there present.

Barlet Green added, that he was sent up to the said Bishop, but for no offence herein Articulate.

Joan Went said, that Dr *Story*, Queen *Maries* Commissioner, examined him upon the Sacrament and because he denied the Real presence, he presented this Examine to the Bishop.

Joan Tudson likewise examined by Mr. *Cholmley* and Doctor *Story*, upon the same matters, and for not coming to the Church, and accused by the same, because he would not agree to them, was sent to the Bishop.

Thomas Brown also said, that he for not coming to the Church of St. *Bridet*, was brought by the Constable to the Bishop, &c.

Joan Warr confessed that she was sent by Doctor *Story* to the Bishop of *London*, about twelve weeks ago, since which time she hath continued with the said Bishop.

Concerning the ninth Article.

To the ninth Article they confesse and say; that as they believe the premises before by them confessed to be true, so they deny not the same to be manifest, and that they be of the jurisdiction of *London*.

And thus having exprest their Articles, with their answers jointly made unto the same, it remaineth further more fully to discourse the stories, and handling of all the seven aforesaid Martyrs severally and particularly by themselves, first beginning with *Thomas Whittle*.

The Story of all these seven Martyrs, particularly described, in order here followeth, and first of *Thomas Whittle*, who first recanting, then returning again, with great constancy and fortitude stood to the defence of Christs Doctrine against the Popes, to the first.

The story of Mr. *Philpot*, mention was made before, of a married Priest, whom he found in the Colchouse at his first coming thither, in heaviness of mind and great sorrow, for recanting the Doctrine which he had taught in King *Edwards* days, whose name was *Thomas Whittle* of *Essex*; and thus lieth his story. This *Thomas Whittle*, after he had been expelled from the place in *Essex* where he served, went abroad where he might, now here and there, as occasion was minifred, preaching and sowing the Gospel of Christ. At length being apprehended by one *Edmond Alabaster*, in hope of reward and promotion, which he miserably gaped after, he was brought first as prisoner before the Bishop of *Winchester*, who then was fallen lately sick of his disease, whereof not long after he died most strangely. But the apprehender for his profered service was highly checked and rated of the Bishop, asking if there were no man unto whom he might bring such Rascals, but to him. Hence (quoth he) out of my sight thou Varlet, what dost thou trouble me with such matters? The greedy Cormorant being thus defeated of his desired prey, yet thinking to seek and to hunt further, carried his Prisoner to the Bishop of *London*, with whom what an evil mess of handling this *Whittle* had, and how he was by the Bishop all to beaten and buffeted about the face, by this his own narration in a Letter sent unto his Friend, manifestly may appear.

Upon Thursday which was the tenth of January, the Bishop of *London* sent for me *Thomas Whittle* Minister, reporter out of the Porters-lodge, where I had been all night, lying upon the earth upon a Paller where I had as painful handling a night of sickness as ever I had, God be thanked. And when I came before him, he talked with me many things of the Sacrament so grossly, as is not worthy to be rehearsed. And amongst other things he asked me if I would have come to Mass that morning if he had sent for me. Where-

To the 8. Article.

To the 9. Article.

The Whittle, Martyr.

Edmond Alabaster, after a promoter and persecutor.

The Whittle, reporter of the manner of his handling with Bishop *Bauer*.

To the 8th Article.

The Catholick Church, and the Church of Rome, are two things.

To the seventh Article. The Mass dissonant from the Word of the Gospel. The Mass full of Idolatry. Joan Went repenteth her going to Mass.

The Whittle
present on
the face of
2 year.

T. Whittle
non perfero
form esse
oportet.
Tit. 1.

T. Whittle
convent
house Dr.
Harpfield.

T. Whittle
of the bill
of the
p. to the
W. out to
f. since
into.

T. Whittle
through
him by sub-
scribing to
the Bill.

T. Whittle
conspired
in consi-
deration
of the Gods
of Ca. d. A
good work-
ing of all
faith of
Carthians
not to all
but the cen-
try hands of
the Papists.

Comfort a-
gainst de-
pair.

When I answered, that I would have come to him at his commandment, but to your Mass (said I) I have small affection. At which answer he was displeased fore, and said, I thought I had with Bread and Water. And as I followed him through the great Hall, he turned back and beat me with his Fist, first on the one Cheek, and then on the other, as the sign of my beating did many days appear. And then he led me into a little Salt-house, where I had no Straw nor Bed, but lay two nights on a Table, and slept soundly, I thank God.

Then, upon the Friday next after, I was brought to my Lord, and he then gave me many fair words, and said he would be good to me. And so he going to Fulham, committed me to Dr. Harpsfield, that he and I in that Afternoon should commune together, and draw out certain Articles, whereunto if I would subscribe, I should be dismissed. But Dr. Harpsfield sent not for me till night, and then perwaded me very sore to forsake my Opinions. I answered, I held nothing but the Truth, and therefore I could not so lightly turn therefrom. So I thought I should at that time have had no more ado: but he had made a certain Bill, which the Register pulled out of his bosom, and read it. The Bill indeed was very easily made, and therefore more dangerous: for the effect thereof was, to detect all Errors and Heresies against the Sacrament of the Altar, and other Sacraments, and to believe the Faith of the Catholic Church, and live accordingly.

The Copy of this Bill here mentioned, if it please the gentle Reader to peruse, so as it came to our hands we have hereunto adjoined, written, and contained in their own words, as followeth to be seen.

The Bill of Submission, offered to Thomas Whittle to subscribe.

I Thomas Whittle Priest, of the Diocese of London, knowledge and confess with my mouth, agreeing with my heart before you Reverend Father in God, Edmund Bishop of London, my Ordinary, that I do detest and abhor all manner of Heresies and Errors against the Sacrament of the Altar, or any of the Sacraments of the Church, which Heresies and Errors have heretofore been committed in any wise by the Catholic Church: and I do protest and declare by these presents, that I do both now hold, and also intend by Gods grace always hereafter to hold, observe and keep, in all points the Catholic Faith and Belief of Christs Church, according as this Church of England, being a member of the said Catholic Church, doth now profess and keep, and in no wise to swerve, decline, or go from the said Faith, during my natural life, submitting my self fully and wholly to you, Reverend Father, my said Ordinary, in all things concerning my reformation and amendment at all times. In witness whereof I the said Thomas Whittle Priest, have herewith subscribed my name, written, &c.

To this Bill I did indeed set my hand, being much desired and counselled so to do; and the flesh being always desirous to have liberty, I considered not thoroughly the inconvenience that might come thereupon; and respect I desired to have had, but earnestly they desired me to subscribe. Now when I had so done, I had little joy thereof. For by and by my Mind and Conscience told me by Gods Word that I had done evil, by such a sleight means to shake off the sweet Cross of Christ: and yet it was not my seeking, as God he knoweth, but altogether came of them. Oh the crafty subtilty of Satan in his Members! Let every man that God shall deliver into their hands, take good heed, and cleave fast to Christ: for they will leave no corner of his Conscience unsought, but will attempt all guileful and subtle means to corrupt him, to fall both from God and his Truth. But yet let no man despair of Gods help, for Peter did fall and rise again. And David faith, *A righteous man though he fall, he shall not be cast away: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand.* For I for my part have in my infirmities, and yet have I found Gods present help and comfort in time of need, I thank him therefore.

The night after I had subscribed, I was sore grieved, and for sorrow of Conscience could not sleep. For in the deliverance of my Body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but still was in my Conscience tormented more and more, being assured by Gods Spirit and his Word, that I through evil counsel and aduilement had done amiss. And both with disquietness of mind, and with my other cruel handling, I was sickly, lying upon the ground when the Keeper came and so I desired him to pray Dr. Harpsfield to come to me, and so he did.

And when he came, and the Register with him, I told him that I was not well at ease, but especially I told him I was grieved very much in my Conscience and mind, because I had subscribed. And I said, that my Conscience had so accused me, through the just judgment of God and his Word, that I had felt Hell in my Conscience, and Satan ready to devour me: and therefore I pray you Mr. Harpsfield (said I) let me have the Bill again, for I will not stand to it. So he gently commanded it to be fetched, and gave it me, and suffered me to put out my name, whereof I was right glad when I had so done, although death should follow. And hereby I had experience of Gods providence and mercy towards me, who trieth his people, and suffereth them to fall, but not to be left: for in the midst of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and also delivered me, his name be praised for evermore, Amen.

Neither Devil nor cruel Tyrant can pluck any of Christs Sheep out of his hand. Of the which flock of Christs Sheep I trust undoubtedly I am one by means of his death and blood-shedding, which shall at the last day stand at his right hand, and receive with other his blessed Benediction. And now being condemned to dye, my Conscience and Mind, I praise God is quiet in Christ, and I by his grace am very well willing and content to give over this Body to the death, for the testimony of his Truth and pure Religion, against Antichrist and all his false Religion and Doctrine. They that report otherwise of me, speak not truly. And as for Fountain, I saw him not all this while.

By me Thomas Whittle, Minister.

Concerning the troubled mind of this godly man, and tearing his name out of the Bill, here followeth the report of the same, written in the Letters both of the said Harpsfield, and also of Johnson the Register, being then present thereat, and reporters of the same unto the Bishop, as in their Letters hereto annexed it to be seen.

The Copy of Nicholas Harpsfields Letter, touching Mr. Whittle, written to Boner Bishop of London.

Please your good Lordship to understand, that yesterday I dined with my Lord of Exeter, who after my first coming to him, asked me what news? I answered, none but good that I had heard. No, faith he. Why, it is a rumor in the City, that to morrow the Queens Grace will take her journey towards the King. I answered, that I thought it not to be any whit true, but an invention of Hereticks: yea, and further, faith he, there is a report made abroad of my Lord your Master, that he is in discomfort, and therefore will suffer no man to come unto him. When I heard thus much, I began to laugh, and to declare how untrue this report was: so that my Lord (who before was very sad) afterward knowing the Truth, rejoiced much to hear that all was well with your Lordship, and desired me to have his hearty Commendations to your Lordship.

One of my Lord of Pembroke's Retinue, a very handsome Man, and as far as I can yet learn, a Catholic, is a suter to your Lordship to have licence to erect a School: and the order which he intendeth to use, is contained in this printed Paper, which I send here inclosed to your Lordship. I would be glad for my Lord of Pembroke's sake, that he understood, that upon my motion your Lordship were content he should teach as he intendeth. Mr. Johnson and I have travelled with the Priest, and he hath subscribed his name to this draught which is herein inclosed, and hath promised he will stand to the same before your Lordship.

When

Anno
1566

T. Whittle
repenteth
his recan-
tation.

Experience
of Gods pro-
vidence,
suffering his
People to
fall, but not
to be left.

Peace of
Conscience
a great
Treasure;

A Letter of
M. Harps-
field declar-
ing how
T. Whittle
sent his sub-
scription
out of the
Bishops Re-
gister.

Anno
1556.The return
of the
T. Whittle.This young
Woman was
Joan Warr, otherwise
named Joan
Lassford, who was
buried alive
with the
same Whittle.Another
Letter of
John
touching
the said
T. Whittle.Touching
Joan Lass-
ford.The last
Examination
of
T. Whittle.

When I had written thus much, suddenly came tidings to me, that *Jordanis conversus est retrosum*. *Cluney* coming to the Priett, found him lying prostrate, and groaning as though he should have died forthwith. Then *Cluney* took him up, and set him upon a Stool, and came to me, and told me of this Revel. It chanced that Mr. *Johnson* was with me, and we went to this fond Hertick, and found him lying all along, holding his hands up, and looking hypocritically towards Heaven. I caused *Thomas More* and *Cluney* to set him on the Stool, and with much ado at length he told me, that Satan had been with him in the night, and told him that he was damned, and weeping he prayed Mr. *Johnson* and me to see the Bill, whereunto he subscribed, and when he saw it, he tore out his name, *et libro scilicet riventum*. Me thinketh by him he will needs burn a Fagot, neither is there any other likelyhood of the young Woman. I have enquired of the two persons which sue to have a Licence to eat flesh. And the Woman of *Christ's Church* is indeed very much diseased, and hath been long diseased, and she and her Husband both Catholic of the other yet I can learn nothing. Thus Jesus evermore preserve your good Lordship, and my Mistress your Lordships Sister, with all yours. This present Saturday.

Your Lordships most bounden Servant,
Nicholas Harpsfield.

Here followeth another Letter of Robert Johnson Register, touching Thomas Whittle, written to Boner Bishop of London.

My bounden duty premised, pleaseth your Lordship to understand, that this last Friday in the Afternoon, Mr. Archdeacon of London did diligently travel with Sir *Thomas Whittle*. I being present, and perceiving his conformity, as outwardly appeared, devised this Submission, and he being content therewith did subscribe the same. But now this Saturday morning Mr. Archdeacon and I, upon *Cluney's* report, declaring that he feigned himself to be distracted of his senses, went unto him, to whom he declared, that Satan in the night time appeared unto him, and said that he was damned, for that he had done against his Conscience in subscribing to the said Submission, with other like words, &c. And then Mr. Archdeacon, at his earnest request, delivered unto him the Submission. And thereupon the said *Whittle* did tear out his subscription, made in the foot of the same, as your Lordship shall perceive by the Submission first now unto your Lordship by Mr. Archdeacon; wherewith the said *Whittle* was somewhat quieted.

And as touching *Joan Lassford*, Mr. Archdeacon did likewise travel with her, and shewing her Sir *Thomas* Submission, which I read unto her two times, demanded if she could be content to make the like Submission, and she desired respite until this morning. And being now effoons demanded, in like wise faith, that she will not make any thing in writing, nor put any sign thereunto. Mr. Archdeacon and I intend this Afternoon to examine the said Sir *Thomas* upon Articles: for as yet there doth appear nothing in writing against him, as knoweth Almighty God, who preserve your good Lordship in prosperity long with honour to endure.

From London this Saturday.

By your Lordships daily Beads-man, and
bounden Servant,
Robert Johnson.

The Condemnation, Death, and Martyrdom of Thomas Whittle.

Concerning the words and answers of the said *Thomas Whittle* at his last Examination before the Bishop, upon the 14. day of January, the year aboveexpressed, *Boner* with other his fellow *Bonerings* sitting in his Confraternity at Afternoon, first called forth *Thomas Whittle*, with whom he began in effect as followeth. Because ye be a Priest (saith he) as I and other Bishops here be, and did receive the order of Priesthood, after the right and form of the Catholic Church, ye shall not

think but I will minister justice as well unto you as unto other. And then the said *Boner* in further communication did charge him, that where in times past he had said *Mais* according to the Order then used, the same *Whittle* now of late had spoken and railed against the same, saying that it was Idolatry and Abomination. Whereunto *Thomas Whittle* answering again said, that at such time as he so said *Mais*, he was then ignorant, &c. adding moreover, that the elevation of the Sacrament at the *Mais*, giveth occasion of Idolatry to them that be ignorant and unlearned.

After this the Bishop making hast to the Articles (which in all his Examinations ever he harped upon) came to this Article, That thou wast in times past baptized in the Faith of the Catholic Church.

To this the said *Whittle* inferred again, I was baptized in the Faith of the Catholic Church, although I did forsake the Church of *Rome*. And yeamy Lord, do call these Heresies, that be no Heresies, and do charge me therewith as Heresies, and ye ground your self upon that Religion, which is not agreeable to Gods Word, &c.

Then the said victorious Souldier and Servant of our Saviour, constant in the Verity received and professed, was again admonished, and with perswasions intreated by the Bishop; who because he would not agree unto the same, the Bishop forthwith proceeded, first to his actual degradation, that is, to unprist him of all his Priestly trinkets and Clerical habit. The order and manner of which their Popish and most vain degradation, before in the story of Bishop *Hooper* is to be seen. Then *Whittle* in the midst of the Ceremonies, when he saw them so busie in degrading him, after their Father the Popes Pontifical fashion, said unto them, *Paul* and *Titus* had not so much to do with their Priests and Bishops. And farther, speaking to the Bishop, he said unto him, My Lord, your Religion standeth most with the Church of *Rome*, and not with the Catholic Church of Christ.

The Bishop after this, according to his accustomed formal proceedings, assayed him yet again with words rather than with substantial Arguments, to conform him to his Religion. Who then denying so to do, said, As for your Religion, I cannot be persuaded that it is according to Gods Word.

The Bishop then asked what fault he found in the administration of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Whittle answered and said, it is not used according to Christs Institution, in that it is privately and not openly done. And also for that it is ministered but in one kind to the Lay People, which is against Christs Ordinance. Farther, Christ commanded it not to be elevated nor adored: For the adoration and elevation cannot be approved by Scripture.

Well, quoth *Boner*, my Lords here and other Learned men have shewed great Learning for thy conversion, wherefore if thou wilt yet return to the Faith and Religion of the Catholic Church, I will receive thee thereunto, and not commit thee to the Secular Power, &c. To make short, *Whittle*, strengthened with the grace of the Lord, stood strong and unmovable in that he had affirmed. Wherefore the Sentence being read, the next day following he was committed to the Secular Power, and so in few days after brought to the fire with the other six aforementioned, sealing up the testimony of his Doctrine with his Blood, which he willingly and cheerfully gave for witness of the Truth.

Letters of Thomas Whittle.

A Letter of Thomas Whittle to John Careless, Prisoner in the Kings-Bench.

The Peace of God in Christ be with you continually, dearly beloved Brother in Christ, with the assistance of Gods grace and Holy Spirit, to the working and performing of those things which may comfort and edifie his Church (as ye daily do) to the glory of his Name, and the increase of your joy and solace of Soul in this life, and also your reward in Heaven with Christ our Captain, whose faithful Souldier ye are, in the life to come, Amen.

X x

Elevation
of the Sac-
rament
cause of
Idolatry.
B. Boner
Argument.
He was
unpristed in
the Faith
of the Ca-
tholick
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Espe, he was
baptized in
the Faith
of Rome.

T. Whittle
degraded.

Whittle
words to
B. Boner.

Causes why
the admin-
istration
of the Po-
pish Sacra-
ment is to
be reprov-
ed.

A Letter of
T. Whittle
written to
John Careless.

I have greatly rejoyced (my dear Heart) with thanks to God for you, since I have heard of your Faith and love which you bear towards God and his Saints, with a most godly ardent zeal to the vertue of Christs Doctrine and Religion, which I have heard by the report of many, but specially by the declaring of that valiant Captain in Christs Church, that stout Champion in Gods cause, that spectacle to the world, I mean our good Brother *Philpot*, who now lieth under the Altar, and sweetly enjoyeth the promised reward. And specially I and my condemned Fellows give thanks to God for your loving and comfortable Letter in the deepness of our trouble (after the flesh) sent unto us to the consolation of us all, but must specially to me most sinful miser on mine own behalf, but happy, I hope, through Gods loving kindness in Christ shewed unto me; who suffered me to faint and fall through humane infirmity, by the working of the Arch-enemy in his sworn Souldiers the Bishops and Priests. In whom so lively appeareth the very visage and shape of Satan, that a man (if it were not prejudice to Gods Word) might well affirm them to be Devils incarnate, as I by experience do speak. Wherefore, who so shall for Conscience matters come in their hands, had need of the wiliness of the Serpent to save his head, though it be with the wounding of his Body, and to take diligent heed how he consenteth to their wicked writings, or fetcheth his hand to their conveyances.

his judgement
and experience
of Popish
Frelates.

So did they assault me and craftily tempt me to their wicked ways, or at least to a denegation of my Faith and true Opinions, though it were but by colour and dissimulation. And (alas) something they did prevail. Not that I did any thing at all like their Opinions and false Papistical Religion, or else doubted of the Truth wherein I stand, but only the infirmity of the flesh beguiled me, desiring liberty by an unlawful means; God lay it not to my charge at that day, and so I heartily desire you to pray. Howbeit, uncertain I am whether more profit came thereby: profit to me, in that God suffered Satan to buffet me by his foresaid minister of mischief, shewing me mine infirmity, that I should not boast nor rejoyce in my self, but only in the Lord? who when he had led me to hell in my Conscience through the respect of his fearful judgments against me for my fearfulness, mistrust, and crasty cloaking in such spiritual and weighty matters (in the which agony and distress I found this old verities true, *Non patitur ludam fama, fides, oculus*) yet he brought me from thence again to the magnifying of his Name, suspecting of flesh and Blood, and consolation of mine own Soul, or else that I might feel disprofit in offending the Congregation of God, which peradventure will rather adjudge my fall to come of doubtfulness in my Doctrine and Religion, then of humane imbecillity.

The burden
of a trou-
bled Con-
science.

Well, of this importune burthen of a troubled Conscience for denying or dissembling the known verity, I by experience could say very much more, which perhaps I will declare by writing, to the warning of others, if God grant time: For now am I and my Fellows ready to go hence even for Christs cause; Gods name be praised, who hath hereto called us. Pray, I pray you, that we may end our course with joy, and at your appointed time you shall come after. But as the Lord hath kept you, so will he preserve your life still, to the intent you should labour (as you do) to appease and convince these ungodly contentions and controversies, which now do too much reign, brawling about terms to no edification. God is dishonoured, the Church disquieted, and occasion to speak evil of the Gospel ministered to our Adversaries. But such is the subtilty of Satan, that whom he cannot win with gross Idolatry in open Religion, them he seeketh to corrupt and deceive in Opinions, in a private profession. But here I will abruptly leave, left with my rude and simple vein I should be tedious unto you, desiring you (my loving Brother) if it shall not seem grievous unto you, to write unto me and my Fellows, yet once again, if you have leisure, and we time to the same.

How wretched
for the Ex-
aminations of
M. Philpot.

Provide me Mr. *Philpots* nine Examinations for a Friend of mine, and I shall pay you therefore, by the leave of Almighty God our heavenly Father, who correcteth all his dear Children in this world, that they should not be damned with the world, and trieth the Faith of his Saints through many tribulations, that being found constant to

the end, he may crown his own gifts in them, and in Heaven highly reward them; whither I trust to go before, looking for you to follow (my faithful Friend) that we may sing perpetual praise to our loving Lord God for victory over Satan and sin, won for us by Jesus Christ God and Man, our only and sufficient Saviour and Advocate, Amen. Farewel, and pray in Faith.

Yours Thomas Whittle Minister, and
now condemned to die for the Gos-
pels sake. 1556. Jan. 21.

All my Fellows salute you. Salute all our
faithful Brethren with you.

To my dear Friend and Brother John Went and other
his Prison-fellows in Lollards Tower.

HE that preserved *Joseph* Prisoner in Egypt, fed *Daniel* in the Lions Den, and delivered *Paul*, *Peter*, and the Apostles out of Prison, vouchsafe of his goodness to keep, feed, and deliver you my good Brother *Went*, with the other our fellow Souldiers your Prison-fellows, as may be most to his glory, to your consolation, and the edification of his Church.

I cannot but praise God most earnestly, when I hear of your constancy in the Faith, and joy in the Cross of Christ, which you now bear and suffer together, with many other good members of Christ, which is taken that by Christ you are counted worthy the Kingdom of God, as *Paul* saith. And though the world counteth the yoke and Cross of Christ as a most pernicious and hurtful thing, yet we which have tasted how friendly the Lord is, cannot but rejoyce in this persecution as touching our selves; inasmuch as the cause for the which we suffer is the Lords cause and not ours, at whose hand if we endure to the end, we shall receive, through his liberal promise in Christ, not only a great reward in Heaven, but also the Kingdom of Heaven itself, and also in the mean season be sure to be defended and cared for, so that we shall lack no necessary things, neither a hair of our heads shall perish without his knowledge. Oh what is he that would mistrust, or not gladly receive loving a Father? O how unhappy are they that forsake him and put their trust in man; But how blessed are they that for his love and for his holy words sake, in these troublesome days do commit their Souls and Bodies into his hands with well doing, counting it greater happiness and riches to suffer rebuke with Christ and his Church, then to enjoy the pleasures of this life for a little short season?

1 Thes. 1.

1 Pet. 2.

Math. 10.

1 Pet. 4.

1 Thes. 11.

Apoc. 12.

Satan can-
not abide
Christ to
be received
for our only
Saviour, and
thereof a-
rrest all
this perfec-
tion.

Apoc. 21.

1 Thes. 11.

1 Thes. 11.

This Cross that we now bear hath been common to all the faithful from *Abel* hitherto, and shall be to the end, because the Devil, having great wrath against God and his Christ, cannot abide that he should for his manifold mercies be lauded and magnified, and Christ to be taken and believed upon for our only sufficient Redeemer, Saviour and Advocate: and therefore because we will not deny Christ, nor dissemble with our Faith, but openly protest and profess the same before the world, he seeketh by all means to stir up his wicked members, to persecute and kill the bodies of the true Christians; as *St. John* saith, *The Devil shall cast some of you into Prison. And David* saith, *I believed, and therefore have I spoken, but I was sore troubled.* This notwithstanding, go forward dear Brethren, as ye have begun, to fight the Lords battle, considering Christ the Captain of your war, who will both fight for you, give you victory, and also highly reward your pains. Consider to your comfort the notable and chief Shepherds and Souldiers of Christ, which are gone before us in these days, I mean those learned and holy Bishops, Doctors and other Ministers of Gods Word; whose Faith and examples we that be inferiors ought to follow, as *St. Paul* saith; Remember them that have declared unto you the Word of God, the end of whose conversation see that ye look upon, and follow their Faith. The grace and blessing of God, with the ministry of his holy Angels, be with you for ever, Amen. All my Prison-fellows greet you.

From the Cole-house this 4. of December;
By your poor Brother Thomas Whittle,
an unworthy Minister of Christ, now his
Prisoner for the Gospels sake, Amen.

To

Anno
1556.

Anno 1555.
To all the true professors and lovers of Gods Holy Gospel within the City of London.

A Letter of
The Writte
to the true
professors
in the City
of London.
Rom. 4.
Luke 1.

The same faith for the which *Abraham* was counted righteous, and *Mary* blessed, the Lord God increase and make stable in your hearts, my dear and faithful Brethren and Sisters of London, for ever and ever, Amen.

Four Notes.
Dearly beloved, be not troubled in this heat which is now come amongst you to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you, but rejoyce in as much as ye are partakers of Christs passions, that when his glory appeareth, ye may be merry and glad, &c. Out of these words of *S. Peter*, I gather most specially these four Notes. First, that persecution happeneth to Christs Church for their trial, that is, for the probation and proof of their faith. Which faith, like as it is known with God in the depth of our hearts, so will he have it made manifest to the whole World through persecution; that so it may evidently appear that he hath such a Church and People upon earth, which so trusteth in him and feareth his holy Name, that no kind of persecution, pains, nor death shall be able to separate them from the love of him. And thus was *Abraham* tried, and *Job* tempted, that their faith, which before lay hid almost in their hearts, might be made known to the whole World to be so steadfast and strong, that neither the Devil, natural love, nor any other enemy could be able to bereave them thereof. Whereby also God was to be magnified, who hath tried his People by many tribulations, and also sanctified by them in the midst of their troubles, to deliver them by life or death as he seeth best: like as he afflicted *Laz*, and delivered him out of his enemies hands; *Joseph* out of the hands of his Brethren and out of prison: *Paul* from his enemies in *Damascus*, and the Apostles out of the stocks and prison.

Rom. 9.
1 Cor. 11.
Acts 16.
Gen. 4.
1 Macc. 6.
Acts 7.
Matth. 17.

These with many more he delivered to life; and also he delivered *Abel*, *Elexazar*, *Stephen*, and *John Baptist*, with other many by death, and hath also by the trial of their faith made them good Presidents, and examples to us; and all that come after, to suffer affliction in the like cause; as *S. James* saith, Take, my Brethren (saith he) the Prophets for an example of suffering Adversity and of long patience, which spake unto you in the Name of the Lord: behold we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of *Job*, and have known what end the Lord made him, for the Lord is very pitiful and merciful. Also the Lord trieth us, to let us see our own hearts and thoughts, that no hypocrite or ambition deceive us, and that the strong in Christ may pray that he fall not, but endure to the end; and that those that fall through fearful infirmity, might speedily repent and rise again with *Peter*, and also that the weak ones might bewail their weakness, and cry with *David*, *Psal. 6*. Have mercy upon me O Lord, for I am weak: O Lord heal me, for all my bones are vexed.

Yuk 2.
Of this opening of the heart by persecution spake Holy *Simeon* to *Mary* Christs Mother when he said, The Sword, that is, the Crois of persecution, shall pierce thy Soul, that the thoughts of many hearts may be opened. For like as a King, that should go to Battell, is compelled to look in his coffers what treasure he hath, and also what number and puissance of men and weapons he hath, so that if he himself be unready and unarmed to bicker with his enemy, he surceaseth and taketh truce for a time: even so we by persecutions have our hearts opened, that we may look therein to see what faith in Christ we have, and what strength to withstand the enemies, and to bear the Crois, that if we be rich in these Treasures, we might rejoyce, and valiantly go to Battell; or if we want these things, we might with all speed call and cry upon him which giveth all good gifts to those that ask them. Item, the Crois trieth the good People from the bad, the faithful from the worldlings and Hypocrites, and also cleanseth and foureth the faithful hearts from all corruption and filthiness both of the Flesh and the Spirit. And even as Iron, except it be often scoured, will soon wax rusty: so except our sinful hearts and Flesh be often scoured with the whetstone of the Crois, they will soon corrupt and overgrow with the rust of all filthiness and sin. And therefore it is meet and good for us (as the wise man saith, *Sy-*

rach 2.) that as gold and silver is tried in the fire, so should the hearts of acceptable men be tried in the furnace of Adversity. Abide the trial (dear friends) that ye may obtain the Crown of life. Fight manfully in this the Lords cause, that ye may obtain a glorious victory here, and receive a great reward in Heaven hereafter.

As ye are called Christians and would be angry to be called Jews or Turks, so declare your Christianity by following the steps of Christ, whose name ye bear; suffer with him and for his Gospels sake, rather than to deny him or to defile your Faith and Conscience with false worshipping of Romish Religion.

Take up your Crois (my dear hearts) now when it is offered you, and go up with Christ to *Jerusalem* amongst the Bishops, Priests, and Rulers, if God call you thereto, and they will anon send you to *Calvary*: from whence (dying in the cause of the Gospel, wherein our good Preachers and Brethren have given their lives) your Souls (I warrant you) through Christ Jesus shall ascend to God that gave them, and that body shall come after at the last day, and so shall ye dwell with the Lord for ever in unspeakable joy and bliss. Oh blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness sake, as Christs People in this Jewish *England* now do; for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. O my beloved, set your minds on this Kingdom where Christ our head and King is; considering that as the brute beast looketh down-wards with the face towards the earth: so man is made contrariwise with his face looking upwards towards the Heavens, because his Conversation should be in Heaven and Heavenly things, and not upon the earth and earthly things, as *Saint Paul* saith, *Colo. 3*. Set your minds on things which are above, where Christ is. And again he saith, *Phil. 3*. Our Conversation is in Heaven, from whence we look for our Saviour, who will change our vile Bodies, and make them like to his glorious Body. Oh the glorious estate that we be called unto! The Lord preserve us harmless to his eternal Kingdom through Christs Jesus our Lord, Amen.

The second thing that I note in the foresaid words of *Peter*, is that he calleth persecution no strange thing. And truth it is: for which of the Prophets were not persecuted with Christ and his Apostles, and some of them in the end cruelly killed for the truths sake? *Caine* killed *Abel*, *Isaac* was persecuted of *Ismael*, *Jacob* was hated of *Eseu*, *Joseph* was prisoned and set in the stocks, the Prophet *Elijah* was cut in two with a Saw, *Ieremy* was stoned, *Micheas* was buffeted and fed with Bread and Water, *Holias* was sore persecuted, *Elexazar*, and the Woman with her seven Sons were cruelly killed. What Christ and the Apostles suffered it is well known. So that by many tribulations (as *Paul* saith, *Acts 14*.) we must enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. All the Holy Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles suffered such afflictions not for evil doing, but for preaching Gods Word, for rebuking of the World of sin, and for their faith in Jesus Christ.

This is the ordinance of God (my friends) this is the high-way to Heaven, by corporal death to eternal life; as Christ saith, *Job. 5*. He that heareth my words and believeth in him that sent me, hath eternal life, and shall not come into judgment, but is escaped from death to life. Let us never fear death which is killed by Christ, but believe in him and live for ever, as *Paul* saith, *Rom. 8*. There is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, which walk not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit. And again *Paul* saith, *1 Cor. 15*. Death where is thy sting? Hell where is thy victory? Thanks be to God which hath given us victory through Jesus Christ.

Besides this, ye have seen and daily do see the Blood of your good Preachers and Brethren, which hath been shed in the Gospels cause in this sinful *Sodom*, this Bloody *Jerusalem*, this unhappy City of London. Let not their Blood be forgotten, nor the Blood of your good Bishop *Ridley*, who like a shepherd, to your comfort and example hath given his life for his sheep. Good *S. Paul* saith, *Heb. 13*. Remember them that have spoken to you the Word of God, and look upon the end of their Conversation, and follow their faith.

The Devil ever stirreth up false Teachers, as he hath done now over all *England*, as *Peter*, *Paul*, and *Jude* prophesied it should be, to poison and kill our Souls with the false doctrine. And where he faileth of his purpose

The second
Notes
Persecution
no strange
thing in the
Church.

1 Regum.
4. Regum.
2 Mac. 67.

Example of
Gods
Martyrs.
John 10.

The Crois
trieth the
good People
from the
bad.

purpose that way, then moveth he his members to persecute the silly carcases of the Saints, because they will not deny nor dissemble their pure faith in our living Christ, and confesse a dead breadie Christ, and honour the same as CHRIST God and Man, contrary to Gods Commandment, *Exod. 10.*

This is the working of Satan, who knowing his own just damnation, would all mankind to be partakers with him of the same; such a mortal hatred beareth he against God and his People. And therefore when this wicked tempter could not kill Christ, with subtil temptation to fall down and worship him, then he stirred up his Servants the Bishops, and Pharisees to kill his Body, whereby notwithstanding the Devil lost his title and interest which he had to mans Soul, and man by his precious passion and death was ransomed from the Devil, Death and hell, to immortality and life everlasting: and so when Satan thought to have wonne all in killing of Christ, he lost all: and so shall he do in us if we abide constant and strong in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ unto the end. God grant it for his mercys sake in Christ. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him, *Amen.*

Wherefore (my hearty beloved Brethren and Sisters) be of good comfort through Jesus Christ, for he that is in us is stronger then he that is in the World. Therefore draw ye near to God, and he will draw near to you. Resist the Devil, and he will (as *James* faith) flee from you. Beware of the heaven of the Pharisees. Touch not pitch left you be defiled therewith. Eat no swines flesh, for it is against the law; I mean defile not your selves either inwardly or outwardly with this false and wicked Religion of Antichrist: for it is nothing else but pitch and swines flesh. Beware of the Beasts mark, lest ye drink of the cup of Gods wrath. If God have given you knowledge and faith, dissemble not therewith. Deny not the known verity before men, lest Christ deny you before his Father. Come away from *Babylon*, as *John* biddeth you, *Apos. 18.* and touch no unclean thing, but separate your selves from the company of the ungodly, as *Paul* commandeth you. Whatsoever you have done amiss heretofore, now repent ye and amend; for with the Lord there is mercy and plentiful redemption, *Psal. 126.*

The third thing and note which I gather out of the foresaid words of *Peter*, is this, that he faith, Rejoyce because ye are partakers of Christs passion. Our sufferings, (my welbeloved) are Christs sufferings, and that injury that is done to us for his sake, he reckoneth it to be done to himself, as he said to Saint *Paul*, *Saul, Saul*, why persecutest thou me? Therefore we ought to rejoyce in our sufferings, as *Paul* writeth, which we suffer with Christ and one with another, as *Peter* faith, and so to fulfil that which is behind of the passions of Christ in our flesh; which Christ hath, by his passion, fully redeemed and saved us in his own person: howbeit his Elect must suffer with him and for him unto the Worlds end, that he may be glorified in them, and they thereby corrected and cleansed from sin in this World, and also obtain a great reward in heaven for their suffering for righteousness sake, according to his promise. And therefore I say (my Brethren) rejoyce in the Lord always, and again I say rejoyce. Let us rejoyce in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the World is crucified to us, and we to it.

And why should we so greatly rejoyce in the Cross of Christ, which we now suffer? Because (faith *Peter*) when his glory appeareth, we may be merry and glad. And this is the fourth note that I gather out of his words above written. Wherein is set out the reward of suffering, not to be had in this World; but at his coming to judgment when we shall be raised again: and then shall they that have sown in tears, reap in joy, as Christ faith, Blessed are they that weep here: for they shall laugh. Blessed are ye when men hate you, and thrust you out of their company, railing on you, and abhorring your names as an evil thing for the Son of mans sake: rejoyce in that day and be glad, for your reward is great in Heaven.

Wherefore (my dearly beloved) through the hope of this Heavenly Joy and Reward, which he that cannot lie hath promised (which joy is so great that no car hath

heard, no eye hath seen, nor the heart can think, where we shall dwell forever in the Heavenly City, the celestial *Jerusalem*, in the presence of God the Father, and Jesus Christ our Mediator, as *Paul* faith, and in the company of innumerable Angels, and with the Spirits and Souls of all faithful and just men) rejoyce and be glad: and seeing ye be called to so great glory, see that you make your election and vocation sure by good works, and specially by suffering adversity for the Gospels sake: for it is given us of God (faith *Paul*) not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake. Continue in prayer, and pray for me that I may end my course with joy. Have Brotherly love amongst your selves, which is a token that ye be Christs Disciples. Edifie and comfort one another in the Word of the Lord, and the God of peace and love be with you always, *Amen.* For your liberality and kindness shewed upon the prisoners and afflicted People of God in this time of persecution, the Lord will reward you when he cometh to reward every man according to their deeds, and will not leave a cup of cold water bestowed upon his faithful People unrewarded. God make you rich in all grace, that ye always having sufficient, may be rich unto all manner of good works.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you always. *Amen.*

Your Brother now in bonds
for the Gospel,

Thomas Whittle.

To my loving and faithful Brother, J. Careles, prisoner in the King Bench.

The same faith, for the which *Abraham* was accounted just, and *Mary* blessed, whereby also all just men live, the Lord God our loving Father increaseth and stablish in you and me, to the obtaining of eternal life in our alone and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

I cannot worthily and sufficiently praise God (my heartily beloved Brother) for the consolation and joy that I have received by reason of your loving Letters, repenting me much that I being so long so near you, did not enterprise to stir up Familiarity and Communication between us by writings, to mutual consolation in Christ. For what is there upon earth wherein to rejoyce (where all things are transitory and vain, yea man himself, respecting this life: but (as *David* faith, *Psal. 16.*) the Saints that dwell upon the earth, and such as excel in vertue? But here now I consider, that if the fellowship, love, and joy of faithful Men and Children of God being as we now be in double Bondage, the Body within clay walls, and the Soul within these frail earthly Bodys, be so great and comfortable; how unspeakable will these joys be, when we shall be delivered from all corruption into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God? Where we shall be present together continually in our glorified Bodys, beholding the face of our Father presently (whom now we see but in the glass of Faith) with his dear Son Christ our Redeemer and Brother, and the blessed company of Angels and all faithful saved Souls.

Oh the incomparable good things and Heavenly treasures laid up for us in Heaven by Christ Jesus! For the obtaining whereof, we ought to set light by all temporal grief and transitory afflictions, so much the more, in that our good God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, and that namely in the end of our life, when the tree where it falleth lyeth still, as the Preacher faith, *Eccles. 11.* when every one, *causa sua dormit, & causa sua resurgit*: for else before the Gods Saints had he suffered his sometime to fall, but not finally to suffer perill: as *Peter* sunk upon the sea, but yet was not drowned; and sinned grievously upon the land through infirmity denying his Master, but yet found mercy: for the righteous falleth often times. And Christs Holy Apostles are taught to say, *Remitte nobis debita nostra*, yea though the righteous fall, faith *David*, he shall not be cast away: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. Oh the bottomless mercy of God towards us miserable Sinners! He vouchsafe to plant in my heart true repentance and faith,

1 John 5.
2 Cor. 10.
Merch. 4.
Whereas
could not
bring Christ
to fall down
and worship
him, he set
the Pharisees
to kill him.

James. 2.
March. 16.

Apos. 13. 14.

1 Cor. 6.

The third
note.

Acts 9.

Coloss. 1.
March 6.

Phil. 1.
Gal. 6.

The fourth

Luke 6.

Anno

1556.

Phil. 2.

1 Cor. 12.

Pet. 1.

John 14.

Math. 16.

1 Cor. 1.

Another

Letter of

T. Whittle.

The society

of Saints.

The Gods Saints

sometimes

to fall, but

not finally

to perish.

1556. Anno Faith, to the obtaining of remission of all my sins in the mercies of God, and merits of Christ his Son, and thereto I pray you say, Amen.

Oh my dearly Beloved, it grieveth me to see the spoyl and havock that *Saul* maketh with the Congregation of Christ: but what remedy? This is Gods will and ordinance, that his People shall here both be punished in the flesh and tryed in their Faith: as it is written, *Many are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all*; for by a strait path and narrow door must we enter. Whither? Into the joyfull Kingdom of Heaven: therefore blessed are you and others that suffer persecution for Christs sake, for the profession of the same. Pray for me and my Fellows (good Brother) that we may fight a good fight, that we may keep the Faith, and end our course with joyfull gladness, for now the time of our deliverance is at hand. The Lord guide, defend, and keep us and you, and all his People in our journey, that we may safely through a short death, pass to that long lasting life.

Farewel, my dear and loving Brother and fellow-souldier in Christ; farewel, I say, in him: who receive our Souls in peace when they shall depart from these Tabernacles, and he grant us a joyfull Resurrection, and a merry meeting at the last day, and continual dwelling together in his eternal heavenly Kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

*Yours with my poor Prayer, which
pleasure can I do you none,
Thomas Whittle, Minister.*

Tommy dear Brethren Mr. Filles, and Curbert.

Another
Letter of
T Whittle
to certain
of his Friends
Welshers of
Soul
Welshers of
Body.

MY dear and welbelovd Brethren in Christ, Mr. *Filles* and *Curbert*, I wish you all welfare of Soul and Body. Welfare to the Soul, is repentance of sin, faithful affiance in Christ Jesus, and a godly life. Welfare to the Body, is the health of the same, with all necessary things for this Body life. The Soul of man is immortal, and therefore ought to be well kept, left immortality to joy should turn to immortality of sorrow. As for the Body be it never so well kept and much made of, yet shortly by nature will it perish and decay: But those that are ingrafted and incorporated into Christ by true Faith, feeling the motion of Gods holy Spirit as a pledge of their election and inheritance, exciting and stirring them not only to seek heavenly things, but also to hate vice, and embrace virtue, will not only do these things, but also if need require, will gladly take up their Cross and follow their Captain, their King, and their Saviour Jesus Christ (as his poor afflicted Church of *England* now doth) against that false and Antichristian Doctrine and Religion now used, and specially that blasphemous Mass, wherein Christs Supper and holy Ordinance is altogether perverted and abused, contrary to his institution and to *Pauls* proceedings: so that that which they have in their Mass, is neither Sacrament of Christ, nor yet Sacrifice for sin, as the Priests falsely pretend. It is a Sacrament, that is, as Saint *Augustine* saith, a visible signe of invisable grace, when it is ministred to the Communicants according to Christs example, and as it was of late years in this Realm. And as for Sacrifice, there is none to be made now for sin: for Christ with one Sacrifice hath perfected for ever those that are sanctified.

Beware of false Religion, and mens vain Traditions, and serve God with reverence and godly fear according to the Doctrine of his Gospel, whereto cleave ye that ye may be blessed, though of wicked me ye be hated and accursed. Rather drink of the Cup of Christ with his Church than of the Cup of that Rose coloured whore of *Babylon*, which is full of abominations. Rather strive ye to go Heaven by the path which is strait to flesh and Blood, with the little flock, then to go in the wide way, following the innumerable of the world and the flesh, which leadeh to damnation.

Like as Christ suffered in the flesh, saith Saint *Peter*, so arm ye your selves with the same mind: for Christ suffered for us, leaving us example to follow his footsteps. Blessed are they that suffer for his sake, great is

their reward in Heaven. He that overcometh (saith *St. John*, *Apoc. 2. 3.*) shall eat of the Tree of life; he shall have a Crown of life, and not to be hurt of the second death? he shall be clothed with white array, and not be put out of the Book of life; yea, I will confesse his name, saith Christ, before my Father and before his Angels, and he shall be a pillar in the house of God, and sit with me on my seat. And thus I bid you farewell, mine own Brethren and dear Fellows in Christ. Whose grace and peace be alway with you, Amen.

*This world I do forsake,
To Christ I me sake,
And for his Gospels sake,
Patiently death I take.
My Body to the dust,
Now to return it must:
My Soul I know full well,
With my God it shall dwell.*

Thomas Whittle.

*Another Letter of Thomas Whittle written to a certain
godly Woman.*

OH my dear and loving Sister in Christ; be not dismayed in this storm of persecution: for *Paul* calleth the Gospel the word of the Cross, because it is never truly taught, but the Cross and cruel Persecution immediately and necessarily doth follow the same, and therefore it is a manifest token of Gods Truth and hath been here and is still abroad, and that is the cause of the rage and cruelty of Satan against Christ and his members, which must be corrected for their sins in this world: their Faith must be tryed, that after tryal and patient suffering the Faithful may receive the Crown of glory. Fear not therefore, my welbelovd, but proceed in the knowledge and fear of God, and he will keep you from all evil. Call upon his holy name, and he will strengthen you and assist you in all your ways: and if it please him to lay his Cross upon you for his Gospels sake, refuse it not, neither shake it off by unlawful means, lest you should (as God forbid) find a more grievous Cross and torment of Conscience, if you should dissemble and deny the known verity, than is any persecution or death of Body. Oh how happy are they that suffer persecution for righteousness sake? their reward is great in Heaven. The momentary afflictions of this life are not worthy of the glory that shall be shewed upon us. Oh remember the godly women of the old Testament and new, which lived in Gods service and fear, and therefore are now in bliss and commended for ever: and namely *Judith*, *Hester*, *Abigail*, the Mother of the seven Sons, *Mary Elizabeth*, *Susanna*, *Lidia*, and *Phoebe*, and others. Set their examples before your eyes, and fear nothing, for Satan is conquered by our Saviour Christ: sin is put to flight, and the gate of immortality and eternal life is set wide open; God grant we may enter therein through the door Jesus Christ, Amen.

Thomas Whittle.

*The story of Mr. Bartlet Green Gentleman and Lawyer,
Martyr.*

AFTER the Martyrdom of *Thomas Whittle*, next following in order to speak of *Bartlet Green*, who the next day after the fore said *Whittle*, was likewise condemned. This *Green* was of a good house, and had such Parents, as both favoured learnings, and were also willing to bring up this their Child in the same. Who after some entrance in other inferiour Schools, was by them sent unto the University of *Oxford*: where through exercise and diligent study, he professed, that within short time he attained, as well to the knowledge of stidry prophane Sciences, as also now in his last years, unto the godly understanding of Divinity. Wherunto through ignorance (in which he was trained up from his youth) he was at the first an utter enemy, until such time

To be brought
to the agonie
of death, and
not to fear
persecution.

Good coun-
sel, not to
forsake the
Lord for
persecution.

The story
of Mr. Bartlet
Green, Gentle-
man and Martyr,
January 27.

Bartlet Green
Student at
Oxford.

Mr. Green converted by the Faculty of the University.

as God of his mercy had opened his eyes, by his often repairing unto the common Lectures of *Peter Martyr* Reader of the Divinity Lecture in the same University so that thereby (as by Gods instrument) he saw the true light of Christs Gospel.

John 4.

Whereof when he had once tasted, it became unto him as the fountain of lively water, that our Saviour Christ spake of to the Woman of Samaria so as he never thirsted any more, but had a Well springing unto everlasting life. Inasmuch as when he was called by his friends from the University, and was placed in the Temple at London, there to attain to the knowledge of the Common Laws of the Realm, he yet continued still in his former study and earnest profession of the Gospel; wherein also he did not a little profit. Howbeit (such is the frailty of our corrupt nature, without the special assistance of Gods Holy Spirit) through the continual accompanying, and fellowship of such Worldly (I will not say too much youthful) young Gentlemen, as are commonly in that and the like houses, he became by little and little a companion of their fond follies and youthful vanities, as well in his apparel as also in banqueting, and other superfluous excesses: which he afterwards (being again called by Gods merciful correction) did fore lament and bewail, as appeareth by his own testimony notified, and left in a book of a certain friend of his, a little before his death, written with his own hand, in manner as followeth.

Mr. Green's friend in the Temple at London.

This did Mr. Bartlet Green write in Mr. Bartram Calthrop's Book.

A good note on the letter of young Lawrence's mark and house.

Two things have very much troubled me whilest I was in the Temple, Pride and Gluttony; which under the colour of glory and good fellowship, drew me almost from God. Against both there is one remedy, by prayer earnest, and without ceasing. And forasmuch as vain-glory is so subtle an Adversary, that almost it woundeth deadly, ere ever a man can perceive himself to be snared, therefore we ought so much the rather by continual prayer, to labour for humbleness of mind. Truly gluttony begetteth under a charitable pretence of mutual love and society, and bath in it most uncharitableness. When we seek to refresh our bodies, that they may be the more apt to serve God, and perform our duty towards our neighbours, then stealeth it in as a privy thief, and murdereth both Body and Soul, that now it is not apt to pray, or serve God, apt to study, or labour for our neighbour. Let us therefore watch and be sober: For our Adversary the Devil walketh about like a roaring Lion, seeking whom he may devour. And remember what Solomon saith, Melior est pateris viro forti, & qui dominatur animo expugnatore urbium. A patient man is better then a strong warrior, and he that conquereth his own Stomach, is better then he that Conquereth Towns and Cities.

What's said concerning doth.

Bartlet Greene.

Animorum in fide unio, per charitatem aucta, firma est amicitia. Vale (mi Bartrame) & meliorem inis, ut semper finis efficiamur. Vale. Apud novam Portam, 20. Januarii 1556. Agreement of minds joining in Unity of faith, and growing up in charity, is true and steadfast amity. Farewel (my Bartrame) and remember me, that ever we may be like together. Farewel at Newgate Jan. 20. Anno 1556.

Set sober love against hasty wrath.

Bartlet Greene.

Thus we see the fatherly kindness of our most gracious and merciful God, who never suffereth his elect Children so to fall, that they lie still in security of sin, but oftentimes quickeneth them up by some such means, as perhaps they think least of, as he did here this his strayed sheep. And now therefore to return to our history: for the better maintenance of himself in these his studies, and other his affairs, he had a large exhibition of his Grandfather, Mr. Doctor Bartlet, who during the time of Greens imprisonment made unto him large offers of great livings, if he would recant, and (forsaking the truth, and Gospel of Christ) come home again to the Church and

Large gifts offered Mr. Green by Dr. Bartlet to return to the Church of Rome.

Synagogue of Rome. But those his persuasions (the Lord be therefore praised) took little effect in his faithful heart, as the sequel did declare. He was a man beloved of all men, except of the Papists, who love none that love the truth) and so he well deserved: for he was of a meek, humble, discreet, and most gentle behaviour to all. Injurious he was to none, beneficial to many, especially to those that were of the household of Faith; as appeareth amongst other, by his friendly dealing with Mr. Christopher Goodman, being at that present a poor exile beyond the Seas. With whom this Bartlet Greene (as well for his toward learning as also for his sober and godly behaviour) had often society in Oxford, in the days of good King Edward: which now, notwithstanding his friends misery and Banishment, he did not lightly forget; and that turned as it chanced (not without the providence of Almighty God) to the great grief of both; the one of heart, for the loss of his friend, and the other of Body in suffering the cruel and murdering rage of Papists.

Anno 1556.

Friendship between Christopher Goodman and Mr. Green.

The cause hereof was a Letter which Green did write unto the said Goodman, containing as well the report of certain demands or questions, which were cast abroad in London (as appeareth hereafter in a Letter of his own penning, which he sent to have sent unto Mr. Philpott, wherein he declareth his full usage before the Bishop of London and others) as also an answer to a question made by the said Christopher Goodman, in a Letter written unto him, in which he required to have the certainty of the report which was spread amongst them on the other side of the Seas, that the Queen was dead. Whereunto Mr. Green answered simply, and as the truth then was, that she was not dead.

Occasion of apprehending Mr. Green came by Letters intercepted.

These Letters with many other, written to divers of the godly exiles, by their friends here in England, being delivered to a messenger to carry over, came by the apprehension of the said bearer, unto the hands of the King and Queens Council. Who at their convenient leisure (which in those days by some of them was quickly found out for such matters) perused the whole number of the said Letters, and amongst them spied this Letter of Mr. Greens, written unto his friend Christopher Goodman: in the Contents whereof (amongst other news and private matters) they found these words; the Queen is not yet dead. Which words were only written as an answer, to certify Mr. Goodman of the truth of his former demand. Howbeit (to some of the Council) they seemed very heinous words, yea, treason they would have made them, if the Law would have suffered. Which when they could not do (and being yet very loath to let any such depart freely, whom they suspected to be a favourer of the Gospel) they then examined him upon his faith in Religion, but upon what points it is not certainly known.

Mr. Greens examined by the Council of his faith.

Nevertheless (as it seemeth) his answers were such, as little pleased them (especially the appointed fort) and therefore after they had detained him in prison, as well in the Tower of London, as elsewhere, they sent him at last unto Boner Bishop of London, to be ordered according to his Ecclesiastical Law; as appeareth by their Letters sent unto the Bishop, with the said prisoner also: wherein it may appear, that Sir John Bourne (then Secretary to the Queen) was a chief stirrer in such cases, yea and an enticer of others of the Council; who otherwise (if for fear they durst) would have been content to have let such matters alone. The Lord forgive them their weakness (if it be his good pleasure) and give them true repentance, Amen.

John Bourne a stirrer of persecution.

A Letter sent unto Boner Bishop of London, by the Queens Council dated the 11. day of November 1555. but not delivered until the 17. of the same Month.

A Fear our hearty commendations to your good Lordship. We send to the same herewith the Body of one Council to Bartlet Greene, who hath of good time remained in the Tower for his obstinate standing in matters against the Catholic Religion, whom the King and Queens Majesty's pleasures are (because he is of your Lordships Diocese)

A Letter from the Council to Bartlet Greene.

Anno 1556. ye shall cause to be ordered according to the Law in such cases provided. And thus we bid your Lordship heartily farewell. From St. James the 11. of November, 1555.

Your good Lordships loving Friends,

Winchester, William Haward.
Pembroke, John Bourne,
Thomas Ely, Thomas Whatton.

Publiscip. I Sir John Bourne will wait upon your Lordship, and signify further the King and Queens Majesties pleasure here.

Now that ye may the better understand the certainty of his handling, after this his coming unto Bowers custody, I have thought it good to put forth his own Letter, containing at large the discourse of the same. Which Letter he wrote, and did mean to have sent unto Mr. Philpot, but was prevented, belike either by Philpots death, or else (and rather) by the wily watching of his Keeper: for it came (by what means I know not certainly) unto the Bishops hands, and being delivered unto his Register, was found in one of his Books of Record. The Copy whereof here followeth.

A Letter of Bartlet Green, written unto John Philpot, containing besides other particular matter betwixt him and Mr. Philpot, a brief rehearsal of his handling, and certain his Confessions with Bower and others, at his first coming to the Bishop.

Mr. Green presented before B. Dean.

Mr. Green was yet under bond of Recognition for the good appearing and forth coming all Christians hereafter.

Mr. Green committed first to the Fleet, and upon what occasion.

That which was wanting in talk (through my default) at your being here, I have supplied by writing in your absence, now at the length getting some opportunity and leisure. The 17. day of November, being brought hither by two of the Clock at Afternoon, I was presented before my Lord of London and other two Bishops, Mr. Deane, Mr. Roper, Mr. Welch, Dr. Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, and other two or three, all sitting at one Table. There were also present Dr. Dale, Mr. George Morant, Mr. Dee. Then after the Bishop of London had read unto himself the Letter that came from the Council, he spake with more words, but (as I remember) to this effect; that the cause of their assembly was, to hear mine Examination, whereunto he had authority by the Council, and had provided Mr. Welch and another, whose name I know not (but well I remember, though he obtained it not, yet desired he my Lord, that I might hear the Councils Letters) to be there if any matters of the Common Law should arise, to discuss them, he intreated my Lord to determine all Controversies of Scriptures; and as for the Civil Law, he and Dr. Dale should take on them.

Wherefore he demanded of me the cause of mine Imprisonment: I said, that the occasion of mine Apprehension was a Letter which I wrote to one Christopher Goodman, wherein (certifying him of such News as happened here) among the rest, I wrote that there were certain printed Papers of Questions scattered abroad. Whereupon, being suspected to be privy unto the devising or publishing of the same, I was committed to the Fleet: but since heard I nothing thereof, after the Commissioners had received my submission. The sum whereof was, that as I was sure there neither could be true witnesses, nor probable conjecture against me in that behalf; so refused I no punishment, if they of their Consciences would judge me privy to the devising, printing, or publishing of those Questions. But my Lord affirming that there was another cause of mine Imprisonment, demanded if I had not after, since I was committed to the Fleet, spoken or written somewhat against the natural presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then desired I his Lordship to be good unto me, trusting that he would put me to answer to no new matters, except I were first discharged of the old. And when I stood long in that, Mr. Welch answered, that it was procured that I should do so, right well. For albeit I were Imprisoned for Treason, if during the time of endurance I had maintained Heresie, that were no sufficient

allegation against the Ordinary; neither whether I were before him acquitted or condemned, should it take away the former fault. Then my Lord affirming that I was not brought before him but for Heresie, and the other Gentlemen saying; that doubtless I was discharged of my former matter; my desire was, that I might be charged according to the order of the Law, to hear my Accusers.

Then Dr. Chessey was sent for; who reported that in the presence of Mr. Mosley and the Lieutenant of the Tower, I spake against the real presence and the sacrifice of the Mass, and that I affirmed that their Church was the Church of Antichrist.

Is not this true, quoth my Lord? I said, Yea. Will you continue therein, quoth he? Yea, said I. Wilt thou then maintain it by Learning, said he? Therein, quoth I, I should shew my self to have little wit, knowing mine own youth and ignorance, if I would take on me to maintain any Controvercie against so many grave and learned Men. But my Conscience was satisfied in the Truth, which was sufficient to my salvation.

Roper. Conscience? (quoth Mr. Roper) so shall every Jew and Turk be saved.

We had hereafter much talk to no purpose, and especially on my part, who felt in my self, through cold and open air, much dulness of wit and memory. At the length I was asked what Conscience was: and I said, the certifying of the Truth.

Mr. Welch. With that Mr. Welch rose up; desiring leave to talk with me alone. So he taking me aside into another Chamber, said that he was sorry for my trouble, and would gladly see me at liberty: he marvelled, that I being a young Man, would stand against all the Learned men of the Realm, yea and contrary to the whole determination of the Catholick Church from Christs time, in a matter wherein I could have no great Learning; I must not think mine own wit better than all mens, but should believe them that were Learned. I promise you (quoth he) I have read all Peter Martyrs Book, and Cranmers, and all the rest of them, and have conferred them with the contrary, as Rosenfis, and the Bishop of Winchester, &c. and could not perceive but that there was one continual Truth, which from the beginning had been maintained; and those that at any time severed from this unity, were answered; and answered again. This was the sum of his Tale, which lacked neither wit nor eloquence.

Mr. Green. Then spake I: Forasmuch as it pleaseth your Mastership to use me so familiarly (for so he behaved himself towards me, as though I had been his equal) I shall open my mind freely unto you, desiring you to take it in good worth. I consider my youth, lack of wit and learning, which would God it were but a little under the opinion that some men have of me. But God is not bound to time, wit, or knowledge, but rather chuseth *infirma mundi, ut confunderet fortia*, neither can men appoint bounds to Gods mercy: For, I will have compassion (saith he) on whom I will shew mercy. There is no respect of persons with God, whether it be old or young, rich or poor, wife or foolish, Fisher or Basket-maker. God giveth knowledge of his Truth, through his free grace, to whom he list. Neither do I think my self only to have the Truth, but stedfastly believe that Christ hath his Spouse the Catholick and Universal Church, dispersed in many Realms where it pleaseth him, *Spiritus ubi vult spirat*: no more is he addicted to any one place, than to the person neither in quality of one man. Of this Church I nothing doubt my self to be a member, trusting to be saved by the Faith that is taught in the same. But how this Church is known, is in a manner the end of all Controvercie. And the true marks of Christs Church; is the true preaching of his Word and ministering of his Sacraments. These marks were sealed by the Apostles, and confirmed by the ancient Fathers, till at the length they were, through the wickedness of men and the Devils force worn, and almost utterly taken away. But God be praised that he hath renewed the print, that his Truth may be known in many places. For my self, I call God to witness, I have none hope in mine own wit and learning, which is very small; but I was persuaded thereto by

Winchelsea against Mr. Green.

Green and the Commissioners.

Mr. Roper.

Perisolation of Mr. Welch to Mr. Green.

Answer of Mr. Green to Mr. Welch.

Modesty of Mr. Green.

Answer of Mr. Green.

The Spirit of God added to person nor place.

The end of all Controversies is to know the true Church.

Marks of the true Church.

^b By this instrument he meant *Green Martyr*.
Mr. Green seeking his knowledge of God with tears.

him, as by an * instrument, that is excellent in all good learning and living. And God is my record, that chiefly I fought it of him by continual prayer with tears.

Furthermore, what I have done herein, it is not needful for me to speak: but one thing (I say) I wish of God with all my heart, that all men which are of contrary judgment, would seek the truth in like manner. Now I am brought hither before a great many of Bishops, and learned men, to be made a fool and a laughing stock, but I weigh it not a rush: for God knoweth that my whole study is to please him: Besides that, I care not for mans pleasure, or displeasure.

Mr. W. 16.
replyeth to
Mr. Green.

Mr. Welch. No Mr. Green, quoth he, think not so uncharitably of any man, but judge rather that men labour for your Souls health, as for their own. But alas, how will you condemn all our Forefathers? Or how can you think your self to be of the Catholick Church, without any continuance, and contrary to the judgment of all learned men?

Green. Then said I, Sir I have none Authority to judge any man: nevertheless, I doubt not but that I am of the true Catholick Church, howsoever our learned men here judge of me.

Welch. Why then, said he, do you suppose your own wit and learning better then all theirs? if you do not give credit only to them, other learned men shall resort unto you, that shall persuade you by the Scriptures and Doctors.

Green. Sir, quoth I, God knoweth that I refuse not to learn of any Child, but I would embrace the truth from the mouth of a natural fool, in any thing wherein I am Ignorant, and that in all things, saving my faith: But concerning the truth, wherein I am thoroughly perswaded, I cannot submit my self to learn, unless it be, as your Master ship said, that I perused to books on both sides. For so might I make my self an indifferent judge; otherwise I may be seduced.

And here we fell out again in a long talk of the Church wherein his learning and wit was much above mine: but in the end I told him I was perswaded, and that he did but lose his labour.

Welch. Why then (quoth he) what shall I report to my Lord?

Green. As pleaseth you, quoth I, or else you may say that I would be glad to learn, if I had books on both sides. So he going in, the Bishops (even then risen, and ready to depart) asked how he liked me? He answered, In faith my Lord, he will be glad to learn. Which words when they were taken, lest they should mistake his meaning and mine, I said, yea my Lord, so that I may have books on both sides, as *Calum*, and my Lord of *Canterburie* books, and such other. Well, quoth my Lord, I will satisfie thy mind therein also; and they all were in great hope, that shortly I should become a good Catholick as they call it.

* Where
Dulput was
he answered,
as to whom he
wrote this
Letter.

Friendly con-
versation of
Mr. Green
in B. Bessers
house for a
time.

Then was I brought into my Lords inner Chamber (* where you were) and there was put in a Chamber with Master Dee, who intreated me very friendly. That night I supped at my Lords table, and lay with Master Dee in the Chamber you did see. On the morrow I was served at dinner from my Lords Table, and at night did eat in the Hall with his Gentlemen; where I have been placed ever since, and fared wonderfully well. Yea to say the truth, I had my liberty within the bounds of his Lordships house: for my lodging and fare, scarce have I been at any time abroad in better case so long together, and have found so much gentleness of my Lord, and his Chaplains, and others Servants, that I should easily have forgotten that I was in prison, were it not that this great cheer was often powdered with unfavoury fauces of examinations, exhortations, posings, and disputations.

Mr. Green
had in pri-
vate exami-
nations be-
fore the
Bishop.
Mr. Green
urged with
the literal
sense of the
words (as
is my Body,

For shortly after supper the first Monday at night, I was had into my Lords Bed-chamber, and there he would know of me how I came first into these Heresies: I said I was perswaded thereto by the Scriptures, and Authorities of the Doctors, alledged by *Peter Martyr* in his Lectures upon the eleventh Chapter of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, whiles he intreated there on that place *De cana Domini*, by the space of a Month together. But then then my Lord informed the plainness of Christs

Words, and his Almighty power, demanding of me, what reason should move me from the literal sense of the words: but I having no lust to those matters, would have alledged that there were books sufficient of that matter, as *Peter Martyr*, *Crammer* and *Oecolampadius*: nevertheless when this shift would not serve, but I was constrained to say somewhat, I said I was moved from the literal sense by the manner of speaking by the Circumstance, and by Conference of other places of the Scriptures. It is evident that Christ took bread, and that he shewed them (they seeing it) Bread, which he affirmed to be his Body.

Christ affirmed that bread was his Body. Argument:
But that affirmation taken literally, can by no means be true.

Ergo, the words, if they be taken according to the Letter, cannot be true.

For this predication, *Panis est corpus Christi*, or *corpus Christi est panis*, is neither *identica* nor *accidentalis*, nor *essentialis* predication. Wherefore of necessity I must say it was spoken in the like sense, as Christ was a door, a vine, and a way. Neither can it serve to say; that it was not of Bread that he affirmed to be his Body, and that for two causes.

For whatsoever he shewed, that was Bread; for nought else was seen.

But that which he shewed he affirmed to be his Body.

Ergo, he Affirmed of Bread that it was his Body. The second reason is; for that it was not changed before, seeing *benedixit*, is *gratia* ergo, or else Christ affirmed no true propolition, and you are without Authority.

In the end of this Letter, there were noted these sentences following, collected for Confirmation of his former assertions, *videlicet*,

Eadem locutio potius, i. The same phrase is used and spoken upon the cup.

Dicitur postea panis. It is called Bread in the same place afterward.

Eadem ratione rejecero corpus, qua tu panem, i. By the same reason as it may be denied to be Bread, it may be denied to be the Body.

Ascendit in calum, i. His Body ascended into Heaven.

Corpori nobis factus est similis in omnibus post natiuitatem. At nostrum corpus non potest esse in duobus locis.

Ergo, &c. In Body he was like to us in all things after his nativity (sin excepted.) Seeing then our Body cannot be two places at once: Ergo, neither his.

Discipuli non frangebant, &c. His Disciples took it as no miracle nor wonder.

The last Examination and Condemnation of Mr. Green.

Thus (as it seemeth) for this time they left off. But not long after the Bishop perceiving *Greens* learning and constancy to be such, as neither he, nor any of his Doctors and Chaplains could by the Scriptures re-fell, began then to object and put in practice his chief and strongest argument against him; which was the rigour of the Law, and cruelty of Execution: an argument I ensure you, which without the special grace of our God to flesh is importable. And therefore using Laws a cloak of his tyranny, the 28. day of November, the said Bp. examined him upon certain points of Christian Religion. Whereunto when he had answered, the Bishop appointed the Register (as their most common manner is) to draw thereout an order of confession. Which being afterwards read unto *Green*, was also subscribed by him, as a confirmation of his former assertions: The tenour whereof here ensueth.

The confession and saying of Bartlet Green.

Bartlet Green born in the City of London in the Parish of *Bassinghal* of the Diocesi of London, of the age of 25. years, being examined in the Bishops palace, the 27. day of November, Anno 1555. upon certain Articles, answered as foloweth.

Anno 1556.

Causes moving Mr. Green from the literal sense of the words aforesaid.

Argument:

Why the words of Christ of his Body are taken spiritally. Argument.

Reasons moving Mr. Green to take the words spiritally, not literally.

The last examination of Mr. Green.

A draught of Mr. Greens confession, given the 27. day of November, Anno 1555. upon certain Articles, answered as foloweth.

Mais

Anno
1556.

Ex Regit.

Transla-
tion
decided.

M. Green
refusing
to hear
Maf.

Sacrifice
of the Mass
not main-
tainable by
Gods Word.

M. Green
against the
Sacrament
of the Al-
tar.

Auricular
confession
refused.

M. Green
with the
other six
Martyrs
brought to
the Court-
house.

B. Zueri
words to
the Audi-
ence.

Nine Ar-
ticles put to
M. Green.

M. Green was
suffered to
answer to
the Articles.

Maf by him was put down, neither in the time of Queen Mary after the Maf was reformed again, he hath heard any Maf at all; but he saith that in the reign of the said Queens Majesty he the said *Bartlet*, two times, to wit, at two Easter-tides or days, in the Chamber of *John Pulline*, one of the Preachers in King Edwards time, within the parish of St. Michaels Cornhil of the Diocess of London, did receive the communion with the said *Pulline* and *Christopher Goodman*, some time Reader of the Divinity Lecture in Oxford, now gone beyond the Sea; and the second time with the said *Pulline* and with one *Rimneger*, Master of Arts of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford: and this Examinee also saith, that at both the said Communions he, and the other before named, did take and receive Bread and Wine; which Bread and Wine he called Sacramental Bread, and Sacramental Wine, which he saith were used there by them, *Pulline* only reading the words of the institution, expressed in the Book of Communion.

In which receiving and using, this Examinee saith, that the other aforementioned did receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and that they received material Bread and material Wine, no substance thereof changed, and so no real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ there being, but only grace added thereto. And further, this Examinee saith, that he had heretofore, during the Reign of the Queens Majesty aforesaid, refused, and so now doth refuse to come and hear Maf, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, as they are now used and ministered in this Church of England, because he saith, that concerning the Maf, he cannot be persuaded in his Conscience, that the Sacrifice pretended to be in the same, is agreeable to Gods Word, or maintainable by the same? and that without deadly offence he cannot worship the Body and Blood of Christ, that is pretended to be there. And as concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, this Examinee saith, that he heretofore during the said Reign hath refused, and now doth refuse to receive the same, as is now used in this Church of England, because it is not used according to the institution of Christ, but both in a strange Tongue, and also not ministered in both kinds; and besides that, contrary to Gods Word it is there taught, that the thing there ministered is to be adored, as the real and true Body of Christ. And furthermore this Examinee saith, that during the said Reign he hath not been confessed to the Priest, nor received Absolution at his hands, because he is not bound by Gods Word to make auricular Confession.

Bartlet Green.

Many other Conferences and publick Examinations they brought him unto. But in the end (seeing his steadfastness of Faith to be such, against the which neither their threatnings, nor yet their flattering promises could prevail) the 15 day of January the Bishop caused him with the rest above-named, to be brought into the Confraternity in Pauls; where being set in his Judgment Seat, accompanied with *Fecknam*, then Dean of the same Church, and other his Chaplains, after he had condemned the other Six, he then calling for *Bartlet Green*, began with these, or the like words:

Honourable Audience, I think it best to open unto you the Conversation of this man, called *Bartlet Green*. And because you shall not charge me, that I go about to seek any mans Blood, here you shall hear the Councils Letters, which they sent with him unto me. The effect whereof is; that whereas he had been of long time in the Tower of London for Heresie, they have now sent him unto me to be ordered, according to the Laws therefore provided. And now to thee *Bartlet Green* I propose these nine Articles. Then he read the Articles above mentioned, which were generally objected to all these seven Prisoners, to wit, *Thomas Whittle*, *John Tushon*, *John Went*, *Thomas Brown*, *Isabel Esquer*, *Joan Lashford*, *Bartlet Green*.

But when Master *Green* would have answered them particularly, he was put to silence, with promise that he should have time to answer sufficiently, and therefore the Bishop proceeding said, that when *Green* came first to his house, he desired to have the Books of the ancient

Doctors of the Church to read; which he said he granted him.

Whereunto *Green* answered and said, that if the Doctors were with indifferent judgment weighed, they made more a great deal with him, then they did with them.

Feck. Upon which words *Fecknam*, Dean of Pauls, stood up; and marveling why he said so, asked him if he would be content to stand to the judgment of the Doctors.

Green. *Green* then said, that he was content to stand to the Doctors judgment.

Feck. I will then propound unto you (quoth *Fecknam*) the Doctors, and interpret them your self. So he alleged a place of *Chrysostom*, *Ad Popul. Antioch.* Which was this, *Elias ascendens melosum suum post se reliquit: Christus vero ascendens carnem suam assumpsit, & eandem post se reliquit*. *Elias* going up, left his Cloak behind him: but *Christ* ascending up took his flesh, and also left it behind him. And he demanded *Green*, how he understood the place.

Green. Then *Green* prayed him that he would confer the Doctors sayings together, and therefore alleged the same Doctor again, writing upon the 1 Cor 10. *An non est panis quem nos benedicimus, communicatio corporis Domini? Nonne est calix, &c.* *i.* Is not the Bread which we bless the Communication of the Lords Body? Whereby he proved that this Doctor called this Sacrament but a sign of the Lords Body. Many other words of probation and denial were betwixt them.

Feck. At last *Fecknam* demanded of him, how long he had been of this Opinion. For Mr. *Green* (said he) you confessed once to me, that when you were at Oxford at School, you were called the rankest Papist in that House, and being compelled to go to the Lecture of *Peter Martyr*, you were converted from your old Doctrine.

Green. And *Green* confessed the same.

Feck. Then again he said, that *Green* told him that the said *Peter Martyr* was a Papist in his first coming to Oxford. Whereupon he made an exclamation, and prayed the People to consider how vain his Doctrine that he professed was, which was grounded upon one man, and that upon so unconfront a man as *Peter Martyr*, which perceiving the wicked intent of the Council, was content to please them, and forsake the true and Catholic Faith.

Green. *Green* said that he grounded not his Faith upon *Martyr*, nor any other, nor did believe so because *Martyr* believed the same? but because that he had heard the Scriptures, and the Doctors of the Church truly and wholly expounded by him; neither had he any regard of the man, but of the word which he spake. And further he said, that he heard the said Mr. *Peter* say often, that he had not as yet, while he was a Papist, read *Chrysostom* upon the tenth to the *Corinthians*, nor many other places of the Doctors: but when he had read them, and well considered them, he was content to yield to the Doctors, having first humbled himself in prayer, desiring God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true understanding of the Scripture. Which thing (said *Green*) if you my Lord would do, I do not doubt, but God would open your eyes, and shew you his Truth, no more then I do doubt his words to be true that saith; *Ask, and it shall be given to you; knock and it shall be opened unto you, &c.*

Feck. Then *Fecknam* asked him, what he thought of this Article; *Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam*.

Green. And *Green* answered, that he did believe one holy and universal Church throughout all the world.

Feck. Then *Fecknam* said, that he would fain have a sure mark and token, whereby he might know this Church? and therefore he prayed *Green* to define unto him this Church.

Green. *Green* answered, that this Church did agree in verity of the true Doctrine of Christ, and was known by the true administration of his Sacraments.

Feck. Whereupon *Fecknam* said, that he would prove the Church whereof he was, to be never agreeing in his Doctrine, but always to have been in Controversie in their Religion. For (said he) *Luther* and *Zuinglius* could never agree in their writings or sayings, nor *Oecolampadius* with *Carlostadius*, nor *Carlostadius* with *Fecknam*, either

Doctors
read with
indifferent
judgment,
make more
against the
Papists,
than with
them.

Chrysost. ad
Pop. Antioch.

Chrysost. in
1 Cor. 10.

M. Green
first read
Papist.
untrue re-
port of P.
Martyr.

P. Martyr
first turned
from Pope-
ry to the
Protestants
by prayer
and reading
the Doctors.

One holy
Catholic
Church.

True marks
of the
Church.

In agree-
ment sound
enough
Protestants
of the
Gospel by
Fecknam.

either *Zuinglius* or *Luther*, &c. for *Luther* writing upon the Sacrament of the Altar, said, that *in hoc pane, vel sub hoc pane corpus Domini accipimus*. *Zuinglius* controlling him, said, *Sub signo panis corpus Domini accipimus*. And the other controlled him in like case.

The Gospelers in words seem to dissent, but in effect do agree with the Word.

Green. Then *Mr. Green* proved their opinions of the Sacrament to be one in effect, being rightly weighed: and though their words did not found all one, yet they meant one thing; and their Opinions were all one, as he proved by divers other examples.

Pecknam. Then *Pecknam* desired him that he would not so wilfully cast himself away, but to be rather conformable to reason, and that my Lord Bishop there present would be good unto him, and would grant him respite (if he would demand it) for a fortnight or three weeks, and that he should chuse any Learned man whom he would, and should go with him home to his house, and that he whom he would chuse, would willingly take the pains to read and confer the Doctors with him, and open the Doctors minds and meanings unto him.

Thus for biddeth Mr. Green to be called Master.

Boner. Then *Boner* said, that he was proud, and an obstinate Boy; and therefore he bade *Pecknam* to hold his peace, and to call him no more *Mr. Green*: for (said he) you ought not to call an Heretic Master.

Note the blind ignorance of *Pecknam*, as though the Kingdom of Christ was not gotten at the death of Christ.

Pendleton. After this *Dr. Pendleton* alleged to him this Text out of the 22. of *Luke*; *Ex hoc non manducabo illud donec impleatur in regno Dei*. Here (said he) you must confess your Opinion to be false, else you must say that Christ was a liar: for Christ said, *I will eat no more of this, while it is fulfilled in my Father's Kingdom*. If Christ did eat no more the Bread when he spake these words, then must you say that he was a liar: for he did eat Bread after with his Disciples before he ascended. But if you say he did eat his Body then, and after but Bread, it will not agree with the Scriptures, nor with good reason.

This Bishop beate was the Bishop of Windsor at.

Green. Then *Green* answered and said, that this was spoken by an anticipation, as one of their own Bishops, (which is now dead) did say.

Pendleton. Then *Dr. Pendleton* said, that that was no sufficient discharge, nor no sufficient answer for him in this case; for (said he) it is well known that the Bishop was of a contrary Opinion to you, and that he died a good Christian man.

Green. To which words *Green* said, I do not call him to witness in this case, as though he were a sufficient man, to prove my saying to be true in this matter: but I doallege him against you, as *Paul* did the Scripture, which he found graven in the Altar of the *Athenians*, against themselves, *ignoto Deo*.

In the old time Excommunication was the greatest penalty in nature of Fitch and Confession.

These with many other words were between them, which I do overpass, because it were too long to stand upon recital of every thing. Last of all the Bishop asked him, if he would recant. He said nay, he would not. But my Lord (said he) in old time there were no men put to death for their Conscience, until such time as Bishops found the means to make it death to believe contrary to them; but Excommunication (my Lord) was the greatest penalty which men had for their Conscience; yea, inasmuch that *S. Augustine* wrote, and commanded that no man should be put to death for his Opinion.

Boner. Then *Boner* said, that when *S. Augustine* saw what inconveniences followed of that Commandment, he wrote again to the temporal Rulers, commanding them to punish their Bodies also.

Green. But, said *Green*, he bade not put them to death.

Bon. He bade punish them, quoth *Boner*.

Green. Yea, said *Green*, but not put them to death.

Boner. That they should be punished, quoth *Boner* again.

Sentence given against Mr. Green.

This talk ended, he asked *Green* if he would recant, and return to their *Romish* Mother. Which when he denied, the Bishop pronounced the Sentence definitive against him, and so committed him to the Sheriffs of *London*, who caused him to be carried to *Newgate*.

And as he was going thither, there met with him two Gentlemen, being both his special Friends, minding belike to comfort their persecuted Brother: but at their meeting, their loving and friendly hearts (not able any longer to hide themselves) were manifested by the

abundance of their pitiful tears. To whom, when *Green* saw them, he said in these or like words, Ah my Friends, is this your comfort you are come to give me, in this my occasion of heaviness? Must I, who needed to have comfort ministered to me, become now a comforter of you? And thus declaring his most quiet and peaceable Mind and Conscience, he cheerfully spake to them and others, until he came to the Prison door, into the which he joyfully entered, and there remained always either in Prayer (whereunto he much gave himself) or else in some other godly meditations and exercises, unto the 28. day of *January*, when he with his other above-mentioned Brethren went most cheerfully unto the place of their torments, often repeating, as well by the way, as also at the Stake, these Latin Verses following.

*Christe Deus, sine te spes est mihi nulla salutis:
Te duce vera sequor, te duce falsus a nego.*

Anno 1555.
The words of Mr. Green to his Friends, by the way going to *Newgate*.

Verses of Mr. Green written in his Friends Book.

In English thus,

*O Christ, my God, sure hope of health,
Beside thee have I none:
The truth I love, and falsehood hate,
By thee my Guide alone.*

During the time of his Imprisonment in *Newgate*, divers of his Friends had access unto him, to whom he gave sundry godly Exhortations, wherewith they were not only well contented, but for better remembrance as well of the same his instructions, as also of his own good and godly person, they desired him to write somewhat in their Books, which request he willingly granted, as in manner here ensueth.

These Verses were written in a Book of *M. Hussey* of the Temple.

*Behold thy self by me,
Such one was I, as thou:
And thou in time shalt be,
Even dust as I am now.*

Bartlet Green.

These Verses were also written in a Book of *Mr. William Fleetwood*, of the same House.

*My Resting-road is found,
Vain hope and hap adieu:
Love whom you list with change,
Death shall me rid from you.*

Bartlet Green.

Amongst other divers and singular good virtues of this good man, specially in him was to be noted such a modest nature, so humbly thinking of himself, as in few men is to be found, ever dejecting himself under that was in him, and ever seeming to be less than he was, so that nothing less he could abide, than to hear of his praise or commendation; as well declareth not only his Letter written to *Mr. Philpot*, wherein he doth earnestly expostulate with him, for slandering him with praise of his wit and learning, and other manifold virtues of great excellency; but also by his own speech and answers in his Examination, wherein he casteth from him all knowledge of learning and cunning, when notwithstanding he had more in him, than to any mans eyes did appear.

The singular modesty and humble nature of Mr. Green.

So great and admirable was this gift of modesty grafted in the nature of him, so far abhorring from all pride and arrogance, that as he could not abide any thing that was spoken to his advancement or praise; so neither did there appear in him any *stew* or brag in those things wherein he might justly glory, which were his punishments and sufferings for the cause and quarrel of Christ. For when he was beaten and scourged with rods by Bishop *Boner* (which scarce any man would believe, nor I neither, but that I heard it of him, which heard it out of his mouth) and he greatly rejoiced in the same, yet his shamefast modesty was such, that never he would express any mention thereof, lest he should seem

to

Anno 1556, to glory too much in himself, save that only he opened the fame to one Mr. *Coston* of the *Temple*, a friend of his, a little before his death.

Theophilus
house of
Mr. Green.

Moreover, to his rare and maidenly modesty in him was also adjoined the like nature of mercy and pitiful compassion; which affection though it seemeth to be little regarded of some, yet in my mind is there no other thing wrought in nature, wherein man resembleth more truly the image of the high Majesty of Almighty God, then this. And as in this respect of merciful tenderness, man only excelleth all other beasts; so almost no less may this man seem to pass many other men, whose customable property and exercise was to visit the poor Prisoners with him in Prison both with Bodily relief, and also with Spiritual comfort: and finding many of them (I mean such as were there for theft and other naughty facts) very penitent and sorry for their evil demeanours, in hope of their amendment, did not only by mouth, but also by his Letters require, yea, as it were of duty in love, did charge his Friends to travel for their deliverances; such was the pity and charitable mercy of this godly and most true member of Christs Church, as appeareth by this Letter here following.

Tommy very loving Friends and Masters Mr. Goring, Mr. Fernham, Mr. Fleetwood, Mr. Ruffwel, Mr. Bell, Mr. Huley, Mr. Caldhop, Mr. Bowyer, and other my Masters of the Temple, Bartlet Green willeth health of Body and Soul.

A Letter of
Mr. Bartlet
Green to
certain
of his loving
Friends in
the Temple.
What true
friendship is.
True friendship
is not
measured by
distance of
place or of
persons.

Very Friends are they which are knit together with the knot of Charity; Charity doth not decay, but increaseth in them that do faithfully: whereof it followeth, that though we be absent in body, yet are we present in the spirit, coupled together with the unity of Faith in the bond of peace, which is love. How is he worthy the name of a Friend, that measureth his Friendship with the distance of a place, or parting of persons? If thy friend be out of sight, is thy friendship ended? If he be gone into the Country, wilt thou cease to love him? If he be passed the Seas, wilt thou forsake him? If he be carried into Heaven, is charity hindered thereby? On the one side we have the use of the Fathers from the Primitive Church, that gave thanks for their friends that died in the Faith, to prove that Charity did not with death. On the other side (saith *Horace*) *Caelum non animus mutant, qui trans mare currunt.*

What speak I of *Horace*? Saith not St. *Paul* the same thing? For we are members of his Body, of his flesh, and of his Blood, yea, we are members one of another. Is the hand or arm, foot or leg a member, when it is dismembered from the Body? How can we be members, except we be joynted together? What is the line that coupleth us, but love? When all things shall fail, love faileth never. Hope hath his end, when we get that he hoped for. Faith is finished in Heaven, love endureth for ever: Love (I say) that proceedeth of Charity; for carnal love, when that which he loveth is lost, doth perish with the flesh. Neither was that ever but fleshly love, which by distance of place, or severing of bodies is parted asunder. If love be the end or sum of the Law, if Heaven and Earth shall perish, yet one jot of Gods Word shall not decay, why should we think that love lieth not for ever?

I need not to write much to you my friends, neither can I have leisure now that the Keepers are risen: but this I say; If we keep Christs Commandment in loving each other, as he loved us, then should our love be everlasting. This friendship *Paul* felt when it moved him to say, that neither length nor breadth (meaning no distance of place) neither height nor depth should sever him from the love of Christ. Weigh well this place, and mete it with *Pauls* measures; so shall we find that if our love be untainted, it can never be ended. Now may you say, Why writest thou this? certainly to the end that if our Friendship be stable, you may accomplish this the last request of your friend, and perform after my death the friendship we began in our life, that amity may increaseth until God make it perfect at our next meeting together.

Mr. Fleetwood, I beseech you remember *Wistrance* and *Cook*, two singular men among common Prisoners.

Mr. Fernham and Mr. Bell, with Mr. Huley (as I hope) will dispatch *Palmer* and *Richardson* with his Companion: I pray you Mr. *Palmer* think on *John Grove*, an honest poor man *Traiford* and *Rice Apprice* his Accomplishes. My Cousin *Thomas Wiston* (a Scrivener in *Lombard Street*) hath promised to further their delivery: at the least he can instruct you which way to work, I doubt not but that Mr. *Bowyer* will labour for the good wife *Cooper* for she is worthy to be holpen) and *Berard* the Frenchman. There be also divers other well disposed men, whose deliverance if ye will not labour for, yet I humbly beseech you to seek their relief, as you shall see cause: namely, of *Henry Apprice*, *Lancelot Hobbes*, *Laber*, *Homes*, *Carre*, and *Bockingham*, a young man of goodly gifts in Wit and learning, and (saying that he is somewhat wild) likely to do well hereafter. There be also two women, *Cunningham* and *Alice Alexander* that may prove honest. For these and all other poor Prisoners here I make this my humble suite and prayer to you all my Masters, and especially good friends, beseeching you of all bonds of amity, for the precious Blood of Jesus Christ, in the bowels of mercy, to tender the causes of miserable Captives; help to clothe Christ, visit the afflicted, comfort the sorrowful, and relieve the needy. The very God of peace guide your hearts to have mercy on the poor, and love faithfully together, Amen. This present Monday when I look to die, and live for ever.

Yours as ever, Bartlet Green.

Another Letter of Mr. Green to Mrs. Elizabeth Clark.

Would God (fit were his pleasure) that with this Letter I might send you my heart and mind, and whatsoever there is in me else, that pertaineth to God: So should I think it the best message, and happiest Letter that ever I could write. But though I obtain not my desire, yet shall I not cease with continual Prayer to labour for you, desiring Almighty God to increase that which he hath long since begun in you, of sister like, and earnest zeal towards his Religion. In Faith (as faith St. *Paul*) the that is a true widow and friendless, putteth her trust in God, continuing day and night in supplication and Prayer; but she that liveth in pleasure is dead, even yet alive. And verily a true widow is she that hath married Christ, forsaking the vanities of the world, and lust of the flesh. For as the married woman careth how to love, please, and serve her husband; so ought the widow to give all her heart and Soul, thoughts and words, studies and labours, faithfully to love God, veruoli to bring up her Children and household, and diligently to provide for the poor and oppressed.

Therefore St. *Paul* first instructeth a widow how to behave herself, that is, Not to live in pleasure, then to watch unto prayer, is the only means to obtain all our desires, steadfastly laying up all our trust in God, as *David* right well saith, First eschew evil, then do good. Of *Anna*, the prisme was written, that she never went out of the Temple, but served God with fasting and prayer night and day; so well had the espoused Christ, *Judith* wore a Smock of hair, continuing in fasting, and had good report of all men.

The next care that belongeth to a widow, is, that she bring up her Children and household godly in the nurture and information of the Lord. Whereof St. *Paul* saith; If any have Children or Nephews, let them learn first to rule their own house godly, and to recompence their elders. The incontinency and covetousness of *Phineas* and *Ophim*, corrected by Ely their Father, provoked Gods vengeance upon him and all his kindred. The over tender love of *Abalom* expelled *David* from his Kingdom. The unrebuked sins of *Ammon* encouraged *Abalom* to slay his Brother; most manifest examples against the Parents, for the offences of their Children.

Contrariwise, how greatly might *Hannah* rejoice over *Samuel* her Son, whom she had brought up in the House of the Lord? What thanks might *Tobias* wife give for her Son *Toby*? How happy was *Solomon* to be taught by the Prophet *Nathan*? But above all widows, thrice blessed was the happy Mother of the seven Sons, that is, had instructed them by the fear of God, that by no torments they would shrink from the love of his truth?

The face of
Mr. Green hat
the saving
of certai
Poor Priso
ners in
Kingd.

A widow
lett. 1 of
Bart Green
to Mrs. Clark

Tim 1.

Cor 7.

Tim 5.

Ps 14.

Luk 1.

Ju 15.

Eph 6.

Tim 5.

Reg 22.

Reg 15.

Reg 1.

Reg 18.

Reg 1.

1 Mach 7.

Of

Love only
coupleth to-
gether.
All other
things fail,
Love only
endureth
for ever.

Love un-
figured ne-
ver endeth.

Of the last part Saint Paul sheweth that a widow should be chosen, If she have nourished her Children, if she have been liberal to strangers, if she have walked the Saints feet, and if she have ministered to them in Adversity. Herein it is evident how earnestly Saint Paul would have widows bent towards the poor; for that (as though they only had been therefore meet) he appointed only widows to minister to the Saints, and to gather for the poor. Which use also continued almost throughout the Primitive Church; that widows had the charge and gathering for the poor men and strangers.

Of your neighbours I need not to put you in Remembrance, seeing you daily feed them with good Hospitality by which means also many foreigners are of you relieved: but of the poor Almshouses, and miserable prisoners here in London, many lacking their liberty without cause, some under the Colour of Religion, some only kept for fees, and some on private mens displeasure. Alas that Christ so hungereth, and no man will feed him; is sore oppressed with thirst, and no man will give him drink; destitute of all lodgings, and not relieved; naked, and not clothed; sick, and not visited; imprisoned, and not seen.

In times past men could bestow large sums of money on copes, vestments, and ornaments of the Church. Why rather follow we not * St. Ambroses example, which fold the same for the relief of the poor, or Chrysostoms Commandment, which willed first to deck and garnish the living Temple of God? But alas, such is the wickedness of these our last days, that nothing moveth us; neither the pure Doctrine, the godliness of life, nor good examples of the Ancient Fathers. If in any thing they erred, if they have written any thing that serveth for sects and dissension, that will their charitable Children imbrace, publish and maintain with sword, flagot, and fire! But all in vain; they strive against the stream. For though in despite of the truth, by force of the cares of crafty persuasion, they may bring themselves into the Haven of Hell: yet can they not make all men believe that the banks move whilest the ship saileth, nor ever shall be able to turn the direct course of the stream of Gods Truth. Our Lord Jesus Christ strengthen you in all pure Doctrine and upright living, and give you grace virtuously to bring up your Children and Family, and carefully to provide for the poor and oppressed, Amen. At Newgate the 20. of January. Anno 1556.

Your assured Bartlet Green.

Another certain writing of Mr. Bartlet Green.

Another certain writing of Mr. Bartlet Green. Better is the day of death (saith Solomon) then the day of birth. Man that is born of a Woman liveth but a short time, and is replenished with many miseries; but happy are the dead that die in the Lord. Man of woman is born in travel, to live in misery; man through Christ doth dy in joy, and live in felicity. He is born to dy, and dieth to live. Straight as he cometh into the World, with cries he uttereth his miserable estate; straight as he departeth, with songs he praiseth God for ever. Scarce yet in his cradle, three deadly enemies assault him; after death no Adversary may annoy him. Whilest he is here, he displeaseth God; when he is dead, he fulfilleth his will. In this life here he dieth through sin; in the life to come he liveth in righteousness. Through many tribulations in earth he is still purged; with joy unspeakable in Heaven is he made pure for ever. Here he dieth every hour; there he liveth continually. Here is sin; there is righteousness. Here is time; there is eternity. Here is hatred; there is love. Here is pain; there is pleasure. Here is misery; there is felicity. Here is corruption; there is immortality. Here we see vanity; there shall we behold the Majesty of God with triumphant and unspeakable joy in glory everlasting. Seek therefore the things that are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; unto whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, World without end, Amen.

Yours in Christ, Bartlet Green.

Divers other Letters and matters there were before which this Servant of God did write, as namely certain notes and extracts in *Latine* out of the Doctors and other Authors for his memory, whereby is declared how studious he was in the searching and knowledge of the Law of God, although his profession was the temporal Law. Where I would to God he were not among the Lawyers such a Phenix, that he had very few or no fellows to flie with him, or to follow his steps. But God is to be praised, that although we read of few or none among that sort that died as he did, yet good witness doth spring up daily of the same profession, to such towards and godly zeal, that some hope already appeareth shortly to come to pass, that this godly Phenix shall not flie alone. These aforesaid notes and gatherings of his out of the Doctors were taken from him by Boner, being found about him, which was to him no little grief. He among the rest was first apprehended, but last of them condemned, which was the fifteenth day of January, and afterward burned with the other Martyrs, the 27. of the same Month.

3. Thomas Brown, Martyr.

Thomas Brown, born in the Parish of Histon within the Diocess of Ely, came afterwards to London, where he dwelled in the Parish of Saint Brides in Fleetstreet, a Married Man, of the age of thirty seven years, who because he came not to his Parish Church, was presented by the Constable of the Parish to Boner. As touching whole Articles, whereupon he was examined by the said Boner, with his answers also annexed to the same, mention goeth before, as in the general process of him and of the rest may appear. This Thomas Brown being had to Fulham, with the other there to be examined was required upon Thursday, being the 26. day of September, to come into the Chappel to hear Mass, which he refusing to do, went into the Warren, there kneeled among the trees. For this he was greatly charged of the Bishop, as for an hainous matter, because he said it was done in despite and contempt of their Mass; which seemed to the Bishop and his Chaplains no small offence. At length being produced to his last examination before the said Bishop the fifteenth day of January, there to hear sentence definitive against him; first he was required with many fair words and glowing promises to revoke his Doctrine, to whom the foresaid Bishop speaking these words, said, Brown, ye have been before me many times and oft, and I have travelled with thee, to win thee from thine errors; yet thou, and such like, have and do report that I go about to seek thy Blood &c.

To whom the said Thomas Brown answered again; Yea, my Lord (saith he) indeed ye be a Bloodfucker, and I would I had as much Blood as is water in the Sea, for you to suck.

Boner then proceeding to the Articles, when he had read them unto him again, as he had done divers times before, asked him whether he was content and willing to relinquish those his Heresies and erroneous opinions (as he called them) and return again unto the Unity of the Catholick Faith. Whereunto he made answer again, saying, if they were Heresies, he would forsake them. They be Heresies (quoth the Bishop.) How will ye prove it, said Brown? for I will not go from mine answer, except you can prove them to be Heresies, which ye shall never do. For that which you call Heresie, is no Heresie. With that Boner, not able, or else not disposed to supply the part of a sufficient teacher, in proving that which the other had denied by good Authority and Doctrine of the Scriptures, went about with words and promise of pardon to allure him to renounce those his Heresies, as he called them, and to return unto the Unity of his Mother the Catholick Church, &c.

To whom the said Thomas inferred again, as follows; ch; Prove it (said he) to be Heresie, that I do hold and maintain, and I will turn to you. But you condemn me, because I will not confesse and believe the Bread in the Sacrament of the Altar (as you call it) to be the Body of Christ, and therefore ye spill mine and such like innocents Blood, and therefore ye Queens true Subjects, for which you shall answer, and that shortly.

After

The office and exercise of Christian widows in the primitive Church.

* St. Ambrosius took from the Church, and gave to the poor, we take from the poor their faith and impositions, &c. give them to Church and ministers where is nothing but serving and soliciting.

Anno 1556.

A commenta-
tion of
Lawyers.

Ex Regist.
Thos. Brown
Martyr.
January 27.
Tis. Brown
referred
by the Con-
table of S.
Briden.

Brown kneel-
eth among
the trees, at
Mass time.

B. Boner
charged to
be a Blood-
fucker.

The answer
of Thos. Brown
to B. Boner.

Anno 1556.
 Service read against the Bishops.

After this being spoken, *Boner* (as he had done to the other before) read in writing the Sentence definitive against him. The Copy and Form of which Sentence wherewith the Papists were wont to condemn all the innocent Saints of Christ, is above expressed. And so this done, he was committed to the Sheriffs to be had away, and burned the 27th day of the said Month of *January*, constantly abiding with the other the Popes torments for the true Confession of his Christian Faith.

4. John Tufdon, Martyr.

John Tufdon, Martyr, January 27.

The same day and time, when the foresaid *Thomas Brown* with his Fellows was condemned (as is above rehearsed) being the fifteenth day of *January*, was also produced *John Tufdon*, with the rest of the said Company, unto the like Condemnation. This *John Tufdon* was born in *Ipswich*, in the County of *Suffolk*, after that Apprentice in *London*, dwelling with one *George Goodgear* of the Parill of *S. Mary Botolph*, within the Diocese of *London*, who being complained of to *Sir Richard Cholmley* and *Dr. Story*, was by them sent unto *Boner Bishop of London*, and was divers times before him in Examination.

The Articles and Interrogatories ministred unto him, as unto the rest, before are specified, with his Answers also to the same annexed, &c. After this he was brought unto the open Confession; where the said blessed and true Servant of the Lord *John Tufdon*, appearing before the said Bishop and his Complices, was moved with sundry perswasions (as their manner is) to go from his opinion (which they named Herefie) and to persist in the unity of the Church which they were of; but he constantly persisting in that which he had received by the Preachers in King *Edward's* times, refused to do so, saying, there was no *Herefie* in his Answers. For I, said he, desire all *Herefie*. The Bishop yet still used his old accustomed perswasions to remove him; promising moreover all his offences and errors (as he called them) to be forgiven him, if he would return, &c. Then said *Tufdon*, Tell me where in I have offended, and I will return. Then said the Bishop, In your Answers. No, said *Tufdon* again, I have not therein offended; and ye (my Lord) pretend Charity, but nothing thereof appeareth in your works. Thus after a few words, the Bishop did likewise promulgate against him Sentence of Condemnation; which being read, the godly and constant Martyr was committed to the Secular Power, and so with much patience finished this life with the other above named, the 27th day of *January*.

5. John Went, Martyr.

John Went, Martyr, January 27.

John Went born in *Langham* in *Essex*, within the Diocese of *London*, of the Age of 27, and a Sheerman by Occupation, first was examined (as partly is touched before) by *Dr. Story* upon the Sacrament of his Popish Altar; and because the poor man did not accord with him thoroughly in the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, the said *Story* did send him up to *Boner B. of London*. Who likewise, after divers Examinations upon the Articles aforesaid in the Consistory, attempted the like manner of perswasions with him, as he did to the other, to recant and return. To whom, in few words, the said *Went* answered again, He would not, but that by the leave of God, he would stand firm and constant in that he had said. And when the Bishop yet notwithstanding did still urge and call upon him with words and fair glosses, to give over himself to their opinion, he could have no other answer of him but this, No, I say as I have said, &c. Whereupon being condemned by the Bishops Sentence, he was committed unto the Sheriffs (whom that shameless Shaveling at that time abused for his Servile Butchers) and so brought to his Martyrdom, which he with no less constancy suffered to the end, with the rest of that blessed Society of Martyrs above named.

6. Isabel Foster, Martyr.

Isabel Foster, Martyr, January 27.

With these five Persons above recited and condemned, were also two Women in the said Company condemned the same time and likewise burned for the same

cause; the one a Wife, called *Isabel Foster*, the other a Maid, named *Joan Warne*, or otherways, *Lashford*.

This foresaid *Isabel* was born in *Graysesham* in the Diocese of *Carlisle*, and afterwards married to one *John Foster*, Cutler, of the Parill of *Sr. Brades* in *Essex*, being of the Age of five and fifty years. She likewise, for not coming unto the Church, being sent unto *Boner*, and so imprisoned, was sundry times examined by the said Bishop, but never overcome, nor removed from the constant Confession of Christs Gospel.

At length, coming unto her final Examination before the Bishop in the Consistory the fifteenth day of the said Month of *January*, she was moved again, whether she would yet go from her former Answers. Whereunto she gave a resolute Answer in few words; I will not (saith she) go from them by Gods grace; and thereunto did adhere, neither being cask down by the menacing threats of the Bishop, nor yet yielding through his alluring inticements, promising both life and liberty, if she would associate her self in the Unity of the Catholic Church. Whereunto the said again in this wise, That she trusted she was never out of the Catholic Church, &c. and so persisting in the same, continued constant till the Sentence definitive was pronounced, and then she was committed by commandment of the Bishop to the Secular Power, and so brought a few days after to the Stake, the 7th and twentieth day of the foresaid Month; where she like a faithful Witness of the Lords Truth (with the other five aforesaid) ended her troubles here, to find a better rest in the Kingdom of Christ our Saviour.

7. Joan Lashford, alias Joan Warne, Martyr.

In a certain place of these Acts and Monuments heretofore, mention was made of one *Elizabeth Warne*, who with her Husband *John Warne* (as is aforesaid) in the beginning of *Queen Marias* Reign, was apprehended in *Bowe Church-yard* for being there at a Communion; and both suffered for the same, first the Man in the Month of *May*, then the Wife in *July* after; and now the Daughter in the Month of *January* followed her Parents in the same Martyrdom. Furthermore, in the same place following mention was made also of *Dr. Story*, who there (we said) was somewhat near unto the said Parties, either in Kindred or Alliance; albeit, as I understand since of some, there was no Kindred between them, but only that she was his Servant. Yet notwithstanding, the said *Dr. Story* (as it is above specified) before he was Commissioner, made intercession for the Parties to *Dr. Mariyn* then Commissioner; he but afterward being placed in Commission himself, he so far forgot himself, and his old Servant, that he became no small Proucer of their deaths. I will not here expostulate with the hard heart of that man, nor with his inconstancy: who yet notwithstanding, after he had brought them to death, was arrested himself for three-score pounds, charged with Debt in their behalf; which if it be true, it may thereby appear that he was in some piece of kindred joyed or allied unto them. But leaving that person unto the good pleasure of the Lord, let us return unto that we have in hand.

This *Joan Lashford*, born in the Parill of *Little Alhallowes* in *Thames-street*, was the Daughter of one *Robert Lashford* Cutler, and of the foresaid *Elizabeth Warne*, who afterward was married to *John Warne* Upholster, who (as is said) was persecuted for the Gospel of God to the burning fire; and after him his Wife; and after her, this *Joan Lashford* her Daughter; who, about the Age of twenty years, ministering to her Father and Mother in Prison, suspected and known to be of the same Doctrine and Religion, was sent to *Boner* Bishop of *London*, by *Dr. Story*, (as is above in her Answers to the Articles declared) and so committed to the *Compter* in the *Powltrey*, where she remained the space of five weeks, and from thence had to *Newgate*, where she continued the space of certain Months.

After that, remaining Prisoner in the Custody of the said *Boner*, her Confession was, being examined, that the whole twelve month before, and more, she came unto no Popish Mals Service in the Church, neither would she do, either to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, or to

Seven godly and constant Martyrs, suffering at one fire together in Smithfield.



The burning of the fore said man and four Women.

Anglo
1554.

be confessed, because her Conscience would not suffer her so to do; confessing and protesting, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, there is not the real presence of Christs Body and Blood; nor that auricular confession or

Superfluous
and Popish
Ceremonies.

absolution after the Popish sort, was necessary, nor the Mass to be good, or according unto the Scripture, but said that both the said Sacrament, confession, absolution, and the Mass, with all other their superfluous Sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service, as then used in this Realm of England, were most vile, and contrary to Christs words and institution; so that neither they were

The words
at the beginning,
nor shall beat
the latter end. This
godly Damocel, feeble and tender of age, yet strong by
Grace, in this her Confession and Faith stood so firm, that
neither the flattering promises, nor the violent threats of
the Bishops could turn her, but being moved and exhor-
ted by the Bishop to return to the Catholick unity of the
Church, said boldly to him again: I ye will leave off your
abomination, so I will return, and otherwise I will not.
The words
of Joan
Lomas
at her last
examination.

Whereupon the Bishop yet again promised her pardon of all her errors (as he called them) if she would be conformed. To this she answered again, saying unto the Bishop; Do as it pleaseth you, and I pray God that you may do that which may please God.

The sentence
and condem-
nation of
Joan Lomas
January 27.

And thus the constantly persevering in the Lords holy truth, was by the sentence definitive condemned and committed unto the Sheriffs, by whom the fore said seven and twentieth day of January she with the rest being brought unto the Stake, there washed her Clothes in the Blood of the Lamb, dying most constantly for his Word and Truth, to whom most lovingly she espoused her self.

And thus much concerning the Life, Story, and Condemnation of these seven Martyrs, afore specified.

Five other Martyrs in Canterbury, four Women and one Man, at two Stakes and one fire, altogether burned.

After these seven before rehearsed, martyred together in Smithfield, shortly after in the same Month, the 31. day of January, followed another like fellowship of Godly Martyrs at Canterbury, four Women and one Man, whose names be these:

4 Women
and one
Man, at
two
Stakes
January 31.

{ John Lomas, a young Man, }
{ Anne Albright, }
{ Joan Cutmer, }
{ Agnes Snot, Widow, }
{ Joan Sole, Wife. }

1. John Lomas, Martyr.

John Lomas of the Parish of Tenderden, detected and presented of that Religion which the Papists call Heretic, and cited upon the same to appear at Canterbury, examined there of the first Article, whether he believed the Catholick Church or no, answered thus; that he believed so much as is contained in Gods Book, and no more.

John Lomas
Martyr.

Then being assigned to appear again under the pain of the Law the next Wednesday evening after, which was the 17. day of January, the said Lomas examined whether he would be confessed of a Priest or no, answered and said, that he found it not written that he should be confessed to any Priest in Gods Book, neither would be confessed, unless he were accused by some Man of Sin. Again, examined whether he believed the Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament of the Altar really under the forms of Bread and Wine after the Consecration or no, he answered that he believed no reality of Christs Body to be in the Sacrament, neither found he written, that he is there under form or tressel, but he believed so much as is written. Being then demanded whether he believed that there is a Catholick Church or no, and whether he would be content to be a member of the same, he answered therunto, that he believed so much as was written in Gods Book, and other answer then this he refused to give, &c. Whereupon the sentence was given and read against him the 18. day of January, and so committed to the secular power, he constantly suffered for the Conscience of a True Faith, with the other four Women here following.

The answer
of John Lomas
to his Ex-
amination.The Sacra-
ment of the
Altar deny-
ed.Readly of
Christ nei-
ther under
form nor
tressel.Sentence a-
gainst John
Lomas.

2. Agnes Snot, Martyr.

Agnes Snot Widow, of the Parish of Smarden, likewise accused and cited for the true profession of Christs Religion, was divers times examined before the Pharisaical Fathers. Who, there compelled to answer to such Articles and inuogatories as should be ministered unto her, first denied to be confessed to a Priest; notwithstanding, the denied not to confess her offences as one to another, but not auricularly to any Priest. And as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, she protested that if the or any other did receive the Sacrament so as Christ & his Apostles after him did deliver it, then she and they did

January 31.

Confession
auricular
refused.The Sacra-
ment how so
be received.

Anno 1556. Peance is executed at the Sacrament.

Agnes South condemned and committed to the Secular Power.

did receive it to their comfort: but as it is now used in the Church, the said that no man could otherwise receive it than to his damnation, as the thought. Afterward being examined again concerning Peance, whether it were a Sacrament or no, the plainly denied the same, and that the Popish manner of their Absolution was not consonant to the Word, nor necessary to be taken; with such other like, agreeing with the Answers and Confession of *John Lomas* before mentioned. Whereupon the Sentence being likewise read, she was committed to the Sheriffs of *Canterbury*, and so suffering Martyrdom with the rest, declared her self a perfect and constant witness of Christ and of his truth the 31 day of *January*.

3. Anne Albright, alias Champnes, Martyr.

Anne Albright, likewise appearing before the Judge and his Colleagues, it it was also objected concerning the same matter of Confession. Whereunto she answered in these words, saying, That she would not be confessed of a Priest, and added moreover, speaking unto the Priests, You Priests (said she) are the Children of Perdition, and can do no good by your Confession. And likewise speaking unto the Judge and his Assistance, she told them that they were Subverters of Christs Truth.

And as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, she said it was a naughty and abominable Idol, and so utterly denied the same Sacrament. Thus persisting and persevering in her former sayings and answers, she was condemned the said eighteenth day of the said Month, with the other above mentioned; with whom also she suffered quickly, and with great comfort, for the right of Christs Religion.

4. Joan Sole.

In the like manner *Joan Sole*, of the Parish of *Horton*, was condemned of the same Pharisees and Priests, for not allowing Confession Auricular, and for denying the Real Presence and Substance of Christ to be in the Sacrament of the Altar. Who, after their Pharisaical Sentence being promulgate, was brought by the Sheriffs to the Stake with the other four, and sustained the like Martyrdom with them, through the assistance of Gods holy Grace and Spirit mightily working in her, to the glory of his Name, and confirmation of his Truth.

5. Joan Catmer.

The fifth and last of this heavenly Company of Martyrs, was *Joan Catmer* of the Parish of *Hibb*, wife (as it should seem) of *George Catmer* burned before. Who being asked what she said to Confession made to a Priest, denied to be confessed to any such Priest. And moreover, the Judge speaking of the Sacrament of the Altar, she said and affirmed, That she believed not in that Sacrament, as it was then used, for that it was made, said she, a very Idol. In this her Confession the remaining and persisting, was by the like Sentence cruelly of them condemned, and so suffered with the foresaid *Thomas Lomas*, and the other three fellow Martyrs, ratifying and confessing with their blood the true knowledge and doctrine of the glorious Gospel of Christ Jesus our Saviour.

These five persons were burnt at two Stakes, and one fire, together at *Canterbury*, as is before said: Who, when the fire was flaming about their ears, did sing *Psalms*. Whereat the good Knight, Sir *John Norton*, being there present, wept bitterly at the sight thereof.

The Judges and other Assistants which fate upon her, and the other four above mentioned, were *Richard Faucet*, *John Warren*, *John Mills*, *Robert Collins*, and *John Baker* the Notary.

The life, State, and story of the Reverend Pastor and Prelate, *Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury*, Martyr, burned at Oxford, for the Confession of Christs true Doctrine under *Queen Mary*, An. 1556. March 21.

AS concerning the life and estate of that most reverend Father in God, and worthy Prelate of godly memory, *Thomas Cranmer* late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and of the original cause and occasion of his per-

ferment unto his Archiepiscopal Dignity, who of many hath been thought to have purchased the time by friendship only, and of some other esteemed unworthy so high a Vocation: It is thus more to be noted and considered, that the same *Thomas Cranmer* coming of an ancient Parentage, from the Conquest to be dequed, and continuing since in the name and family of a Gentleman, was born in a Village called *Wolshulen* in *Nottinghamshire*, of whose old name and name there remaineth at these days one Manor and Mansion-house in *Lincolnshire*, called *Cranmer Hall*, &c. Some times of Heritage of the said stock and family. Who being from his Infancy kept at School, and brought up not without much good Civility, came in process of time unto the University of *Cambridge*, and there prospering in right good knowledge amongst the better sort of Students, was chosen Fellow of *Jesus College* in *Cambridge*. And so being Master of Art, and Fellow of the same Colledge, it chanced him to marry a Gentlemans Daughter: by means whereof he lost and gave over his Fellowship there, and became the Reader in *Buckingham Colledge*; and for that he would with more diligence apply that his Office of Reading, he placed his said Wife in an Inn, called the Dolphin in *Cambridge*, the Wife of the House being of Affinity unto her. By reason whereof, and for that his often resort unto his Wife in that Inn, he was much marked of some Popish Merchants; whereupon rose the slanderous noise and report against him, after he was preferred to the Archbishopric of *Canterbury*, raised up by the malicious disdain of certain malignant Adversaries to Christ and his Truth, brutting abroad every where, that he was but an Hostler, and therefore without all good learning. Of whose malicious reports, one of their practices in that behalf shall hereafter be declared, as place and time shall serve.

But in the mean time to return to the matter present: Whilst this said Mr. *Cranmer* continued as a Reader in *Buckingham Colledge*, his Wife died in Childbed. After whose death, the Masters and Fellows of *Jesus Colledge* desirous again of their old Companion, namely, for his forwardness in learning, chose him again Fellow of the same Colledge. Where he remaining at his Study, became in few years after the Reader of Divinity Lecture in the same Colledge, and in such special estimation and reputation with the whole University, that being Doctor of Divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the Heads of Divinity (which are two or three of the chiefest learned men) to examine such as yearly proceed in Commencement, either Bachelors or Doctors of Divinity, by whose approbation the whole University licenseth them to proceed unto their degree; and again by whose disallowance the University also rejecteth them for a time to proceed, until they be better furnished with more knowledge.

Now Doctor *Cranmer*, ever much favouring the knowledge of the Scripture, would never admit any to proceed in Divinity, unless they were substantially seen in the story of the Bible: by means whereof certain Priests, and other religious persons, who were principally brought up in the study of School Authors, without regard had to the Authority of Scriptures, were commonly rejected by him; so that he was greatly, for that his severe examination, of the religious sort much hated, and had in great indignation: and yet it came to pass in the end, that divers of them being thus compelled to study the Scriptures, became afterwards very well learned and well affected; inasmuch, that when they proceeded Doctors of Divinity, they could not overmuch extoll and commend Mr. Doctor *Cranmers* goodness towards them, who had for a time put them back, to aspire unto better knowledge and perfection. Among whom Dr. *Barret* a white Friar, who afterwards dwelt at *Norwich*, was after that sort handled, giving him no less commendation for his happy rejecting of him for a better amendment. Thus much I repeat, that our apostish and Popish sort of ignorant Priests, may well understand that this his exercise, kind of life, and vocation was not altogether Hostler like.

The Cranmer first coming to Cambridge

The Cranmer first coming to Cambridge

The Cranmer first coming to Cambridge

The Cranmer first coming to Cambridge

The Cranmer first coming to Cambridge

The Cranmer first coming to Cambridge

The Cranmer first coming to Cambridge

Well, to go forwards; Like as he was neither in fame unknown, nor in knowledge obscure, so was he greatly solicited by Dr. Capon, to have been one of the Fellows in the foundation of Cardinal Wolsey's College in Oxford, which he utterly refused, not without danger of indignation. Notwithstanding foreseeing that which after chanced, to the utter confusion of many well affected learned men there, without consideration (because mans glory was there more fought for than Gods) he stood to the danger of the said indignation, which chanced more prosperously unto him within few years after than he looked for. For whilst he thus continued in Cambridge, the great and weighty Cause of King Henry the Eighth, his Divorce with the Lady Katherine Dowager of Spain, came into question; which being many ways by the space of two or three years amongst the Canonists, Civilians, and other learned men diversely disputed and debated, it came to pass that this said Dr. Cranmer, by reason that the Plague was in Cambridge, resorted to *Walsham Abbey*, to one Mr. Cressley's House there, whose Wife was of kin to the said Mr. Cranmer. And for that he had two Sons of the said Cressley with him at Cambridge as his Pupils, he resided at *Walsham Cressley*, at the House of the said Mr. Cressley, with the said two Children, during that Summer time whilst the Plague reigned.

In this Summer time Cardinal Campeius and Cardinal Wolsey, being in Commission from the Pope, to hear and determine that great Cause in controversy between the King and the Queen, his pretended Wife, dallied and delayed all the Summer time until the Month of August came, in hearing the said Cause in controversy debated. When August was come, the said Cardinals little minding to proceed to Sentence giving, took occasion to finish their Commission, and not further to determine therein, pretending that it was not permitted by the Laws to keep Courts of Ecclesiastical matters in Harvest time: which sudden stay and giving over of the said Commission by both the Cardinals, being unknown to the King, it so much moved him, that he taking it as a mock at the Cardinals hands, commanded the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to dispatch forthwith Cardinal Campeius home again to Rome; and so in haste removed himself from London to *Walsham* for a night or twain, whilst his Household removed to *Greenwich*:

See Cardinal
and D. Bass,
chief officers
of the Kings
Divorce.

by means whereof it chanced that the Harbengers lodged Doctor Stephens, Secretary, and Doctor Foxe, Almoner (who were the chief furtherers, preferers, and defenders on the Kings behalf of the said Cause) in the House of the said Mr. Cressley, where the said Dr. Cranmer was also lodged and resident. When Supper time came, they all three Doctors met together; Doctor Stephens and Doctor Foxe much marveling of Doctor Cranmers being there. Who declared to them the cause of his there being, namely, for that the Plague was in Cambridge. And as they were of old Acquaintance, so the Secretary and the Almoner right well entertained Doctor Cranmer, minding to understand part of his Opinion touching their great business they had in hand. And so as good occasion served, whilst they were at Supper, they conferred with Dr. Cranmer concerning the Kings Cause, requesting him of his Judgment and Opinion what he thought therein.

Dr. Stephens,
Dr. Foxe, Dr.
Cranmer
confering
together in
the Kings
Cause.

Dr. Cranmer
answers in
the question
of the Kings
divorce.

Whereto Dr. Cranmer answered, That he could say little to the matter, for that he had not studied nor looked for it. Notwithstanding he said to them, that in his Opinion they made more ado in prosecuting the Law Ecclesiastical than needed. It were better, as I suppose, quoth Dr. Cranmer, that the question, Whether a man may marry his Brothers wife, or no? were decided and discussed by the Divines, and by the Authority of the Word of God, whereby the Confidence of the Prince might be better satisfied and quieted, then thus from year to year by fruitless delays to prolong the time, leaving the very truth of the matter unboulded out by the Word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the Scripture will soon declare, make open and manifest, being by learned men well handled, and that may be as well done in *England* in the Universities here, as at *Rome*, or elsewhere in any foreign Nation, the Authority whereof will compel any Judge from to come to a definitive Sentence: and

therefore, as I take it, you might this way have made an end of this matter long since. When Dr. Cranmer had thus ended his tale, the other two well liked of his device, and wished that they had so proceeded aforetime, and thereupon conceived some matter of that device to instruct the King withal, who then was minded to send to *Rome* again for a new Commission.

Now the next day, when the King removed to *Greenwich*, like as he took himself not well handled by the Cardinals in thus deferring his Cause, so his mind being unquieted, and desirous of an end of his long and tedious Sute, he called unto him these his two principal doers in his said Cause, namely, the said Dr. Stephens and Dr. Foxe, saying unto them, What now my Masters (quoth the King) shall we do in this infinite Cause of mine? I see by it there must be a new Commission procured from *Rome*, and when we shall have an end, God knoweth, and not I.

When the King had said somewhat his mind herein, the Almoner, Dr. Foxe, said unto the King again, We trust that there shall be better ways devised for your Majesty, then to make travel so far as to *Rome* any more in your Highnesses Cause, which by chance was put into our heads this other night being at *Walsham*. The King being very desirous to understand his meaning, said, Who hath taken in hand to instruct you, by any better or shorter way to proceed in our said Cause? Then said Dr. Foxe, It chanced us to be lodged at *Walsham* in Mr. Cressley's House this other night, your Highness being there, where we met with an old Acquaintance of ours, named Doctor Cranmer, with whom having Conference concerning your Highnesses Cause, he thought that the next way were, first to instruct and quiet your Majesties Confidence by trying your Highnesses Question out by the Authority of the Word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final Sentence. With this Report the Secretary was not content with the Almoner, for that he did not utter this device as of their own invention. And when the Secretary would have seemed by colourable words to make it appear to the King, that they of themselves had devised that means; the King then said, Where is this Dr. Cranmer? Is he still at *Walsham*? They answered, that they left him there. Marry (said the King) I will surely speak with him, and therefore let him be sent for out of hand. I perceive (quoth the King) that man hath the Sow by the right ear. And if I had known this device but two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me out of much disquietness.

Whereupon Dr. Cranmer was sent for, and being removed from *Walsham* to *Cambridge*, and so towards his Friends in *Nottinghamshire*, a Post went for him. But when he came to *London*, he began to quarrel with these two his Acquaintances, that he by their means was thus troubled and brought thither to be troubled in a matter, wherein he had nothing at all travelled in study; and therefore most instantly intreated them that they would make his excuse in such sort, that he might be dispatched away from coming in the Kings presence. They promised and took the matter upon them so to do, if by any means they might compass it. But all was in vain; for the more they began to excuse Dr. Cranmers absence, the more the King chid with them, for that they brought him not out of hand to his presence, so that no excuse serving, he was fain undelaidly to come to the Court unto the King, whom the gentle Prince benignly accepting, demanded his name, and said unto him, Were you not at *Walsham* such a time, in the company of my Secretary and my Almoner? Doctor Cranmer affirming the same; the King said again, Had you not conference with them concerning our matter of Divorce now in question after this sort, repeating the manner and order thereof? That is right true, if it please your Highness, quoth Doctor Cranmer. Well (said the King) I will perceive that you have the right scope of this matter. You must understand (quoth the King) that I have been long troubled in Confidence, and now I perceive that by this means I might have been long ago relieved one way or other from the same, if we had this way proceeded. And therefore, Master Doctors, I pray you, and nevertheless because you

Anno
1556.
Dr. Cranmer
device well
liked of.

The King
troubled a-
bout the di-
vorce.

Dr. Cranmer
device re-
ported to
the King.

Note the
glorious
lead of Dr.
Stephens.

Dr. Cranmer
sent for to
the King.

Dr. Cranmer
seeketh ex-
cuse, both
to come un-
to the Kings
presence.

Dr. Cranmer
brought to
the King.

Dr. Cranmer
talk be-
tween the
King and
Dr. Cranmer.

The King
troubled in
Confidence.

Anno 1556. you are a Subject, I charge and command you (all your other business and affairs set apart) to take some pains to see this my cause to be furthered according to your device, as much as it may lie in you, so that I may shortly understand whereunto I may trust. For this I protest before God and the World, that I seek not to be divorced from the Queen, if by any means I might justly be perswaded that this our Matrimony were inviolable, and not against the Laws of God; for otherwise there was never cause to move me to seek any such extremity. Neither was there ever Prince had a more gentle, a more obedient and loving Companion and Wife than the Queen is, nor did I ever fancy woman in all respects better, if this doubt had not risen; assuring you that for the singular virtues wherewith she is indued, besides the consideration of her noble stock, I could be right well contented still to remain with her, if so it would stand with the will and pleasure of Almighty God. And thus greatly commending her many and singular qualities, the King said, therefore pray you with an indifferent eye, and with as much dexterity as lieth in you, that you for your part do handle the matter for the discharging of both our Consciences.

Dr. Cranmer excusing and discharging himself to the King.

Dr. Cranmer alleged by the King to search the Scriptures in the cause of his divorce.

The King first given to understand that the Pope hath no authority to dispense with the Word of God.

The Kings matter removed from the Pope's Canon Law, to the trial of the Scriptures. The Kings marriage found by Gods Word unlawful.

Dr. Cranmer with others sent to Rome Ambassadors to the Pope.

The English Ambassadors not hasty to kiss the Popes foot.

The unmanly nature of a Dog presuming to kiss the Popes foot.

of God to shew some token by a Dog unto the Bishop of his inordinate pride, that his feet were more meet to be bitten of Dogs, then kissed of Christian men; the Spaniel (I say) when the Bishop extended his foot to be kissed, no man regarding the same, straight-way (as though he had been of purpose appointed thereunto) went directly to the Popes feet, and not only kissed the same unmanly with his mouth, but as some plainly reported and affirmed, took fast with his mouth the great toe of the Pope, so that in haste he pulled in his glorious feet from the Spaniel. Whereat our men smiling in their sleeves, what they thought, God knoweth. But in fine, the Pontifical Bishop after that, fought no more at that present for kissing his feet, but without any further Ceremony gave ear to the Ambassadors what they had to say.

Who entering there before the Bishop, offered on the Kings behalf to be defended, that no man *fere Divina*, could or ought to marry his Brothers wife, and that the Bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary: Divers promises were made, and sundry days appointed, wherein the question should have been disputed, and when our part was ready to answer, no man there appeared to dispute in that behalf. So in the end, the Bishop making to our Ambassadors good Countenance, and gratifying Dr. Cranmer with the Office of the Penitentiary, dismissed them undisturbed withal.

Whereupon the Earl of Wiltshire, and the other Commissioners, saving Dr. Cranmer, returned home again into England. And forthwith Dr. Cranmer went to the Emperor, being in his Journey towards Vienna, in Expedition against the Turk, there to answer such learned men of the Emperours Council, as would or could say any thing to the contrary part. Where amongst the rest, at the same time was *Cornelius Agrippa*, an high Officer in the Emperours Court, who having private Conference with Dr. Cranmer in the question, was so fully resolved and satisfied in the matter, that afterwards there was never disputation openly offered to Dr. Cranmer in that behalf. For through the perswasion of *Agrippa*, all other learned men there were much discouraged: Insomuch, that after Dr. Cranmer was returned into England, *Agrippa* fell into such displeasure with the Emperor, as some men thought, that because of the hindering and discouraging so much the contrary part, he was committed to Prison, where he forrow ended his life, as it was reported. In the mean space, while the Emperor returned home from Vienna thorow Germany, Dr. Cranmer in that Voyage had conference with divers learned men of Germany concerning the said question, who very ambiguously heretofore conceiving the cause, were fully resolved and satisfied by him.

This matter thus prospering on Dr. Cranmers behalf, as well touching the Kings question, as concerning the invalidity of the Bishop of Romes Authority, Bishop Warham, then Archbishop of Canterbury, departed this transitory life, whereby that Dignity then being in the Kings gift and disposition, was immediately given to Dr. Cranmer, as worthy for his Travel of such a Promotion. Thus much touching the preferment of Dr. Cranmer unto his Dignity, and by what means he achieved unto the same: not by flattery, nor by bribes, nor by any other unlawful means; which thing I have more at large discoursed, to stop the railing mouths of such, who being themselves obscure and unlearned, flame not to detract so learned a man most ignominiously with the surname of an Hostler, whom for his godly zeal unto sincere Religion, they ought with much humility to have had in regard and reputation.

Now as concerning his behaviour and trade of life towards God and the World, being now entered into his said Dignity, and soformuch as the Apostle *S. Paul* writing to two Bishops, *Timothy* and *Titus*, setteth out unto us a perfect description of a true Bishop, with all the properties and conditions belonging to the same, unto the which exemplar it shall be hard in these strange days to find the Image of any Bishop correspondent; yet for example sake let us take this Archbishop of Canterbury; and try him by the rule thereof, to see either how near he cometh to the description of *S. Paul*, or else how far

Arguing to the Popes face, that the contrary to the Word of God, he had no power to dispense.

Dr. Cranmer made the Popes Penitentiary.

Conference between B. Cranmer and Cornelius Agrippa.

Dr. Cranmer made A. Bishop of Canterbury.

1 Tim. 3; Titus 1.

off he fwereth from the common course of other in his time, of his calling. The rule of S. Paul is to be found, 1 Tim. 3. also in his Epistle to Titus, chap. 1. in these words :

Thereof of
a true Bilhop
ep.

A Bilhop must be faultles, as becometh the Minister of God. Not stubborn, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre ; but barbarous, one that loveth goodness, sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true Word and Doctrine, that he may be able to exhort, &c.

A Minister
must be
faultles.

Unto this rule and touch-stone, to lay now the life and conversation of this Archbishop, we will first begin with that which is thus written ; *A Bilhop must be faultles, as becometh the Minister of God.* Like as no man is without sin, and every man carrieth with him his especial vice and fault : so yet nevertheless, the Apostle meaneth, that the Bilhop and Minister must be faultles, in comparison of the common conversation of men of the world, which seem more licentiously to live at their own liberties and pleasures, then the Bilhop or Minister ought to do, having small regard unto good example giving : which a Bilhop and Minister must carefully ought to consider, lest by his dissolute life the word of God be slandered and evil spoken of. Which thing to avoid, and the better to accomplish this Precept of the Apostle, this worthy man evermore gave himself to continual study, not breaking that order that he in the University commonly used, that is, by five of the clock in the morning at his Book, and so consuming the time in study and prayer until nine of the clock ; he then applied himself (if the Princes affairs did not call him away) until dinner time to hear Suters, and to dispatch such matters as appertained unto his special cure and charge, committing his temporal affairs, both of his household and other foreign business, unto his Officers. So that such things were never impediments either to his study, or to his Pastoral Charge, which principally consisted in reformation of corrupt Religion, and in setting forth of true and sincere Doctrine. For the most part always being in Communion, he associated himself with learned men for lifting and bolting out of one matter or other, for the commodity and profit of the Church of England. By means whereof, and what for his private study, he was never idle ; besides that, he accounted it no idle point to bestow one hour or twain of the day in reading over such works and books as daily came from beyond the Seas.

After dinner, if any Suters were attendant, he would very diligently hear them, and dispatch them in such sort as every man commended his lenity and gentleness, although the case required that some whiles divers of them were committed by him to Prison. And having no Suters after dinner, for an hour or thereabout he would play at the Chess, or behold such as could play. That done, then again to his ordinary study, at the which commonly he for the most part stood, and seldom sate ; and there continuing until five of the clock, bestowed that hour in hearing the Common Prayer, and walking or using some honest pastime until Supper time. At Supper, if he had no appetite (as many times he would not sup) yet would he sit down at the Table, having his ordinary provision of his Meats furnished with expedient Company, he wearing on his hands his gloves, because he would (as it were) thereby wean himself from eating of meat, but yet keeping the Company with such fruitful talk as did repaite and much delight the hearers, so that by this means Hospitality was well furnished, and the Alms-chest well maintained for relief of the Poor. After Supper, he would consume one hour at the least in walking, or some other honest pastime, and then again until nine of the clock, at one kind of study or other. So that no hour of the day was spent in vain, but the same was so bestowed, as tended to the glory of God, the service of the Prince, or the commodity of the Church. Which his well bestowing of his time procured to him most happily a good report of all men, to be in respect of other mens conversation faultles, as it became the Minister of God.

The temperate diet at
Dinner
Cranmer.

That a Bilhop ought not to be stubborn.

Secondly, it is required, *That a Bilhop ought not to be stubborn.* With which kind of vice, without great wrong, this Archbishop in no wise ought to be charged : whole Nature was such, as none more gentle, or fofter won to an honest suit or purpose, specially in such things, wherein by his word, writing, counsel, or deed, he might gratifie either any gentle or noble man, or do good to any mean person, or else relieve the needy and poor. Only in causes pertaining to God or his Prince, no man more stout, more constant, or more hard to be won ; as in that part his earnest defence in the Parliament House, above three days together, in disputing against the six Articles of Gardiners device, can testify. And though the King would needs have them upon some politick consideration to go forward, yet he so handled himself as well in the Parliament House, as afterwards by writing, so obediently and with such humble behaviour in words towards his Prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but Almighty Gods, who was the Author of all truth, that the King did not only well like his defence (willing him to depart out of the Parliament House, into the Council Chamber, whilst the Act should pass and be granted for safeguard of his Conscience ; which he with humble protestation refused, hoping that his Majesty in process of time would revoke them again) but also after the Parliament was finished, the King perceiving the zealous affection that the Archbishop bare towards the defence of his cause, which many ways by Scriptures and manifold Authorities and Reasons he had substantially confirmed and defended, sent the Lord Cromwel, then Vicegerent, with the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the Lords of the Parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth ; where it was declared by the Vicegerent, and the two Dukes, that it was the Kings pleasure, that they all should in his Highness behalf, cherish, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his (well in that Parliament had shewed himself both greatly learned, and also discreet and wife, and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged for any thing that was passed contrary to his allegations. He most humbly thanked the Kings Majesty of his great goodness towards him, and them for all their pains, saying, I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and authorities shall take place to the Glory of God and the commodity of the Realm ; in the mean time I will satisfie my self with the honourable consent of your Honours, and the whole Parliament.

Here is to be noted, that this Mans stout and Godly defence of the truth herein so bound the Princes Conscience, that he would not permit the truth in that Man to be clean overthrown with Authority and Power ; and therefore this way God working in the Princes mind, a plain token was declared hereby, that all things were not so sincerely handled in the confirmation of the said six Articles as it ought to have been ; for else the Prince might have had a just cause to have born his great indignation towards the Archbishop. Let us pray that both the like stoutness may be perceived in all Ecclesiastical and learned Men where the truth ought to be defended and also the like relenting and flexibility may take place in Princes and Noble Men ; when they shall have occasion offered them to maintain the same, so that they utterly overwhelm not the truth by self-will, power and Authority. Now in the end this Archbishops constancy was such towards Gods Cause, that he confirmed all his doings by bitter death in the fire, without respect of any Worldly Treasure or pleasure. And as touching his stoutness in his Princes cause, the contrary resistance of the Duke of Northumberland against him proved right well his good mind that way ; which chanced by reason that he would not consent unto the dissolving of Chantries, until the King came of age, to the intent that they might then better serve to furnish his Royal Estate, then to have so great Treasure consumed in his nonage. Which his stoutness ; joyned with such simplicity, surely was thought to divers of the Council, a thing incredible, specially in such sort to contend with him, who was so accounted in this Realm, as few or none would or durst gainstand him.

Anno
1556.

The gentle
nature of
Doctor
Cranmer.

Cranmer
stout and
constant in
Gods Cause.

D. Cranmer a
stout enemy
against the
six Articles.

Of this com-
ing of the
Lord Crom-
wel, and the
two Dukes
to the Arch-
bishop read
before.

Example for
Ecclesiastical
Pastors.

Archb. Cran-
mer in dis-
pleasure a-
bout the
employing
of Chantry
Lands.

Anno
1556.

So dear was to him the cause of God, and of his Prince, that for the one he would not keep his Confidence clogged, nor for the other lurk or hide his head. Otherwise (as it is said) his very enemies might easily entreat him in any cause reasonable; and such things as he granted, he did without any suspicion of upbraiding or meed therefore: So that he was altogether void of the vice of stubbornness, and rather culpable of overmuch facility and gentleness.

Not angry.

The singular patience of this Archbishop.

Then followeth, *Not angry*. Surely if overmuch patience may be a vice, this Man may seem peradventure to offend rather on this part than on the contrary. Albeit for all his doings I cannot say: for the most part, such was his mortification that way, that few we shall find in whom the saying of our Saviour Christ so much prevailed as with him, who would not only have a Man to forgive his enemies, but also to pray for them; that lesson never went out of his memory. For it was known that he had many cruel enemies, not for his own defects, but only for his Religion sake: and yet whatsoever he was that fought his hinderance, either in goods, estimation or life, and upon conference would seem never so slenderly any thing to relent or excuse himself, he would both forget the offence committed, and also evermore afterwards friendly entertain him, and shew such pleasure to him, as by any means possible he might perform or declare: in so much that it came into a common Proverb: Do unto my Lord of *Canterbury* displeasure, or a throwed turn, and then you may be sure to have him your friend whiles he liveth. Of which his gentle disposition in abstaining from revengement, amongst many examples thereof, I will repeat here one.

A story between the Archbishop of Canterbury and a Popish Priest his enemy.

It chanced an ignorant Priest and Parson in the North parts (the town is not now in remembrance, but he was a kinsman of one *Chersey* a Grocer, dwelling within *London*, being one of those priests that use more to study at the Alehouse, than in his Chamber or in his study) to sit on a time with his honest neighbours at the Alehouse within his own Parish, where was communication mingled in commendation of my Lord *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This said Parson, envying his name only for Religion sake, said to his neighbours; what make you of him, quoth he, he was but an hostler, and hath no more learning than the Goslings that go yonder on the green, with such like slanderous and uncomely words. These honest neighbours of his, not well bearing those his unseemly words, arising against him, and sent their complaint to the Lord *Cromwell*, then Vicegerent in causes Ecclesiastical; who sent for the Priest, and committed him to the Fleet, minding to have had him recant those his slanderous words at *Pauls Cross*. Howbeit the Lord *Cromwell*, having great affairs of the Prince then in hand, forgot his Prisoner in the Fleet. So that this *Chersey* the Grocer, understanding that his kinsman was in durance in the Fleet, only for speaking words against my Lord of *Canterbury* consulted with the Priest, and between them devised to make sure rather unto the Archbishop for his deliverance, than to the Lord *Cromwell*, before whom he was accused: understanding right well that there was great diversity of natures between those two Estates, the one gentle and full of clemency, and the other severe and somewhat intractable, namely, against a Papist: So that *Chersey* took upon him first to try my Lord of *Canterbury*; benignity, namely, for that his counsils accusation touched only the offence against him, and none other. Whereupon the said *Chersey* came to one of the Archbishops Gentlemen (whose Father bought yearly all his Spices and Fruit of the said *Chersey*, and so thereby of familiar acquaintance with the Gentleman) who opening to him the trouble wherein his kinsman was, requested that he would be a means to my Lord his Master, to hear his suit in the behalf of his kinsman.

Chersey suing for his kinsman to the Archbishop.

The matter was moved. The Archbishop like as he was of nature gentle, and of much clemency, so would he never shew himself strange unto suitors but incontinently sent for the said *Chersey*. When he came before him, *Chersey* declared, that there was a kinsman of his in the Fleet, a Priest of the North Country, and as I may tell your Grace the truth (quoth *Chersey*) a Man of small civility, and of less learning. And yet he hath a Par-

sonage there, which now (by reason that my Lord *Cromwell* hath laid him in Prison) being in his Cure, is unfurled; and he hath continued in durance above two months, and is called to no answer, and knows not when he shall come to any end, so that this his imprisonment consumeth his substance, and will utterly undo him, unless your Grace be his good Lord. I know not the Man (said the Archbishop) nor what he hath done why he should be thus in trouble.

Said *Chersey* again, he only hath offended against your Grace, and against no Man else, as may well be perceived by the Articles objected against him, the Copy whereof the said *Chersey* then exhibited to the said Archbishop of *Canterbury*. who well perusing the said Articles said, This is the common talk of all the ignorant papistical Priests in *England* against me. Surely, said he, I was never made privy to this accusation, and of his indurance I never heard before this time. Notwithstanding, if there be nothing else to charge him withal against the Prince or any of the Council, I will at your request take order with him, and send him home again to his cure to do his duty; and so thereupon sent his ring to the Warden of the Fleet, willing him to send the prisoner unto him, with his keeper at afternoon.

The Priest sent for to the Archbishop.

When the keeper had brought the prisoner at the hour appointed, and *Chersey* had well instructed his cousin in any wise to submit himself to the Archbishop, confessing his fault, whereby that way he should most easily have an end and win his favour; thus the Parson being brought into the garden at *Lambeth*, and there the Archbishop sitting under the vine demanded of the Parson, what was the cause of his indurance, and who committed him to the Fleet. The Parson answered and said, that the Lord *Cromwell* sent him thither, for that certain malicious parishioners of his parish had wrongfully accused him of words which he never spake nor meant; *Chersey* hearing his foolish cousin so far out of the way from his former instruction, said, Thou dastardly dolt and varlet, is this thy promise that thou madest to me? Are there not a great number of thy honest neighbours hands against thee, to prove thee a liar? Surely my Lord (quoth *Chersey*) it is pity to do him good. I am sorry that I have troubled your Grace thus far with him.

Well, said the Archbishop unto the Parson, if you have not offended me, I can do you no good: for I am intreated to help one out of trouble that hath offended against me. If my Lord *Cromwell* hath committed you to prison wrongfully, that lieth in himself to amend and not in me. If your offence only hath touched me, I will be bold to do somewhat for your friends sake here. If you have not offended against me, then have I nothing to do with you, but that you may go and remain from whence you came. Lord what ado his kinsman *Chersey* made with him, calling him all kind of opprobrious names? In the end my Lord of *Canterbury* seeming to rise and go his ways, the fond Priest fell on his knees, and said, I beseech your Grace to forgive me this offence, assuring your Grace that I spake those words being drunk and not well advised. Ah, said my Lord, this is somewhat, and yet it is no good excuse: for drunkenness evermore uttereth that which lieth hid in the heart of Man when he is sober, alleging a Text or twain out of the Scriptures concerning the vice of drunkenness, which cometh not now to remembrance.

The Archbishop words to the Parson.

Now therefore (said the Archbishop) that you acknowledge somewhat your fault, I am content to commune with you, hoping that you are at this present of an indifferent sobriety. Tell me then, quoth he, did you ever see me, or were you ever acquainted with me before this day? The Priest answered and said, that never in his life he saw his Grace. Why then (said the Archbishop) what occasion had you to call me an hostler, and that I had not so much learning as the Goslings which then went on the green before you face? If I have no learning you may now try it, and be out of doubt thereof: therefore I pray you appose me, either in Grammar or in other liberal Sciences, for I have at one time or other tasted partly of them. Or else if you are a Divine, say somewhat that way.

The priest being amazed at my Lords familiar talk, made answer and said, beseech your Grace to pardon me. I am altogether unlearned, and understand not the Latin Tongue.

The Priest confesseth his fault to the Archb.

The Priests answer.

Tongue, but very simply. My only study hath been to say my service and Mass, fair and deliberate, which I can do as well as any Priest in the Countrey where I dwell, I thank God. Well, said the other, if you will not appoofe me, I will be so bold to appoofe you, and yet as easily as I can devise, and that only in the story of the Bible now in English, in which I suppose that you are daily exercised. Tell me therefore who was King *David's* Father, said my Lord. The Priest stood still pausing a while, and said, In good faith my Lord, I have forgotten his name. Then said the other again to himself you cannot tell that, I pray you tell me then, who was *Solomon's* Father? The fond foolish Priest without all consideration what was demanded of him before, made answer, Good my Lord bear with me, I am no further seen in the Bible, then is daily read in our service in the Church.

The Miss
Priest, ig-
norant in the
Scripture.

The Archbishop then answering, said, this my question may be found well answered in your service. But I now well perceive, howsoever ye have judged heretofore of my learning, sure I am that you have none at all. But this is the common practice of all you that be ignorant and superstitious Priests, to slander, backbite, and hate all such as are learned and well affected towards Gods Word and sincere Religion. Common Reason might have taught you what an unlikely thing it was, and contrary to all manner of reason, that a Prince having two Universities within his Realm of well learned Men, and desirous to be resolved of as doubtful a question as in these many years the like was not moved within Christendom, should be driven to that necessity for the defence of his cause, to send out of his Realm an Hostler, being a Man of no better knowledge then is a Golling, in an Embassage to answer all learned Men, both in the Court of *Rome*, and the Emperours Court, in so difficult a question as toucheth the Kings Matrimony, and the divorce thereof. I say, if you were Men of an y reasonable consideration, you might think it both unseemly and uncomely for a Prince so to do. But look where malice reigneth in Man, there reason can take no place: and therefore I see by it, that you all are at a point with me, that no reason or authority can persuade you to favour my name, who never meant evil to you, but your both commodity and profit. Howbeit, God amend you all, forgive you, and send you better minds.

Will will ne-
ver saith
well.

The Arch-
bishop for-
gives and
dismisseth
the Priest.

With these words the Priest seemed to weep, and desired his Grace to pardon his fault and frailty, so that by this means he might return to his Cure again, and he would sure recant those his foolish words before his Parishioners so soon as he came home, and would become a new Man. Well, said the Archbishop, so had you need and giving him a godly admonition to refuse the haunting of the Alehouse, and to bestow his time better in the continual reading of the Scriptures, he dismissed him from the *Elect*.

The Lord
Cromwel
intended with
the Arch-
bishop in forgiving
the foolish
Priest.

The Lord *Cromwel*, perceiving within a fortnight after that his prisoner was sent home without any open punishment, came to *Lambeth* unto the Archbishop, and in a great heat said to him, My Lord, I understand that you have dispatched the Northern Priest, that I of late sent to the *Elect*, home again, who dishonestly railed of you, and called you an Hostler.

Indeed I have so done (said he again) for that in his absence the people of his Cure wanted their Divine Service. It is very devout Divine Service that he saith, quoth the Lord *Cromwel*, it were more meet for him to be an Hostler then a curate, who flicked not to call you an Hostler. But I thought so much what you would do, and therefore I would not tell you of his knavery when I sent him to prison. Howbeit henceforth, they shall cut your throat before that I say any thing more to them on your behalf. Why? What would you have done with him, quoth the Archbishop? there was nothing laid to his charge, other then words spoken against me, and now the Man is repentant and well reconciled, and hath been at great charges in prison: it is time therefore that he were rid out of his trouble. Well, said my Lord *Cromwel*, I meant that he should have preached at *Pauls Cross* a recantation before he had gone home. That had been well done, quoth the other, for then you would have had all the World as well to wonder at me as at him. Well, well, said the Lord *Cromwel*, we shall so long bear with these Po-

The Arch-
bishop de-
fendeth his
enemy that
before railed
upon him.

pish knaves, that at length they will bring us indeed to Anno
be wonred at of the whole World. 1556.

This example among other, ferveth to declare that thereremained small desire of revenging in the said Arch-
bishop. But what should I say more? His quietness and mortification this way was such, that it is reported of all ver heard to call any of his household
that knew him, that he never raged so far with any of his household Servants, as once to call the meanest of them varlet, or knave in anger, much less to reprove a stranger with any reproachful words. Much unlike in this part to the property (as it seemeth) of some other inferior Bishops of this Realm, which have not spared to file in the faces, to pluck off the beards, to burn the hands, to beat and scourge with rods the Bodies of both Gentlemen, married Men and other, having almost nothing else in Mouth, but fools and knaves, &c. and yet after all this, think themselves good perfect Bishops, after the rule which followeth and saith.

No striker, no fighter.

No striker, no fighter. From which kind of vice, the nature of this Archbishop was so far off, as was his Doctrine which he professed, and death which he suffered, far off from all condition and example of blind Popery. After the prohibition of these foresaid vices, succedeth the Mother of all good vertues necessarily required of all true Christians, but chiefly of a Spiritual Prelate, which is,

Not given to filthy lucre, but barborous.

Not given to filthy lucre, but barborous, &c. The contrary whereof, was so odious unto St. *Paul*, that he esteemed the same no less then a kind of Idolatry, and that it maketh Men forget their duty to God so far, and in stead of him to worship their Treasure. How little this Prelate we speak of was infected with this vice, and how he was no niggard, all kind of people that knew him, as well learned beyond the Seas and on this side, to whom yearly he gave in exhibition no small sums of money, as other, both Gentlemen, mean Men, and poor Men, who had in their necessity that which he could conveniently spare, lend, or make, can well testify. And albeit such was his liberality to all sorts of Men, that no Man did lack whom he could do for, either in giving or lending; yet nevertheless such was again his circumspection, that when he was apprehended and committed by Queen *Mary* to the *Tower*, he owed no Man living a penny that could or would demand any duty of him, but satisfied every Man to the uttermost; whereas no small sums of Money were owing him of divers persons, which by breaking their bills and obligations he freely forgave, and suppressed before his attainer. Inasmuch that when he perceived the fatal end of King *Edward* should work to him no good success touching his Body and Goods, he incontinently called for his Officers, his Steward and others, commanding them in any wife to pay where any penny was owing, which was out of hand dispatched. And then he said, now der.

The liberal
doings of
this Arch-
bishop.

I thank God I am mine own Man, and in Confidence with Gods help able else to answer all the World and Worldly Adversities, which some Men suppose he might also have avoided, if he would have been Counsell'd by some of his Friends. It followeth moreover:

Barborous.

And as touching this word *Barborous*, whereby is meant the good maintenance of Hospitality; so little was this property lacking in him, that some Men mistaking the same, thought it rather a house of overmuch lavishing and unprofitable expence. But as nothing can be so well done, which by some other shall not be maligned and detracted; so neither did this Man lack his Cavaliers, some finding fault with his overmuch prodigality, some on the contrary part repining and complaining of his spare house, and straight order, much under the state of his revenues and calling. Of which two, the first sort must consider the causes which moved him to that liberal and large kind of expences. Wherein here cometh to be considered, the time wherein he served; which was when reformation

The large
expence of
Dr. Crammer.

ANNO 1556. formation of Religion first began to be advanced. In which time the whole weight and care of the same most chiefly depended upon his hand. During which season, almost for the space of sixteen years together, his house was never lightly unfurnished of a number both of learned Men and Commissioners, from time to time appointed for deciding of Ecclesiastical affairs.

And thus as he seemed to some over-large and lavishing more then needed in hospitality; so on the other side there wanted not some, of whom he was much noted and accused again, yea and also complained of to King Henry the eighth for too slender and niggardly house-keeping, as not worthy to be accounted the hospitality of a mean Gentleman, as here following shall appear.

After that the ample and great possessions, revenues, jewels, rich ornaments, and other treasures of the Abbeyes were dissolved and brought into the Kings hands, in the dissolving whereof many comorants were fed and fatished, and yet not so fully satisfied, but that within a few years they began to wax hungry again: and for so much as no more could be scraped now out of Abbeyes, they began to seek how by some other prey to satisfy their appetites, which was to tickle the Kings Ears with the rich revenue of the Bishops Lands. And to bring this devise to pass, they procured Sir Thomas Seimour Knight of the privy Chamber, to be a promoter of the matter, who not in all points much favouring the Archbishop, having time and a convenient occasion, declared to the King that my Lord of Canterbury did nothing else but sell his woods, and let his Leases by great and many fines, making havock of all the Royalties of the Archbishoprick, and that only to the intent to gather up treasure for his wife and Children, keeping no manner of Hospitality in respect of so great a revenue; advertising the King further, that it was the opinion of many wise Men, that it were more meet for the Bishops to have a sufficient yearly stipend in money out of the Exchequer, then to be cumbered with those temporal affairs of their Royalties, being impediments unto their study, and pastoral charge, and his Highness to have their Lands and Royalties converted to his proper use, which besides their honest stipends would be unto his Majesty no small commodity and profit.

When the King had heard his fair tale, he said little thereunto, other then this. Well (quoth he) we will talk more of this matter at another time. Now, within a fortnight after or thereabout (whether by chance, or of set purpose, it is not known) it came to pass, that one day his Highness going to dinner had washed, Sir Thomas Seimour then holding the Ewer, and said to the said Sir Thomas, Go you out of hand to Lamberth unto my Lord of Canterbury, and bid him to be with me at two of the Clock at afternoon, and fail not. Sir Thomas straightways went to Lamberth, and as he came to the gate the Porter being in the lodge, came out, and conveyed him to the Hall, which was thoroughly furnished and set, both with the household servants and strangers, with four principal head messes of officers, as daily it was accustomed to be. When Sir Thomas Seimour saw that stately large Hall so well set and furnished, being therewith abashed, and somewhat guilty of an untruth told to the King before, he retired back, and would needs have gone to the Archb. of Canterbury by the Chappell, and not through the Hall. Richard Nevell Gentleman, then Steward of the Household, perceiving his retire, came by and by unto him, and after gentle entertainment demanded of him whether he would speak with my Lord or no? Sir Thomas said, that he must needs do so from the Kings Highness, saying unto him, and this way I am going to my Lords Grace. Sir, said the Steward, you cannot go that way, for the door is fast shut, in the dinner time; and so by gentle means brought him up to my Lords Chamber thorow the Hall, who then was at dinner: with whom he dined after he had done his message, whose ordinary fair night always well befell a right honourable personage. When dinner was scarce done, Sir Thomas took his leave of my Lord, and went again to the Court.

So soon as the Kings Highness saw him, he said to him, have you been with my Lord of Canterbury? Sir Thomas answered, That I have if it please your Majesty,

and he will be with your Highness straightways. Dined you not with him, said the King? Yes Sir (said he) that have I done. And with that word, whether he espied by the Kings countenance, or by his words any thing tending to displeasure, he straightway without delay kneeled down upon his knee, and said, I beseech your Majesty to pardon me: I do now well remember and understand, that of late I told your Highness a great untruth concerning my Lord of Canterburys house-keeping; but from henceforth I intend never to believe that person which did put that vain tale into my head: For I assure your Highness that I never saw so honourable a Hall set in this Realm (besides your Majesties Hall) in all my life, with better order, and so well furnished in each degree. If I had not seen it my self, I could never have believed it, and himself also so honourably served.

Al Sir, quoth the Kings Highness, Have you now espied the truth? I thought you would tell me another tale when you had been there. He was a very varlet (quoth the King) that told you that tale: for he spendeth (ah good Man said the King) all that he hath in house-keeping. But now I perceive which way the wind bloweth. There are a sort of you to whom I have liberally given of the possessions and revenues of the suppressed Monasteries, which like as you have lightly gotten, so have you more unthrifely spent, some at dice, other some in gay apparel, and other ways worse: I fear me now that all is gone you would fain have me make another chavance with the Bishops Lands, to accomplish your greedy appetites. But let no other Bishops below their revenues would then my Lord of Canterbury doth, then shall you have no cause to complain of their keeping of house.

And thus the tale being shut up, and ended by the Kings Highness, neither Sir Thomas Seimour, nor any other on his behalf ever after durst renew, or revive that tale or any more in King Henries days; so that it may be evident to all indifferent Men, the liberality of the Archbishop in house-keeping what it was, which being defended, and commended by the Prince himself, rather may give a good example to his posterity to follow, then was then to be depraved of any private Subject, such as knew him not.

In which Archbishop this moreover is to be noted, with a memorandum touching the relief of the poor, the impotent, sick, and such as then came from the wars at Bullen, and other parts beyond the Seas, lame, wounded, and destitute: for whom he provided, besides his mansion house at Beckisborn in Kent, the Parsonage Barn well furnished with certain lodgings for the sick and maimed Soldiers. To whom were also appointed the almoner, a Physician, and a Surgeon to attend upon them, and to dress and cure such as were not able to resort to their Countreys, having daily from the Bishops kitchen hot broth and meat: for otherwise the common alms of the household was bestowed upon the poor neighbours of the Shire. And when any of the impotent did recover and were able to travel, they had convenient money delivered to bear their charges, according to the number of miles from that place distant. And this good example of mercy and liberal benignity, I thought here good not in silence to be suppressed, whereby other may be moved according to their vocation, to walk in the steps of no less liberality, then in him in this behalf appeared.

One that loveth goodness, sober minded, righteous, holy, and temperate.

Now followeth together these virtues, One that loveth goodness, sober minded, righteous, holy, and temperate. As concerning these qualities, the trade of his life before joynted with his benign and gentle disposition, do testify that he could not be void of these good virtues reigning in him, which was so abundantly adorned with the other, which above we have declared.

To cleave fast unto the true word of Doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to reprove them that say against it.

Then concludeth Saint Paul with the most excellent virtue

The King speaketh his desire of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Bishops Lords fought.

Untruth told to the King of the Archbishop of Canteburys house-keeping.

The Kings answer to the complainer of the Archb. bishop.

The Archb. of Canteburys house-keeping.

The complainer of the King for his untrue report.

To cleave
fast to the
Word of
God, as
to cleave
to the
Word of
God, as
to cleave
to the
Word of
God, as

Archb. Cran-
mer ever
constant in
defence of
Christs
truth and
Gospel.

virtue of all other to be wished in a Prelate of the Church. For if this constancy be not in him to this end, that is, *To cleave fast unto the true word of Doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with sublimed learning and to improve them that say against him* he be void (I say) of these gifts and graces, he is worthy of no commendation, but that. Next an Idol, and a deceiver of the World. Neither shall he deserve the name of a Bishop, if either for dread or mercy, affection or favour, he do at any time or in any point swerve from the truth. As in this behalf the worthy constancy of this said Archbishop never, for the most part, shrunk for any manner of storm; but was so many ways tried, that neither favour of his Prince, nor fear of the indignation of the same, nor any other worldly respect could alienate or change his purpose, grounded upon that infallible Doctrine of the Gospel. Notwithstanding, his constant defence of Gods truth was ever joyed with such meekness toward the King, that he never took occasion of offence against him.

At the time of setting forth the six Articles, mention was made before in the story of King Henry the eighth, how adventurously this Archbishop Thomas Crammer did oppose himself, standing as it were, post alone, against the whole Parliament disputing and replying three days together against the said Articles. Inasmuch, that the King, when neither he could mislike his reasons, and yet would needs have these Articles to pass, required him to absent himself for the time out of the Chamber, while the Act should pass, and so he did, and how the King afterward sent all the Lords of the Parliament unto the Archbishop to Lambeth to cheer his mind again, that he might not be discouraged, all which appeareth above expressed: And this was done during yet the state and time of the Lord Cromwells Authority. And now that it may appear likewise, that after the decay of the Lord Cromwell, yet his constancy in Christs cause did not decay, you shall hear what followeth after.

For after the apprehension of the Lord Cromwell, when the Adversaries of the Gospel thought all things sure now on their side, it was so appointed amongst them, that ten or twelve Bishops, and other learned Men, joyed together in Communion, came to the said Archbishop of Canterbury for the establishing of certain Articles of our Religion, which the Papists then thought to win to their purpose against the said Archbishop. For having now the Lord Cromwell fast and sure, they thought it had been safe, and sure for ever: as indeed to all Mens reasonable consideration, that time appeared so dangerous, that there was no manner of hope that Religion reformed should any one week longer stand, such account was then made of the Kings untowardness thereunto. Inasmuch, that of all those Commissioners there was not one left to stay on the Archbishops part but he alone against them all stood in the defence of the truth; and those that he most trusted to, namely, Bishop Heath, and Bishop Skip left him in the plain field, who then so turned against him, that they took upon them to persuade him to their purpose: and having him down from the rest of the Commissioners into his Garden at Lambeth, there by all manner of effectual persuasions intreated him to leave of his overmuch constancy, and to incline unto the Kings intent, who was fully set to have it otherwise then he then had penned, or meant to have set abroad. When those two his familiars, with once or two others his friends, had used all their eloquence and policy, he little regarding their inconstancy and remissness in Gods cause or quarrel, said unto them right notably.

You make much ado to have me come to your purpose, alledging that it is the Kings pleasure to have the Articles, in that sort you have devised them, to proceed, and now that you do perceive his Highness by sinister information to be bent that way, you think it a convenient thing to apply unto his Highness mind. You be my friends both, especially the one of you I did put to his Majesty as of trust. Beware (I say) what you do: There is but one truth in our Articles to be concluded upon, which if you do hide from his Highness by consenting unto a contrary Doctrine, and then after in process of time, when the truth cannot be hidden from him, his Highness shall perceive how that you have dealt colourably with him, I know his Graces nature so well (quoth the

Archbishop) that he will never after trust and credit you, or put any good confidence in you. And as you are both my friends, so therefore I will you to beware thereof in time, and discharge your Conscience in maintenance of the truth. But all this would not serve, for they still swerved; and in discharging of his Conscience and declaring the truth unto the King, GOD so wrought with the King, that his Highness joyed with him against the rest, so that the Book of Articles passing on his side, he was the Gole from them all, contrary to all their expectations, when many wagers would have been laid in London, that he should have been laid up with Cromwell at that time in the Tower for his stiff standing to his tackle. After that day there could neither Councillour, Bishop, nor Papist win him out of the Kings favour.

Notwithstanding, not long after that, certain of the Papists, the Council, whose names need not to be repeated, by bringing the inticement and provocation of his ancient enemy the Archbishop of Winchester, and other of the same sect, attempted the King against him, declaring plainly, that the Realm was so infected with Heresies and Hereticks, that it was dangerous for his Highness further to permit it unreformed, lest peradventure by long suffering, such contention should arise, and ensue in the Realm among his Subjects, that thereby might spring horrible commotions, and uproars, like as in some parts of Germany it did not long ago. The enormity whereof they could not impute to any so much, as to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who by his own Preaching, and his Chaplains, had filled the whole Realm full of divers pernicious Heresies. The King would needs know his accusers. They answered that forasmuch as he was a Councillour, no Man durst take upon him to accuse him; but if it would please his Highness to commit him to the Tower for a time, there would be accusations and proofs enow against him: for otherwise, just testimony and witness against him would not appear, and therefore your Highness (said they) must needs give us the counsel, liberty and leave to commit him to durance.

The King perceiving their importunate suite against the Archbishop (but yet meaning not to have him wronged, and utterly given over into their hands) granted unto them that they should the next day commit him to the Tower for his trial. When night came, the King sent Sir Anthony Denny about midnight to Lambeth to the Archbishop, willing him forthwith to resort unto him at the Court. The message done, the Archbishop speedily addressed himself to the Court, and coming into the Gallery where the King walked, and tarried for him, his Highness said, Ah, my Lord of Canterbury, I can tell you news. For divers weighty considerations it is determined by me, and the Council, that you to morrow at nine of the Clock shall be committed to the Tower, for that you and your Chaplains (as information is given us) have taught and Preached, and thereby sown within the Realm such a number of execrable Heresies, that it is feared, the whole Realm being infected with them; no small contentions, and commotions will rise thereby amongst my Subjects, as of late days the like was in divers parts of Germany: and therefore the Council have requested me, for the trial of the matter, to suffer them to commit you to the Tower, or else no Man dare come forth, as witness in these matters, you being a Councillour.

When the King had said his mind, the Archbishop kneeled down and said, I am content, if it please your Grace, with all my heart, to go thither at your Highness commandment, and I most humbly thank your Majesty that I may come to my trial; for there be that have many ways slandered me, and now this way I hope to try my self not worthy of such report.

The King perceiving the Mans uprightness, joyed with such simplicity, said; O Lord, what manner of Man be you? What simplicity is in you? I had thought that you would rather have fled to us to have taken the pains to have heard you and your accusers together for your trial, without any such indurance. Do you not know, what state you be in with the whole World, and how many great enemies you have? Do you not consider what an ease thing it is, to procure three or four false knaves to witness against you? Think you to have better luck

Anno
1556.

The Papists
bushy to
bring the
the Archbishop
of Winchester
the King.

The Archb.
again accus-
ed to the
King.

The King
sent Sir An-
thony Denny
about mid-
night to the
Archbishop.

The Kings
words and
advice for
the support-
ation of the
Archbishop

The Archb.
answer to
the King.

The Archb.
alone stand-
eth in de-
fence of the
truth.
B. Heath, and
B. Skip turn-
the said
Archb. in
the plain
field.
The Archb.
intreated by
B. Heath and
B. Skip to give
over the de-
fence of the
Gospel.

The answer
of the
Archb. to
Heath and
Skip.

Anno
1556.

The Kings
favourite
care and
consideration
toward the
Archbishop
of Cant.

that way, then your Master Christ had free by it you will run head-long to your undoing, if I would suffer you. Your enemies shall not so prevail against you, for I have otherwise devised with my self to keep you out of their hands. Yet notwithstanding to morrow when the Council shall sit, and send for you, resort unto them, and if in charging you with this matter, they do commit you to the *Tower*, require of them, because you are one of them, a Counsellor, that you may have your accusers brought before them without any further indurance, and use for your self as good persuasions that way as you may devise; and if no intreaty or reasonable request will serve, then deliver unto them this my ring (which then the King delivered unto the Archbishop) and say unto them, if there be no remedy my Lords, but that I must needs go to the *Tower*, then I revoke my cause from you, and appeal to the Kings own person by this his token unto you all; for (said the King then unto the Archbishop) so soon as they shall see this my ring, they know it to be well, that they shall understand that I have refused the whole cause unto mine own hands and determination, and that I have discharged them thereof.

The Archbishop perceiving the Kings benignity, so much to himwards, had much ado to forbear tears. Well said the King, Go your ways my Lord, and do as I have bidden you. My Lord humbling himself with thanks, took his leave of the Kings Highness for that night.

The King
send
his Signet
to the Council
of the Arch-
bishop of Cant.

On the morrow about nine of the clock before noon, the Council sent a Gentleman Usher for the Archbishop who when he came to the Council Chamber door, could not be let in but of purpose (as it seemed) was compelled there to wait among the Pages, Lackies and Serving-men all alone. Doctor *Buis* the Kings Physician reporting that way, and spying how my Lord of *Canterbury* was handled, went to the Kings Highness, and said, My Lord of *Canterbury*, if it please your Grace, is well promoted: for now he is become a Lackey or a Serving Man, for yonder he hath stood this half hour at the Council Chamber door amongst them. It is not so (quoth the King) I trow; the Council hath not so little discretion as to use the Metropolitan of the Realm in that sort, specially being one of their own number. But let them alone (said the King) and we shall hear more soon.

The Arch-
bishop being one
of the Council,
made to
stand at the
Council
Chamber
door wait-
ing.
D. Saw the
Kings Phil-
lasia a friend
of the Arch-
bishops.

Anon the Archbishop was called into the Council Chamber, to whom was alledged, as before is rehearsed. The Archbishop answered in like sort, as the King had advised him and in the end when he perceived that no manner of perswasion or intreaty could serve, he delivered them the Kings Ring, revoking his cause into the Kings hands. The whole Council being thereat somewhat amazed the Earl of *Bedford* with a loud voice, confirming his Words with a Solemn Oath, said, When you first began the matter my Lords, I told you what would come of it. Do you think that the King will suffer this Mans finger to take? Much more (I warrant you) will he defend his life against brabbling varlets? You do but cumber your selves to hear tales and fables against him. And so conveniently upon the receipt of the Kings token, they all arose and carried the King his ring, surrendering that matter as the order and use was, into his own hands.

The Arch-
bishop called be-
fore the
Council.

The Council
being set a-
gainst the
Archbishop,
he sheweth
the Kings
ring, and ex-
poundeth
from them.

When they were all come to the Kings presence, his Highness with a severe countenance said unto them; Ah my Lords, I thought I had had wiser Men of my Council then now I find you. What discretion was this in you, thus to make the Primate of the Realm, and one of you in Office, to wait at the Council Chamber door amongst serving Men? You might have considered that he was a Counsellor as well as you, and you had no such Commission of me so to handle him. I was content that you should try him as a Counsellor, and not as a mean Subject. But now I well perceive that things be done against him maliciously, and if some of you might have had your minds, you would have tried him to the uttermost. But I do you all to wit, and protest, that if a Prince may be beholding unto his Subject (and so, solemnly laying his hand upon his Breast, said) by the Faith I owe to God, I take this Man here, my Lord of *Canterbury*, to be of all other a most Faithful Subject unto us, and one to whom we are much beholdings, giving him great commendations otherwise. And with that one or two of the chieft of the Council, making their excuse, declared,

that in requesting his indurance, it was rather meant for his trial, and his pargation against the common Treacon and slander of the World, than for any malice conceived against him. Well, well, my Lords (quoth the King) take him and well use him, as he is worthy to be, and make no more ado. And with that every Man caught him by the hand, and made fair weather of all together, which might easily be done with that Man.

And it was much to be marvelled, that they would go so far with him, thus to seek his undignified understanding this well before, that the King most entirely loved him, and always would stand in his defence who ever spake against him; as many other times the Kings patience was by sinister informations against him tried. Inasmuch that the Lord *Cramwell* was ever more wont to say unto him, My Lord of *Canterbury*, you are most happy of all Men: for you may do and speak what you list; and say what all Men can against you, the King will never believe one word to your detriment or hindrance. I am sure I take more pains than all the Council doth, and spend more largely in the Kings affairs, as well beyond the Seas as on this side: yea I assure you, even very spies in other foreign Realms, at *Rome* and elsewhere, cost me above 1000. marks a year: and do what I can to bring matters to knowledge, for the commodity of the King and the Realm, I am every day chidden, and many false tales now and then believed against me; and therefore you are most happy, for in no point can you be discredited with the King. To this the Archbishop again answering, if the Kings Majesty were not good to me that way, I were not able to stand and endure one whole week, but your Wisdom and Policy is such, that you are able to shift well enough for your self.

Now when the Kings Highness had thus benignly and mercifully dispatched the said Archbishop from this fore accusation by the Council laid against him, all Wife Men would have thought that it had been meer folly afterwards to have attempted any matter against him: but yet look where malice reigneth, there neither reason nor honesty can take place. Such therefore as had conceived deep rancor and displeasure against him, ceased not to persecute him by all possible means. Then brought they against him a new kind of accusation, and caused Sir *John Goswike* Knight, a Man of a contrary Religion, to accuse the Archbishop openly in the Parliament House, laying to his charge his Sermons Preached at *Sandwich*, and his Lectures read at *Canterbury*, wherein should be contained manifest Heresies against the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. Which accusation came to the Kings ear. Why (quoth the King) where dwelleth *Goswike*? As I take it, either in *Bedfordshire* or *Buckinghamshire*, and hath he so open an ear that he can hear my Lord of *Canterbury* Preaching out of *Kens*? This is very likely, said the King. If he had been a *Kentishman*, there had been something worthy of consideration: but as for *Goswike*, I know him well enough, and what good Religion he is of. Go to him and tell him, said the King to one of his privy Chamber, if he go not to my Lord of *Cant.* and so reconcile himself to him, that he may become his good Lord, I will pull the Gossings Feathers so, that hereafter he shall have little lust to slander the Metropolitan, or any other learned Man. When Sir *J. Goswike* heard these words, it was no need to bid him halt himself to *Lambeth* unto the Metropolitan, making to him as many friends as possibly he might. When he came to the Archbishop, he was fain to disclose unto him, by what means he was procured to do that he did, requesting his clemency to be his good Lord, or else he took himself utterly undone, being so in the Kings indignation, as he understood he was by that afore declared, which fute was soon won at his hand, and so the Archb. calling into the fatchel behind him all those Sir *J. Goswikes* ingratitude, went to the King, and wane to Sir *John* his Princes favour again. And thus the King made a short end of this accusation.

The Lords of
the Council
glad to see
the Arch-
bishop
glad to see
the Arch-
bishop.

The King
glad to see
the Arch-
bishop
glad to see
the Arch-
bishop.

The Lord
Cramwell
glad to see
the Arch-
bishop
glad to see
the Arch-
bishop.

Another so-
lution
brought into
the Parlia-
ment House
by Sir *John*
Goswike a-
gainst the
Archbishop.

Another
check of
the King for
accusing the
Archbishop.

Goswike
glad to fall
in again
with the
Archb.
of *Canterbury*.

Well, here you may perceive that malicious invention went not the wisest way to work, to procure a stranger dwelling a far off, to accuse the Archb. of his Doctrines Preached in his Diocess: and therefore hath this malice learned some more wisdom now to accuse their Archbishop

in a letter as he had never be able to avoid it. And
 articles were procured by his ancient enemies, that
 the Prelates of his Cathedral Church in
 Canterbury, but also the most famous Justices of Peace
 in the shire should accuse him, article against him; which
 in very good was most substantially brought to pass, and
 the Articles both well written and subscribed, were deliv-
 ered to the Kings Highness, as a thing of such effect,
 that there must needs follow to the said Archbishop,
 both indignation of the Prince, and condign punish-
 ment for his grievous offence committed by him and
 his Chaplains, in Preaching such erroneous Doctrine as they
 did within his Diocess of Canterbury; whereof they being
 such witnesses of credit, no Man had cause to doubt of
 their circumspet doings. This accusation particularly
 sent out was delivered to the King by some of the
 Councils means: When the King had perused the Book, he
 wrapt it up, and put it in his sleeve; and finding occasion
 to solace himself upon the Thames, came with his Barge
 furnished with his Musicians a long by Lambeth Bridge
 towards Chulsey. The noise of the Musicians provoked
 the Archbishop to resort to the Bridge to do his
 duty, and to salute his Prince. Whom when the
 King had perceived to stand at the Bridge, effoons he
 commanded the Watermen to draw towards the shoar,
 and so came straight to the Bridge.

Altho my Chaplain, said the King to the Archbishop,
 come into the Barge to me. The Archbishop declared
 to his Highness, that he would take his own Barge and
 wait upon his Majesty. No said the King, you must come
 into my Barge, for I have to talk with you. When the
 King and the Archbishop all alone in the Barge were set
 together, said the King to the Archbishop, I have news
 out of Kent for you my Lord. The Archbishop answered,
 good I hope, if it please your Highness. Marry, said the
 King, they be so good, that I now know the greatest He-
 retick in Kent, and with that pulled out of his sleeve the
 Book of Articles against both the said Arch. and his Preach-
 ers, and gave the Book to him, willing him to peruse the
 same. When the Archb. had read the Articles, and saw
 himself so uncourtously handled of his own Church
 whereof he was head, I mean of the Prelates of his
 Cathedral Church, and of such his neighbours as he had
 many ways gratified, I mean the Justices of the Peace,
 it much grieved him. Notwithstanding he kneeled down
 to the King, and besought his Majesty to grant out
 a Commission to whomsoever it pleased his High-
 ness, for them to try our the truth of this accusation.

In very deed (quoth the King) I do so mean, and you your-
 self shall be chief Commissioner, to adjoyn to you such two
 or three more as you shall think good your self. Then it
 will be thought (quoth the Archb. to the King) that it is not
 indifferent, if it please your Grace, that I should be mine
 own judge, and my Chaplains also. Well, said the
 King, I will have none other but your self, and such as you
 will appoint. For I am sure that you will not halt
 with me in any thing, although you be driven to ac-
 cuse your self, and I know partly how this gear proceedeth,
 and if you handle the matter wisely, you shall find a pretty
 conspiracy devised against you. Whom will you have with
 you, said the King? Whom I shall please your Grace to
 name, quoth the Archbishop. I will appoint D. Belbourn
 for one, name you the other, said the King, meet for that
 purpose. My Chancellor, Doct. Cox, and Hulsey my Re-
 gister, said the Archbishop are Men expert to examine
 such troublesome matters. Well, said the King, let there be
 a Commission made forth, and out of hand get you in-
 to Kent, and advertise me of your doings.

They came into Kent, and there they fate about three
 weeks to bout out who was the first occasion of this
 accusation, for thereof the King would chiefly be adver-
 sed. Now the Inquisition being begun by the Commis-
 sioners, every Man thrunk in his horns, and no Man would
 confess any thing to the purpose. For Doctor Cox and
 Hulsey, being friendly unto the Papists, handled the
 matter so, that they would permit nothing material to
 come to light. This thing being well perceived by one of
 the Archbishops Servants, his Secretary, he wrote inconti-
 nently unto Doctor Butts and Master Deny, declaring
 that if the Kings Majesty did not fend some other
 to assilt my Lord, than those that then were there

with him, it were, not possible that any thing should
 come to light: and therefore wished that Doctor Lee
 or some other stout Man that had been exercised in the
 Kings Ecclesiastical affairs in his Visitations, might be sent
 to the Archbishop. Upon these Letters Dr. Lee was sent
 to York by the King, and having the Kings far-
 ther mind declared unto him, when he came to
 the Court, he resorted incontinently into Kent, so
 that on All-hallow even he delivered to the Archbishop
 the Kings Ring, with a declaration of his Highness farther
 pleasure: and by and by upon his message done, he ap-
 pointed the Archbishop aforesaid to name him a dozen
 or sixteen of his Officers and Gentlemen, such as had
 both discretion, wit, and audacity, to whom he gave
 in Commission from the King, to search both the pur-
 ses, chests, and Chambers of all those that were deemed
 suspected to be of this confederacy, both within the Cath-
 edral Church and without, and such Letters or writings as
 they could find about them, to bring them to the Arch-
 bishop and him.

These Men thus appointed, went in one hour and
 instant to the persons houses and places, that they were
 appointed unto; and within four hours afterwards
 the whole conspiracy was disclosed by finding of Letters,
 some from the Bishop of Winchester, some from Doctor
 London at Oxford, and from Justices of the Shire, with
 other; so that the first beginning, the proceeding, and
 what should have been the end of their conspira-
 cy, was now made manifest. Certain Chambers and Chests
 of Gentlemen of the Shire were also searched, where also
 were found Letters serving to this purpose. Amongst all
 other, came to my Lords hands two Letters, one of the
 Suffragan of Dover, and another of Doctor Barber a
 Civilian, whom continually the Archbishop retained with
 him in household for expedition of matters in sute before
 him, as a Counsellor in the Law when need required. These
 two Men being well promoted by the Archbishop, be-
 came in such familiarity, that when the Suffragan,
 being a Prebend of Canterbury, came to him, he
 always set him at his own mess, and the other ne-
 ver from his table, as Men in whom he had much
 delight and comfort, when time of care and peni-
 tence chanced. But that which they did, was altogether
 counterfeit, and the Devil was turned into the Angel of
 light, for they were both of this confederacy.

When my Lord had gotten these their Letters into his
 hands, he on a day, when it chanced the Suffragan to
 come to him to his house at Bekiburn, called to him
 into his study the said Suffragan of Dover and Doctor
 Barber, saying, Come, your ways with me, for I
 must have your advice in a matter. When they were
 with him in his study altogether, he said to them,
 you twain be Men in whom I have had much confidence,
 and trust, you must now give me some good Counsel, for
 I am shamefully abused with one or twain to whom I
 have shewed all my secrets from time to time, and
 did trust them as my self. The matter is so now fal-
 len out, that they not only have disclosed my secrets,
 but also have taken upon them to accuse me of Heresie
 and are become witnesses against me. I require you there-
 fore of your good advice how I shall behave myself to-
 wards them. You are both my friends, and such as I al-
 ways have used when I needed Counsel. What say you to
 the matter, quoth the Archbishop?

Marry, quoth Doctor Barber, such villains and knaves The Suffra-
 (serving your honor) were worthy to be hanged out of
 hand without any other Law. Hanging were too good
 quoth the Suffragan, and if there lacked one to do Execu-
 tion, I would be hangman my self

At these words, the Archbishop cast up his hands
 to Heaven, and said, Oh Lord most merciful God, whom
 may a Man trust now adays? It is most true which
 is said, *Maledictus qui confisat in homine, & ponit carnem
 brachium suum*. There was never Man handled as I am:
 but O Lord thou hast evermore defended me, and
 lent me one great friend and Master (meaning the King)
 without whose protection I were not able to stand up-
 right one day unoverthrown, I praise thy holy name there-
 fore: and with that he pulled out of his bosom their two
 Letters, and said, Know ye these Letters my Masters?
 With that they fell down upon their Knees, and desired
 for

Anno
 1556.

D. Lee of
 York ap-
 pointed
 Commis-
 sioner with the
 Archb. for
 trying out
 the conspira-
 cy.

The conspir-
 acy of the
 Papists ag-
 ainst the
 Archbishop
 found out.
 The Bishop
 of Winces-
 ter, D. Lon-
 don, the Suffra-
 gan of Dover, D.
 Barber, with
 certain Ju-
 stices of
 Kent, chief
 conspirers
 against the
 Archbishop.
 Donetical
 enemies and
 conspirers ag-
 ainst their
 Master.

Privy talk
 between the
 Archbishop
 and his Suffra-
 gan, and
 D. Barber.

D. Cox Chan-
 cellor and M. Hulsey
 Register to
 the Archb.
 This Secre-
 tary was M.
 Th. More,
 an ancient and
 true friend of
 the Archb.

Articles put
 to the King
 against D.
 Cranmer.

The King
 makes the
 Archb. privy
 of the Arti-
 cles.

Commission
 appointed to
 be sent into
 Kent, for tri-
 al of the Arti-
 cles.

Commis-
 sioners ap-
 pointed to
 Cranmer D.
 Belbourn, D.
 Cox Chan-
 cellor, M.
 Hulsey Re-
 gister.

Anno
1556.The title
S. Martin,
and Barker
the Ordian,
ask the
Archbishop
forgiveness
The Archb.
forgiveness
his enemies.

forforgiveness, declaring how they a year before were attempted to do the same, and so very lamentably weeping and bewailing their doings, besought his Grace to pardon and forgive them. Well, said the gentle Archbishop, God make you both good men, Inever defrauded this at your hands. but ask God forgiveness, against whom you have rightly offended. If such men as you are not to be trusted, what should I do alive? I perceive now, that there is no fidelity or truth amongst men. I am brought to this point now, that I fear my left hand will accuse my right hand. I need not much marvel hereat, for our Saviour Christ truly prophesied of such a world to come in the latter days. I beseech him of his great mercy to finish that time shortly; and so departing, he dismissed them both with gentle and comfortable words, in such sort that never after appeared in his countenance or words any remembrance thereof.

Now, when all those Letters and Accusations were found, they were put into a Chest, the Kings Majesty minding to have perused some of them, and to have partly punished the Principals of it. The Chest and Writings were brought to Lambeth; At what time began the Parliament Lord what ado there was to procure the King a Subsidy, to the intent that thereupon might ensue a Pardon, which indeed followed, and so nothing was done, other than their falsehood known. This was the last puff of the Pike that was inferred against the said Archbishop in King Henry the Eighth his days: for never after durst any man move matter against him in his time.

At last, I have ye both the working and disclosing of this Popish Conspiracy against this worthy Archbishop and Martyr of Christ, Thomas Cranmer. In the which Conspiracy, for so much as complaint was also made unto the King of his Chaplains and good Preachers in Kent, it shall not be out of the story something likewise to touch thereof, especially of Richard Turner, then Preacher the same time in this Archbishopps Diocess, and Curate to Mr. Morice the Archbishopps Secretary, in the Town of Chartham, by whose diligent preaching a great part of this heart-burning of the Papists took his first kindling against the Archbishop. Touching the description of which story, because by me nothing shall be said, either more or less, than is the truth, ye shall hear the very certainty thereof truly compiled in a Letter sent the same time to Dr. Bus and Sir Anthony Deny, to be shewed unto the King, and so it was, written by the foresaid Mr. Morice, Secretary then to the Archbishop, Favourite of the same Benefice of Chartham, and Patron to Mr. Turner, there Minister and Preacher aforesaid.

A Letter or Apology of Mr. Morice, sent to Sir William Butts, and Sir Anthony Deny, defending the Cause of Mr. Richard Turner Preacher, against the Papists.

The Letter first beginning in these words; I am certain (Right worshipful) that it is not unknown to your discret wisdom, &c. And after a few lines, coming to the matter, thus the said Letter proceedeth.

As your Worships well know, it was my chance to be brought up under my Lord of Canterbury, my Master, in writing of the Ecclesiastical Affairs of this Realm, as well touching reformation of corrupt Religion, as concerning the advancement of that pure and sincere Religion received by the Doctrine of the Gospel; which I take to be so substantially handled and builded upon the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, That Hell-gates shall never prevail against it. The consideration whereof compelled me, being a Farmer of the Parsonage of Chartham in Kent, to retain with me one named Mr. Richard Turner, a man not only learned in the Scriptures of God, but also in Conversation of life towards the world, irreprehensible, whom for discharging of my Conscience I placed at Chartham aforesaid, to be Curate there. This man, because he was a stranger in the Country there, and so thereby void of grudge or displeasure of any old rancor in the Country, I thought it had been a mean to have gotten him the better credit in his Doctrine; but where malice once taketh fire against truth, no policy I see is able to quench it. Well, this man as he knew what appertained to his Office, so

he spared not weekly both Sundays and Holydays to open the Gospel and Epistle unto his audience after such a sort, (when occasion served) that as well by his vehement inveighing against the Bishop of Rome usurped Power and Authority, as in the earnest setting forth and advancing of the Kings Majesties Supremacy, innumerable of the People of the Country resorting unto his Sermons, changed their opinions, and favoured effectually the Religion received. The confluence of the People so daily increased, that the Church being a fair, ample, and large Church, was not now and then able to receive the number. The fame of this new instruction of the People was so blazed abroad, that the popish Priests were wonderfully amazed and displeased, to see their Pope so to be defaced, and their Prince so highly advanced.

Now thought they it is high time for us to work, or else all will here be utterly lost by this mans preaching: some of them went with Capons, some with Hens, some with Chickens, some with one thing, some with another, unto the Justices, such as then favoured their Cause and Faction, and such as are no small fools, as Sir John Baker, Sir Christopher Hale, Sir Thomas Maile, Knights, with other Justices. The Prebendaries of Christi Church in Canterbury were made privy hereof, giving their succour and aid thereunto. So that in conclusion poor Turner, and other Preachers, were grievously complained of unto the Kings Majesty. Whereupon my Lord of Canterbury, and certain other Commissioners, were appointed at Lambeth to sit upon the Examination of these Seditious Preachers. Howbeit, before Turner went up to his Examination, I obtained of Sir Thomas Maile, that he in Easter week was content to hear Turner preach a rehearsal Sermon in his Parish Church at Westwell, of all the Doctrine of his Sermons preached at his Cure in Chartham: which he most gently granting, heard Turner both before noon and after noon on the Wednesday in Easter week last past, and (as it seemed) took all things in good part, remitting Turner home to his said Cure with gentle and favourable words. I supposed by this means to have stayed Mr. Turner at home from further Examination, hoping that Sir Thomas Maile would have answered for him at Lambeth before the Commissioners. Notwithstanding, after Mr. Mailes coming to London, such Information was laid in against Turner, that he was sent for to make answer himself before the said Commissioners; and there appearing before them, he made such an honest, perfect, and learned answer unto the Articles objected, that he was with a good Exhortation discharged home again, without any manner of Recantation or other Injunction.

Now when the Pope-Catholick Clergy of Kent understood of his coming home without controulment, so that he preached as freely as he did before, against their blind and dumb Ceremonies, straightway by the help of the Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, they found a new means to put him to utter confusion, devising that he came home from Examination in such glorious pomp of by the High-ways side in the Woods adjoining, that five hundred persons met him then with banquetting dishes to welcome him home, stirring the People rather lies to an Uproar and Commotion, than to keep them in any quiet Obedience: when in very deed, contrary to this purpose, (as God would) on this side Rochester a mile or two, for avoiding all such light and glorious talk with any his Familiars or Acquaintance, he of purpose left the Highway, and came throw the woods all alone above 18 miles together on foot, so wearied and maged for want of sustenance, that when he came into my House at Chartham, he was not well able to stand or speak for faintness & thirst.

This malicious tale being reported to the Kings Highness, his Majesty was so fore aggrieved therewith, that he sent for the Archbishop of Canterbury, willing him to cause Turner to be whipped out of the Country. By means whereof, the Archbishop of Canterbury sent again for Turner: I hearing thereof made incontinent report by my Letters, with such vehemency proving it meet malice, that the Archbishop understanding the truth, pacified again the Kings Majesties wrath. Home cometh Turner once again to his Cure without blot. Which I wrung the Papists, in that they could not prevail, that they thought it all in vain further to attempt a

The great
concourse of
people to
Mr. Turners
preaching.Sir J. Baker,
Sir Christopher
Hale, Sir
Thomas Maile,
Knights,
with other
Justices.Sir Th. Maile
hearing
Turner,
could find
no fault with
his doctrine.Mr. Turner
appearing
before the
Commissioners
at Lambeth,
was discharged
homeNew matter
made a-
gainst Rich.
Turner.
The practice
of Papists to
hold up their
King-
dom with
dishes to
welcome him
home, stirring
the People
rather lies
to an Uproar
and Commotion,
than to keep
them in any
quiet Obedience.The King
deceived by
faint information.

New matter
mediated
against the
Turner.

gainst him concerning any accusation for matters in Kent, the Archbishop of Canterbury being his Ordinary. Well, yet would they not thus leave him undisturbed. Then was there one new matter devised, how that he had Preached erroneous Doctrine in other Countries before he came into Kent, laying to his charge that he had both translated the Mass into English, and said, or ministered the same, and that he had Preached against Purgatory, Pilgrimages, and praying for the dead, &c. By means whereof, he was now convened before the whole Council by the Bishop of Winchester, who sent *Syriake Petre* Gentleman for him, who brought him up to London bound (as I heard say) and being examined before the said Bishop of Winchester and others, he was committed to ward for a season.

Conspiracy
against the
Archbishop
concerning
the Justice
at Kent.

In the which mean time, the Archbishop of Canterbury, being in Kent about the trial of a conspiracy purposed against himself by the Justices of the Shire, and the Prelates of Christs Church: Turner is now sent down to the Archbishop, to the intent he should recant that Doctrine which long ago he in other places out of Kent had Preached, to the utter subversion and defacing of all that he had most Godly and earnestly here in Kent taught both to the Glory of God, and the furtherance and setting forth of the Kings Highness proceedings. If his Majesty will thus permit learned honest Men thus daily to be overcrowded and trodden under foot with a sort of tyrannous, or rather traitorous Papists. (who cannot abide to hear his Majesties Supremacy advanced, nor the sincere Word of God Preached) it were better for Men to dwell amongst the Infidels and miscreants than in England.

What reason is this, that Turner should recant here in Kent the Doctrine which in other Countries he hath taught, to the wounding and overthrowing most desperately of five hundred Mens Consciences and above, (I dare say) who lately by his sincere Preaching have embraced a right good opinion both of the Kings Supremacy, and also of the reformed Religion received? All good Subjects may well lament the Kings Majesties estate in this behalf, that no Man may dare to be so bold to advance his Highness Title, but that every ignorant and malicious Papist shall spurn against him, seeking his utter undoing, and that by the ayd of Papistical Justices set in Authority. I beseech your Worships to pardon me of my rude and homely terms. They herein deserve worse, if worse may be devised. For what honest Man can bear with this, that so Noble a Princes ears shall be thus impudently abused with manifest lies and fables, as this one is of Turners coming home in such a Triumph as they craftily and falsely had devised? It is easily to be suspected what they mean and go about, that, the Prince being alive, dare take in hand so uncourtiously to abuse both the gentle nature of the Prince, and his Godly Preacher, the advancer and extoller of his just Authority.

What think your Worships they would attempt if his Majesty were at Gods mercy (as God foretold that ever any of us should see that day, without better reformation) that can thus dally with his Highness, blinding his Eyes with mists, whilst he liveth and reigneth amongst us in most prosperity? As for my L. of Cam. he dare nothing do for the poor Mans delivery, he hath done so much for him already. And his Grace hath told me plainly, that it is put into the Kings Head, that he is the maintainer and supporter of all the Hereticks within the Realm; nor will he permit me or my neighbors to resort unto the Council for his purgation while he was at *Chartham*, saying only I have obtained this at his hand, that I may become a siter in writing to my friends and good Masters in the Court for his delivery.

And therefore it is (Right Worships) that I have now taken pen in hand, thus to discourse and open our misery unto you concerning the extrem handling of this honest poor Man Master Turner, that if it may possibly be brought to pass by your Godly Wisdom, the poor Man may be released and discharged of his recantation; you cannot do to God and your Prince a more acceptable service in my poor opinion. For otherwise if he should be driven to recant (as I am sure he will sooner dye) both Gods cause and the Kings shall suffer no small detriment amongst his poor loving Subjects here. For if

there be no better stay for the maintenance of these Godly Preachers, the Kings Authority concerning his Supremacy shall lye still alone hidden in the Act of Parliament, and not in the Hearts of his Subjects.

If they can bring to pass that Turner may recant, to the defacing of his good Doctrine Preached here, then have they that for which they have thus long travelled. And yet in effect shall not Turner recant, but King Henry the 8. in Turners person shall most odiously recant, to the wounding of all Mens Consciences here. If the Kings Majesty do not esteem his Authority given to his Highness by Gods Word and his Parliament: it were well done, that the Preachers had good warning to talk no more to the people thereof, rather than thus to be tossed and troubled for doing their duties, by the members of Antichrist.

And now to the intent that they might effectually for ever slander Turners Doctrine here, they have indicted him for offending against the six Articles, this last Sessions, by the witness of two Papists of the Parish of *Chartham* his utter enemies, *Sanders* and *Brown* by name, for a Sermon Preached at *Chartham*, on Passion Sunday, which chanced on *S. Gregories* even, they both being absent that day at *Wye Fair*, as it is well proved, namely, for that he Preached against the Mass: saying, that our Saviour Christ was the only sole Priest, which sung Mass on the Altar of the Crose, there sacrificing for the Sins of the World once for ever, and that all other Masses were but remembrances and thanksgiving for that one Sacrifice, or such words in effect.

Wherefore, to conclude (Right Worships) knowing your Godly zeals, as well towards the preferment of sincere Religion, as your no less affection towards the King his Majesties person and his Godly proceedings, I most humbly beseech you, in the Bowels of our Saviour Christ, to ponder the weighty consideration of the premises, as by your travels unto the Kings Majesty or to the Honourable Council, we here in Kent that have now of late our hearts bent towards the observation of the Law of God and the Prince through Turners Godly persuasions, may receive from your Worships some comfortable words of his deliverance, or else certainly many an honest and simple Man, lately embracing the truth, may perhaps fall away desperately from the same, not without danger of their souls. In accomplishing whereof your Worships shall not only do unto Almighty God and the Prince most true and acceptable service, but also bind the said M. Turner, with all other to whom this cause doth appertain, both daily to pray for your properties, and also to be at your commandments during their lives. From *Canterbury* the second day of November.

Your worships evermore at commandment, R. M.

And thus much containeth the Letter sent (as is said) by Master *Admirer* to Doctor *Buts* and Sir *Anthony Deny*. Now, what success and speed this Letter had, it followeth to be declared. For Doctor *Buts* the Kings Physician afore said, after the receipt of these Letters, considering the weighty contents of the same, as he was ever a forward friend in the Gospels cause, so he thought not to forelack this matter to the uttermost of his diligence, and so spying his time, when the King was in trimming and in walking (as his manner was at certain times to call for his Barber) Doctor *Buts* (whose manner was at such times ever to be present, and with some pleasant conceits to refresh and solace the Kings mind) brought with him in his hand this Letter. The King asking what news, Doctor *Buts* pleasantly and merrily beginneth to insinuate unto the King the effect of the matter, and so at the Kings Commandment read out the Letter; which when the King had heard, and paused a little with himself upon the same, commanded again the Letter to be read unto him. The hearing and consideration whereof so altered the Kings mind, that where as before he commanded the said Turner to be whipped out of the Country, he now commanded him to be retained as a faithful Subject. And here of that matter an end. Let us now return to the Archbishop again.

Anno
1556.

The Kings
favour re-
conciled us
again to the
Turner.

Who

Who although he was compassed about (as is said) with mighty enemies, and by many crafty trains impugned, yet through Gods more mighty Providence, who king in the Kings heart so to favour him, he rubbed out all K. *Henries* time without blemish or foil, by means of the Kings supposition; who not only defended the said Archbishop against all his conspired Adversaries, but also extended such special favour unto him in such sort, that he being not ignorant of his wife, whom he had married before at *Nuremberge*, (being Niece to the wife of *Olander*) keeping her also their fix Articles time contrary to the Law, notwithstanding he both permitted the same, and kept his counsel.

Then after the death of K. *Henry*, immediately succeeded his Son K. *Edward*, under whose government and protection the state of this Archbishop being his Godfather, was nothing impaired, but rather more advanced.

During all this mean time of K. *Henry* aforesaid, until the entring of K. *Edward*, it seemed that *Cranmer* was scarcely yet thoroughly perswaded in the right knowledge of the Sacrament, or at least, was not yet fully ripened in the same: wherein shortly after he being more groundedly confirmed by conference with Bishop *Ridley*, in process of time did so profit in more ripe knowledge, that at last he took upon him the defence of that whole Doctrine, that is, to refute and throw down first the Corporal Presence; secondly, the fantastical Transubstantiation; thirdly, the idolatrous adoration; fourthly, the false error of the Papists, that wicked men do eat the natural Body of Christ; and lastly, the blasphemous Sacrifice of the Mass. Whereupon in conclusion he wrote five Books for the publick instruction of the Church of *England*, which instruction yet to this day standeth, and is received in this Church of *England*.

Against these five Books of the Archbishop, *Stephen Gardiner*, the Arch-enemy to Christ and his Gospel, being then in the *Tower*, subbereth up a certain Answer, such as it was, which he in open Court exhibited up at *Lambeth*, being there examined by the Archbishop aforesaid, and other the Kings Commissioners in King *Edward* days, which Book was intitled, *An explication and assertion of the true Catholick Faith, touching the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, with a Confutation of a Book written against the same*.

Against this Explication, or rather a cavilling Sophistication of *Stephen Gardiner* Dr. of Law, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* learnedly and copiously replying again, maketh answer, which also he published abroad to the eyes and judgments of all men in print. All which Writings and Books, as well of the one part as of the other, our present story would require here to be inserted, but because to prosecute the whole matter at length will not be comprehended in a small room, and may make too long tarrance in our story, it shall therefore be best to put off the same unto the place of the Appendix following, wherein (the Lord willing) we intend to close up both these, and divers other Treatises of these learned Martyrs, as to this our story shall appertain.

The unquiet spirit of *Stephen Gardiner* being not yet contented, after all this thrusteth out another Book in Latin of the like Popish Argument, but after another Title, named *Marcus Antonius Constantinus*. Whereunto first the Archbishop again intending a full Confutation, had already abolved three parts of his Answer lying in Prison. Of the which parts two perished in *Oxford*; the other yet remaineth in my hands ready to be seen and set forth, as the Lord shall see good. Also Bishop *Ridley* lying likewise the same time in Prison, having there the said Book of *Marcus Antonius*, for lack of Pen and Paper, with a Lead of a Window, in the Margent of the Book wrote Annotations, as straightness of time would serve him, in refutation of the same Book. And finally, because these worthy Martyrs had neither liberty nor leisure to go through with that travel, that which lacked in them, for accomplishment of that behalf, was supplied shortly after by *Peter Martyr*, who abundantly and substantially hath overthrown that Book in his learned Defense of the Truth, against the false Sophistication of *Marcus Antonius* aforesaid.

Besides these Books above cited of this Archbishop, divers other things there were also of his doing, as the

Book of the Reformation, the Catechism, with the Book of Homilies, whose part was by him contrived, part by his procurement approved and published. Whereunto also may be adjoynd another Writing or Confutation of his against 88. Articles by the Convocation devised and propounded, but yet not ratified nor received in the reign and time of King *Henry* the Eighth.

And thus much hitherto concerning the doings and travels of this Archbishop of *Canterbury*, during the lives both of K. *Henry*; and of K. *Edward* his Son. Which two Kings so long as they continued, this Archbishop lacked no stay of maintenance against all his maligners.

Afterward, this King *Edward*, a Prince of most worthy towardsness, falling sick, when he received that his death was at hand, and the force of his painful Disease would not suffer him to live longer, and knowing that his Sister *Mary* was wholly wedded to Popish Religion, bequeathed the Succession of this Realm to the Lady *Jane* (a Lady of great Birth, but of greater Learning, being Niece to King *Henry* the Eighth by his Sister) by consent of the Council and Lawyers of this Realm. To this Testament of the Kings, when all the Nobles of the Realm, States and Judges had subscribed; they sent for the Archbishop, and required him that he also would subscribe. But he excusing himself on this manner, said, That it was otherwise in the Testament of King *Henry* his Father, and that he had sworn to the Succession of *Mary*, as then the next Heir, by which Oath he was so bound, that without manifest Perjury he could not go from it. The Council answered, that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had Conscience as well as he; and moreover, that they were sworn to that Testament, and therefore he should not think there was any danger therein, or that he should be in more perill of Perjury than the rest.

To this the Archbishop answered, that he was judge of no mans Conscience but his own: and therefore as he would not be prejudicial to others, so he would not commit his Conscience unto other mens facts, or cast himself into danger, seeing that every man should give account of his own Conscience, and not of other mens. And as concerning Subscription, before he had spoken with the King himself, he utterly refused to do it.

The King therefore being demanded of the Archbishop concerning this matter, said, That the Nobles and Lawyers of the Realm counselled him unto it, and perswaded him that the Bond of the first Testament could nothing let, but that this Lady *Jane* might succeed him as Heir, and the People without danger acknowledge her as their Queen. Who then demanding leave of the King, that he might first talk with certain Lawyers that were in the Court; when they all agreed that by Law of the Realm it might be so, returning to the Kings, with much ado he subscribed.

Well, not long after this King *Edward* died, being almost sixteen years old, to the great sorrow, but greater calamity of the whole Realm. After whose decease immediately it was commanded that the Lady *Jane* (which was unwilling thereunto) should be proclaimed Queen. Which thing much disliked the Common People, not that they did so much favour *Mary*, before whom they saw the Lady *Jane* preferred, as for the hatred conceived against some, whom they could not favour.

Besides this, other Causes there happened also of Discord between the Nobles and the Commons the same time: for what injuries of Commons and Enclosures wrongfully holden, with other inordinate pollings and uncharitable dealing between the Landlords and Tenants, I cannot tell. But in fine, thus the matter fell out, that *Mary* hearing of the death of her Brother, and shuffling for her self, was so assisted by the Commons, that citizens she prevailed. Who, being established in the possession of the Realm, not long after came to *London*, and after she had caused first the two Fathers, the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Duke of *Suffolk*, to be executed, (as is above remembered) likewise she caused the Lady *Jane*, being both in Age tender, and innocent from this Crimes, after she could by no means be turned from the constancy of her Faith, together with her Husband, to be beheaded.

The rest of the Nobles, paying fines, were forgiven, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* only excepted. Who though he desired pardon (by means of his friends) could obtain none;

The true and godly doctrine of the Sacrament in five Books, first written by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

An Explication of Stephen Gardiner's Answer to the five Books of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Marcus Antonius Constantinus written by Stephen Gardiner.

Archbishop of Canterbury's answer to Marcus Antonius Constantinus.

Notes of Dr. Ridley's Margent of the Book of Marcus Antonius.

The Martyr's Book of defense against the Answer of Marcus Antonius aforesaid.

Lady Jane.

Cranmer refused to swear to Lady Jane.

Cranmer through the persuasion of the Council, the King and Lawyers, subscribed to King Edward's Testament.

Mares also
mence re-
posham Ju-
dium Parli-
dis, free-
reg. injuri-
matus Virg.
Bened. i.

informuch that the Queen would not once vouchsafe to see him. For as yet the old grudge against the Archbishop for the divorcement of her Mother, remained hid in the bottom of her heart. Besides this Divorce, she remembered the state of Religion changed; all which was imputed to the Archbishop as the cause thereof.

While these things were in doing, a rumor was in all mens mouths, That the Archbishop, to curry favour with the Queen, had promised to say a *Dirge* Mass after the old custom, for the Funeral of King *Edward* her brother. Neither wanted there some which reported that he had already said Mass at *Canterbury*; which Mass indeed was said by Dr. *Thornen*. This rumor *Cranmer* thinking speedily to stay, gave forth a writing of his Purgation: the tenor whereof being before expressed, I need not here again to recite.

Thus Doctor
Thornen was
after the B.
et Divor, a
craed and
w. sed per-
fection.

This Bill being thus written, and lying openly in a Window in his Chamber, cometh in by chance Mr. *Story*, Bishop then of *Rocheſter*, who after he had read and perused the same, required of the Archbishop to have a Copy of the Bill. The Archbishop when he had granted and permitted the same to Mr. *Story*, by the occasion thereof Mr. *Story* lending it to some friend of his, there were divers Copies taken out thereof, and the thing published abroad among the common people; infomuch that every Scriveners Shop almost, was occupied in writing and copying out the same: and so at length some of these copies coming to the Bishops hands, and so brought to the Council, and they lending it to the Commissioners, the matter was known, and so he commanded to appear.

The Bishop
was D. Head
Bishop after
of York.

Whereupon D. *Cranmer* at his day prefixed, appeared before the said Commissioners, bringing a true Inventory, as he was commanded, of all his goods. That done, a Bishop of the Queens Privy Council, being one of the said Commissioners, after the inventory was received, bringing in mention of the Bill; My Lord, (said he) there is a Bill put forth in your name, wherein you seem to be aggrieved with saying up the Mass again; we doubt not but you are forry that it is gone abroad.

To whom the Archbishop answered again, saying, as I do not deny my self to be the very Author of that Bill or Letter, so must I confesse here unto you, concerning the same Bill, that I am forry that the said Bill went from me in such fort as it did. For when I had written it, Mr. *Story* got the copy of me, and it is now come abroad, and as I understand, the City is full of it. For which I am forry, that it is passed my hands: for I had intended otherwise to have made it in a more large and ample manner, and minded to have set it on *Pauls* Church door, and on the doors of all the Churches in *London*, with mine own Seal joynted thereto.

At which words, when they saw the constantness of the Man, they dismissed him, affirming they had no more at that present to say unto him, but that shortly he should hear further. The said Bishop declared afterward to one of Doctor *Cranmers* friends, that notwithstanding his attainder of Treason, the Queens determination at that time was, that *Cranmer* should only have been deprived of his Archbishoprick, and have had a sufficient living assigned him, upon his exhibiting of a true inventory, with commandment to keep his house without meddling in matters of Religion. But how true that was, I have not to say. This is certain, that not long after this, he was sent to the *Tower*, and soon after Condemned of Treason. Notwithstanding the Queen, when she could not honestly deny him his pardon, seeing all the rest were discharged, and specially, seeing he left (of all other) subscribed to King *Edwards* request, and that against his own will, released to him his action of Treason, and accused him only of Heresie; which liked the Archbishop right well, and came to pass as he wished, because the cause was not his own, but Christs; not the Queens, but the Churches. Thus stood the cause of *Cranmer*, till at length it was determined by the Queen and the Council, that he should be removed from the *Tower* where he was prisoner, to *Oxford*, there to dispute with the Doctors and Divines. And privily word was sent before to them of *Oxford* to prepare themselves, and make them ready to dispute. And although the Queen and the Bishops had concluded before what

Cranmer
Condemned
of Treason.

Cranmer re-
billed of
Treason, and
accused of
Heresie.

should become of him, yet it pleased them that the matter should be debated with Arguments, that under some honest shew of dispute the matter of the Man might be covered. Neither could their hasty speed of revengement abide any long delay; and therefore in all haste he was carried to *Oxford*.

What this disputation was, and how it was handled, what were the questions and reasons on both sides, and also touching his Condemnation by the University and the Prolocutor, because sufficiently it hath been declared, we mind to now therefore proceed to his final Judgment and order of Condemnation, which was the 12. day of September, Anno 1555. and seven days before the Condemnation of Bishop *Ridley* and Master *Latimer*, as is above foretouched. The Story whereof here followeth, faithfully corrected by the report and narration (coming by chance to our hands) of one who being both present thereat, and also a devout favourer of the See and Faction of *Rome*, can lack no credit (I trow) with such which seek what they can to discredit whatsoever maketh not with their phantastical Religion of *Rome*.

After the Disputations done and finished in *Oxford* between the Doctors of both Universities, and the three Worthy Bishops, Doctor *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, ye heard then how sentence condemnatory immediately upon the same was miniftered against them by Doctor *Weston* and other of the University; whereby they were judged to be Hereticks and so committed to the Major and Sheriffs of *Oxford*. But forasmuch as the Sentence given against them was void in Law (for at that time the Authority of the Pope was not yet received into the Land) therefore was a new Commission sent from *Rome*, and a new Process framed for the conviction of these reverend and Godly learned Men aforesaid. In which Commission, first was Doctor *James Brooks* Bishop of *Gloceſter* the Popes Subdelegate, with Doctor *Martin*, and Doctor *Story*, Commissioners in the King and Queens behalf, for the Execution of the same. Of the which three Commissioners above named, as touching Doctor *Martin*, this by the way is to be understood, that although he was used for an instrument of the Popes side, to serve a turn (whose Book also is extant against the lawful Marriage of Priests) yet notwithstanding neither was he so bitter an enemy in this perfection, as other Commissioners were; and also in this time of Queen *Elizabeth*, where divers other Doctors of the Arches refused to be sworn against the Pope, he denied not the Oath; and yet notwithstanding not altogether here to be excused. But to the purpose of this Story. Whereof first it shall be requisite to declare the circumstance, and the whole state of the matter, as in a general description, before we come to their Orations, according as in a parcel of a certain Letter touching the same, it came to our hands.

Imprimis, here is to be understood, that at the coming down of the foresaid Commissioners, which was upon *Thursday*, the 12. of September, Anno 1555. in the Church of *S. Mary*, and in the East end of the said Church at the High Altar, was erected a solemn Scaffold for Bishop *Brooks* aforesaid, representing the Popes person, ten foot high. The feat was made that he might sit under the Sacrament of the Altar. And on the right hand of the Popes Delegate beneath him fate Doctor *Martin*, and on the left hand fate Doctor *Story* the King and Queens Commissioners, which were both Doctors of the Civil Law, and underneath them other Doctors, Scribes, and Pharisees also, with the Popes Collector, and a rabblement of such other like.

And thus these Bishops being placed in their Pontificalibus, the Bishop of *Canterbury* was sent for to come before them. He having intelligence of them that were there, thus ordered himself. He came forth of the prison to the Church of *S. Mary*, fit forth with Bills and gyleses for fear he should start away, being clothed in a fair black gown, with his hood on both shoulders, such as Doctors of Divinity in the University use to wear. Who after he was come into the Church, and did see them sit in their Pontificalibus, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but stood still till that he was called. And anon one of the Proctors for the Pope, or else his Doctor, called *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, appear here and make answer to that shall be laid to thy charge; that is to

Anno
1556.
Cranmer had
to Oxford.

D. Brooks, D.
Martin, D.
Story, Com-
missioners a-
gainst the
Archbishop.
D. Martin
not so bitter
in this Per-
fection, as
other Com-
missioners
were.

The order
of setting
and placing
the Com-
missioners.

The appear-
ing of the
Archbishop
before the
Commission-
ers.

Anno
1556.

to say, for Blasphemy, Incontinency, and Heresie; and make answer here to the Bishop of Gloucester, representing the Popes person.

The Arch-
bishop
gives re-
verence to the
Queens
Commission-
ers.
Dr Cranmer
gives no
reverence to
the Popes
Delegat.

Upon this being brought more near unto the Scaffold, where the foresaid Bishop sat, he first well viewed the place of Judgment, and spying where the King and Queens Majesties Proctors were, putting off his Cap, he first humbly bowing his knee to the ground, made reverence to the one, and after to the other.

That done, beholding the Bishop in the face, he put on his Bonet again, making no manner of token of obedience towards him at all. Whereat the Bishop being offended, said unto him, that it might becom him right well, weighing the authority he did represent, to do his duty unto him. Whereunto Dr. Cranmer answered and said, That he had once taken a solemn Oath, never to consent to the admitting of the Bishop of Rome Authority into this Realm of England again; and that he had done it advisedly, and meant by Gods grace to keep it; and therefore would commit nothing either by sign or token, which might argue his consent to the receiving of the same, and so he desired the said Bishop to judge of him, and that he did it not for any contempt to his person, which he could have been content to have honoured as well as any of the other, if his Commission had come from as good an Authority as theirs. This answered he both modestly, wisely, and patiently, with his Cap on his head, not once bowing or making any reverence to him that represented the Popes person, which was wonderously of the people marked that was there present and saw it, and marked it as nigh as could be possible.

The Oration of Dr. Brooks Bishop of Gloucester, unto Dr. Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Church of S. Mary at Oxford, Anno 1556. March 12.

The Oration
of Dr.
Brooks.

When after many means used, they perceived that the Archbishop would not move his Bonet, the Bishop proceeded in these words following.

My Lord, at this present we are come to you as Commissioners, and for you, not intruding our selves by our own Authority, but sent by Commission, partly from the Popes holiness, partly from the King and Queens most excellent Majesties, not to your utter discomfort, but to your comfort if you will your self. We come not to judge you, but to put you in remembrance of that you have been, and shall be. Neither come we to dispute with you, but to examine you in certain matters; which being done, to make relation thereof to him that hath power to judge you. The first being well taken, shall make the second to be well taken. For if you, of your part be moved to come to a conformity, then shall not only we of our side take joy of our Examination, but also they that have sent us.

And first, as Charity doth move us, I would think good somewhat to exhort you, and that by the second Chapter of S. Iohn in the Apo. *Memor esto unde excideris, & age penitentiam, & prima opera fac. Sin minus; i. Remember from whence thou art fallen, and do the first works, or if not, and so as ye know what followeth. Remember your self from whence you have fallen. You have fallen from the Universal and Catholick Church of Christ, from the very true and received Faith of all Christians, and that by open Heresie. You have fallen from your promise to God, from your fidelity and allegiance, your promise to God, from your fidelity and allegiance, and that by open preaching, marriage, and adultery. You have fallen from your Sovereign Prince and Queen by open Treason. Remember therefore from whence you are fallen. Your fall is great, the danger cannot be seen. Wherefore when I say, remember from whence you are fallen, I put you in mind, not only of your fall, but also of the state you were in before your fall. You were sometimes as I and other poor men, in a mean estate, God I take to witness, as I speak it to no reproach or abatement of you, but to put you in memory, how God hath called you from a low to an high degree, from one degree to another, from better to better, and never gave you over, till he had appointed you *Legatum natum, Metropolitanum Anglie, Patrem ergo sui*. Such great trust did he put you in, in his Church; What could he do more? for even as he ordained *Moses* to be a Ruler over his Church of *Israel*,*

and gave him full authority upon the same: so did he make you over his Church of England. And when did he this for you? forsooth when you gave no occasion or cause of mistrust either to him, or to his Magistrates. For although it be conjectured, that in all your time ye were not upright in the honour and faith of Christ, but rather set up of purpose as a fit Instrument, whereby the Church might be spoiled and brought into ruin; yet may it appear by many your doings otherwise, and I for my part, as it becometh each one of us, shall think the best. For who was thought as then more devout? who was more religious in the face of the world? Who was thought to have more confidence of a Vow making, and observing the order of the Church, more earnest in the defence of the Real Presence of Christs Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar then ye were? and then all things prospered with you; your Prince favoured you; yea, God himself favoured you; your Candlestick was set up in the highest place of the Church, and the light of your Candle was over all the Church; I would God it had so continued still.

But after ye began to fall by Schism, and would not acknowledge the Popes Holiness as Supreme Head, but would stoutly uphold the unlawful Requests of K. Henry the Eighth, and would bear with that should not be born withal, then began you to fanthe unlawful liberty, and when you had exiled a good Conscience, then ensued great shipwreck in the Sea, which was out of the true and Catholick Church cast into the Sea of Desperation; for as he saith, *Extra Ecclesiam non est salus*; i. Without the Church there is no Salvation. When ye had forsaken God, God forsook you, and gave you over to your own will, and suffered you to fall from Schism to Apostasie, from Apostasie to Heresie, and from Heresie to Perjury, from Perjury to Treason, and so in conclusion, into the full indignation of our Sovereign Prince, which you may think a just punishment of God, for your other abominable Opinions.

After that, ye fell lower and lower, and now to the lowest degree of all, to the end of honour and life. For if the light of your Candle be as it hath been hitherto dusky, your Candlestick is like to be removed, and have a great fall, so low, and so far out of knowledge, that it be quite out of Gods favour, and past all hope of recovery; *Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio*; i. For in Hell there is no redemption. The danger whereof being so great, very pity causeth me to say, *Memor esto unde excideris*; i. Remember from whence thou hast fallen. I add also, and whither you fall.

But here peradventure you will say to me, What Sir? my fall is not so great as you make it. I have not yet fallen from the Catholick Church. For that is not the Catholick Church that the Pope is Head of. There is another Church. But as touching that, I answer, You are sure of that as the Donatists were, for they said they had the true Church, and that the name of true Christians remained only in *Africa*, where only their seditious Sect was preached: and as you think, so thought *Novatus*. That all they that did acknowledge their Supreme Head at the See of Rome, were out of the Church of Christ. But here S. Cypprian defending *Cornelius* against *Novatus*, Libro secundo, Epistola sexta, saith on this wise, *Ecce clesia una est, quae cum sit una, inuis & foris esse non potest*. So that if *Novatus* were in the Church, then was not *Cornelius*, who indeed by lawful Succession succeeded Pope *Fabian*. Here Saint Cypprian intendeth by the whole Process to prove, and concludeth thereupon, that the true Church was only Rome. Gather you then what will follow of your fall. But you will say peradventure, that you fell not by Heresie, and so said the Arrians, alledging for themselves that they had Scripture, and going about to persuade their Schism by Scripture; for indeed they had more places by two and forty, which by their torture seemed to depend upon Scripture, than the Catholicks had.

So did the *Martians* provoke their Heresie to Scripture. But those are no Scriptures; for they are not truly alledged, nor truly interpreted, but untruly wrested and wrong, according to their own fancies. And therefore were they all justly condemned for their wrong taking of the Scriptures, and the Church replieth against them, saying, *Qui estis vos? quando? quid agitis?*

The high
priest
Cranmer,
surrendering
Archb.
Canterbury.

tu in meo, non mei? The Church said, What make you here in my Heritage? from whence came you? The Scripture is mine Inheritance? I am right Heir thereof: I hold it by true Succession of the Apostles; for as the Apostles required me to hold, so do I hold it. The Apostles have received me, and put me in my Right, and have rejected you as Bastards, having no Title therunto.

Also ye will deny that ye have fallen by Apostasie, by breaking of your Vow; and so *Vigilantius* said, inasmuch that he would admit none to his Ministry, but those that had their Wives bagged with Children. What now? Shall we say that *Vigilantius* did not fall therefore? Did not *Donatus* and *Novatus* fall, because they said so, and brought Scripture for their defence? Then let us believe as we list, pretending well, and say so; nay, there is no man so blind that will say so: For except the Church, which condemneth them for their say so, do approve us for to do so, then will she condemn you also. So that your denial will not stand. And therefore I tell you, remember from whence ye are fallen, and how long ye shall fall, if ye hold on as you do begin. But I trust you will not continue, but revoke your self in time, and the remedy followeth.

* *Age penitentiam, & prima opera fac*, for by such means as ye have fallen, ye must rise again. First, your heart hath fallen, then your tongue and your pen, and besides your own damage, hath caused many more to fall. Therefore, first your heart must turn, and then shall the tongue and the pen be quickly turned; *Sin minus, veniam tibi cito, & movebo Candelabrum tuum de loco suo*.

I need not to teach you a method to turn; you know the ready way your self. But I would God I could but exhort you to the right and truth, then the way should soon be found out. For if ye remember how many ye have brought by abominable Heresie into the way of Perdition, I doubt not but very Conscience would move you, as much for them as for your self, to come again. And so would you spare neither tongue nor pen, if heart were once reformed; for as touching that point, the Holy Ghost toucheth their hearts very near by the mouth of his holy Prophet *Ezekiel*, when he requireth the blood of his flock at the Priests hands, for lack of good and wholsom food. How much more should this touch your guilty heart, having over much diligence to teach them the way of Perdition, and feeding them with baggage and corrupt food, which is Heresie. *Qui convertere fecerit peccatorem ab errore vite sue, salvam faciet animam suam a morte, & operiet multitudinem peccatorum suorum*; i. He that shall convert a sinner from his wicked life, shall save his soul from death, and shall cover the multitude of sins. So that if it be true that he, who converteth a sinner, saveth a soul; then the contrary must needs be true, that he that perverteth a soul, and teacheth him the way of Perdition, must needs be damned.

Origenes super Paulum ad Romanos; The damnation of those that preach Heresie doth increase to the day of Judgment. The more that perish by heretical doctrine, the more grievous shall their torment be, that minister such doctrine. *Berengarius*, who seemed to fear that danger, provided for it in his life time, but not without a troubled and disquiet Conscience. He did not only repent, but recant, and not so much for himself, as for them whom he had with most pestilent Heresies infected. For as he lay in his Death-bed upon *Epiphany-day*, he demanded of them that were present, Is this (quoth he) the day of *Epiphany*, and appearing of the Lord? They answered him, Yea. Then (quoth he) this day shall the Lord appear to me, either to my comfort, or to my discomfort. This remorse argueth, that he feared the danger of them whom he had taught, and led out of the Faith of Christ. *Origenes* upon him saith in this wise; *Although his own blood was not upon his head, for that he did repent, and was sorry for his former errors, yet being converted, he feared the blood of them whom he had infected, and who received his doctrine*.

Let this move you even at the last point. Inasmuch as your case is not unlike to *Berengarius*, let your repentance be like also. And what should stay you (tell me) from this godly return? Fear that ye have gone so far, ye may not return? nay, then I may say as *David* said, *Thi*

crepiderunt ubi non erat timor, Ye fear where ye have no cause to fear. For if ye repent and be heartily sorry for your former Heresie and Apostasie, ye need not to fear. For as God of his part is merciful and gracious to the repentant sinner, so is the King, so is the Queen merciful, which ye may well perceive by your own case, since ye might have suffered a great while ago for Treason committed against her Highness, but that ye have been spared and referred upon hope of amendment, which the conceived very good of you, but now (as it seemeth) is but a very desperate hope. And what do you thereby? *Secundum duritiam cordis thesaurizas tibi iram in die ire*; i. According to the hardness of your heart ye treasure up to your self anger in the day of wrath.

Well, what is it then, if fear do not hinder you? Shame, to unsay that that you have said? Nay, it is no shame, unless you think it shame to agree with the true and the Catholick Church of Christ. And if that be shame, then blame *S. Paul*, who persecuted the Disciples of Christ with the Sword; then blame *S. Peter*, who denied his Master Christ with an Oath, that he never knew him. *S. Cyprian* before his return being a Witch; *S. Austin* being nine years out of the Church: They thought it no shame after their return of that they had returned. Shall it then be shame for you to convert and consent with the Church of Christ? No, no.

What is it then that doth let you? Glory of the world? nay, as for the vanity of the world, I for my part judge not in you, being a man of learning, and knowing your estate.

And as for the loss of your estimation, it is ten to one that where you were Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Metropolitan of *England*, it is ten to one (I say) that ye shall be as well still, yea, and rather better.

And as for the winning of good men, there is no doubt but all that be here present, and the whole Congregation of Christs Church also will more rejoice of your return, than they were sorry for your fall. And as for the other, ye need not to doubt, for they shall all come after; and to say the truth, if you should lose them for ever it were no force, ye should have no less thereby at all. I do not here touch them which should confirm your estimation. For as *S. Paul*, after his Conversion, was received into the Church of Christ, with wonderful joy to the whole Congregation, even so shall you be. The fame of your return shall be spread abroad throughout all Christendom, where your face was never known.

But you will say perhaps, your Conscience will not suffer you. My Lord, there is a good Conscience; and there is a bad Conscience. The good Conscience have not they, as *S. Paul* declareth to *Timothy* concerning *Hymeneus* and *Alexander*. The evil and bad Conscience is (saith *S. Cyprian*) well to be known by his mark. What mark? This Conscience is marked with the print of Heresie. This Conscience is a naughty, filthy, and a branded Conscience, which I trust is not in you. I have conceived a better hope of you then so, or else would I never go about to persuade or exhort you. But what Conscience should stay you to return to the Catholick Faith and universal Church of Christ? What Conscience doth separate you to that devilish and several Church? to a liberty which never had ground in the holy Scriptures? If you judge your liberty to be good, then judge you all Christendom to do evil besides you.

O what a presumptuous persuasion is this, upon this utterly to forsake the Church of Christ? Under what colour or pretence do you this? for the abuses? as though in your Church were no abuses: Yes that there were. And if you forsake the Universal Church for the abuses, why do you not then forsake your particular Church, and so be flitting from one to another? That is not the next way, to slip from the Church for the abuses; for if you had seen abuses, you should rather have endeavoured for a reformation than for a defection. He is a good Chirurgion, who for a little pain in the toe will cut off the whole leg. He helpeth well the tooth-ach, which cutteth away the head by the shoulders. It is meer folly to amend abuses by abuses. Ye are like *Diogenes*; for *Diogenes* on a time envying the cleanliness of *Plato*, said on this wise, *Ecce calco fastum Platonis*. *Plato* answered, *Sed alio fastu*. So that *Diogenes* seemed more faulty of the two.

But

Orig. in Ep. Paul. ad Rom.

Berengarius

A good Conscience!

Mark of an evil Conscience.

Abuses in the Church require a reformation, and not a defection.

Anno
1556.Certe in-
nuare clearly
expounded

Menth. 7.

Mellitus
periculis.Oration of
D. Martin.Temporal
government
ruling in
spiritual
matters.Temporal
magistrates
aiders not
rulers in spi-
ritual causes.

But when we have said all that we can, peradventure you will say, I will not return. And to that I say, I will not answer. Nevertheless, hear what Christ saith to such obdurate and stiffnecked people in the Parable of the Supper. When he had sent out his Men to call them in that were appointed, and they would not come, he bade his Servants go into the ways and streets, to compel Men to come in *Cogite intrare*. If then the Church will not leave any member that may be compelled to come in, ye must think it good to take the compulsion, lest you lose your part of the Supper which the Lord hath prepared for you; and this compulsion standeth well with Charity.

But it may be perhaps, that some hath animated you to stick to your tackle, and not to give over, bearing you in hand that your opinion is good, and that ye shall die in a good quarrel, and God shall accept your oblation. But hear what Christ saith of a meaner gift; if thou come to the Altar to offer thy oblation, and knowest that thy Brother hath somewhat to say against thee, leave there thy gift, and go and be reconciled to thy Brother, and then come and offer up thy gift, or else thy Brother will make thy offering unfavoury before God. This he said unto all the World, to the end they should know how their offerings should be received, if they were not according.

Remember you therefore before you offer up your offering, whether your gift be qualified or no. Remember the Church of *Rome*, and also of *England*, where not one only Brother, but a number have matter against you, so just that they will make your burnt offering to stink before God, except you be reconciled. If you must needs appoint upon a Sacrifice, make yet a mean first to them that have to lay against you. I say no more then the Church hath allowed me to say. For the Sacrifice that is offered without the Church is not profitable. The premises therefore considered, for Gods sake, I say, *Memor esto unde exideris; & age paenitentiam; & prima opera fac. Sin minus, &c.* Cast not your self away, spare your Body, spare your Soul, spare them also whom you have seduced, spare the shedding of Christs Blood for you in vain. Harden not your heart, acknowledge the truth, yield to the precript Word of God, to the Catholick Church of *Rome*, to the received verity of all Christendom. Wed not your self to your own self-will. Stand not too much in your own conceit, think not your self wiser then all Christendom is besides you. Leave off this unjust cavil. How? leave what? leave reason, leave wonder, and believe as the Catholick Church doth believe and teach you. Perswade with your self, that *Extra Ecclesiam non est salus*, i. Without the Church there is no salvation. And thus much have I said of Charity. If this poor simple exhortation of mine may sink into your head, and take effect with you, then have I said as I would have said, otherwise not as I would but as I could for this present.

And thus Bishop *Brooks* finishing his Oration, fate down. After whom, Doctor *Martin*, taking the matter in hand, beginneth thus.

The Oration of Doctor Martin.

Albeit there be two Governments, the one, spiritual, and the other temporal, the one having the Keys, the other the Sword, yet in all ages we read that for the Honour and Glory of God both these powers have been adjoynd together. For if we read the Old Testament, we shall find that so did *Josias* and *Ezekias*. So did the Kings of the *Nimivites* compel a general fast through all the whole City. So did *Darius* in breaking the great Idol, *Beli*, and delivered Godly *Daniel* out of the Den of Lions. So did *Nebuchodonosor* make and institute Laws against the Blasphemers of God. But to let pass these examples, with a great number more, and to come to Christs time, it is not unknown what a great travel they took to set forth Gods Honour: and although the rule and Government of the Church did only appertain to the spirituality, yet for the suppression of Heresies and Schisms, Kings were admitted as aiders thereunto. First, *Constantine* the great called a Council at *Nice* for the suppression of the *Arrians* Sect, where the same time was raised a great contention among them. And after long disputation had, when the Fathers could not agree upon the putting

down the *Arrians*, they referred their judgment to *Constantine*. God forbid, quoth *Constantine*; You ought to rule me, and not I you. And as *Constantine* did, so did *Theodosius* against the Nestorians, so did *Marcianus* against *Manicheus*. *Jovianus* made a Law, that no Man should marry with a Nun, that had wedded her self to the Church.

So had King *Henry* the eighth the Title of Defender of the Faith, because he wrote against *Luther* and his complices. So these 900. years the King of Spain had that Title of Catholick, for the expulsion of the *Arrians*, and to say the truth, the King and Queens Majesties do nothing degenerate from their ancillors, taking upon them to restore again the Title to be Defender of the Faith, to the right heir hereof, the Popes Holiness.

Therefore these two Princes, perceiving this noble Realm, how it hath been brought from the unity of the true and Catholick Church, the which you and your confederates do, and have renounced; perceiving also that you do persist in your detestable errors, and will by no means be revoked from the same, have made their humble Request and Petition to the Popes Holiness, *Paulus* the fourth, as suprem head of the Church of Christ, declaring to him, that where you were Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Metropolitan of *England* and at your Consecration took two solemn Oaths, for your due obedience to be given to the See of *Rome*, to become a true Preacher or Pastor of his Flock, yet contrary to your Oath and allegiance, for unity have sowed discord, for chastity, Marriage and Adultery; for obedience, contention; and for Faith, ye have been the Author of all Mischief. The Popes Holiness considering their Request and Petition, hath granted them, that according to the censure of this Realm process should be made against you.

And whereas in this late time, you both excluded Charity and justice, yet hath his Holiness decreed, that you shall have both Charity and Justice shewed unto you. He willesh you should have the Laws in most ample manner to answer in your behalf, and that you shall here come before my Lord of *Glocester*, as High Commissioner from his Holiness, to the Examination of such Articles as shall be proposed against you, and that we should require the Examination of you, in the Kings and Queens Majesties behalf. The King and Queen as touching themselves, because by the Law they cannot appear personally, *Quia sunt illibris; persona*, have appointed as their Attorneys, Doctor *Story* and me. Wherefore here I offer to your good Lordship our Proxy, Sealed with the Broad Seal of *England*, and offer my self to be Proctor in the King Majesties behalf. I exhibit here also certain Articles, containing the manifest adultery and perjury: Also Books of Heresie made partly by him, partly set forth by his authority. And here I produce him as party principal, to answer to your good Lordship.

Thus when Doctor *Martin* had ended his Oration, the Archbishop beginneth, as here followeth.

Crammer. Shall I then make my answer?

Martin. As you think good, no Man shall let you.

And here the Archbishop kneeling down on both knees towards the West, said first the Lords Prayer. Then rising up he recited the Articles of the Creed. Which done, he entred with his protestation in form as followeth.

The Faith and profession of Doctor *Crammer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, before the Commissioners.

This I do profess as touching my Faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note. I will never consent that the Bishop of *Rome* shall have any jurisdiction within this Realm.

Story. Take a note thereof.

Martin. Mark, Mr. *Crammer*, how you answer for your self. You refuse and deny him, by whose Laws ye do remain in Life, being otherwise attainted of High Treason, and but a dead Man by the Laws of the Realm.

Cran. I protest before God I was no Traitor but indeed I confessed more at my arraignment then was true.

Martin. That it is not to be reasoned at this present. Ye know ye were Condemned for a Traitor, and *Res judicata*

The Popes
charity and
justice to the
Archbishop.The protest-
ation or pro-
fession of
D. Crammer
before the
Commission-
ers.

judicata pro veritate accipitur. But proceed to your matter.

Cramer. I will never consent to the Bishop of Rome, for then should I give my self to the Devil; for I have made an Oath to the King, and I must obey the King by Gods Laws. By the Scripture the King is chief, and no foreign person in his own Realm above him. There is no Subject but to a King. I am a Subject, I owe my fidelity to the Crown. The Pope is contrary to the Crown. I cannot obey both; for no Man can serve two masters at once, as you in the beginning of your Oration declared by the Sword and Keyes, attributing the Keyes to the Pope, and the Sword to the King. But I say the King hath both. Therefore he that is subject to Rome, and the Laws of Rome, he is perjured; for the Popes and the Judges Laws are contrary, they are uncertain and confounded.

Causes assigned why Dr. Cramer cannot receive the Pope. The Law of this Realm, and the Popes contrary.

A Priest indebted by the Laws of the Realm, shall be sued before a temporal Judge; by the Popes Laws contrary.

The Pope doth the King injury in that he hath his Power at the last the King got the upper hand, and so are all Bishops perjured, first to the Pope, and then to the King.

Again, by the Laws of Rome the Benefice must be given by the Bishop, by the Laws of the Realm, the Patron giveth the Benefice. Herein the Laws be as contrary as Fire and Water.

No Man can by the Laws of Rome proceed in a *præsumptio*, and so is the Law of the Realm expelled, and the King standeth accused in maintaining his own Lands. Therefore in consideration that the King and the Queen take their power of him, as though God should give it to them, there is no true subject, unless he be abrogate, seeing the Crown is holden of him being out of the Realm.

The Popes proceedings contrary to God.

The Bishop of Rome is contrary to God, and injurious to his Laws; for God commanded all Men to be diligent in the knowledge of his Law; and therefore hath appointed one Holy Day in the week or the least, for the people to come to the Church and hear the Word of God expounded unto them, and that they might the better understand it, to hear it in their Mother Tongue which they know. The Pope doth contrary; for he willeth the Service to be had in the Latin Tongue, which they do not understand. God would have it to be perceived; the Pope will not. When the Priest giveth thanks, God would that the people should do so too; and God will them to confess altogether; the Pope will not.

The Real Presence is not to be proved by any Doctor above a thousand years since Christ.

Now as concerning the Sacrament, I have taught no false Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar: For it can be proved by any Doctor above a thousand years after Christ, that Christs Body is there really, I will give over my Book was made even years ago, and no Man hath brought any Authors against it. I believe that who eateth and drinketh that Sacrament, Christ is within them, whole Christ, his Nativity, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension; but not that corporally that sitteth in Heaven.

Now Christ commanded all to drink of the Cup; The Pope taketh it away from the Lay Men, and yet one faith, that if Christ had died for the Devil, that he should drink thereof. Christ biddeth us to obey the King, *etiam discolor*. The Bishop of Rome biddeth us to obey him; therefore unless he be Antichrist, I cannot tell what to make of him. Wherefore if I should obey him, I cannot obey Christ.

The Pope likened to the Devil, and sheweth.

He is like the Devil in his doings; for the Devil said to Christ; If thou wilt fall down and worship me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the World. Thus he took upon him to give that which was not his own. Even so the Bishop of Rome giveth Princes their Crowns, being none of his own; for where Princes either by election, either by succession, either by inheritance obtain their Crown, he saith that they should have it from him.

The Pope proved Antichrist.

Christ saith, that Antichrist shall be. And who shall he be? Forsooth he that advanceth himself above all other Creatures. Now if there be none already that hath advanced himself after such sort besides the Pope, then in the mean time let him be Antichrist.

Story. Pleaseth it you to make an end?

Cramer. For he will be the Vicar of Christ, he will dispense with the Old and New Testament also, yea and with Apostles.

Now I have declared why I cannot with my conscience obey the Pope. I speak not this for hatred I bear to him that now supplieth the room, for I know him not. I pray God give him Grace not to follow his Ancestors. Neither say I this for my defence, but to declare my Conscience for the zeal that I bear to Gods Word trodden under foot by the Bishop of Rome. I cast fear apart, for Christ said to his Apostles, that in the latter days they should suffer much sorrow, and be put to death for his names sake: fear them not (saith he) but fear him which when he hath killed the Body, hath power to cast the Soul into fire everlasting. Also Christ saith, that he that will live shall die, and he that loseth his life for my Names sake, he shall find it again. Moreover he said, confesse me before Men, and be not afraid; for if you do so, I will stand with you; if you shrink from me I will shrink from you. This is a comfortable and terrible saying, this maketh me to set all fear apart. I say therefore, the Bishop of Rome treadeth under foot Gods Laws and the Kings.

Anno 1556.

Meth. 16.

Meth. 17.

The Pope would give Bishoppicks; so would the King. But at the last the King got the upper hand, and so are all Bishops perjured, first to the Pope, and then to the King.

The Crown hath nothing to do with the Clergy. For if a Clerk come before a judge, the judge shall make process against him, but not to execute any Laws. For if the judge should put him to Execution, then is the King accused in maintaining his own Laws. And therefore say I, that he is neither true to God, neither to the King, that first received the Pope. But I shall heartily pray for such Counsellors, as may inform her the truth; for the King and Queen, if they be well informed, will do well.

The Popes Lawes against the Laws of this Realm.

Martin. As you understand, then if they maintain the Supremacy of Rome, they cannot maintain England too.

Cramer. I require you to declare to the King and Queen what I have said, and how their Oaths do stand with the Realm and the Pope. St. Gregory saith, he that taketh upon him to be head of the Universal Church, is worse than the Antichrist. If any Man can shew me, that it is not against Gods Word to hold his stirrup when he taketh his horse, and kiss his feet (as Kings do) then will I kiss his feet also.

To be called Universal Head is a mark of Antichrist. Gregory.

And you for your part, my Lord, are perjured; for the Bishop now ye sit Judge for the Pope, and yet you did receive of Gloucester your Bishoppick of the King. You have taken an oath perjured Oath to be adversary to the Realm; for the Popes Laws are contrary to the Laws of the Realm.

Glocester. You were the cause that I did forsake the Pope, and did swear that he ought not to be Suprem Head, and gave it to King Henry the eighth, that he ought to be it, and this you made me to do.

Cramer. To this I answer, said he; You report me ill, and say not the truth, and I will prove it here before you all. The truth is, that my Predecessor, Bishop Warham, gave the Supremacy to King Henry the eighth, and said that he ought to have it before the Bishop of Rome, and that Gods Word would bear him. And upon the same was there sent to both the Universities Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the Word of God would do touching the Supremacy, and it was reasoned upon, and argued at length. So at the last both the Universities agreed, and set to their Seals, and sent it to King Henry the eighth to the Court, that he ought to be Suprem Head, and not the Pope. Whereupon you were then Doctor of Divinity at that time, and your consent was thereunto, by your hand doth appear. Therefore you misreport me, that I was the cause of your falling away from the Pope, but it was your self. All this was in Bishop Warhams time, and whilst he was alive, so that it was three quarters of a year after ere ever I had the Bishoppick of Canterbury in my hands, and before I might do any thing. So that here ye have reported of me that which ye cannot prove, which is evil done. All this while his cap was on his head.

Warham Archbishop gave up first the Supremacy to the King.

Both the Universities subscribed to the Kings Supremacy, before Cranmer was Archbishop.

Glocester. We come to examine you, and you, methinks, examine us.

Doct.

Anno
1556.D. Story
reasons
Oration
against
the
Archbishop.

Doctor Stories Oration.

Words of
the Popes
Cinism.Note the
worshipful
reasons of
Dr. Story,
wherein
he proves
the Pope's
Supremacy.D. Story
reasons, as
though to
feed with
the work,
and to go-
vern with
the sword
were all one.A maxim in
the LawA Rule of
Law.

Story. Pleaseth it your good Lordship, because it hath pleased the King and Queens Majesties to appoint my companion and me to hear the Examination of this Man before your good Lordship, to give me leave somewhat to talk in that behalf. Although I know that in talk with Heretics there cometh hurt to all Men; for it wearieth the steadfast, troubleth the doubtful, and taketh in fiare the weak and simple: yet because he faith, he is not bound to answer your Lordship sitting for the Popes Holiness, because of a *Premunire*, and the Word of God as he termeth it; I think good somewhat to say, that all Men may see how he runneth out of his Race of Reason into the rage of common talk, such as here I trust hath done much good. And as the King and Queens Majesties will be glad to hear of your most charitable dealing with him; so will they be weary to hear the blundering of this stubborn Heretic. And where he alledgeth Divinity, mingling *sanctasque* together, he should not have been heard. For shall it be sufficient to him to alledge, the Judge is not competent? Do we not see that in the Common Law it is not lawful for a Man in *Westminster-Hall* to refuse his Judge? And shall we dispute *contra eum qui negat principia*? Although there be here a great company of learned Men, that know it unmeet so to do, yet have I here a plain Canon, wherein he declareth himself convicted *ipso facto*. The Canon is this; *Sis ergo ruina suo dolore prostratus quisquis Apostolicis volueris contraire decretis, nec locum deinceps inter Sacerdotes habeat, sed exors a sancto fiat minister, nec de eo ejus judicio quisquam posthac curam habeat, quin jam damnatus a sancta & Apostolica Ecclesia sua inobedientia ac presumptione a quaquam esse non dubietur. Quin majoris excommunicationis dejectione est abiciendus, cui sancta Ecclesia commissa fuerit disciplina, qui non solum justissimis prelati sancta Ecclesie parere debuit, sed etiam alios ne praeterirent insinuare. Sitque alienus a divinis & pontificalibus officiis, qui noluerit praeceptis Apostolicis obtemperare.*

He hath alledged many matters against the Supremacy, but maliciously. Ye say that the King in his Realm is suprem head of the Church. Well Sir, you will grant me that there was a perfect Catholick Church before any King was christened. Then if it were a perfect Church, it must needs have a head, which must needs be before any Man was member thereof; for you know *Constantinus* the Emperour was the first christened King that ever was. And although you are bound (as Saint *Paul* faith) to obey your Rulers, and Kings have rule of the people, yet doth it not follow that they have cure of Soules for *a fortiori*, the head may do that the Minister cannot do, but the Priest may consecrate, and the King cannot, therefore the King is not head.

It was licensed by Christ to every Man to bring into the sheepfold, and to augment the flock, but not to rule, for that was only given to *Peter*.

And where the Apostles do call upon Men to obey their Princes, *cui tributum, tributum, cui veltigal, veltigal*; they perceiving that Men were bent to a kind of liberty and disobedience, were enforced to exhort them to obedience and payment of their tribute, which exhortation extendeth only to temporal matters.

And again, where you say that the Bishop of *Rome* maketh Laws contrary to the Laws of the Realm, that is not true; for this is a maxim in the Law; *Quod in particulari excipitur, non facit universale falsum*.

Now as touching that monstrous talk of your Confidence, that is no Confidence that ye profess; it is but *privata scientia, electio and scilicet*. And as yet for all your glorious babble, you have not proved by Gods Laws that ye ought not to answer the Popes Holiness.

The Canons which be received of all Christendom compel you to answer, therefore you are bound so to do. And although this Realm of late time, through such Schismatics as you were, hath exiled and banished the Canons, yet that cannot make for you. For you know your self, that *Par in parem, nec pars in totum aliquid statuere potest*. Wherefore this Ile, being indeed but a member of the whole, could not determine

against the whole. That notwithstanding the *Five Laws*, being put away by Parliament, are now received again by a Parliament, and have as full authority now as they had then, and they will now that ye answer to the Popes Holiness; therefore by the Laws of this Realm ye are bound to answer him. Wherefore, my good Lord, all that this *Thomas Cranmer* (I cannot otherwise term him, considering his disobedience) hath brought for his defence, shall nothing prevail with you, nor take any effect. Require him therefore to answer directly to your good Lordship; command him to set aside his trifles, and to be obedient to the Laws and Ordinances of this Realm. Take witness here of his stubborn contempt against the King and Queens Majesties, and compel him to answer directly to such Articles as we shall here lay against him, and in refusal, your good Lordship is to excommunicate him.

As soon as Doctor *Story* had thus ended his tale, begetteth Doctor *Martin* again to enter speech with the Archbishop; which talk I thought here likewise not to let pass, although the report of the same be full, as the Author thereof seemeth in his writings very partial; for as he expresseth the speech of Dr. *Martin* at full, and to the uttermost of his diligence, leaving out nothing in that part, that either was or could be said more, so again on the other part, how raw and weak he leaveth the matter, it is easy to perceive, who neither comprehendeth all that Doctor *Cranmer* again answered for his defence, nor yet in those short speeches which he expresseth, seemeth to discharge the part of a sincere and faithful reporter. Notwithstanding such as it is, I thought good to let the Reader understand, who in pursuing the same, may use therein his own judgment and consideration.

Talk between Doctor Martin and the Archbishop.

Martin. After *Cranmer*, ye have told here a long glorious tale, pretending some matter of Confidence in appearance, but in verity you have no Confidence at all. You say that you have sworn once to King *Henry* the eighth against the Popes jurisdiction, and therefore you may never forfeit the same; and so ye make a great matter of Confidence in the breach of the said Oath. Here will I ask you a question or two. What if ye made an Oath to an Harlot, to live with her in continual adultery, ought you to keep it?

Cran. I think no.

Martin. What if you did swear never to lend a poor Man one penny, ought you to keep it?

Cran. I think not.

Martin. *Herod* did swear whatsoever his Harlot asked of him he would give her, and he gave her *John Baptists* head; Did he well in keeping his Oath?

Cran. I think not.

Martin. *Jephthe* the one of the Judges of *Israel* did swear unto God, that if he would give him victory over his enemies, he would offer unto God the first Souldier that came forth of his house; it hapned that his own Souldier came first, and he slew her to save his Oath. Did he well?

Cran. I think not.

Martin. So faith Saint *Ambrose* de officiis, *Miserabilis necessitas, qua solvitur parricidia, id est*, It is a miserable necessity, which is paid with parricide. Then Master *Cranmer* you can no less confess by the premises but that you ought not to have Confidence of every Oath, but if it be just, lawful, and advantage taken.

Cran. So was that Oath.

Martin. That is not so, for first it was unjust, for it tended to the taking away of another mans right. It was not lawful, for the Laws of God and the Church were against it. Besides, it was not voluntary; for every Man and Woman were compelled to take it.

Cran. It pleaseth you to say so.

Martin. Let all the World be Judge. But Sir, you that pretend to have such a Confidence to break an Oath, I pray you did you never swear and break the same?

Cran. I remember not.

Martin. I will help your Memory. Did you never swear Obedience to the See of *Rome*?

Cranmer. Indeed I did once swear unto the same.

Martin.

D. Story
charges the
Archbishop
with Stub-
bornness.Partiality in
the reporter.Talk be-
tween D.
Martin and
the Arch-
bishop.Unadvised
Oaths are
not to be
kept.Isaiah's
Oath.The Arch-
bishop sworn
to the King,
ought not to
swear to the
Pope.

Mart. Yea, that you did twice, as appeareth by records and writings here ready to be shewed.

Cran. But I remember I sware all by protestation that I made by the Couplet of the best learned Men I could get at that time,

Mart. Hearken good people what this Man saith. He made a protestation one day, to keep never a whit of that which he would swear the next day; was this the part of a Christian Man? If a Christian Man would bargain with a Turk, and before he maketh his bargain solemnly, before witness readeth in his paper that he holdeth secretly in his hand, or peradventure protesteth before one or two, that he mindeth not to perform whatsoever he shall promise to the Turk; I say, if a Christian Man should serve a Turk in this manner, that the Christian Man were worse then the Turk. What would you then say to this Man that made a Solemn Oath and promise unto God and his Church, and made a protestation before quite contrary?

Cran. That which I did, I did by the best learned Mens advice I could get at that time.

Mart. I protest before all the learned Men here, that there is no learning will save your perjury herein; for there be two Rules of the Civil Law clean contrary against you, and so brought forth his Rules, which being done he proceeded further. But will you have the truth of the matter. King Henry the eighth even then meant the lamentable change which after you see came to pass and to further his pitiful proceedings from the divorcement of his most lawful wife, to the detestable departing from the Blessed Unity of Christs Church, this Man made the foresaid protestation; and on the other side, he letted not to make two Solemn Oaths quite contrary, and why? for otherwise by the Laws and Canons of this Realm, he could not aspire to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*.

Cran. I protest before you all, there was never Man came more unwillingly to a Bishoprick, then I did to that. Infomuch that when King Henry did send for me in post, that I should come over, I prolonged my journey by seven weeks at the least, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the mean time.

Mart. You declare well by the way that the King took you to be a Man of good Conscience, who could not find within all his Realm any Man that would set forth his strange adultery, but was enforced to find you in post to come out of Germany. What may we conjecture hereby, but that there was a compact between you being then Queen Annes Chaplain, and the King; Give me the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, and I will give you licence to live in adultery.

Cran. You say not true.

Mart. Let your protestation joynd with the rest of your talk, give judgment. *Hinc prima mali labes.* Of that your execrable perjury, and his coloured and too shamefully suffered adultery, came Heresie and all mischief to this Realm.

And thus have I spoken as touching the Conscience you make for breaking your Heretical Oath made to the King. But to break your former Oath made at two sundry times both to God and his Church, you have no Conscience at all. And now to answer another part of your Oration, wherein you bring in Gods Word, that you have it on your side and no Man else, and that the Pope hath devised a New Scripture contrary to the Scripture of God; ye play herein as the Pharisees did, which cried always, *Verbum Domini, Verbum Domini*, The Word of the Lord, the Word of the Lord, when they meant nothing so. This bettereth not your cause, because you have Gods Word for you; for *Basilides* and *Plantinus* the Hereticks said, that they had Gods Word to maintain their Heresie. So *Nistorinus*, so *Macedonius*, so *Pelagius*, and briefly, all the Hereticks that ever were, pretended that they had Gods Word for them; yea, and so the Devil being the Father of Heresies, alledged Gods Word for him, saying, *Scriptum est*, It is written: So said he to Christ, *Mitte te deorsum*, Cast thy self downward, which you applied most falsely against the Pope. But if you mark the Devils Language well, it agreed with your proceedings most truly. For, *Mitte te deorsum*, Cast thy self downward, said he, and so

taught you to cast all things downward. Down with the Sacrament, down with the Mass; down with the Altars, down with the Arms of Christ, and up with a Lion and a Dog, down with the Abbeyes, down with Chauntries, down with Hospitals and Colledges, down with fasting and Prayer, yea down with all that Good and Godly is. All your proceedings and preachings tended no other, but to fulfill the Devils request, *Mitte te deorsum*. And therefore tell not us that you have Gods Word. For God hath given us by his Word a mark to know that your teaching proceeded not of God, but of the Devil, and that your Doctrine came not of Christ but of Antichrist. For Christ foretold, there should come against his Church, *Lupi rapaces, id est*, Ravening Wolves, and *Pseudoprophetae, id est*, False Apostles. But how should we know them? Christ teacheth us, saying, *Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*, and whether these be the fruits of the Holy Spirit, or the fruits of the flesh, let the covetousness of them both give judgment.

Why, what be their fruits? Saint Paul declareth; *Post carnem in concupiscentia, & inmunditia ambulantes: potestates continentur, &c.* After the Flesh they walk in concupiscentie and uncleanness; they contemn Potestates. Again, *In diebus novissimis erunt periculosa tempora, erunt scilicet amantes, cupidi, elati, immorigeri parentibus, proditores, &c.* In the latter days there shall be perilous times. Then shall there be Men loving themselves, covetous, proud, disobedient to parents, Treason-workers. Whether these be not the fruits of your Gospel, I refer me to this Worshippful Audience; whether the said Gospel began not with perjury, proceeded with Adultery, was maintained with Heresie, and ended in Conspiracy.

Now Sir, two points more I marked in your raging discourse that you made here: the one against the Holy Sacrament; the other against the Popes jurisdiction, and the Authority of the See Apostolicke.

Touching the first, ye say you have Gods Word with you, yea, and all the Doctors. I would here ask but one question of you; whether Gods Word be contrary to it self, and whether the Doctors teach Doctrine contrary to themselves, or not? For you Master Cranmer have taught in this High Sacrament of the Altar three contrary Doctrines, and yet you pretended in every one; *Verbum Domini*.

Cran. Nay, I taught but two contrary Doctrines in the same.

Mart. What Doctrine taught you when you Condemned Lambert the Sacramentary in the Kings presence in *Whitehall*.

Cranmer. I maintained then the Papiests Doctrine.

Mart. That is to say, the Catholick and Universal Doctrine of Christs Church. And how when King Henry died? did you not translate *Iustus Jonas* Book?

Cran. I did so.

Mart. Then there you defended another Doctrine touching the Sacrament, by the same token, that you sent to *Lynn* your Printer, that whereas in the first print there was an affirmative, that is to say Christs Body really in the Sacrament, you sent then to your Printer to put in a *not*, whereby it came miraculously to pass, that Christs Body was clean conveyed out of the Sacrament.

Cran. I remember there were two Printers of my said Book, but where the same *not* was put in, I cannot tell.

Martin. Then from a Lutheran ye became a *Swinglian*, which is the vilest Heresie of all in the High Mytery of the Sacrament, and for the same Heresie you did helpe burn Lambert the Sacramentary, which you now call the Catholick Faith, and Gods Word.

Cranmer. I grant that then I believed otherwise then I do now, and so I did, until my Lord of *London*, Doctor *Ridley*, did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities of Doctors drew me quite from my opinion.

Martin. Now Sir, as touching the last part of your Supremacy Oration, you denied that the Popes Holiness was Supreme Head of the Church of Christ.

Cran. I did so.

Mart. Who say you then is Supreme Head?

Cran. Christ.

Mart.

The Archb.
sworn first
to the Pope
by protestation.

D. Martin
would prove
the Archbishop
perjured in
swearing
his Oath
made to the
Pope.

Dr. Cranmer
unwilling to
be made
Archb.

False slander
of Dr. Martin.

* Nay, the
Pharisees
cried not
Verbum Do-
mini, but
Templum
Domini, but
the Papiests
do now a-
gainst the
Protestants.

Anno
1556.

So did King
Edward and
John down
with monu-
ments of
idolatry,
and are
commended.

Another
false slander
of Dr. Mar-
tin.

Whether
these be the
fruits of the
Holy Spirit,
or the fruits
of the flesh,
let the covetous-
ness of them
both give
judgment.

Doctrine of
the Sacra-
ment.

So was S.
Augustine
first against
then a Ma-
nichee, and
then a Ca-
tholick.

Dr. Cranmer
first won to
the know-
ledge of the
Sacrament
by Bishop
Ridley.

of the Pope.

Anno 1556. *Marr.* But whom hath Christ left here in Earth his Vicar and head of his Church?

Cran. No body.

Marr. Ah, why told you not King Henry this when you made him Supreme Head and now no body is? This is Treason against his own person as you then made him.

Cran. I mean not but every King in his own Realm and Dominion is Supreme Head, and so was he Supreme Head of the Church of Christ in England.

Marr. Is this always true and was it ever so in Christs Church?

Cran. It was so.

Marr. Then what say you by Nero? He was the mightiest Prince of the Earth after Christ was ascended: Was he Head of Christs Church?

Cran. Nero was Peters Head:

Marr. I ask whether Nero was Head of the Church or no? if he were not, it is false that you said before, that all Princes be, and ever were Heads of the Church within their Realms.

Cran. Nay, it is true, for Nero was Head of the Church: that is, in worldly respect of the temporal Bodies of Men, of whom the Church consisteth; for so he beheaded Peter and the Apostles. And the Turk too is Head of the Church in Turkey.

Marr. Then he that beheaded the Heads of the Church, and Crucified the Apostles, was Head of Christs Church; and he that was never member of the Church, is Head of the Church, by your new found understanding of Gods Word.

¶ It is not to be supposed contrary, but much other matter passed in this Communication between them, especially on the Archbishops behalf. Whole answers I do not think to be so slender, nor altogether in the same form of words framed; if the truth, as it was, might be known: but so it pleased the Notary thereof, being too much partially addicted to his Mother See of Rome in favour of his fiction, to diminish and drive down the other side, either in not flowing all, or in reporting the thing otherwise than it was; as the common guile is of most Writers, to what side their affection most weigheth, their Oration commonly inclineth. But let us proceed further in the Story of this matter.

It followed then (saith this reporter) when the Archbishop thus had answered, and the standers by began to murmur against him; the Judges not content with his Answers, willed him to answer directly to the Interrogatories; which Interrogatories articulated against him in form of Law, were these under following.

Interrogatories objected to the Archbishop, with his Answers annexed to the same.

Interrogatories laid against the Archbishop. 1. *Interrog.* First was objected, that he the foresaid Thomas Cranmer, being yet free, and before he entered into Holy Orders, married one Joan, surnamed black or brown, dwelling at the sign of the Dolphin in Cambridge.

The first marriage of the Archbishop.

Answer. Whereunto he answered, that whether she was called black or brown, he knew not, but that he married there one Joan, that he granted.

2. *Interrog.* That after the death of the foresaid wife, he entered into holy Orders, and after that was made Archbishop by the Pope.

Answer. He received (he said) a certain Bull of the Pope, which he delivered unto the King, and was Archbishop by him.

The second marriage of the Archbishop.

3. *Inter. Item,* that he being in Holy Orders, married another Woman as his second Wife, named Anne, and so was twice married.

Answer. To this he granted.

4. *Interrog. Item,* in the time of King Henry the eighth, he kept the said wife secretly, and had Children by her.

Answer. Hereunto he also granted; affirming that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other Priests, holding and keeping other Mens Wives.

5. *Inter. Item,* in the time of King Edward, he brought out the said Wife openly, affirming and professing publicly the same to be his Wife.

Answer. He denied not but he so did, and lawfully might

do the same; forasmuch as the Laws of the Realm did to permit him.

6. *Interrog. Item,* that he flamed not openly to glory himself to have had his Wife in secret many years.

Answer. And though he so did (he said) there was no cause why he should be ashamed thereof.

7. *Inter. Item,* that the said Thomas Cranmer falling afterward into the deep bottom of errors, did flie and refuse the Authority of the Church, did hold and follow the heresie concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, and also did compile and caused to be set abroad divers Books.

Answer. Whereunto when the names of the Books were recited to him, he denied not such Books which he was the Author of. As touching the treatise of Peter Martyr upon the Sacrament, he denied that he ever saw it before it was abroad, yet did approve and well like of the same.

As for the Catechism, the Book of Articles, with the other Book against Winchester, he granted the same to be his doings.

8. *Inter. Item,* that he compelled many against their wills to subscribe to the same Articles.

Answer. He exhorted (he said) such as were willing to subscribe; but against their wills he compelled none.

9. *Inter. Item,* forasmuch as he surceased not to perpetrate enorm and inordinate crimes, he was therefore cast into the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxford, at what time it was commonly thought that the Parliament there should be holden.

Answer. To this he said, that he knew no such enorm and inordinate crimes that ever he committed.

10. *Inter. Item,* that in the said City of Oxford he did openly maintain his heresie, and there was convict upon the same.

Answer. He defended (he said) there the cause of the Sacrament, but that he was convicted in the same, that he denied.

11. *Inter. Item,* when he persevered still in the same, he was by the publick censure of the University pronounced an Heretick, and his Books to be Heretical.

Answer. That he was so denounced, he denied not; but that he was an Heretick, or his Books Heretical, that he denied.

12. *Inter. Item,* that he was and is notoriously infamed with the note of Schism, as who not only himself receded from the Catholick Church and See of Rome, but also moved the King and Subjects of this Realm to the same.

Answer. As touching the receding, that he well granted; but that receding or departing (said he) was only from the See of Rome, and had in it no matter of any Schism.

13. *Inter. Item,* that he had been twice sworn to the Pope; and withal Doctor Martin brought out the instrument of the publick Notary, wherein was contained his protestation made when he should be consecrated, asking if he had any thing else protested.

Answer. Whereunto he answered, that he did nothing but by the Laws of the Realm.

14. *Inter. Item,* that he the said Archbishop of Canterbury did not only offend in the premises, but also in taking upon him the Authority of the See of Rome, in that without leave or licence from the said See, he consecrated Bishops and Priests.

Answer. He granted, that he did execute such things as were wont to be referred to the Pope, at what time it was permitted to him by the Publick Laws and determination of the Realm.

15. *Inter. Item,* that when the whole Realm had subscribed to the Authority of the Pope, he only still persisted in his error.

Answer. That he did not admit the Popes Authority, he confessed to be true. But that he erred in the same, that he denied.

16. *Inter. Item,* that all and singular the premises be true.

Answer. That likewise he granted, excepting those things whereunto he had now answered.

After he had thus answered to the objections aforesaid, and the publick Notary had entred the same, the Judges and Commissioners, as having now accomplished that wherefore they came, were about to rise up and depart. But the Bishop of Gloucester thinking it not the best so to dismiss the people, being somewhat fluried with the words

The Archbishop charged with his doctrine and Books.

The Archbishop sworn to the Pope by Protestation.

words of the Archbishop, began in this Oration in the hearing of the People, thus to declaim.

The Oration of Bishp Brooks, in closing up his Examination against Dr. Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury.

Another
Cranmer
not to be
reasoned
withal.

After Cranmer (I cannot otherwise term you, considering your obstinacy) I am right sorry, I am right heartily sorry to hear such words escape your mouth so unadvisedly. I had conceived a right good hope of your amendment. I suppose that this obstinacy of yours came not of a vain-glory, but rather of a corrupt Conscience, which was the occasion that I hoped so well of your return. But now I perceive by your foolish babble, that it is far otherwise. Ye are so puffed up with vain-glory, there is such a cauteria of Heresie crept into your Conscience, that I am clean void of hope, and my hope is turned into Perdition. Who can save that will be lost? God would have you to be saved; and you refuse it. *Perdition tua super te Israel; tantummodo in me salvatio tua, ait Dominus per Prophetam: i. Thy Perdition is only upon thy self O Israel; only in me is thy salvation, saith the Lord by his Prophet.* You have uttered so erroneous talk, with such open malice against the Popes Holiness, with such open lying against the Church of Rome, with such open Blasphemy against the Sacrament of the Altar, that no mouth could have expressed more maliciously, more lyingly, more blasphemously.

Mr. Cranmer
not to be
reasoned
withal.

To reason with you, although I would of my self to satisfy this Audience, yet may I not by our Commission, neither can I find how I may do it with the Scriptures: For the Apostle doth command that such a one should not only not be talked withal, but also shunned and avoided, saying, *Hereticum hominem post unum aut alterum conventum, devota, sciens quid huiusmodi perverfus est & delinquet, quum sit propriis iudicio condemnatus; i. An heretical person after once or twice conferring, shun, knowing that he is perverse and sinfull, being of his own judgment condemned.* Ye have been conferred withal not once or twice, but oftentimes, ye have often been lovingly admonished, ye have been oft secretly disputed with. And the last year in the open School, in open Disputations, ye have been openly convicted, ye have been openly driven out of the School with hisses: your Book which ye brag you made seven years ago, and no man answered it, *Marcus Antonius* hath sufficiently detected and confuted, and yet ye persist still in your wicked herefie.

Wherefore being so oft admonished, conferred withal, and convicted, if ye deny you to be the man whom the Apostle noth, hear then what *Origen* saith, who wrote above 1300 years ago, and interpreteth the saying of the Apostle in this wise, in *Apologia Pamphili*. *Hereticus est, omnis ille habendus, qui Christo se credere proficitur, & aliter de Christi veritate sentit quam se habet Ecclesiastica traditio.* Even now ye professed a kind of Christianity and Holiness unto us, for at your beginning you fell down upon your knees, and said the Lords Prayer (God wot like an Hypocrite) and then standing upon your feet, you rehearsed the Articles of your Faith, but to what end I pray you-else, but to cloak that inward Heresie rooted in you, that you might blind the poor, simple, and unlearned peoples eyes? For what will they say or think, if they do not thus say? Good Lord, what mean these men to say that he is an Heretick, they are deceived, this is a good Christian, he believeth as we believe.

But is this sufficient to escape the name of an Heretick? To the simple and unlearned it is sufficient, but for you that have professed a greater knowledge and higher doctrine, it is not enough to rectify your belief. For unless (as *Origen* saith) ye believe all things that the Church hath decreed besides, you are no Christian man. In the which because you do halt, and will come to no conformity; from henceforth ye are to be taken for an Heretick, with whom we ought neither to dispute, neither to reason, whom we ought rather to censure and avoid.

Nevertheless, although I do not intend to reason with you, but to give you up as an Abject and Out-cast from Gods favour, yet because ye have uttered, to the annoying of the People, such pestilent Heresies as may do harm among some rude and unlearned, I think meet, and not ab-

re, somewhat to say herein; not because I hope to have any good at your hands, which I would willingly wish, but that I may establish the simple People which be here present, lest they being seduced by your Diabolical Doctrine, may perish thereby.

And first (as it behooveth every man to purge himself first before he enter with any other) where you accuse me of an Oath made against the Bishop of Rome, I confess it, and deny it not, and therefore do say with the rest of this Realm, good and catholic men, the saying of the Prophet; *Peccavimus cum patribus nostris in iustis operibus, iniquitatem fecimus; i. We have sinned with our Fathers, we have done unjustly and wickedly. Delicta iuventutis meae, & ignorantias meas ne memineris Domine; i. The sins of my youth, and my ignorances, O Lord, do not remember.* I was then a young man, and as young a Scholar here in the University.

I knew not then what an Oath did mean, and yet to say the truth, I did it compelled, compelled I say by you Mr. Cranmer, and here were you the Author and Cause of my Perjury, you are to be blamed herein, and not I. Now where you say I made two Oaths, the one contrary to the other, it is not so, for the Oath I made to the Popes Holiness appertaineth only to Spiritual things: The other Oath that I made to the King, pertaineth only to Temporal things; that is to say, that I do acknowledge all my Temporal Livings to proceed only from the King, and from none else. But all men may see, as you agree in this, so ye agree in the rest of your Opinion.

Now Sir, as concerning the Supremacy which is only Supremacy due to the See of Rome, a word or two. Although there be a number of places which do confirm that Christ appointed Peter Head of the Church, yet this is a most evident place. When Christ demanded of his Apostles whom men called him; they answered, Some *Elias*, some a Prophet, &c. But Christ replied unto Peter, and said, Whom sayest thou Peter that I am? Peter answered, *Tu es Christus, Filius Dei:* and Christ replied, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam.* The Doctors interpreting this place, *Super hanc Petram*, expounded it, *id est, non solum super fidem Petri, sed super te Petre.* And why did Christ change his name from *Simon* to *Peter*, which in Latin is a *Stone*, but only to declare that he was only the Foundation and Head of the Church?

Again, where Christ demanded of Peter, being amongst the rest of his Apostles, three times a-row, *Petrus, amas me?* he gave him charge over his Sheep, *Pasce oves meas, pasce agnos meas.* Which place *Christus* interpreting, saith, *Pasce, hoc est, loco mei esto praepositus & caput Praeterea tuorum.* To conclude, when they came that required *Drachmas* of Christ, he commanded Peter to cast his Net into the Sea, and to take out of the Fishes mouth that he took, *frateram, hoc est, duplex Drachma, & da, inquit, pro te & me Petre.* Which words do signify, that when he had paid for them two he had paid for all the rest. For as in the old Law there were appointed two Heads over the People of Israel, *Moses* and *Aaron*; *Moses* as Chief, and *Aaron* next Head under him; so in the new Law there were two Heads of the Church, which were Christ and Peter. Christ is Head of all, and Peter next under him. *S. Augustin* in 75. *quest. Veteris & Novi Testamenti, Salvator* *Aug. quest.* *(inquit) quum pre se & Petro daret subebat Drachmam, pro totius omnibus ipsum dari censuit, ipsum enim constituit caput eorum; i. Our Saviour Christ (saith S. Augustin) commanding the Tribute to be given for him and for Peter, meant thereby the same to be given for all other, for he appointed him to be Head of them. What can be more plain then this? But I will not tarry upon this matter.*

Now as touching the Popes Laws, where you say they be contrary, because the Service which should be (as you say) in English, is in Latin; I answer, Whosoever will take the pains to peruse the Chapter, which is in 1 Cor. 14. shall find, that his meaning is concerning preaching, and obiter only of praying.

Again, where you say, that the Popes Holiness doth take away one part of the Sacrament from the Lay-men, and Christ would have it under both, ye can say no more but this, *Bibite ex eo omnes; i. Drink ye all of this.* And what followeth, *Et biberunt ex eo omnes; i. And all drank thereof.* Now if a man would be so proterve with you, he might say that Christ gave it only to his Apostles, in

Anno

1556.

Bp. Brooks

recauteth

his Oath

made to the

King against

the Pope.

The Church

built up

on Peter.

Christus.

Aug. quest.

pro totius

omnibus ipsum

dari censuit,

ipsum enim

constituit caput

eorum; i. Our

Saviour Christ

(saith S. Augustin)

commanding

the Tribute to

be given for

him and for

Peter, meant

thereby the same

to be given for

all other, for

he appointed

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but this, *Bibite**ex eo omnes;**i. Drink ye all**of this.* And

what followeth,

*Et biberunt**ex eo omnes;**i. And all drank**thereof.* Now

if a man would

be so proterve

with you,

he might say

that Christ

gave it only

to his Apostles,

in

in whose places succeeded Priests, and not Laymen.

And admit that Christ commanded it to be received under both kinds, yet the Church hath authority to change that, as well as other. Ye read, that Christ calling his Apostles together, said unto them, *Ecce prae-dicatio Evangelium omni Nationi, baptizantes in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti*, i. Go and preach the Gospel to every Nation, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. But the Apostles, being desirous to publish Christ's Name every where, did baptize only in Christ's name. Again, Christ before his last Supper washed his Apostles feet, saying, *Si ego laui pedes vestros Dominus & Magister, & vos debetis alter alterius lavare pedes*, i. If I have washed your feet, being your Lord and Master, also you ought to wash the feet one of another. *Exemplum dedi vobis*, i. I have given you example. This was a Precept, yet hath the Church altered it, left the simple people should not think a rebaptization in it. So because, saith the Apostle, *Accepi a Domino quod & tradidi vobis. Dominus noster qua nocte tradidit, &c.* i. I have received of the Lord the same which I have delivered to you, that our Lord the same night in which he was betrayed, &c. Notwithstanding that this was a precept that the Sacrament should be ministered after Supper, the Church hath altered it, and commanded it to be received fasting. And where Christ did break the Bread, we receive the whole Host. Christ ministered sitting at the Table, we standing at the Altar.

It was also commanded in *Act. 25.* that Christian men should abstain *a jussuato & sanguine*, i. From fringed and blood. But the Church perceiving it to be a precept but for a time, hath altered it. Christ commanded to keep holy, *diem Sabbati*, The Sabbath-day, and the Church hath altered it to Sunday. If then the Church may change things that be so expressed in the Scriptures, the may also change the form of receiving of Lay-men under both kinds, for divers occasions.

First, that in carrying it to the sick, the blood may not be shed, lost, or misused.

And next, that no occasion might be given to Heretics to think that there is not so much under one kind, as under both.

But why would you have it under both kinds, I pray you else, but only to pervert and contrary the commandment of the Church? For when you had it under both kinds, you believed in neither. And we having but one, believe both kinds. Now Sir, as concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, where you say, you have a number of Doctors of your side, and we none of our side, that is to say, to confirm the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, indeed one to stop your mouth, I think it not possible to find. Nevertheless, where your request is to have one shewed unto you, and then you will recant, I will shew you two.

St. *Austin*, super *Psal. 33.* *Ferebatur manibus suis*, I find not how this is true in *David* (saith he) literally, that he was born in his own hands; but in Christ I find it literally, when he gave his Body to his Apostles at his last Supper.

Again, St. *Cyprian*, de *Cena Domini*, saith, *Panis quem Dominus noster Discipulis suis porrigebat, non effugie, sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro*. What can be more plain than this? yet to your exposition it is not plain enough. But give me your figurative, significant, and other such like terms, and I will defend that Christ hath not yet ascended; no nor yet that he was incarnate, &c. Wherefore I can do no other but put you in the number of them, whom *Chrysostom* spake of in this wise, saying, *Audi, homo fidelis, qui contra hereticum contendis, si Pharisei convites, & non placati & baretici, &c.* Hear, O thou Christian man, wilt thou do more than Christ could do? Christ confuted the Pharisees, yet could he not put them to silence; *Et fortius est in Christo?* And art thou stronger than Christ? Wilt thou go about to bring them to silence that will receive no answer as who should say, thou canst not. Thus much I have said, not for you Mr. *Cranmer*, for my hope that I conceived of you is

now gone and past; but somewhat to satisfy the rude and unlearned People, that they perceiving your arrogant lying and lying arrogancy, may the better chew your detestable and abominable Schism.

And thus ended the Prelate his worshipful Tale. After whom D. *Story* took the matter, and thus inferred in words, as followeth.

Mr. *Cranmer*, you have made a goodly proceff concerning your heretical Oath made to the King; but you forget your Oath made to the See Apostolicke. As concerning your Oath made to the King, if you made it to him only, it took an end by his death, and so it is released; if you made it to his Successors, well Sir, the true Successors have the Empire, and they will you to dissolve the same, and become a Member of Christ's Church again, and it standeth well with charity.

To this the Archbishop answered again, saith the Reporter: but what his answer was, that he suppresseth and returneth to the words of Dr. *Story*, who imperiously turning his speech again to the Archbishop, said as followeth.

Hold your peace Sir, and so shall it right well become you, considering that I gave you licence before to say your phantasie. Your Oath was no Oath: for it lacked the three points of an Oath, that is to say, *Judicium, Justitiam, & Veritatem*.

These, with the like words to the same effect, being uttered by Dr. *Story*, seeking to break up and make an end of that Session, he effoons called for witnesses to be produced, who should be sworn upon the Book, to utter and declare the next day whatsoever they knew, or could remember to be inferred against Dr. *Cranmer's* Heresie. The names of the Witnesses are these:

Dr. *Marshall*, Commissary, and Dean of *Christ's Church*.
Dr. *Smith*, under Commissary.
Doctor *Tresham*.

Dr. *Crooke*.
M. *London*.
M. *Curpe*.
M. *Warde*.
M. *Serles*.

Witnesses sworn against the Archbishop.

After the depositions of which Witnesses being taken, Dr. *Story* admonished the Archbishop, permitting him to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the said Witnesses were to be refused. Who then would admit none of them all, being men perjured, and not in Christian Religion. For if to swear, said he, against the Pope were unlawful, they should rather have given their lives, than their Oath. But if it were lawful, then they are perjured, to defend him whom they forswore before. Nevertheless, this answer of the Archbishop being lightly regarded, as little to the purpose appertaining, he was commanded again to the place from whence he came. Who at his departing out, like as at his first coming in, shewed low obedience to Dr. *Martin*, and to Dr. *Story*, the Queens Commissioners. Then Dr. *Story* pointing him to the Bishop of *Gloucester*, said, that he ought rather to give reverence unto him. So the reverend Archbishop departing without any obedience exhibited to the Bishop, all the other rose up, and departed every one to his own.

And thus brake up the Session for that day, about two of the Clock at Afternoon.

And thus much hitherto concerning the summary effect of this Agion or Session, with the Orations, Discourses and Articles commenced against the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, also with the reasons and answers of the said Archbishop to their Objections and Interrogatories. Touching which his Answers, so far as they are recited by report of a Papist, (as is aforesaid) seem to be not indifferently handled, it shall therefore not greatly be out of our matter, as ye have heard the Orations of Bishop *Brooks*, with the reasons and talk of the other Commissioners, amplified and set forth at large on the one side, so now in repeating the words and answers of the other parts, to declare and set forth somewhat more amply and effectually, what speech the said Archbishop used for himself in the same action, by the faithful relation and testimony of certain other, who were likewise there present, and do thus report the effect of the Archbishop's words, answering to the first Oration of Bishop *Brooks* in manner as followeth.

A more full answer of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the first Oration of Bishop Brooks.

A more full
answer of
the Arch-
b. to B. Brook
Oration.

My Lord, you have very learnedly and eloquently in your Oration put me in remembrance of many things touching my self, wherein I do not mean to spend the time in answering of them. I acknowledge Gods goodness to me in all his gifts, and thank him as heartily for this state wherein I find my self now, as ever I did for the time of my prosperity; and it is not the loss of my promotions that grieveth me. The greatest grief I have at this time is, and one of the greatest that ever I had in all my life, to see the King and Queens Majesties by their Proctors here to become my accusers; and that in their own Realm and Countrey, before a foreign power. If I have transgressed the Laws of the Land, their Majesties have sufficient Authority and power both from God, and by the ordinance of the Realm, to punish me, whereunto I both have, and at all times shall be content to submit my self.

Q. Mary-
cuth the
Arch-
b. for
taking her
own part
against a for-
eign Power.

The laws of
the Realm
and of the
Pope are
contrary.

No man can
be true both
to the Realm
and to the
Pope together.

The contra-
rity between
the laws of
this Realm,
and of the
Pope describ-
ed.

Kings and
Princes
cannot use
their own
laws in their
dominions
for the Pope.

Cause why
the Arch-
b. would not
submit the
Pope.

The Popes
Religion
is not error-
ous.

Alas! What hath the Pope to do in England? whose jurisdiction is so far different from the jurisdiction of this Realm, that it is impossible to be true to the one, and true to the other. The Laws also are so divers, that whosoever swearth to both, must needs incur perjury to the one. Which as oft as I remember, even for the love that I bear to her Grace, I cannot but be heartily sorry to think upon it, how that her Highness the day of her Coronation, at which time she took a Solemn Oath to observe all the Laws and Liberties of this Realm of England, at the same time also took an Oath to the Bishop of Rome, and promised to maintain that See. The State of England being so repugnant to the Supremacy of the Pope, it was impossible but the must needs be forsworn in the one. Wherein if her grace had been faithfully advertised by her Council, then surely the would never have done it.

The Laws of this Realm are, that the King of England is the suprem and sole Governor of all his Countreys and Dominions: and that he holdeth his Crown and Scepter of himself, by the ancient laws, customs, and descents of the Kings of the Realm, and of none other. The Pope faith, that all Emperors and Kings hold their Crowns and Regalities of him, and that he may depose them when he list; which is high Treason for any man to affirm and think, being born within the Kings Dominions.

The Laws of England are, that all Bishops and Priests offending in cases of felony or treason, are to be judged and tried by the laws and customs of the Realm. The Popes Laws are, that the secular power cannot judge the spiritual power, and that they are not under their jurisdiction; which robbeth the King of the one part of his People.

The laws also of England are, that whosoever hindereth the execution or proceeding of the Laws of England for any other forain Laws Ecclesiastical or Temporal, incurreth the danger of a *Præmunire*. The Popes Laws are, that whosoever hindereth the proceedings or executions of his laws, for any others laws, of any other King or Countrey, both the Prince himself, his Council, all his Officers, Scribes, Clerks, and whosoever give consent or aid to the making or executing of any such laws, stand accursed. A heavy curse (if his curse were any thing worth) that the King and Queen cannot use their own laws, but they and all theirs must stand accursed. These things and many more examples he alleged, which (he said) stirred him that he could not give his consent to the receiving of such an enemy into the Realm, so subverting the dignity and ancient liberties of the same.

And as for the matter of Heresy and Schism, wherein he was charged, he protested and called God to witness, that he knew none that he maintained. But if that were an Heresy to deny the Popes Authority, and the Religion which the See of Rome hath published to the World these later Years, then all the Ancient Fathers of the Primitive Church, the Apostles and Christ himself taught Heresy; and he desired all then present to bear him witness, that he took the Traditions and Religion of

that Usurping Prelate to be most erroneous, false, and against the Doctrine of the whole Scripture; which he had oftentimes well proved by writing, and the Author of the same to be very Antichrist, so often preached of by the Apostles and Prophets, in whom did most evidently concur all signs and tokens whereby he was painted out to the World to be known.

For it was most evident that he had advanced himself above all Emperors and Kings of the World, whom he affirmeth to hold their Estates and Empires of him, as of their chief, and to be at his commandment to depose and erect at his good will and pleasure, and that stories make mention of his intolerable and insolent pride, and tyranny, used over them in such sort, as no King would have used to his Christian subjects, nor yet a good master to his servants, setting his feet on the Emperors neck, affirming that to be verified in him, which was spoken only of our Saviour Jesus Christ, in these words, *Super Aspidem & Basiliscum ambulabis, & conculcabis Leones & Draconem*. Other some had he made to hold his stirrup, others he had displaced and removed from their Empires and seats royal: and not content herewithal, more insolent then Lucifer, he hath occupied not only the highest place in this World, above Kings and Princes, but hath further perjured to fit in the seat of Almighty God, which only he referred to himself, which is the Confidence of man; and to keep the possession thereof, he hath promised forgiveness of sins *gratis* quites.

He hath brought in gods of his own framing, and invented a new Religion, full of gain and lucre, quite contrary to the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture, only for the maintaining of his Kingdom, displacing Christ from his glory, and holding his People in a miserable servitude of blindness to the loss of a great number of Souls, which God at the latter day shall exact at his hand; boasting many times in his Canons and Decrees, that he can dispense *Contra Petrum, contra Paulum, contra veteris & novum Testamentum* and that he *Plenitudine potestatis, tantum potest quantum Deus*: That is, *Against Peter, against Paul, against the old and new Testament: and of the fulness of power may do as much as God*. O Lord, who ever heard such Blasphemy? If there be any man that can advance himself above him, let him be judged Antichrist.

This enemy of God and of our redemption, is so evidently painted out in the Scriptures by such manifest signs and tokens, which all so clearly appear in him, that except a man will shut up his eyes and heart against the light, he cannot but know him: and therefore for my part I will never give my consent to the receiving of him into this Church of England. And you my Lord, and the rest that sit here in Commission, consider well and examine your own Consciences; you have sworn against him, you are learned, and can judge of the truth. I pray God you be not wilfully blind. As for me, I have herein discharged mine own Conscience toward the World, and I will write also my mind to her Grace, touching this matter. The copy of which letter sent to the Queen, ye shall find after in the end of his story.

While he in this sort made his answer, ye hear before how Dr. Story and Martin divers times interrupted him with Blasphemous talk, and would fain have had the Bp. of Gloucester to put him to silence: who notwithstanding did not, but suffered him to end his tale at full. After this he heard also how they proceeded to examine him of divers Articles, whereof the chief was, That at the time of his creating Archbishop of Canterbury, he was sworn to the Pope, and had his institution and induction from him, and promised to maintain then the Authority of that See, and therefore was perjured: wherefore he should rather flee to his first Oath and return to his old fold again, then to continue obstinately in an Oath forced in the time of Schism.

To that he answered, saving his protestation (which term he used before all his answers) that at such time Archbishop Warham died, he was Ambassador in Germany for the King, who sent for him thereupon home, and leaving intelligence by some of his friends (who were near about the King) how he meant to bestow the same Bishoprick upon him, and therefore counsell'd him in that case to make hast home, he feeling in himself a great inability to such a promotion, and very sorry to leave his study, and especially considering by what means he

Anno

1556.

All marks
of Antichrist
must con-
cur in the
Pope.

The Popes
Pills-and
Treason.

Mark of
Antichrist.

The Pope
dispenseth
against the
new and old
Testament.

His answer
to their Ar-
ticles. How
Cranmer was
made Arch-
b. against his
will.

Anno 1556. he must have it, which was clean against his Conscience, which he could not utter without great peril and danger, devised an excuse to the King of matter of great importance, for the which his longer abode there should be most necessary, thinking by that means in his absence, that the King would have bestowed it upon some other, and so remained there by that device, one half year after the King had written for him to come home. But after that no such matter fell out, as he seemed to make suspicion of, the King sent for him again. Who after his return, understanding still the Archbishoprick to be reserved for him, made means by divers of his best friends to shift it off, desiring rather some smaller Living, that he might more quietly follow his Book.

To be brief, when the King himself spake with him, declaring that his full intention, for his service sake, and for the good opinion he conceived of him, was to bestow that dignity upon him, after long disabling of himself, perceiving he could by no persuasions alter the Kings determination, he brake frankly his Conscience with him, most humbly craving first his Graces pardon, for that he should declare unto his Highness. Which obtained, he declared, that if he accepted the Office, then he must receive it at the Popes hand, which he neither would nor could do, for that his Highness was only the Supreme Governour of this Church of England, as well in causes Ecclesiastical as Temporal, and that the full right and donation of all manner of Bishopricks and Benefices, as well as of any other Temporal dignities and promotions, appertained to his Grace, and not to any other foreign Authority, whatsoever it was, and therefore if he might in that vocation serve God, him, and his Countrey, seeing it was his pleasure so to have it, he would accept it, and receive it of his Majesty, and of none other stranger, who had no Authority within this Realm, neither in any such gift, nor in any other thing. Whereat the King, said he, staying a while and musing, asked me how I was able to prove it. At which time I alleged many Texts out of the Scriptures, and the Fathers also, approving the Supreme and highest Authority of Kings in their Realms and Dominions, disclosing therewithal the intolerable usurpation of the Pope of Rome.

Afterwards it pleased his Highness (quoth the Archbishop) many and sundry times to talk with me of it, and perceiving that I could not be brought to acknowledge the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, the King himself called Doctor Oliver, who had no civil Lawyers, and devised with him how he might bestow it upon me, enforcing me nothing against my Conscience. Who thereupon informed him, that I might do it by the way of protestation, and so one to be sent to Rome, who might take the Oath, and do every thing in my name. Which when I understood, I said, he should do it *Super avimam suam*: and I indeed *Bona fide* made my protestation, that I did not acknowledge his Authority any further, than as it agreed with the express Word of God, and that it might be lawful for me at all times to speak against him, and so to impugn his Errors, when time and occasion should serve me. And this my protestation did I cause to be enrolled, and there I think it remaineth.

They objected to him also that he was married, which he confessed. Whereupon Dr. Martin said, that his Children were Bondmen to the See of Canterbury. At which saying the Archbishop smiled, and asked him if a Priest at his Benefice kept a Concubine, and had by her Bastards, whether they were Bondmen to the Benefice or no, saying, I trust you will make my Childrens causes no worse.

After this Dr. Martin demanded of him, who was Supreme Head of the Church of England? Marry, quoth my Lord of Canterbury, Christ is Head of this Member, as he is of the whole Body of the Universal Church. Why, quoth Dr. Martin, you made King Henry the 8th. Supreme Head of the Church. Yea, said the Archbishop, of all the People of England, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal. And not of the Church, said Martin? No, said he, for Christ is only the Head of his Church, and of the Faith and Religion of the same. The King is Head and Governour of his People, which

are the visible Church. What (quoth Martin) you never durst tell the King so. Yes, that I durst, quoth he, and did in the publication of his file, wherein he was named Supreme Head of the Church, there was never other thing meant. A number of other fond and foolish Objections were made, with repetition whereof I thought not to trouble the Reader.

Thus after they had received his Answers to all their Objections, they cited him (as is aforesaid) to appear at Rome within fourscore days, to make there his personal Answers: which he said, if the King and Queen would send him, he would be content to do, and so thence was carried to Prison again, where he continually remained, notwithstanding that he was commanded to appear at Rome.

Wherein all men that have eyes to see, may easily perceive the crafty practice of these Prelates, and the vizarded face of their Justice, as though the Court of Rome would condemn no man before he answered for himself, as all Law and equity required. But the very same instant time, the holiness of that unholy Father, contrary to all reason and justice, sent his Letter executory unto the King and Queen to degrade and deprive him of his dignity: which thing he did not only before the 80. days were ended, but before there were 20. days spent. Furthermore, whereas the said Archbishop was first detained in strait Prison, so that he could not appear (as was notorious both in England and also in the Romish Court) and therefore had a lawful and most just excuse of his absence by all Laws, both Popish and other: yet in the end of the said fourscore days, was that worthy Martyr decreed *Contumax*, that is, furdly, frowardly, and wilfully absent, and in pain of the same his absence condemned and put to death.

As touching the said Executory Letters of the Pope sent to the King and Queen, beginning thus, *Paulus Episcopus servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio Philippo Regi, & charissima in Christo filia Marie Regina, &c.* Because the full tenour thereof is expressed in our first impression of Acts, it shall not therefore be needful to cumber this Volume in repeating the same again.

Dr. Thurlly, and Dr. Boner, coming with a new Commission to sit upon the Archbishop the 14. day of February.

This Letter or Sentence definitive of the Pope, was dated about the first day of January, and was delivered here in England about the midst of February. Upon the receipt of which Letters another Session was appointed for the Archbishop to appear the 14. day of February, before certain Commissioners directed down by the Queen, the chief whereof was the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Thurlly. Concerning the which Dr. Thurlly by the way here is to be noted, that albeit he was not the said Archbishop household Chaplain, yet he was so familiarly acquainted with him, so dearly beloved, so inwardly accepted and advanced of him (not like a Chaplain, but rather like a natural Brother) that there was never any thing in the Archbishops house so dear, were it Plate, Jewell, Horfe, Maps, Books, or any thing else, but if Thurlly did never so little commend it (a subtle kind of begging) the Archbishop by and by either gave it to him, or else lent it after him to his house. So greatly was the Archbishop enamored with him, that whosoever would obtain any thing of him, most commonly would make their way before by Dr. Thurlly. Which by matter of the said Dr. Thurlly, I thought here to rectify: not so much to upbraid the man with the vice of unthankfulness, as chiefly and only for this, to admonish him of old benefits received, whereby he may the better remember his old Benefactor, and so to favour the cause and quarrel of him whom he was so singularly bounden unto.

With the said Dr. Thurlly Bishop of Ely, was also assigned in the same Commission Dr. Boner Bishop of London, which two coming to Oxford upon St. Valentines day, as the Popes Delegates, with a new Commission from Rome, by the virtue thereof commanded the Archbishop aforesaid to come before them, in the Quire of Christs Church, before the high Altar, where they sitting (according to their manner) in their Pontifical bus, first began as the fashion is, to read their Commission: wherein was contained, how that in the Court of Rome

The Archb.
Objections, they cited him (as is aforesaid) to appear at Rome within fourscore days, to make there his personal Answers: which he said, if the King and Queen would send him, he would be content to do, and so thence was carried to Prison again, where he continually remained, notwithstanding that he was commanded to appear at Rome.

A notice to be noted in the crafty practice of Romish by, puerities.

A new Commission sent down from Rome against the Archbishop.

Dr. Thurlly, D. Boner, Commissioners next.

The old benefits and familiarity between the Archb. and Dr. Thurlly.

A new sitting of a Popes delegates in Christs Church, as is the Archb. of Canterbury.

all things being indifferently examined, both the Articles laid to his charge, with the answers made unto them, and Witnesses examined on both parts, and Council heard as well on the King and Queens behalf, his Accusers, as on the behalf of *Thomas Crammer*, the party guilty, so that he wanted nothing appertaining to his necessary defence, &c. Which foresaid Commission, as it was in reading: Oh Lord, said the Archbishop, what Lies be these, that I being continually in Prison, and never could be suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should produce witnesses and appoint my counsel at *Rome*? God must needs punish this open and shameless lying. They read on the Commission which came from the Pope, *Plenitudine potestatis*, supplying all manner of defects in Law or Process, committed in dealing with the Archbishop, and giving them full authority to proceed to deprivation and degradation of them, and so upon Excommunication to deliver him up to the secular Powers, *Omni appellatione remissa*.

The Pope's Commission pronounced upon Lies.

The order of the Archbishops degradation.

When the Commission was read thus, they proceeding thereupon to his degradation, first clothed and disguised him, putting on him a Surple, and then an Albe; after that the vestment of a Subdeacon, and every other furniture, as a Priest ready to Mass.

When they had apparelled him so far; What, said he, I think I shall say Mass: Yes, said *Cosins* one of *Boner's* Chaplains, my Lord, I trust to see you say Mass for all this. Do you fo, quoth he? that shall you never see, nor will I ever do it.

Then they invested him in all manner of robes of a Bishop and Archbishop, as he is at his Installing, saving that as every thing then is most rich and costly, so every thing in this of Canvas and old Clouts, with a Mitre and a Pall of the same fure done upon him in mockery, and then the Crozier-staff was put in his hand.

This done after the Popes Pontifical form and manner, *Boner*, who by the space of many years had born, as it seemed, no great good will towards him, and now rejoiced to see this day wherein he might triumph over him, and take his pleasure at full, began to stretch out his eloquence, making his Oration to the Assembly after this manner of fort.

F. Boner eloquently reproves the Archbishop Crammer.

This is the Man that hath ever despised the Popes Holiness, and now is to be judged by him. This is the Man that hath pulled down so many Churches, and now is come to be judged in a Church. This is the Man that contemned the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed Sacrament hanging over the Altar. This is the Man that like *Lucifer* fate in the place of Christ upon an Altar to judge other, and now is come before an Altar to be judged himself.

Boner then with an entreaty.

Wherunto the Archbishop interrupting him said, that in that he belied him, as he did in many other things: For that which he would now seem to charge him withal, was his own fault, if it was any, and none of his. For the thing you mean, was in *Pauls-Church* (said he) where I came to sit in Commission; and there was a Scaffold prepared for me and others, by you and your Officers, and whether there were any Altar under it or not, I could not perceive it, nor once suspected it, wherefore you do wittingly evil to charge me with it.

Unmannerly words of B. Boner to his Brother in time of adversity.

But *Boner* went on still in his Rhetorical repetition, lying and railing against the Archbishop, beginning every sentence with, This is the Man, this is the Man, till at length there was never a man but was weary of his unmannerly usage of him in that time and place: Inasmuch that the Bishop of *Ely* aforesaid divers times pulled him by the sleeve to make an end, and said to him afterward when they went to Dinner, that he had broken promise with him: for he had intreated him earnestly to use him with reverence.

After all this done and finished, they began then to bustle toward his degrading, and first to take from him his Crozier-staff out of his hands, which he held fast and refused to deliver, and withal, imitating the example of *Martin Luther*, pulled an Appeal out of his left Sleeve under the wrist, which he there and then delivered unto them, saying, I appeal to the next General Council; and herein I have comprehended my cause and form of it, which I desire may be admitted; and prayed divers of

Archb. Crammer appeals from the Pope to a General Council.

the standers by, by name to be witnesses, and especially *Mr. Carr*, to whom he spake twice, &c.

The Copy of which his appealation, because it was not printed before, I thought here to exhibit, *ad rememoriam*, as in form here followeth.

The tenor of the Appeal of the Archbishop of Canterbury from the Pope, to the next General Council.

IN the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

First, my plain Protestation made; that I intend to speak nothing against one holy Catholic and Apostolical Church, or the Authority thereof (the which Authority I have in great reverence, and to whom my mind is in all things to obey) and if any thing peradventure, either by slipperiness of Tongue, or by indignation of abuses, or else by the provocation of mine Adversaries be spoken or done otherwise than well, or not with such reverence as becometh me, I am most ready to amend it.

Challenge or appeal of the Archbishop from the Pope to a General Council.

Although the Bishop of *Rome* (whom they call Pope) beareth the room of Christ in Earth, and hath authority of God, yet by that power or authority he is not become unfailable, neither hath he received that power to destroy, but to edifie the Congregation. Therefore if he shall command any thing that is not right to be done, he ought to take it patiently and in good part, in case he be not therein obeyed. And he must not be obeyed, if he command any thing against the Precepts of God: no, rather he may lawfully be refuted, even as *Paul* withstood *Peter*. And if he being aided by help of Princes, deceived perchance by false suggestion, or with evil counsel, should be refuted, but the remedies of withstanding him be taken away, there is nevertheless one remedy of appealing (which no Prince can take away) uttered by the very Law of Nature: forasmuch as it is a certain defence, which is meet for every body by the Law of God, of Nature, and of Man.

The Pope not unfailable. The Pope hath no power to destruction, but to edification.

Remedy of appealing from the Law of God and Nature.

And whereas the Laws do permit a man to appeal, not only from the griefs and injuries done, but also from such as shall be done hereafter, or threatened to be done, inasmuch that the inferior cannot make Laws of not appealing to a superior Power; and since it is openly enough confessed, that a holy General Council, lawfully gathered together in the Holy Ghost, and representing the holy Catholic Church, is above the Pope, especially in matters concerning Faith; that he cannot make Decrees that men shall not appeal from him to a General Council: therefore I *Thomas Crammer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or in time past Ruler of the Metropolitane Church of *Canterbury*, Doctor in Divinity, do say and publish before you the publick Notary, and witnesses here present, with mind and intent to challenge and appeal from the persons and griefs underneath written, and to proffer my self in place and time convenient and meet, to prove the Articles that follow. And I openly confess, that I would lawfully have published them before this day, if I might have had either liberty to come abroad my self, or licence of a Notary and Witnesses. But further than I am able to do, I know well is not required of the Laws.

The inferior cannot forbide to appeal to all the Superior.

A General Council is superior to the Pope.

1. First, I say and publish, that *James* by the mercy of God, Priest, called Cardinal of the *Pis*, and of the title of our Lady in the way of the Church of *Rome*, Judge and Commissary specially deputed of our most holy Lord the Pope (as he affirmed) caused me to be cited to *Rome*, there to appear fourscore days after the Citation served on me, to make answer to certain Articles touching the peril of my state and life: And whereas I was kept in Prison with most strait Ward, so that I could in no wise be suffered to go to *Rome*, nor to come out of Prison, (and in so grievous causes concerning state and life, no man is bound to send a Proctor,) and though I would never so fain send my Proctor, yet by reason of poverty I am not able (for all that ever I had, where-with I should bear my Proctors costs and charges, is quite taken from me) nevertheless the most reverend Cardinal aforesaid doth fore threaten me, that whether I shall appear or not, he will nevertheless yet proceed in judgment against me. Wherein I feel my self so grieved, that nothing can be imagined more mischievous or fair herefrom reason.

The cause why he doth appeal.

The Archb. cited to appear at Rome, when he was kept in Prison, what he could not come.

Note with what justice and freeness this Catholic Church doth proceed.

anno
1556.The 2. cause
The Archb.
demanded to
have Com-
mit of the
Law.

The 3. cause.

The Popes
proceeded con-
trary to law.The Popes
contrary to
their pro-
mise.

The 4. cause.

Causes mov-
ing the
Archb. why
he could not
admit the
Popes Au-
thority.
The Popes
Authority
cannot be
admitted in
this Realm
without
perjury.The 5. cause.
Inconven-
ience to this
Realm in
receiving the
Popes Au-
thority.

The 6. cause.

The primi-
tive state of
the Church
of Rome
innocent and
pure.

2 Secondly, the reverend Father *James Brooks*, by the mercy of God Bishop of *Glocester*, Judge and under-deputy (as he affirmeth) of the most reverend Cardinal; caused me to be cited at *Oxford* (where I was then kept in prison) to answer to certain Articles, concerning the danger of my state and life. And when I being unlearned and ignorant in the Laws, desired Council of the learned in the Law, that thing was most unrighteously denied me, contrary to the equity of all Laws both of God and Man. Wherein again I feel me most wrongfully grieved.

3 And when I refused the said Bishop of *Glocester* to be my Judge, for most just causes, which I then declared, he nevertheless went on still, and made process against me, contrary to the rule of the laws of appealing, which say; *A Judge that is refused ought not to proceed in the cause, but to leave off.* And when he had required of me answers to certain Articles, I refused to make him any answer: I said I would yet gladly make answer to the most renowned Kings and Queens deputies or attorneys then present, with this condition notwithstanding, that mine answer should be extrajudicial, and that was permitted me. And with this my protestation made and admitted, I made answer; but mine answer was sudden and unprovided for: and therefore I desired to have a copy of mine answers, that I might put to take away, change and amend them; and this was also permitted me. Nevertheless, contrary to his promise made unto me, no respect had to my protestation, nor licence given to amend mine answer, the said reverend Father Bishop of *Glocester* (as I hear) commanded mine answers to be inacted contrary to the equity of the Law. In which thing again I feel me much grieved.

4 Furthermore, I could not for many causes admit the Bishop of *Rome* usurped Authority in this Realm, nor consent to it: For my Solemn Oath letting me, which I made in the time of King *Henry* the eighth, of most famous memory, according to the Laws of *England*: Secondly, because I knew the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* which he usurpeth, to be against the Crown, Customs, and Laws of this Realm of *England*, in so much, that neither the King can be Crowned in this Realm, without the most grievous crime of perjury, nor may Bishops enjoy their Bishopricks, nor judgments to be used according to the laws and customs of this Realm, except by the Bp. of *Rome* Authority, be accused both the King and Queen, the Judges, Writers, and Executors of the Laws and Customs, with all that consent to them. Finally, the whole Realm shall be accused.

5 Moreover, that hainous and usurped Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, through reservations of the Bishopricks, Provisions, Annates, Dispensations, Pardons, Appellations, Bulls, and other cursed merchandise of *Rome*, was wont exceedingly to spoil and consume the riches and substance of this Realm, all which things should follow again by recognising and receiving of that usurped Authority unto the unmeasurable loss of this Realm.

6 Finally, it is most evident by that usurped Authority, not only the Crown of *England* to be under yoke, the Laws and Customs of this Realm to be thrown down and troden under foot, but also the most Holy Decrees of Councils, together with the precepts both of the Gospel and of God.

When in times past the Sun of righteousness being risen in the World, Christian Religion by the preaching of the Apostles began to be spread very far abroad and to flourish, in so much that their found went out into all the World; innumerable People, which walked in darkness, saw a great light, Gods glory every where published did flourish, the only care and care of the Ministers of the Church was purely and sincerely to preach Christ the People to imbrace and follow Christ's Doctrine. Then the Church of *Rome*, as it were Lady of the World, both was, and also was counted worthily the mother of other Churches, for as much as then the first began to Christ, nourished with the food of pure Doctrine, did help them with their riches, succoured the oppressed, and was a sanctuary for the miserable, the rejoiced with them that rejoiced, and wept with them that wept. Then by the examples of the Bishops of *Rome*, riches were desired, worldly glory and pomp was troden under foot, pleasures

and riot nothing regarded. Then this frail and uncertain life, being full all miseries, was laughed to scorn, whiles through the example of *Romish* Martyrs, men did every where press forward to the life to come. But afterward when the ungraciousness of damnable ambition, never satisfied avarice, and the horrible enormity of vices had corrupted and taken the See of *Rome*; there followed every where almost the deformities of all Churches, growing out of kind into the manners of the Church their Mother; leaving their former innocence and purity; and slipping into foul and hainous ulcers.

For the aforesaid and many other griefs and abuses (which I intend to prove, and do proffer my self in time convenient to prove hereafter) since reformation of the above mentioned abuses is not to be looked for of the Bishop of *Rome*, neither can I hope by reason of his wicked abuses and Usurped Authority, to have him an equal judge in his own cause: therefore I do challenge and appeal in these writings from the Pope, having no good Council, and from the above named pretences, commissions, and judges, from their citations, process, and from all other things that have or shall follow thereupon, and from every one of them, and from all their sentences, censures, pains, and punishments of cursing, suspension, and interdicting, and from all others whatsoever their denunciations and declarations (as they pretend) of Schisms, of Heresies, Adultery, deprivation, degrading by them or by any of them, in any manner wise attempted, done and set forward to be attempted, to be done, and to be set forward hereafter (savouring always their honours and reverences) as unequal and unrighteous, most tyrannical and violent, and from every grief to come, which shall happen to me, as well for my self as for all and every one that cleaveth to me, or will hereafter be on my side, unto a free general Council, that shall hereafter lawfully be, and in a free place, to the which place I ora Proctor deputated by me, may freely and with safety come, and to him or them, to whom a man may by the Law, privilege, custom, or otherwise challenge and appeal.

And I desire the first, the second, and third time, instantly, more instantly, and most instantly, that I may have messengers, if there be any man that will and can give me them. And I make open promise of prosecuting this mine appellation, by the way of disannulling, abuse, inequality, and unrighteousness, or otherwise as I shall be better able: choice and liberty reserved to me, to put to, diminish, change, correct, and interpret my sayings, and to reform all things after a better fashion, saving always to me every other benefit of the law, and to them that either be, or will be on my part.

And touching my Doctrine of the Sacrament, and other my Doctrine, of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to the most Holy Word of God, or else against the Holy Catholick Church of Christ, but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only, which I had learned of the sacred Scripture, and of the Holy Catholick Church of Christ from the beginning, and also according to the exposition of the most holy and learned Fathers and Martyrs of the Church.

And if any thing hath peradventure chanced otherwise then I thought; I may erre, but Heretick I cannot be, for as much as I am ready in all things to follow the judgment of the most sacred Word of God, and of the Holy Catholick Church, desiring none other thing, then meekly and gently to be taught, if any where (which God forbid) I have swerved from the truth.

And I protest and openly confess, that in all my Doctrine and preaching, both of the Sacrament, and of other my Doctrine whatsoever it be, not only I mean and judge those things, as the Catholick Church, and the most holy Fathers of old with one accord have meant and judged, but also I would gladly use the same words that they used, and not use any other words, but to fit my hand to all and singular their speeches, phrases, ways and forms new terms of speech, which they do use in their Treatises upon the Sacrament, and to keep still their interpretation. But in this thing I only am accused for an Heretick, because I allow not the Doctrine lately brought in of the Sacrament, and because I consent not to words not accustomed in Scripture, and unknown to the ancient Fathers,

The Church
of Rome how
and where
it began to
alter.
Deformities
of the Church
of Rome, in-
fecting all
other
Churches.
The Bishop
of Rome do
equal judge
in his own
cause.

Appellation
from the
Pope to a
general
Council.

Letters of
protection
and detente.

Defense of
his Doctrine.

The Archb.
no Heretick,
and why.

He protest-
eth himself
to be Cath-
olick.

He protest-
eth himself
to be Cath-
olick.
of the Sacra-
ment
brought in
by the Pope
unknown to
I allow not
ment, and because I consent not to words not accustomed
in Scripture, and unknown to the ancient Fathers,
Do Act.

but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the destruction of Souls, and overthrowing of the pure and old Religion. Yeven,&c.

This Appeal being put up to the Bishop of Ely, he said, My Lord, our Commission is to proceed against you, *Omni appellatone remota*, and therefore we cannot admit it.

Talk between the Archbishop and the Appeal.

Why (quoth he) then you do me the more wrong: for my case is not as every private mans case. The matter is between the Pope and me *immediat*, and none otherwife: and I think no man ought to be a Judge in his own cause.

Well, quoth Ely, if it may be admitted it shall, and so received it of him. And then began he to perswade earnestly with the Archbishop to consider his state, and to weigh it well, while there was time to do him good, promising to become a suter to the King and Queen for him; and so protested his great love and friendship that had been between them, heartily weeping, so that for a time he could not go on with his tale. After going forward, he earnestly affirmed, that if it had not been the King and Queens commandment, whom he could not deny, else no worldly commodity should have made him to have done it, concluding that to be one of the forwardest things that ever happened unto him. The Archbishop gently seeming to comfort him, said, he was very well content withal: and so proceeded they to his degradation: the perfect form whereof, with all the rites and ceremonies thereto appertaining, taken out of the Popes Pontifical, because it is already defcribed at full in our first Book of Monuments, I shall refer the Reader to the same.

Here then to be short, when they came to take off his Pall (which is a solemn vesture of an Archbishop) then said he, Which of you hath a Pall, to take of my Pall? Which imported as much as they being his Inferiours, could not degrade him. Whereunto one of them said, in that they were but Bishops, they were his Inferiours, and not competent Judges: but being the Popes Delegates, they might take his Pall, and so they did, and so proceeding took every thing in order from him, as it was put on. Then a Barber clipped his Hair round about, and the Bishop scraped the tops of his Fingers where he had been anointed, wherein Bishop *Boner* behaved himself, as roughly and unmannerly, as the other Bishop was to him soft and gentle. Whilst they were thus doing, All this (quoth the Archbishop) needed not: I had my self done with this gear long ago. Last of all they stripped him out of his Gown into his Jacket, and put upon him a poor Yeoman Beadles Gown, full bare and nearly worn, and as evil favouredly made, as one might lightly see, and a Townsmans Cap on his head, and so delivered him to the secular Power.

Lord Boner unfolded the Archb. It is happy this Bishop had so much manners yet to call him Gentleman.

After this pageant of Degradation, and all was finished, then spake Lord *Boner*, saying to him, Now are you no Lord any more: and so whenever he spake to the People of him (as he was continually barking against him) ever he used this term, This Gentleman here,&c.

And thus with great compassion and pity of every man in this evil favoured Gown was he carried to Prison. Whom there followed a Gentleman of *Gloucestershire* with the Archbishops own Gown, who standing by, and being thought to be toward one of the Bishops, had it delivered unto him; who by the way talking with him, said, the Bishop of Ely protested his friendship with tears. Yet (said he) he might have used a great deal more friendship towards me, and never have been the worse thought on for I have well deserved it and going into the Prison up with him, asked him if he would drink. Who answered him, saying, if he had a piece of salt Fish, that he had better wile to eat: for he had been that day somewhat troubled with this matter, and had eaten little, but now that it is past, my heart (said he) is well quieted. Whereupon the Gentleman said, he would give him Money with all his heart, for he was able to do it. But he being one toward the Law, and fearing Mr. *Farmers* case, durst therefore give him nothing, but gave Money to the Bayliffs that stood by, and said, that if they were good men, they would bestow it on him (for my Lord of *Canterbury* had not one penny in his Purse to help him) and so left him, my Lord bidding him earnestly

Cutledge showed to the Archb. by a Gentleman. This Farmer had lost all his Land, not receiving a Priar in the Tower in K. Henriss time.

farewel, commending himself to his Prayers and all his Friends. That night this Gentleman was flaid by *Boner* and Ely, for giving him this Money: and but for the help of Friends, he had been sent up to the Council. Such was the cruelty and iniquity of the time, that men could not do good without punishment.

1556. The Gentleman in danger for relieving the Archbishop.

Here followeth the Recantation of the Archbishop, with his repentance of the same.

In this mean time, while the Archbishop was thus remaining in durance (whom they had kept now in Prison almost the space of three years) the Doctors and Divines of *Oxford* busied themselves all that ever they could about Mr. *Cranmer*, to have him recant, assaying by all crafty practices and allurements they might devise how to bring their purpose to pass. And to the intent they might win him easily, they had him to the Deans house of *Christs-Church* in the said University, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the Bowls, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ. Over and besides all this, secretly and lightly they fuborned certain men, which when they could not expugn him by Arguments and Disputation, should by intreaty and fair promises, or any other means allure him to recantation; perceiving otherwise what a great wound they should receive, if the Archbishop had stood stedfast in his sentence: and again on the other side, how great profit they should get, if he as the principal Standard-bearer, should be overthrown. By reason whereof the wily Papists flocked about him, with threatening, flattering, intreating and promising, and all other means; specially *Henry Sydnall*, and Frier *John a Spaniard*, *de Villa Garcina*, to the end to drive him, to the uttermost of their possibility, from his former sentence to recantation.

First, they set forth how acceptable it would be both to the King and Queen, and especially how gainful to him, and for his Souls health the same should be. They added moreover, how the Council and the Noble men bare him good will. They put him in hope, that he should not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient Dignity, saying, it was but a small matter, and so ease that they required him to do, only that he would subscribe to a few words with his own hand; which if he did, there should be nothing in the Realm that the Queen would not easily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignity, or else if he had rather live a private life in quiet rest, in whatsoever place he listed, without all publick Ministry, only that he would set his name in two words to a little leaf of paper; but if he refused, there was no hope of health and pardon: for the Queen was so purposed, that she would have *Cranmer* a Catholic, or else no *Cranmer* at all. Therefore he should chuse whether he thought it better to end his life shortly in the flames and fire-brands now ready to be kindled, than with much honour to prolong his life, until the course of nature did call him: for there was no middle way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that he would look to his wealth, his estimation and quietness, saying, that he was not so old, but that many years yet remained in this his so lusty Age; and if he would not do it in respect of the Queen, yet he should do it for respect of his life, and not suffer that other men should be more careful for his health, than he was himself: saying, that this was agreeable to his notable learning and virtues; which being adjoynd with his life would be profitable both to himself and to many other; but being extinct by death, should be fruitfull to no man: that he should take good heed that he went not too far; yet there was time enough to restore all things alive, and nothing wanted, if he wanted not to himself. Therefore they would him to lay hold upon the occasion of his health while it was offered, lest if he would now refuse it while it was offered, he might hereafter seek it when he could not have it.

Finally, If the desire of life did nothing move him, yet he should remember that to die is grievous in all Ages, and especially in these his years and flower of dignity it were more grievous: but to die in the fire and such torments, is most grievous of all. With these and like provocations these fair flatterers could not to solicit and

Anno
1556.
The Arch-
bishop
recant.

and urge him, using all means they could to draw him to their side; whose force his Manly constancy did a great while resist. But at last when they made no end of calling and crying upon him, the Archbishop being overcome, whether through their importunity, or by his own imbecillity, or of what mind I cannot tell, at length gave his hand.

Causes mov-
ing the
Archbishop
to give
with time.

It might be supposed that it was done for the hope of life, and better days to come. But as we may since perceive by a Letter of his sent to a Lawyer, the most cause why he desired his time to be delayed, was that he would make an end of *Marcus Antonius*, which he had already begun: but howsoever it was, plain it was, to be against his Confidence. The form of which recantation made by the Friars and Doctors, whereto he subscribed, was this.

The Copy and words of Crammers Recantation.

The Copy
of Cram-
mers recan-
tation spars-
ed abroad
by the Pa-
pists.

I Thomas Crammer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest all manner of Heresies and Errors of *Luther* and *Zwinglius*, and all other teachings which be contrary to found and true Doctrine. And I believe most constantly in my heart, and with my mouth I testify oneholy and Catholick Church visible, without the which there is no salvation; and thereof I acknowledge the Bishop of *Rome* to be suprem Head in Earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest Bishop and Pope, and Christs Vicar, unto whom all Christian People ought to be subject.

And as concerning the Sacraments, I believe and worship in the Sacrament of the Altar the very Body and Blood of Christs, being contained most truly under the forms of Bread and Wine; the Bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the Body of our Saviour Iesus Christ, and the Wine into his Blood. And in the other fix Sacraments also (like as in this) I believe and hold as the Universal Church holdeth, and the Church of *Rome* judgeth and determineth.

Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of Purgatory, where Souls departed be punished for a time, for whom the Church doth godly and wholsomly pray, like as it doth honour Saints and make prayers to them.

Finally, in all things I profess, that I do not otherwise believe, than the Catholick Church and Church of *Rome* holdeth and teacheth. I am sorry that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchsafe to forgive me, whatsoever I have offended against God or his Church, and also I desire and beseech all Christian People to pray for me.

And all such as have been deceived either by mine Example or Doctrine, I require them by the Blood of Iesus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the Church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

And to conclude, as I submit my self to the Catholick Church of Christ, and to the suprem Head thereof, so I submit my self unto the most excellent Majesties of *Philip* and *Mary*, King and Queen of this Realm of *England*, &c. and to all other their Laws and Ordinances, being ready always as a faithful Subject ever to obey them. And God is my witness, that I have not done this for favour or fear of any person, but willingly and of mine own mind, as well to the discharge of mine own Confidence, as to the instruction of other.

This recantation of the Archbishop was not so soon conceived, but the Doctors and Prelates without delay caused the same to be imprinted, and set abroad in all mens hands. Whereunto for better credit, first was added the name of *Thomas Crammer*, with a solemn subscription, then followed the witnesses of this recantation, *Henry Sydal*, and Frier *John de villa Garcia*. All this while Crammer was in certain assurance of his life, although the same was faithfully promised to him by the Doctors; but after that they had their purpose, the rest they committed to all adventure, as became men of that Religion to do. The Queen, having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly: but of her purpose to put him to death she would nothing relent.

Now was Crammers cause in a miserable taking, who neither inwardly had any quietness in his own confidence, nor yet outwardly any help in his Adversaries.

Besides this, on the one side was praise, on the other side scorn, on both sides danger, so that neither he could die honestly, nor yet unhonestly live. And whereas he sought profit, he fell into double disprofit, that neither with good men he could avoid secret shame, nor yet with evil men the note of diffimulation.

In the mean time, while these things were adooing (as I said) in the Prison amongst the Doctors, the Queen taking secret counsel, how to dispatch Crammer out of the way (who as yet knew nothing of her secret hate, and looked for nothing less then death) appointed. Dr. *Cole*, and secretly gave him in commandment, that against the 21. of *March*, he should prepare a Funeral Sermon for Crammers burning, and so instructing him orderly and diligently of her will and pleasure in that behalf, sendeth him away.

Soon after, the Lord *Williams* of *Tame*, and the Lord *Shandoy*, Sir *Thomas Bridges*, and Sir *John Brown*, were sent for, with other worshipsful men and Justices, commanded in the Queens name to be at *Oxford* at the same day, with their Servants and Retinue, left Crammers death should raise there any tumult.

Cole the Doctor having this Lesson given him before, and charged by her commandment, returned to *Oxford* ready to play his part; who as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the Prison to Crammer; to try whether he abode in the Catholick Faith wherein before he had left him. To whom, when Crammer had answered, that by Gods grace he would daily be more confirmed in the Catholick Faith; Cole departing for that time, the next day following repaired to the Arch-Bishop again, giving no signification as yet of his death that was prepared: And therefore in the morning, which was the 21. day of *March* appointed for Crammers execution, the said Cole, coming to him, asked if he had any mony. To whom when he answered that he had none, he delivered him fifteen Crowns to give to the poor to whom he would: and so exhorting him so much as he could to constancy in Faith, departed thence about his business; as to his Sermon appointed.

By this partly, and other like arguments, the Archbishop began more and more to surmise what they went about. Then because the day was not far past, and the Lords and Knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the Spanish Frier, witness of his recantation, bringing a Paper with Articles, which Crammer should openly profess in his recantation before the People, earnestly desiring him that he would write the said instrument with the Articles with his own hand, and sign it with his name: which when he had done, the said Frier desired that he would write another Copy thereof which should remain with him, and that he did also. But yet the Archbishop being not ignorant whereunto their secret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his Faith with Christs People, he put secretly in his bosom his Prayer with his Exhortation written in another Paper, which he minded to recite to the People, before he should make the last profession of his Faith, fearing lest if they had heard the Confession of his Faith first, they would not afterward have suffered him to exhort the People.

Soon after about nine of the Clock, the Lord *Williams*, Sir *Tho. Bridges*, Sir *John Browne*, and the other Justices, with certain other Noblemen, that were sent of the Queens Council, came to *Oxford* with a great train of waiting men. Also of the other multitude on every side (as is wont in such a matter) was made a great concourse, and greater expectation, For first of all, they that were of the Popes side were in great hope that day to hear something of Crammer that should stablish the vanity of their Opinion: the other part, which were endued with a better mind, could not yet doubt, that he which by continual study and labour for so many years, had set forth the Doctrine of the Gospel, either would or could now in the last Act of his life forsake his part. Briefly, as every mans will inclined, either to this

Crammer in
a miserable
case.

The Queen
conferred
with Dr.
Coles
Crammers
burning.

L. Williams
of Tame,
L. Shandoy,
Sir Thomas
Bridges,
Sir John
Brown,
appointed
to be at
Crammers
execution.

Crammer
wrote, and
subscribed
the Articles
with his
own hand.

The Queen
hears
against
Crammer.

this part or to that, so according to the diversity of their desires, every man wished and hoped for. And yet because in an uncertain thing the certainty could be known of none what would be the end; all their minds were hanging between hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in so doubtful a matter, the more was the multitude, that was gathered thither to hear and behold.

Dr. Cranmer brought to Dr. Cole Sermon.

In this so great frequency and expectation, Cranmer at the length cometh from Becardo Prison unto St. Maries Church, because it was a foul and rainy day, the chief Church in the University, in this order. The Mayor went before, next him the Aldermen in their place and degree; after them was Cranmer brought between two Friars, which mumbling to and fro certain Psalms in the streets, answered one another untill they came to the Church door, and there they began the Song of *Simon, Nunc dimittis*, and entering into the Church, the Psalmsing Friars brought him to his standing, and there left him. There was a stage set over against the Pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Cranmer had his standings, waiting untill Cole made him ready to his Sermon.

Cranmer for up upon a Stage.

The lamentable case and sight of that man gave a sorrowful Spectacle to all Christian eyes that beheld him. He that late was Archbishop, Metropolitan, and Primate of England, and the Kings privy Counsellor, being now in a bare and ragged gown, and ill favouredly clothed, with an old square Cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pity his case, and bewail his fortune, and might not fear his own chance, to see such a Prelate, so grave a Counsellor, and of so long continued honour after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life, and now presently from such fresh Ornaments, to descend to such vile and ragged apparel?

Dr. Cole Sermon divided into three parts

In this habit, when he had stood a good space upon the Stage, turning to a pillar neer adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to Heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, till at the length Dr. Cole coming into the Pulpit, and beginning his Sermon, entered first into mention of *Tobias* and *Zachary*. Whom after he had praised in the beginning of his Sermon for their perseverance in the true worshipping of God, he then divided his whole Sermon into three parts (according to the solemn custom of the Schools) intending to speak first of the mercy of God: secondly, of his justice to be shewed: and last of all, how the Princes secrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occasion by and by to turn his tale to Cranmer, and with many hot words reproved him, that once he being induced with the favour and feeling of wholesom and Catholick Doctrine, fell into the contrary Opinion of pernicious Error; which he had not only defended by writings, and all his Power, but also allured other men to do the like, with great liberality of gifts, as it were appointing rewards for Error; and after he had allured them, by all means did cherish them.

The sum and effect of Dr. Cole Sermon at Oxford. If Cole gave this judgment upon Cranmer when he had repented, what judgment is then to be given of Cole, which always persisted in Error and never yet repented.

It were too long to repeat all things, that in long order were pronounced. The sum of his tripartite declamation was that he said Gods mercy was so tempered with his justice, that he did not altogether require punishment according to the merits of offenders, nor yet sometimes suffered the same altogether to go unpunished yea though they had repented. As in *David*, who when he was hidden choole of three kinds of punishment which he would, and he had chosen pestilence for three days; the Lord forgave him half the time, but did not release all: And that the same thing came to pass in him also, to whom although pardon and reconciliation was due according to the Canons, seeing he repented him of his Errors, yet there were causes why the Queen and the Council at this time judged him to death: of which, left he should marvel too much, he should hear some.

First, that being a Traitor, he had dissolved the lawful matrimony between the King her Father and Mother; besides the driving out of the Popes Authority, while he was Metropolitan.

Secondly, that he had been an Heretick, from whom as from an Author and only fountain all heretical Doctrine and schismatical Opinions, that so many years have prevailed in England, did first rise and spring; of which he had not been a secret favourer only, but also a most earnest defender even to the end of his life, sowing them abroad by writings and arguments, privately and openly, not without great ruine and decay of the Catholick Church.

Anno 1556. If all Hereticks in England should be burned, where should Dr. Cole have been ere now?

And further, it seemed meet, according to the Law of equality, that as the death of the Duke of Northumberland of late, made even with *The Moor* Chancellor that died for the Church, so there should be one that should make even with *Fisher* of *Rochester*; and because that *Ridley*, *Hooper*, *Ferrar*, were not able to make even with that man, it seemed that Cranmer should be joynted to them to fill up their part of equality.

Lex non equalitatis sed iniquitatis.

Besides these there were other just and weighty causes, which seemed to the Queen and Council, which was not meet at that time to be opened to the Common People.

After this, turning his Tale to the hearers, he bade all men beware by this mans example, that among men nothing is so high, that can promise it self safety on the Earth, and that Gods vengeance is equally stretched against all men and spareth none: therefore they should beware and learn to fear their Prince. And seeing the Queens Majesty would not spare so notable a man as this, much less in the like cause they would spare other men, that no man should think to make thereby any defence of his Error, either in riches or any kind of Authority. They had now an example to teach them all, by whose calamity every man might consider his own fortune; who from the top of dignity, none being more honourable than he in the whole Realm, and next the King, was fallen into so great misery, as they might now see, being a man of so high degree, sometime one of the chiefest Prelates in the Church, and an Archbishop, the chief of the Council, the second person in the Realm of long time, a man thought in greatest assurance, having a King on his side; notwithstanding all his Authority and defence, to be debased from high estate to a low degree, of a Counsellor to become a Caitiff, and to be set in so wretched a state, that the poorest wretch would not change condition with him; briefly so heaped with misery on all sides, that neither was left in him any hope of better fortune, nor place for worse.

No flate in this earth so high nor so sure, but it may fall.

The latter part of his Sermon he converted to the Archbishop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of Scripture, as with these and such like; bidding him not to mistrust, but he should incontinently receive that the Thief did, to whom Christ said, *Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso*. That is, *This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise*: And out of *St. Paul* he armed him against the terror of the fire, by this, *Dominus fidelis est, non sinit vos tentari ultra quam ferre potestis*. That is, *The Lord is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength*: by the example of the three Children, to whom God made the flame to seem like a pleasant dew, adding also the rejoicing of *St. Andrew* in his Cross, the patience of *St. Lawrence* on the fire, assuring him, that God, if he called on him, and to such as die in his Faith, either would abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide it.

Dr. Cole encouraged the Archbishop to take his death patiently.

1 Cor. 10.

He glorified God much in his conversion, because it appeared to be only his work, declaring what travel and conference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till that it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the time (said he) he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy of his life: and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But left he should carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour (he said) and also he did promise in the name of all the Priests that were present, that immediately after his death there should be Dirges, Masses, and Funerals executed for him in all the Churches of Oxford for the succour of his Soul.

Dr. Cole rejoiced in the Archbishops conversion, but that rejoicing lasted not long.

Dirges and Masses promised for Cranmers Soul.

Anno 1556. Cranmer in all this mean time, with what great grief of mind he flood hearing this Sermon, the outward shews of his Body and countenance did better express, than any man can declare; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto Heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the Earth. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow lively in him expell'd. More then twenty several times the tears gush'd out abundantly, dropping down marvelously from his Fatherly Face. They which were present, do testify that they never saw in any Child more tears, then braut out from him at that time, all the Sermon while; but especially when they recited his prayer before the People. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all mens hearts, that beheld so heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears in an old man of so Reverend Dignity.

The tears of the Archb.

Cranmer required to declare his faith.

Cranmer willing to declare his faith.

The words of the Archb. to the People.

Cole, after he had ended his Sermon, called back the People that were ready to depart, to prayers. Brethren (said he) lest any man should doubt of this mans earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you, and therefore I pay your Master Cranmer, that you will now perform that you promised not long ago; namely, that you would openly expresse the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspition from men, and that all men may understand that you are a Catholick indeed. I will do it (said the Archbishop) and that with a good will; who by and by rising up, and putting off his cap, began to speak thus unto the People.

I desire you, well beloved Brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive me my sins, which above all men, both in number and greatness, I have committed. But among all the rest, there is one offence which most of all at this time doth vex and trouble me, whereof in procees of my talk you shall hear more in his proper place, and then putting his hand into his Bosom, he drew forth his prayer, which he recited to the People in his kense.

The prayer of Doctor Cranmer, Archbishop.

Good Christian People, my dearly beloved Brethren and Sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great above measure. But yet one thing grieueth my Conscience more then all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But how great and how many soever my sins be, I beseech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all. And here kneeling down, he said:

O Father of Heaven, O Son of God Redeemer of the World, O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me most wretched sinner and miserable finner. I have offended both against Heaven and Earth, more then my tongue can expresse. Whither then may I goe, or whither shall I flee? To Heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in Earth I find no place of refuge or succour: To thee therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble my self, saying, O Lord my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great misery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son, O Heavenly Father unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the World, so that the sinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy, have mercy upon me O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for mine own merits, but for thy names sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christs sake. And now therefore, Our Father of Heaven, be thou as thy name, &c. And then he rising, said:

Every man (good People) desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby: so I beseech God grant me grace, that I may

speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

First, it is an heavy cause to see that so many folk so much dote upon the love of this false World, and be so careful for it, that of the love of God, or the World to come, they seem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation: That you set not your minds overmuch upon this glosing World, but upon God, and upon the World to come, and to learn to know what this lesson meaneth, which St. John teacheth, *That the love of this World is barred against God.*

The second exhortation is, That next under God you obey your King and Queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be Gods Ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you: and therefore whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

The third exhortation is, That you love altogether like Brethren and Sisters. For alas, pity it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man beareth to another, not taking each other as Brother and Sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one lesson, To do good unto all men as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man; no more then you would hurt your own natural loving Brother or Sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in Gods favour.

The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this World, That they will consider and weigh three sayings of the Scripture. One is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, *Luke 18. It is hard for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* A fore saying, and yet spoken of him that knoweth the truth.

The second is of St. John, *1 John 3. whose saying is this, He that hath the substance of this World, and seeth his Brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God?*

The third is of St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich man after this manner, *Weep you and bow for the misery that shall come upon you: your riches do rot, your cloaths be moth-eaten, your gold and Silver doth canker and rust, and they rust shall bear witness against you, and consume you like fire: you gather a hoard or treasure of Gods indignation against the last day.* Let them that be rich ponder well these three sentences: for if they ever had occasion to shew their charity, they have it now at this present, the poor People being so many, and victuals so dear.

And now for as much as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my Master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked Devils in Hell, and I see before mine eyes presently either Heaven ready to receive me, or else Hell ready to swallow me up: I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour of dissimulation: for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in times past.

First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth, &c. And I believe every Article of the Catholick faith, every word, and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his Apostles and Prophets, in the new and old Testament.

And now I come to the great thing, which so much troubleth my conscience, more then any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life if it might be, and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore: for may I come to the fire it shall be first burned.

And

Exhortation to contentment of the World.

Exhortation to obedience.

Exhortation to brotherly love.

Exhortation to charity.

The Archb. declares the true confession of his faith without all colour or dissimulation.

The Archb. revoketh his former excommunication, and repenteth the same.

The Archb. exulteth the Pope as Christs enemy and Antichrist. The Archb. standeth to his book written against Wincester.

And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christs enemy and Antichrist, with all his false Doctrine.

And as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Wincester, the which my book teacheth so true a Doctrine of the Sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the Judgment of God, where the Papistical Doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to shew her face.

Here the standers by were all astonished, marvelled, were amazed, did look one upon another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood.

The expectation of the Papists deceived.

Briefly, it was a World to see the Doctors beguiled of so great an hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted but they looked for a Glorious Victory, and a perpetual Triumph by this mans recantation.

The Papists in great chafe against the Archb. bishop.

Who as soon as they heard these things, began to let

The description of D. Cranmer, how he was plucked down from the stage, by Friars and Papists, for the true Confession of the faith.



down their ears, to rage, fret, and fume; and so much the more, because they could not revenge their grief: for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the most miserable man in the World can die but once: and whereas of necessity he must needs die that day, though the Papists had been never so well pleased: now being never so much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed of them. And so when they could do nothing else unto him, yet left they should say nothing, they ceased not to object unto him his falsehood and dissimulation.

Unto which accusation he answered, Ah my Masters (quoth he) do not you take it so. Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled; and in saying this, all the tears that remained in his Body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the Sacrament and of the Papacy, some of them began to cry out, yelp, and bawl, and specially Cole cried out upon him; Stop the Hereticks mouth, and take him away.

Anno 1556.

Cranmer answered to the Papists.

The burning of D. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, in London, which at that time with his hand he thrust into the fire, where he suffered.



Cranmer pulled down from the stage, by Friars and Papists, for the true Confession of the faith.

And then Cranmer being pulled down from the stage was led to the fire, accompanied with those Friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. What madnels (say they) hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable Souls with thee into hell? To whom he answered nothings, but directed all his talk to the People, saying that to one troubling him in the way he spake, and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply his book diligently, saying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he should get knowledge.

But the other Spanish barker, raging and fuming, was almost out of his wits, always having this in his mouth, Non fecisti! didst thou it not?

The Archb. brought to the place of execution.

But when he came to the place where the Holy Bishops and Martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridley were burnt before him for the confession of the truth, kneeling down he prayed to God, and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to Death. His shirt was made long down to his feet. His feet were bare. Likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare, that one hair could not be seen upon it. His Beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance of gravity moved the hearts both of his friends, and of his enemies.

The description of his person.

Then the Spanish Friars John and Richard, of whom

mention was made before, began to exhort him and play their parts with him awhile, but with vain and lost labour. Cranmer with steadfast purpose abiding in the profession of his Doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and other that stood by, bidding them farewell.

And when he had thought to have done so likewise to Mr. Ely, the said Ely drew back his hand and refused, saying, it was not lawful to salute Hereticks, and specially such a one as falsely returned unto the opinions that he had sworn. And if he had known before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly, and chid those Sergeants and Citizens, which had not refused to give him their hands. This Ely was a Priest lately made, and student in Divinity, being then one of the fellows of Brasen-nose.

Then was an iron chain tyed about Cranmer, whom when they perceived to be more steadfast then that he could be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set unto him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his Arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so steadfast and immovable (saying that once with the same hand he wiped his face) that all men might see his hand burned before his Body was touched. His Body did so abide the burning of the flame with such constancy and steadfastness, that standing always in one place without moving his Body, he seemed

Mr. Ely refused to give his hand to the Archb. bishop.

The Archb. tyed to the stake.

Cranmer put his right hand into the fire, which he held so steadfast, first upon the fire.

Anno
1556.The first
words of
Cranmer at
his death
The first
words of
Cranmer at
his death

to move no more than the Stake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up into heaven, and oftentimes he repeated his unworthy right hand, so long as his voice would suffer him; and using often the words of *Stephen*, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit*, in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost.

This fortitude of mind, which perchance is rare and not found among the Spaniards, when *Frier John* saw, thinking it came not of fortitude, but of desperation, although such manner of examples which are of like constancy, have been common here in *England*, ran to the Lord *Williams of Tame*, crying that the Archbishop was vexed in mind, and died in great desperation. But he which was not ignorant of the Archbishops constancy, being unknown to the Spaniards, smiled only, and (as it were) by silence rebuked the Friers folly. And this was the end of this learned Archbishop, whom, left by evil subscribing he should have perished, by well recanting God preserved; and left he should have lived longer with shame and reproach, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name and profit of his Church. So good was the Lord both to his Church, in fortifying the fame with the testimony and blood of such a Martyr; and so good also to the man with this Cross of Tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but also of his standing against *John Lambert* and *Mr. Allen*, or if there were any other, with whose burning and blood his hands had been, before any thing polluted. But especially he had to rejoyce, that dying in such a cause, he was numbered amongst *Christs Martyrs*, much more worthy the name of *St. Thomas of Canterbury*, than he whom the Pope falsely before did Canonize.

Archbishop
Cranmer the
middle
Martyr of
all the Mar-
tyrs burnt
in Queen
Marys time.

And thus have you the full story concerning the life and death of this Reverend Archbishop and Martyr of God, *Thomas Cranmer*, and also of divers other the learned sort of *Christs Martyrs* burned in *Queen Marys* time, of whom this Archbishop was the last, being burnt about the very middle time of the reign of that Queen, and almost the very middle man of all the Martyrs which were burned in all her Reign besides.

Now after the life and story of this forlaid Archbishop discoursed, let us adjoin withal his Letters, beginning first with his famous Letter to *Queen Mary*, which he wrote unto her incontinent after he was cited up to *Rome* by *Bishop Brooks* and his fellows, the tenor whereof here followeth.

Letters of Doctor Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Archbishop of Canterburys Letter to the Queens Highness.

A writing
or Letter of
the Archb.
sent to Qu.
Mary.

IT may please your Majesty to pardon my presumption, that I dare be so bold to write to your Highness. But very necessity constraineth me, that your Majesty may know my mind, rather by mine own writing, than by other mens reports. So it is that upon Wednesday, being the 12. day of this Month, I was cited to appear at *Rome* the 80. day after, there to make answer to such matters as should be objected against me upon the behalf of the King and your most Excellent Majesty, which matters the Thursday following were objected against me by *Dr. Martin* and *Dr. Story*, your Majesties Proctors before the Bishop of *Gloucester*, sitting in Judgment by Commission from *Rome*. But (alas) it cannot but grieve the heart of a natural Subject, to be accused of the King and Queen of his own Realm; and specially before an outward Judge, or by Authority coming from any person out of this Realm: where the King and Queen, as if they were Subjects within their own Realm, shall complain and require Justice at strangers hands against their own Subject, being already condemned to death by their own Laws. As though the King and Queen could not do or have Justice within their own Realms against their own Subjects, but they must seek it at strangers hands in a strange Land, the like wanted (I think) was never seen.

would have wished to have had some milder Adversaries; and, I think, that death shall not grieve me much more, than to have my most dread and most gracious Sovereign Lord and Lady, to whom under God I do owe all obedience, to be mine Accusers in Judgment within their own Realm, before any stranger and outward power. But inasmuch as in the time of the Prince of most famous memory, *King Henry the Eighth* your Graces Father, I was sworn never to consent, that the Bishop of *Rome* should have or exercise any Authority or Jurisdiction in this Realm of *England*, therefore left I should allow his Authority contrary to mine own Oath, I refused to make answer to the Bishop of *Gloucester* sitting here in Judgment by the Popes Authority, lest I should run into Perjury.

Another cause why I refused the Popes Authority, is this, that his Authority, as he claimeth it, repugneth to the Crown Imperial of this Realm, and to the Laws of the same; which every true Subject is bound to defend. First, for that the Pope faith, that all manner of Power, as well Temporal as Spiritual, is given next to him of God; and that the Temporal Power he giveth unto Emperours and Kings, to use it under him, but so as it be always at his commandment and beck.

But contrary to this claim, the Imperial Crown and Jurisdiction Temporal of this Realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under him only, and is subject unto none, but to God alone.

Moreover, to the Imperial Laws and Customs of this Realm the King in his Coronation, and all Justices when they receive their Offices, be sworn, and all the whole Realm is bound to defend and maintain. But contrary to this, hereunto, the Pope by his Authority maketh void, and commandeth to blot out of our Books, all Laws and Customs being repugnant to his Laws, and declareth accused all Rulers and Governours, all the makers, writers, and executors of all such Laws or Customs; as it appeareth by many of the Popes Laws, whereof one or two I shall rehearse. In the Decrees, Dist. 10. is written thus, *Constitutiones contra Canones & Decreta Præsumptum Romanorum vel bonos mores, nullius sunt momenti*. That is, The Constitutions or Statutes enacted against the Canons and Decrees of the Bishops of *Rome* or their good Customs, are of none effect.

Also, Extra, de sententia Excommunicationis, novum, Excommunicamus omnes Hereticos utriusque sexus, quicumque nomine censentur, & fautores, & receptores, & defensores eorum; nec non & qui de cætero servari fecerint statuta edita & consuetudines contra Ecclesiam liberatam, nisi ea de capitularibus suis intra duos menses post hujusmodi publicationem sententia fecerint amoveri. Item, Excommunicamus statarios, & scriptores statutorum ipsorum, nec non potestates, consules, rectores, & consiliarios locorum, ubi de cætero hujusmodi statuta & consuetudines edita fuerint vel servate; nec non & illi qui secundum ea præsumpserint judicare, vel in publicam formam scribere judicata. That is to say, We Excommunicate all Heretics of both Sexes, what name soever they be called by, and their fautors, and receptors, and defenders; and also them that shall hereafter cause to be observed the Statutes and Customs made against the liberty of the Church, except they cause the same to be put out of their Records and Chapters within two months after the publication thereof. Also we Excommunicate the Statute-makers and writers of those Statutes, and all the Potestates, Consuls, Governours and Counsellors of places, where such Statutes and Customs shall be made or kept; and also those that shall presume to give judgment according to them, or shall notice in publick form the matter so adjudged.

Now by these Laws, if the Bishop of *Rome* Authority which he claimeth by God, be lawful, all your Graces Laws and Customs of your Realm, being contrary to the Popes Laws, be naught, and as well your Majesty, as your Judges, Justices, and all other Executors of the same, stand accused amongst Heretics, which God forbid. And yet this Curie can never be avoided (if the Pope have such power as he claimeth) until such times as the Laws and Customs of this Realm (being contrary to his Laws) be taken away and blotted out of the Records. And although the records are now Laws

The first
cause why
the Archb.
would not
make answer
to the
Popes de-
legate is to
avoid Per-
jury.The second
cause is, that
the Popes
Laws are
contrary to
the Crown and
Laws of
England.The Oath
of the King
and Justices
and the du-
ty of Sub-
jects.Dist. 10.
Constitutio-
nes.Extra, de
sentent. &
re judic.
Hæreticis.The Popes
Laws are
contrary to
the Laws of
England, and
wherein

of this Realm contrary to the Laws of Rome, yet I named but a few; as to convict a Clerk before any temporal Judge of this Realm for debt, felony, murder, or for any other crime; which Clerks by the Popes Laws be exempt from the Kings Laws, that they can be no where sued, but before their Ordinary.

Cases where-
in the Popes
Laws re-
pugn against
our Laws.

Also the Pope by his Laws may give all Bishopricks and benefices spiritual; which by the Laws of this Realm can be given but only by the King and other Patrons of the same, except they fall into the lapse.

By the Popes Laws, *Jus patronatus* shall be sued only before the Ecclesiastical Judge; but by the Laws of the Realm it shall be sued before the temporal Judge.

Provision
against the
Popes Laws
by *Præsumptio*.

And to be short, the Laws of this Realm do agree with the Popes Laws like fire and water. And yet the Kings of this Realm have provided for their laws by the *præsumptio*; so that if any man have let the execution of the Laws of this Realm by any Authority from the See of Rome, he talleth into the *præsumptio*.

The provi-
sion of the
Popes against
our *præsumptio*.

But to meet with this, the Popes have provided for their laws by cursing. For whosoever letteth the Popes laws to have full course within this Realm, by the Popes power standeth accursed. So that the Popes power treadeth all the laws and customs of this Realm under his feet, cursing all that execute them; until such time as they do give place unto his Laws.

Mark this
well.

But it may be said, that notwithstanding all the Popes decrees, yet we do execute still the laws and customs of this Realm. Nay, not all quietly without interruption of the Pope. And we do execute them, yet we do it unjustly, if the Popes power be of force, and for the same we stand Excommunicate, and shall do, until we leave the execution of our own Laws and customs. Thus we be well reconciled to Rome allowing such Authority, when they themselves standeth accursed before God, if the Pope have any such Authority.

These things (as I suppose) were not fully opened in the Parliament house, when the Popes Authority was received again within this Realm; for if they had, I do not believe that either the King or Queens Majesty, or the Nobles of this Realm, or the Commons of the same would ever have consented to receive again such a foreign Authority, so injurious, hurtful, and prejudicial as well to the Crown as to the Laws and Customs and state of this Realm, as whereby they must needs acknowledge themselves to be accursed. But none could open this matter well but the Clergy, and such of them as had read the Popes Laws, whereby the Pope had made himself as it were a God. These seek to maintain the Pope whom they desired to have their chief head, to the intent they might have as it were a Kingdom and Laws within themselves, distinct from the Laws of the Crown, and wherewith the Crown may not meddle; and so being exempted from the Laws of the Realm, might live in this Realm like Lords and Kings, without damage or fear of any man, so that they please their high and supreme Head at Rome. For this consideration (I ween) some that knew the truth, held their peace in the Parliament, whereas if they had done their duties to the Crown and whole Realm, they should have opened their mouths, declared the truth, and showed the perils and dangers that might ensue to the Crown and Realm.

The Clergy
in England
more ad-
ded to the
Popes than
to their
country.

And if I should agree to allow such Authority within this Realm, whereby I must needs confess, that your most gracious Highness, and also your Realm should ever continue accursed, until ye shall cease from the execution of your own Laws and customs of your Realm; I could not think my self true either to your Highness, or to this my natural country, knowing that I do know. Ignorance, I know, may excuse other men; but he that knoweth how prejudicial and injurious the power and Authority, which he challengeth every where, to the Crown, Laws, and customs of this Realm, and yet will allow the same, I cannot see in any wise how he can keep his due allegiance, fidelity, and truth to the Crown and state of this Realm.

The third
cause why
he could not
allow the
Popes.

Another cause I alleged, why I could not allow the Authority of the Pope, which is this; That by his Authority he subverteth not only the Laws of this Realm, but also the Laws of God: so that whosoever be under his Authority, he suffereth them not to be under Christ's

Religion purely, as Christ did command. And for one example I brought forth, that whereas by God Laws all Christian People be bounden diligently to learn his Word that they may know how to believe and live accordingly, for that purpose he ordained Holydays, when they ought, leaving apart all other business, to give themselves wholly to know and serve God. Therefore Gods will and Commandment is, that when the People be gathered together, Ministers should use such language as the People may understand and take profit thereby, or else hold their peace. For as an Harp or Lute, if it give no certain sound that men may know what is stricken, who can dance after it? for all the sound is in vain; so is it in vain, and profiteth nothing, faith Almighty God by the mouth of Saint Paul, if the Priest speak to the People in a language which they know not; For else he may profit himself; but profiteth not the People, faith Saint Paul. But herein I was answered thus; that Saint Paul spake only of preaching, that the Preacher should preach in a tongue which the People did know, or else his Preaching availeth nothing; but if the Preaching availeth nothing, being spoken in a language which the People understand not, how should any other service avail them, being spoken in the same language? And yet that S. Paul meant not only of Preaching, it appeareth plainly by his own words. For he speaketh by name expressly of praying, singing, and thanking of God, and of all other things which the Priests say in the Churches, whereunto the People say Amen; which they use not in Preaching, but in other divine service; that whether the Priests rehearse the wonderful works of God, or the great benefits of God unto mankind above all other creatures, or give thanks unto God, or make open profession of their faith, or humble confession of their sins, with earnest request of mercy and forgiveness, or make sure or request unto God for any thing; then all the People understanding what the Priests say, might give their minds and voices with them, and say Amen, that is to say, allow what the Priests say; that the rehearsal of Gods Universal works and benefits, the giving of thanks, the profession of faith, the confession of sins, and the requests and petitions of the Priests and of the People might ascend upon the Ears of God altogether, and be as a sweet favour, odour, and incense in his nose; and thus was it used many hundred years after Christs Ascension. But the foreaid things cannot be done when the Priests speak to the People in a language not known, and so they (or their Clerk in their name) say Amen, but they cannot tell whereunto. Whereas Saint Paul faith; How can the People say Amen to thy well saying, when they understand not what thou sayest? And thus was Saint Paul understood of all Interpreters, both the Greeks and Latines, old and new, school Authors and other that I have read, until above thirty years past. At which time one Eckius with other of his sort began to devise a new exposition, understanding S. Paul of preaching only.

But when a good number of the best learned men reputed within this Realm, some favouring the old, some the new learning, as they term it, (where indeed that which they call the old, is the new, and that which they call the new, is indeed the old) but when a great number of such learned men of both sorts, were gathered together at Windsor, for the reformation of the service of the Church, it was agreed by both, without Controversie (not one saying contrary) that the service of the Church ought to be in the mother Tongue, and that S. Paul in the fourteenth Chapter to the *Corinthians* was so to be understood. And so is S. Paul to be understood in the Civil Law, more then a thousand years past, where *Justinianus*, a most godly Emperour in a Synod writeth on this manner: *Tubemus ut omnes Episcopi pariter & presbyteri non tacito modo sed clara voce, quæ a fidei populo exaudiantur, sacram oblationem & precem in sacro Baptismate adhibitis celebrent, quo majori exinde devotione in deprecandis Domini Dei laudibus audientium animi afficiantur. Ita enim & Divus Paulus docet in Epistola ad Corinth. Si solummodo benedicat spiritus, quomodo is qui privati locum tenet, dicet ad gratiarum actionem tuam, Amen? quandoquidem quid dicere non videt. Tu quidem pulchre gratias agis, alter autem non edificatur.* That is to say, We command that all Bishops and Priests celebrate the holy

why Latine
service ought
not to be
rehearsed in
England.

The Papists
said Protest-
ants both
agreed in
Windsor, the
service of
the Church
to be in the
mother
tongue. Anno
1549.

ANNO 1556. holy oblation and prayer used in holy Baptism, not after a still and close manner, but with a clear loud voice, that they may be plainly heard of the faithful People, so as the hearers minds may be lifted up thereby with the greater devotion, in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For so Paul teacheth also in the Epistle to the *Corinthians*; *If the Spirit do only bless (or say well) how shall he that occupieth the place of a private person say, Amen, to thy thanksgiving? for he perceiveth not what thou sayest: Thou dost give thanks well, but the other is not edified.* And not only the Civil Law, and all other Writers a thousand and five hundred years continually together have expounded St. Paul not of preaching only, but of other service said in the Church; but also reason giveth the fame, that if men be commanded to hear any thing, it must be spoken in a language which the hearers understand, or else (as St. Paul saith) what availeth it to hear? So that the Pope giving a contrary commandment, that the People coming to the Church shall hear they wot not what and shall answer they know not whereto, taketh upon him to command, not only against reason, but also directly against God.

The Pope commandeth both against God and natural reason.

And again I said, whereas our Saviour Christ ordained the Sacrament of his most precious Body and Blood to be received of all Christian People under the forms of Bread and Wine, and said of the Cup, *Drink ye all of this*: the Pope giveth a clean contrary commandment, that no Lay-man shall drink of the Cup of their salvation; as though the Cup of salvation by the Blood of Christ pertained not to Lay-men. And whereas *Theophilus Alexandrinus* (whose works St. Hierom did translate about eleven hundred years past) saith, *That if Christ had been crucified for the Devils, his Cup should not be denied them*; yet the Pope denieth the Cup of Christ to Christian People, for whom Christ was crucified. So that if I should obey the Pope in these things, I must needs disobey my Saviour Christ.

The exco[m]municatio[n] of the Papists, why they take away the Cup.

But I was answered hereunto (as commonly the Papists do answer) that under the form of Bread is whole Christs flesh and blood: so that whosoever receiveth the form of Bread, receiveth as well Christs blood as his flesh. Let it be so, yet in the form of Bread only, Christs blood is not drunk, but eaten; nor is it received in the Cup in the form of Wine, as Christ commanded, but eaten with the flesh under the form of Bread. And moreover, the Bread is not the Sacrament of his blood, but of his flesh only; nor is the Cup the Sacrament of his flesh, but of his blood only. And so the Pope keepeth from all Lay-persons, the Sacrament of their redemption by Christs Blood, which Christ commandeth to be given unto them.

And furthermore, Christ ordained the Sacrament in two kinds, the one separated from the other, to be a re-presentation of his death, where his Blood was separated from his Flesh, which is not represented in one kind alone: So that the Lay-people receive not the whole Sacrament whereby Christs death is represented as he commanded.

Moreover, as the Pope taketh upon him to give the temporal Sword, by royal and imperial Power, to Kings and Princes: so doth he likewise take upon him to depose them from their imperial states, if they be disobedient to him, and commandeth the Subjects to disobey their Princes, availing the Subjects as well of their obedience, as of their lawful Oaths made unto their true Kings and Princes, directly contrary to Gods commandment, who commandeth all Subjects to obey their Kings, or their Rulers under them.

Note the flying of Gregory.

One *John*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in the time of St. Gregory claimed superiority above all other Bishops. To whom St. Gregory writeth, that therein he did injury to his three Brethren, which were equal with him, that is to say, the Bishop of *Rome*, the Bishop of *Alexandria*, and of *Antiochia*: which three were Patriarchal Sees, as well as *Constantinople*, and were Brethren one to another. But (saith St. Gregory) if any one shall exalt himself above all the rest, to be the universal Bishop, the same passeth in pride. But now the Bishop of *Rome* exalted himself not only above all Kings and Emperours, and above all the whole world, but takes upon him to give and take away, to let up and pull down as he shall think good. And as the Devil having no such Authority,

yet took upon him to give unto Christ all the Kingdoms of the World, if he would fall down and worship him: in like manner the Pope taketh upon him to give Empires like and Kingdoms being none of his, to such as will fall down and worship him, and kiss his feet.

And moreover, his Lawyers and Glossers so flatter him, that they thin he may command Emperours and Kings to hold his Stirrup when he lighteth from his Horse, and to be his Foot-men: and that, if any Emperour and King give him any thing, they give him nothing but that is his own, and that he may dispence against Gods Word, against both the old and new Testament, against St. Pauls Epistles, and against the Gospel. And furthermore whatsoever he doth, although he draw innumerable People by heaps with himself into Hell, yet may not mortal man reprove him, because he being judge of all men, may be judged of no man. And thus he sitteth in the Temple of God, as if he were a God, and nameth himself Gods Vicar, and yet he dispenseth against God. If this be not to play Antichrists part, I cannot tell what is Antichrist, which is no more to say, but Christs enemy and adversary? who shall sit in the Temple of God, advancing himself above all other, yet by hypocrisie and fained Religion, shall subvert the true Religion of Christ, and under pretence and colour of Christs Religion shall work against Christ, and therefore hath the name of Antichrist. Now if any man lift himself higher then the Pope hath done, who lifteth himself above all the world; or can be more adversary to Christ, then to dispence against Gods Laws; and where Christ hath given any commandment, to command directly the contrary, that man must needs be taken for Antichrist. But until the time that such a person may be found, men may easily conjecture where to find Antichrist.

The Treatise of the Pope and the Emperours made this Popes book-men.

The Pope is Antichrist, that is, Christs enemy.

The true marks, proving that the Pope is Antichrist.

Wherefore, seeing the Pope thus to overthrow both Gods Laws and mans Laws, taketh upon him to make Emperours and Kings to be vassals and subjects unto him, especially the Crown of this Realm, with the Laws and Customs of the same; I see no mean how I may consent to admit his usurped power within this Realm, contrary to mine Oath, mine obedience to Gods Laws, mine allegiance and duty to your Majesty, and my love and affection to this Realm.

Note this conclusion.

This that I have spoken against the power and Authority of the Pope, I have not spoken (I take God to record and Judge) for any malice I owe to the Popes person, whom I know not, but I shall pray to God to give him grace, that he may seek above all things to promote Gods honour and glory, and not to follow the trade of his predecessors in these latter days.

The cause why the Archbishop spoke and wrote thus.

Nor have I spoken it for fear of punishment, and to avoid the same, thinking it rather an occasion to aggravate then to diminish my trouble; but I have spoken it for my most bounden duty to the Crown, Liberties, Laws, and customs of this Realm of *England*, but most specially to discharge my Confidence in uttering the Truth to Gods glory, casting away all fear by the comfort which I have in Christ, who saith, *Fear not them that kill the Body, and cannot kill the Soul, but fear him that can cast both Body and Soul into Hell fire.* He that for fear to lose this life will forsake the Truth, shall lose the everlasting life: And he that for the truths sake will spend his life, shall find everlasting life. And Christ promiseth to stand fast with them before his Father, which will stand fast with him here. Which comfort is so great, that whosoever hath his eyes fixed upon Christ, cannot greatly pass on this life, knowing that he may be sure to have Christ stand by him in the presence of his Father in Heaven.

Math. 10.

And as touching the Sacrament, I said; Forasmuch as the whole matter standeth in the understanding of these words of Christ: *This is my Body, This is my Blood*; I said that Christ in these words made demonstration of the Bread and Wine, and spake figuratively, calling Bread his Body, and Wine his Blood, because he ordained them to be Sacraments of his Body and Blood. And where the Papists say in those two points contrary unto me, that Christ called not Bread his Body, but a substance uncertain, nor spake figuratively: Herein I said I would be judged by the old Church, and which Doctrine could be proved the elder, that I would stand unto. And for-

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forasmuch as I have alledged in my Book many old Authors, both Greeks and Latins, which above a thousand years after Christ continually taught as I do: if they could bring forth but one old Author, that faith in these two points as they say, I offered six or seven years ago, and do offer yet still, that I will give place unto them.

But when I bring forth any Author that faith in most plain terms as I do, yet faith the other part, that the Authors meant not so; as who should say, that the Authors spake one thing, and meant clean contrary. And upon the other part, when they cannot find any one Author, that faith in words as they say; yet say they, that the Authors meant as they say. Now, whether I or they speak more to the purpose herein, I refer me to the judgment of all indifferent hearers; yea the old Church of Rome, above a thousand years together, neither believed nor used the Sacrament, as the Church of Rome hath done of late years.

For in the beginning, the Church of Rome taught a pure and a sound Doctrine of the Sacrament. But after that the Church of Rome fell into a new doctrine of Transubstantiation; with the Doctrine they changed the use of the Sacrament contrary to that Christ commanded, and the old Church of Rome used above a thousand years. And yet to deface the old, they say that the new is the old: wherein for my part I am content to stand to the trial. But their Doctrine is so fond and uncomfortable, that I marvel that any man would allow it, if he knew what it is. But howsoever they bear the People in hand, that which they write in their Books hath neither Truth nor comfort.

For by their Doctrine, of one Body of Christ is made two bodies: one natural, having distance of members, with form and proportion of mans perfect Body, and this Body is in Heaven: but the Body of Christ in the Sacrament, by their own Doctrine, must needs be a monstrous Body, having neither distance of members, nor form, fashion or proportion of a mans natural Body. And such a Body is in the Sacrament (teach they) and goeth into the mouth with the form of Bread, and enteth no further then the form of Bread goeth, nor tarrieth no longer then the form of Bread is by natural heat in digesting. So that when the form of Bread is digested, that Body of Christ is gone. And forasmuch as evilmen be as long in digesting as good men, the Body of Christ (by their Doctrine) enteth as far, and tarrieth as long in wicked men as in godly men. And what comfort can be herein to any Christian man, to receive Christs unshapen Body, and it to enter no further then the stomach, and to depart by and by as soon as the Bread is consumed?

It seemeth to me a more sound and comfortable Doctrine, that Christ hath but one Body, and that hath form and fashion of a mans true Body; which Body spiritually enteth into the whole man, Body and Soul: and though the Sacrament be consumed, yet whole Christ remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternal life, if he continue in godliness, and never departeth until the receiver forsake him. And as for the wicked, they have not Christ within them at all, who cannot be where *Belial* is. And this is my Faith, and (as me seemeth) a sound Doctrine, according to Gods Word, and sufficient for a Christian to believe in that matter. And if it can be shewed unto me, that the Popes Authority is not prejudicial to the things before mentioned, or that my Doctrine in the Sacrament is erroneous (which I think cannot be shewed) then I never was nor will be so perverse to stand willfully in mine own Opinion, but I shall with all humility submit my self unto the Pope, not only to kiss his feet, but another part also.

Another cause why I refused to take the Bishop of Gloucester for my Judge, was the respect of his own person, being more then once perjured. First, for that he being divers times sworn never to consent that the Bishop of Rome, should have any jurisdiction within this Realm, but to take the King and his Successors for supreme heads of this Realm, as by Gods Laws they be contrary to that lawful the said Bishop fate then in judgment by Authority from Rome, wherein he was perjured, and not worthy to sit as a Judge.

The second perjury was, that he took his Bishoprick

both of the Queens Majesty and of the Pope, making to each of them a solemn Oath which oaths be so contrary that the one must needs be perjured. And furthermore in swearing to the Pope to maintain his Laws, Decrees, Constitutions, Ordinances, Refervations, and Provisions, he declareth himself an enemy to the Imperial Crown, and to the Laws and state of this Realm, whereby he declareth himself not worthy to sit as a Judge within this Realm. And for these considerations I refused to take him for my Judge.

This was written in another Letter to the Queen.

I Learned by Dr. Martin, that at the day of your Majesty Coronation, you took an Oath of obedience to the Pope of Rome, and the same time you took another Oath to this Realm, to maintain the Laws, Liberties, and Customs of the same. And if your Majesty did make an Oath to the Pope, I think it was according to the other Oath which be woth to minister to Princes, which is, to be obedient to him, to defend his person, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, lands, and privileges. And if it be so, (which I know not but by report) then I beseech your Majesty to look upon your Oath made to the Pope, and Realm, and to expend and weigh the two Oaths together, to see how they do agree, and then do as your Graces Conscience shall give you: For I am surely persuaded, that willingly your Majesty will not offend, nor do against your Conscience for any thing.

But I fear me that there be contradictions in your Oaths, and that those which should have informed your Grace thoroughly, did not their duties therein. And if your Majesty ponder the two Oaths diligently, I think you shall perceive you were deceived; and then your Highness may use the matter as God shall put in your heart. Furthermore, I am kept here from company of learned Men, from Books, from Counsel, from Pen and Ink, saving at this time to write unto your Majesty, which all were necessary for a man being in my case. Wherefore I beseech your Majesty, that I may have such of these as may stand with your Majesties pleasure. And as for my appearance at Rome, your Majesty will give me leave, I will appear there. And I trust that God shall put in my mind to defend his Truth there, as well as here. But I refer it wholly to his Majesties pleasure.

Another Letter of the Archbishop to Dr. Martin, and Dr. Story.

I Have me commended unto you. And as I promised, I have sent my Letters unto the Queens Majesty signed, praying you to sign them, and deliver them with all speed. I might have sent them by the Carrier sooner, but not surer. But bearing Mr. Bayliff say, that he would go to the Court on Friday, I thought him a meet messenger to send my Letters by. For better is later and surer, than sooner and never to be delivered. Yet one thing I have written to the Queens Majesty inclosed and sealed; which I require you may be so delivered without delay, and not be opened until it be delivered unto her Graces own hands. I have written all that I remember I said, except that which I spake against the Bishop of Gloucesters own person, which I thought not meet to write. And in some places I have written more, then I said, which I would have answered to the Bishop, if you would have suffered me.

You promised I should see mine Answers to the sixteen Articles, that I might correct, amend, and change them where I thought good, which your promise you kept not. And mine answer was not made upon my Oath, nor repeated, nor made in Judicio, but extra Judicium, as I protested; nor to the Bishop of Gloucester as Judge, but to you the King and Queens Præfators. I trust you deal sincerely with me without fraud or craft, and use me as you would wish to be in like case, your selves. Remember, that *Quia mensura mensi fueritis, eadem remetietur vobis*, i. What measure you mete, the same shall be measured to you again. Thus fare you well, and God send you his Spirit to induce you into Truth.

Anno

1556.

Double perjury in R. Mary.

A Piece of

another Letter

to the Queen.

Contradictions in the

Queens Oaths,

sworn both

to the Realm, and

to the Pope

in one day.

The Papists not able to bring forth one old Author above a thousand years, to make with the Sacrament.

With the substance the use also changed of the Sacrament.

The Papists make Christ two Bodies. Mark the Errors of the Papists in their Doctrine of the Sacrament.

Neither Truth nor comfort in the Popes Doctrine of the Sacrament.

The Protestants Doctrine of the Sacrament more comfortable, then the Doctrine of the Papists.

Another reason why the Archbishop refused to be his Judge.

Ye

Anno
1556.

Ye heard before how the Archbishop Dr. Cranmer in the month of February was cited up to Rome, and in the month of March next following was degraded by the Bishop of Ely and Bishop Bower. In time of which his degradation he put up his Appellation.

In this his Appellation, because he needed the help of some good and godly Lawyer, he writeth to a certain Friend of his about the same: the Copy of which Letter in Latine is before expressed in the old Book of Acts, there to be read. The English of the same I thought good here to insert, as under ensueth.

A Letter of Doctor Cranmer Archbishop, to a Lawyer for the drawing out of his Appeal

Another
Letter of
the Archb.
to a certain
learned
Lawyer, his
Friend &
about his
Appeal.

THE Law of nature requireth of all men, that so far forth as it may be done without offence to God, every one should seek to defend and preserve his own life. Which thing, when about three days ago be thought my self, and therewithal remembered how that *Martin Luther* appealed in his time from Pope *Leo* the Tenth, to a general Council (lest I should seem rashly and unadvisedly to cast away my self) I determined to appeal in like sort to some lawful and free general Council. But seeing the order and form of an Appeal pertaineth to the Lawyers, whereof I my self am ignorant, and seeing that *Luthers* Appeal cometh not to my hand, I purposed to break my mind in this matter to some faithful Friend and skilful in the Law, whose help I might use in this behalf, and you only among other came to my remembrance as a man most meet in this University for my purpose. But this is a matter that requireth gravity, so that no man know of it before it be done. It is so that I am summoned to make mine answer at Rome, the 16. day of this month; before the which day I think it good after sentence pronounced, to make mine Appeal. But whether I should first appeal from the Judge Delegate to the Pope, and so afterward to the general Council, or else leaving the Pope, I should appeal immediately to the Council, herein I stand in need of your counsel.

Many causes there be for the which I think good to appeal. First, because I am by an Oath bound never to consent to the receiving of the Bishop of Rome's Authority into this Realm. Besides this, whereas I utterly refused to make answer to the Articles objected unto me by the Bishop of Gloucester, appointed by the Pope to be my Judge, yet I was content to answer *Martin* and *Stoery*, with this Protestation, that mine answer should not be taken as made before a Judge, nor yet in place of judgment, but as pertaining nothing to judgment at all; moreover, after I had made mine answer, I required to have a Copy of the same, that I might either by adding thereto, or by altering or taking from it, correct and amend it as I thought good. The which though both the Bishop of Gloucester, and also the King and the Queens Proctors promised me, yet have they altogether broken promise with me, and have not permitted me to correct my said answers according to my request, and yet notwithstanding have (as I understand) registred the same as Acts formally done in place of judgment.

Finally, so far as all this my trouble cometh upon my departing from the Bishop of Rome, and from the Popish Religion, so that now the quarrel is betwixt the Pope himself and me, and no man can be a lawful and indifferent Judge in his own cause; it seemeth (me thinks) good reason, that I should be suffered to appear to some general Council in this matter; specially seeing the Law of nature (as they say) denieth no man the remedy of appeal in such cases.

Now, since it is very requisite that this matter should be kept as close as may be, if perhaps for lack of perfect Skill herein you shall have need of further advice; then I beseech you even for the fidelity and love you bear to me in Christ, that you will open to no Creature alive whose the Cause is. And so far as the time is now at hand, and the matter requireth great expedition, let me obtain thus much of you, I beseech you, that laying aside all other your studies and business for the time, you will apply this my matter only, till you have brought it to pass. The chiefest cause in very deed (to tell you the Truth) of this mine Appeal is, that I might gain time (if it shall

so please God) to live until I have finished mine answer against *Marcus Antonius Constantinus*, which I have now in hand. But if the Adversaries of the Truth will not admit mine Appeal (as I fear they will not; Gods will be done; I pass not upon it, so that God may therein be glorified, be it by my life, or by my death. For it is much better for me to die in Christs quarrel and to reign with him, then here to be shut up, and kept in the Prison of this Body, unless it were to continue yet still awhile in this warfare, for the commodity and profit of my Brethren, and to the further advancing of Gods glory: To whom be all glory for evermore, Amen.

There is also yet another cause why I think good to Appeal, that whereas I am cited to go to Rome to answer there for my self, I am notwithstanding kept here in Prison, that I cannot there appear at the time appointed: And moreover, so far as the state I stand in, is a matter of life and death, so that I have great need of learned counsel for my defence in this behalf; yet when I made my earnest request for the same, all manner of Counsel and help of Proctors, Advocates, and Lawyers was utterly denied me.

Your loving Friend, Thos. Cranmer.

Another Letter of Dr. Cranmer Archbishop, to Mrs. *Wilkinson*, exhorting her to fly in the time of Persecution.

THE true comforter in all distress is only God, through his Son Jesus Christ; and whosoever hath him, hath company enough if he were in a wilderness all alone: and be that hath twenty thousand in his Company, if God be absent, is in a miserable wilderness and desolation. In him is all comfort, and without him is none. Wherefore I beseech you seek your dwelling there, whereas you may truly and rightly serve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be so heavy a burden as an unquiet Conscience, to be in such a place as a man cannot be suffered to serve God in Christs Religion? If you be loath to depart from your kin and friends, remember that Christ calleth them his Mother, Sisters, and Brothers, that do his Fathers will. Where we find therefore God truly honoured according to his will, there we can lack neither Friend nor Kin.

If you be loath to depart for the slander of Gods Word, remember that Christ, when his hour was not yet come departed out of his Country into Samaria, to avoid the malice John 4. of the Scribes and Pharisees; and commanded his Apostles that if they were pursued in one place, they should fly to another. And was not Paul let down by a basket out at a window, to avoid the persecution of Aretas? And what wisdom and policy be used from time to time to escape the malice of his enemies, the Acts of the Apostles do declare. And after the same sort did the other Apostles, albeit, when it came to such a point, that they could no longer escape danger of the persecutors of Gods true Religion, then they shewed themselves, that they flying before came not of fear, but of godly wisdom, to do more good; and that they would not rashly without urgent necessity offer themselves to death, which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they stood boldly to the profession of Christ; then they shewed how little they passed of death; how much they feared God more than men; how much they loved and preferred the eternal life to come above this short and miserable life.

Wherefore I exhort you as well by Christs commandment, as by the example of him and his Apostles, to withdraw your self from the malice of yours and Gods Enemies, into some place where God is most purely served; which is no slandering of the Truth, but a preserving of your self to God, and the Truth, and to the society and comfort of Christs little flock. And that you will do, do it with speed, lest by your own folly you fall into the persecutors hands. And the Lord send his holy Spirit to lead and guide you wheresoever you go, and all that be godly will say, Amen.

Unto these former Letters of Dr. Cranmer Archbishop, written by him unto others, it seemeth to me not much out of place to annex withal a certain Letter also of Dr. Taylor, written to him and his fellow-prisoners: the tenor of which Letter here followeth.

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Another
Letter of
the Archb.
to Mrs. Wil-
kinson.

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2 Chr. 13.

To my dear Fathers and Brethren, Dettor Cranmer, Dettor Ridley, and Dettor Laune, Prisoners in Oxford, for the faithful testimony of Gods holy Word.

A Letter written to D. Cranmer and his fellowes by Dr. Taylor.

Many protest God as whom we call it, that is, words and outward profession; but it is worth to him as it is in deed, and in suffering for his sake.

Right Reverend Fathers in the Lord, I wish you to enjoy continually Gods grace and peace through Jesus Christ; and God be praised again for this your most excellent promotion which ye are called unto at this present, that is, that ye are counted worthy to be allowed amongst the number of Christs records and witnesses. England hath had but a few learned Bishops, that would stick to Christ *ad ignem inclusivè*. Once again I thank God heartily in Christ for your most happy on-set, most valiant proceeding, most constant suffering of all such infamies, hissings, clappings, taunts, open rebukes, loss of living and liberty, for the defence of Gods cause, truth, and glory: I cannot utter with pen how I rejoyce in my heart for you three such Captains in the forward under Christs Cross, Banner, or Standard in such a cause and skirmish, when not only one or two of our dear Redeemers strong holds are besieged, but all his chief Castles ordained for our safeguard, are traiterously impugned. This your enterprize in the fight of all that be in Heaven, and of all Gods people in earth, is most pleasant to behold. This is another manner of Nobility, then to be in the fore-front in worldly warfares. For Gods sake pray for us, for we fail not daily to pray for you. We are stronger and stronger in the Lord, his Name be praised, and we doubt not but ye be so in Christs own sweet School. Heaven is all and wholly of our side; therefore *Gaudete in Domino semper, & iterum gaudete & exultate*, i. Rejoyce always in the Lord: and again, rejoyce and be glad.

Your assured in Christ,

Rowland Taylor.

De Tho. Cranmeri Archiepiscopi qui carceret detinetur palinodia.

TE Cranmere, gravis sentent prope fecerat error; Sed revocat lubricas ad meliora pedes. Te docuit lapsus magis ut vestigia firmes, Atque magis Christo consociere tuo: Urque tuae melius Iudaea: harescere causæ; Sic mala non raro causa fuere boni. Et bene successit; nam fissa & adultera turba Illudens aliis; luditur arte pari. Nempe pia sic est frustratus fraude papismus; Et cessit summo gloria vota Deo.

In mortem D. Cranmeri Cant. Archiepiscopi.

Infortunatè est felix, qui numine lesa Cujusvis gaudet commoditate boni. Infelix ille est verò felicitate, ubi Invisus quisquis tristitia fata subit. Hoc Cranmere probas, vitæ presentis amore Dum quaris sanctam dissimulare fidem: Et dum consiliis tandem melioribus usus, Præponis vitæ funera secura tue.

Persecution in Suffolk, Agnes Potten, and Joan Trunchfield, Martyrs.

IN the story of Robert Samuel, mention was made before of two godly Women of the same Town of Ipswich, which shortly after him suffered likewise, and obtained the Crown of Martyrdom, the names of whom was Agnes, the wife of Robert Potten; and another, wife of Michael Trunchfield, a Shoemaker, both dwelling in one Town: who, about the same time that the Archbishop aforesaid was burned at Oxford, suffered likewise in the foresaid Town of Ipswich, either in the same month of March, or (as some say) in the end of February the next month before.

Agnes Potten and Joan Trunchfield, Martyrs.

The burning of two Women.



The martyrdom of Agnes Potten and Joan Trunchfield at Ipswich, Anno 1556. March.

The Opinion of these two Martyrs and Martyrs.

Their Opinion or Perswasion was this; that in the Sacrament was the memorial only of Christs death and passion: for (said they) Jesus Christ is ascended up into Heaven, and is on the right hand of God the Father, according to the Scriptures, and not in the Sacrament, as he was born of the Virgin Mary.

For this they were burned. In whose suffering their constancy worthily was to be wondered at, who being so simple Women, so manfully stood to the confession

and testimony of Gods Word and Verity: Infirmach, that when they had prepared and undressed themselves ready to the fire, with comfortable words of the Scripture they earnestly required the People to credit and to lay hold on the Word of God, and not upon mans devices and inventions, despising the Ordinances and Institutions of the Romish Antichrist, with all his Superstitions and rotten Religion; and so continuing in the torment of fire, they held up their hands, and called unto God constantly so long as life did endure.

This

Anno

1556.

The burning of Agnes Tatten revealed to her before in her sleep.

God giveth strength every time, where most weakness is.

Marsh's: Other three Martyrs, suffering at Salisbury.

The Story of John Maundrel.

Maundrel converted first by Tindal's Sermons. Maundrel an earnest lover and hearer of Gods Word.

Maundrel accused for speaking against Holy Bread and Holy Water.

Maundrel put to open penance in King Henry's days.

Anthony Cleve of the Tyne.

This *Pottens* Wife in a night a little before her death, being asleep in her bed, saw a bright burning fire, right up as a Pole, and one the side of the fire she thought there stood a number of *Queen Marys* friends looking on. Then being asleep, she seemed to muse with her self whether her fire should burn so bright or no; and indeed her suffering was not far unlike to her dream.

This also I thought further to note, how these two being always together in prison, the one which was *Michael's* Wife, seemed to be nothing so ardent and zealous as *Pottens* Wife was, although (God be thanked) they did stoutly stand to the confession of the truth both; but when the said *Michael's* Wife came to the stake, and saw nothing but present death before her she much exceeded the other in joy and comfort; albeit both of them did joyfully suffer, as it was marvelled at of those that knew them, and did behold their end. And thus these two Martyrs ended their lives with great Triumph: the Lord grant we may do the like, Amen.

Persecution in the Diocess of Salisbury.

After these two Women of *Ipswich*, succeeded three men, which were burnt the same Month at one fire in *Salisbury*, who in the like quarrel with the other that went before them and led the dance, spared not their Bodies, to bring their Souls to the celestial felicity, where of they were thoroughly assured in Christ Jesus by his promises, as soon as the furious flames of fire had put their Body and Souls asunder.

Their Names were.

John Spicer, Free-Mason.

William Coberley, Taylor.

John Maundrel, Husbandman.

The Story of John Maundrel, William Coberley, and John Spicer, Martyrs.

First *John Maundrel*, which was the Son of *Robert Maundrel* of *Rend* in the County of *Wiltshire* Farmer, was from his Childhood brought up in Husbandry, and after he came to mans estate, did abide and dwell in a Village called *Buchampsey*, in the Parish of *Kevel* within the County of *Wiltshire*, aforesaid, where he had Wife and Children, being of good name and fame. Which *John Maundrel*, after that the Scripture was translated into English by the faithful Apostle of *England*, *William Tindal*, became a diligent hearer, and a fervent embracer of Gods True Religion; so that he delighted in nothing so much, as to hear and speak of Gods Word, never being without the New Testament about him, although he could not read himself. But when he came into any company that could read, his book was always ready, having a very good Memory; so that he could recite by heart most places of the New Testament, his Conversation and living being very honest and charitable, as his Neighbours are able to testify.

So it was, that in the days of *King Henry* the eighth, at what time *Doctor Trignon*, and *Doctor Lee* did visit Abbeys, the said *John Maundrel* was brought before *Doctor Trignon* at an Abbey called *Edington*, within the County of *Wiltshire* aforesaid; where he was accused that he had spoken against the Holy Water and Holy Bread, and such like Ceremonies, and for the same did wear a white sheet, bearing a candle in his hand about the Market, in the Town of the *Devises*, which is in the said County. Nevertheless, his fervency did not abate, but by Gods merciful assistance he took better hold, as the sequel thereof did declare.

For in the days of *Queen Mary*, when Popery was restored again, and Gods True Religion put to silence, the said *John Maundrel* left his own House and departed into the County of *Gloucestershire*, and into the North part of *Wiltshire*, wandering from one to another to such men as he knew feared God, with whom as a servant to keep their Cattel, he there did remain with *John Bridges* or some other at *Kingwood*; but after a time he returned to his Country, and there coming to the *Pyes* to a friend of his named *Anthony Cleve*, had talk and Conference with him in a Garden, of returning home to his house.

And when the other exhorted him by the words of Scripture, to fly from one City to another, he replied again by the words of the *Apocalyp* 21. of them that be fearful, &c. said, that he needs must go home, and so did. Where he with *Spicer* and *Coberley* used at times to resort and confer together.

At length upon the *Sunday* following they agreed together to go to the Parish Church called *Kevel*, where the said *Maundrel* and the other two, seeing the Parishioners in the procession to follow and worship the Idol there carried, advertised them to leave the same, and to return to the living God, namely speaking to one *Robert Barksdale* head man of the Parish, but he took no regard to their words.

After this, the Vicar came into the Pulpit, who there being about to read his Bedroll, and to pray for the Souls in Purgatory; the said *John Maundrel* speaking with an audible voice, said, that was the Popes pinfold, the other two affirming the same. After which words, by Commandment of the Priest they were had to the stocks, where they remained till their service was done, and then were brought before a Justice of Peace, and to the next day carried to *Salisbury* all three, and presented before *Bishop Capon*, and *W. Geoffrey* being Chancellor of the Diocess. By whom they were imprisoned, and oftentimes examined of their faith in their Houses, but freedom openly. And at the last examination these were the Articles which the Chancellor alleged against them, being accompanied with the Sheriff of the shire, on Master S. Johns, and other Popish Priests in the Parish Church of *Fisherion Anger*, demanding how they did believe.

They answered, as Christian men should and ought to believe: and first they said, they believed in God the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, the 12. Articles of the Creed, the Holy Scripture from the first of *Genesis* to the last of the *Apocalyp*.

But that faith the Chancellor would not allow. Wherefore he apposed them in particular Articles: First, whether that they did not believe that in the Sacrament of the Altar (as he termed it) after the words of Consecration (spoken by the Priest at Mass, there remained no substance of Bread nor Wine, but Christs Body, Flesh and Blood, as he was born of the *Virgin Mary*. Whereunto they answered negatively, saying, that the Popish Mass was abominable Idolatry, and injurious to the Blood of Christ; but confessing that in a faithful Congregation, receiving the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, being duly mingled according to Christs institution, Christs Body and Blood is spiritually received of the faithful believer.

Also, being asked whether the Pope was supream head of the Church, and Christs Vicar on earth; they answered negatively, saying, that the Bishop of *Rome* doth usurp over Emperors and Kings, being Antichrist, and Gods enemy.

The Chancellor said, Will you have the Church without head?

They answered, Christ was head of his Church, and under Christ the Queens Majesty. What, said the Chancellor? a Woman head of the Church? Yes, said they, within her Graces Dominions.

Also, whether the Souls in Purgatory were delivered by the Popes pardons, and the suffrages of the Church.

They said, they believed faithfully that the Blood of Christ had purged their sins, and the sins of them that were saved, unto the end of the World, so that they feared nothing the Popes Purgatory, or esteemed his pardons.

Also, whether Images were necessary to be in the Churches, as Lay-mens books, and Saints to be prayed unto and worshipped.

They answered negatively; *John Maundrel* adding that wooden Images were good to roist a shoulder of Mutton, but evil in the Church; whereby Idolatry was committed.

Those Articles thus answered (for their Articles were one, and their answers in manner like) the Chancellor read their condemnation, and so delivered them to the Sheriff. Then spake *John Spicer*, saying, B b b 3

Maundrel, Spicer, and Coberley, speaking against the Procession.

Maundrel called the Pulpit the Popes pinfold.

Maundrel, Spicer, and Coberley, sent to Salisbury. Doct. Capon Bp. of Salisbury.

Confession of their belief.

Sacrament of the Altar.

Against the Popes supremacy.

Christ only supreme head of his Church: under him every Prince in his own dominion.

Images.

Sentence read against these three Martyrs.

Oh Master Sheriff, now must you be their Butcher, that you may be guilty also with them of innocent Blood before the Lord. This was the 23. day of *March*, Anno 1556. and the 24. day of the same month they were carried out of the Common Gaol to a place betwixt *Salisbury* and *Wilton*, where were two Poles set for them to be burnt at. Which Men coming to the place, kneeled down, and made their prayers secretly together, and then being disclosed to their Shirts, *John Maundrel* spake with a loud voice, Not for all *Salisbury*. Which words men judged to be an answer to the Sheriff, which offered him the Queens Pardon if he would recant. And after that in like manner spake *John Spicer*, saying, this is the joyfulllest day that ever I saw. Thus were they three burnt at two Stakes: where most constantly they gave their Bodies to the fire, and their Souls to the Lord for testimony of his T ruth.

As touching *William Cokerley*, this moreover is to be noted, that his Wife also, called *Alice*, being apprehended, was in the Keepers house the same time detained while her husband was in Prison. Where the Keepers Wife named *Agnes Penicote*, had secretly heated a Key fire hot, and laid it in the grass in the backside. So speaking to *Alice Cokerley* to fetch her the Key in all haste, the said *Alice* went with speed to bring the Key, and so taking up the Key in half did pitteously burn her hand. Whereupon the crying out at the sudden burning of her hand; Ah thou drab, quoth the other, thou that canst not abide the burning of the Key, how wilt thou be able to abide burning thy whole Body, and so the afterward revoked. But to return again to the story of *Cokerley*, who being somewhat learnt, and being at the Stake was somewhat long a burning as the wind flew: after his Body was scorched with the fire, and his left arm drawn and taken from him by the violence of the fire, that the flesh being burnt to the white bone, at length he stooped over the Chain, and with the right hand, being somewhat flunked, knocked upon his breast softly, the Blood and matter issuing out of his mouth. Afterward when they all thought he had been dead, suddenly he rose right up with his Body again. And thus much concerning these three *Salisbury* Martyrs.

A discourse of the Death and Martyrdom of six other Martyrs suffering at London, whose names here followeth.

About the 23. day of *April*, Anno Dom. 1556. were burned in *Smithfield* at one fire, these six constant Martyrs of Christ, suffering for the profession of the Gospel, viz.

Robert Drakes, Minister.
William Tyms, Curate.
Richard Spurge Sheerman.
Thomas Spurge, Fuller.
John Carvel, Weaver.
George Ambrose, Fuller.

They were all of *Essex*, and so of the Diocese of *London*, and were sent up, some by the Lord *Rich*, and some by others at sundry times, unto *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, then Lord Chancellor of *England*, about the 22. day of *March*, Anno 1555. Who after small examination, sent them, some unto the *King's Bench*, and others unto the *Marshalsea*, where they remained almost all the whole year, until the death of the said Bishop of *Winchester*, and had during that time nothing said unto them. Whereupon, after that *Dr. Heath*, Archbishop of *Tork* was chosen to the office of Lord Chancellorship, four of these persecuted Brethren, being now weary of this their long imprisonment, made their supplication unto the said *Dr. Heath*, requiring his favour and aid for their deliverance: the Copy whereof ensueth.

To the right reverend Father, Thomas Archbishop of York, Lord Chancellor of England.

May it please your honourable good Lordship, for the love of God to tender the humble suit of your Lordships poor Orators, whose names are subscribed, which have lain in great misery in the *Marshalsea*,

by the space of ten months and more, at the commandment of the late Lord Chancellor, to their utter undoing, with their Wives and Children. In consideration whereof, your Lordships said Orators do most humbly pray and beseech your good Lordship to suffer them to be brought before your Honour; and there, if any man of good Conscience can lay any thing to our charge, we trust either to declare our innocency against their accusations, or if otherwise their accusations can be proved true and we faulty, we are ready (God helping us) without our condign punishments to satisfy the Law according to your wife judgment, as we hope, full of fatherly mercy toward us and all men, according to your godly Office, in the which we pray for your godly success to the good pleasure of God, Amen.

This Supplication was sent (as is said) and subscribed with the names of these four under following?

Richard Spurge.
Thomas Spurge.
George Ambrose.
John Carvel.

Anno 1556.

Names subscribed to the Supplication.

Richard Spurge.

Upon the receipt and sight hereof, it was not long after, but Sir *Richard Read* Knight, then one of the Officers of the Court of the Chancery, the 16. day of *January*, was sent unto the *Marshalsea* to examine the said four Prisoners; and therefore beginning first with *Richard Spurge* upon certain demands, received his Answers thereunto: the effect whereof was, that he with others were complained upon by the Parson of *Bocking* unto the Lord *Rich*, for that they came not unto their Parish Church of *Bocking*, where they had inhabited; and thereupon was by the said Lord *Rich* sent unto the late Lord Chancellor, about the 22. day of *March* last past *Viz.* Anno 1555.

And farther, he said, that he came not to the Church since the first alteration of the English service into Latin (Christmas day then a twelvemonth only excepted) and that, because he disliked both the same and the Mass also, as not consonant and agreeing with Gods holy Word.

Moreover, he required that he might not be any more examined upon the matter, unless it pleased the Lord Chancellor that then was, to know his fault therein, which to him he would willingly utter.

Thomas Spurge.

Thomas Spurge being then next examined, made the same answer in effect that the other had done; confessing, that he absented himself from the Church, because the Word of God was not there truly taught, and nor the Sacraments of Christ duly ministered in such sort as was prescribed by the same Word. And being farther examined of his belief concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, he said; That if any could accuse him thereof, he would then make answer as God had given him knowledge therein.

George Ambrose.

He like answer made *George Ambrose*, adding moreover, that after he had read the late Bishop of *Winchester's* Book, intitled, *De vera obedientia*, with *Boners* Preface thereunto annexed, inveighing (both) against the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, he did much less set by their doings then before.

John Carvel.

John Carvel agreeing in other matters with them, answered, that the cause why he did forbear the coming to the Church, was, that the Parson there had preached two contrary Doctrines. For first, in a Sermon that he made at the Queens first entry to the Crown, he did exhort the People to believe the Gospel; for it was the Truth, and if they did not believe it, they should be damned. But in a second Sermon, he preached that the

Names subscribed to the Supplication.

The cause why John Carvel came not to Church.

Testament

ANNO 1556. Testament was false* in forty places, which contrariety in him was a cause amongst other of his absenting from the Church.

Robert Drakes.

ABOUT the fourth day of March next after, Robert Drakes also was examined, who was Parson of *Thundersley* in *Essex*, and had there remained the space of three years. He was first made Deacon by Dr. Taylor of *Hadley*, at the commandment of Dr. Cranmer, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And within one year after (which was the third year after King Edward) he was by the said Archbishop and Dr. Ridley Bishop of *London*, admitted Minister of Gods holy Word and Sacraments, not after the order then in force, but after such order as was after established; and was presented unto the said Benefice of *Thundersley* by the Lord *Rich*, at the suit of Mr. *Causton* and Mr. *Treheron*; and now notwithstanding was sent up by the said Lord *Rich*, with the others before-mentioned: and at his coming to the Bishop of *Winchester*, was by him demanded whether he would conform himself like a Subject to the Laws of this Realm then in force. To the which he said he would abide all Laws that stood with the Laws of God; and thereupon was committed to Prison, where he and the rest above-named did remain ever since.

William Tyms.

NOW remaineth likewise to declare the examination of William Tyms, Deacon and Curate of *Hockley* in *Essex*. But before I come to his Examination, first here is to be opened and set forth the order and manner of his trouble, how and by whom he was first apprehended in *Essex*, and from thence sent up to *London*: the story whereof followeth in this manner.

The story of William Tyms Deacon and Curate of Hockley, with the manner of his taking.

THERE was at *Hockley* in Queen *Maries* days two Sermons preached in the Woods, the which Woods were appertaining to Mr. Tyrel; and the name of the one Wood was called *Plumborough-Wood*, and the other *Beckes-Wood*, and there was at the same Sermons an honest man and his wife with him, whose name was *John Gye*, the which *Gye* was Mr. Tyrels Servant, and did dwell under him, being his Herd at a Farm of his called *Plumborough*. Shortly after it was known to Mr. Tyrel, how that his Woods were polluted with Sermons, the which he did take very evil, and much matter did arise about it, as an unlawful Assembly; the which was laid to *John Gyes* charge, because he did not disclose that unlawful act to his Master, being then in the Communion of Peace, appointed at that time to keep down the Gospel, the which he did to the uttermost, as it may appear in many of his acts. Good God give him repentance if it be thy will.

Shortly after it pleased Mr. Tyrel to come to *Hockley* to sift out this matter, and to know who was at these Preachings. Well, there were found many faulty; for it is supposed there were an hundred persons at the least. So it pleased Mr. Tyrel to begin first with *John Gye*, and asked him where that naughty fellow was that served their Parish, one *Tyms*; for it is told me (said he) that he is the cause to bring these naughty Fellows into the Country. Therefore I charge thee *Gye* to fetch me this naughty Fellow *Tyms*, for thou knowest where he is. No, said *Gye*, I do not know. So in no wise could he make him fetch him.

Then stepped forth another of Master Tyrels men, willing to shew his Master pleasure, whose name was *Richard Sheriff*, and said to his Master; Sir, I know where he is. Well, said Master Tyrel, go to the Constables, and charge them to bring him to me.

So this Sheriff being diligent, made sure work, and had him brought before his Master with the Constables, whose names be these *Edward Hedge*, and *John Jones*, of *Hadley*, and *James*, of *Hadley*.

So when he came before the said Mr. Tyrel, then Mr. Tyrel commanded all men to depart; and it was widely

done, for he was not able to open his mouth against Tyms without reproach, and there he kept him about three hours. But there were some that listened at the walls, and heard Mr. Tyrel say thus to Tyms.

Me thinketh (said he) that when I see the blessed Rood, it maketh me think of God.

Why Sir, said Tyms, if an Idol that is made with mans hands doth make you remember God; how much more ought the Creatures of God, as man being his workmanship, or the grass, or the Trees that bring forth fruit, make you remember God?

So Mr. Tyrel ended his talk with Tyms: it should seem in an heat, for he brast out and called him traitorily Knave.

Why Sir, said Tyms, in King Edwards days you did affirm the Truth that I do now.

Affirm, quoth Tyrel: may by Gods Body, I never thought it with my heart.

Well, said Tyms, then I pray you Master Tyrel bear with me, for I have been a Traitor but a while, but you have been a Traitor six years.

After this Tyms was sent to *London* to the Bishop, Tyms sent and from him to the Bishop of *Winchester*, and so from up to *London* to the Kings Bench, and then was Mr. Tyrels rage created with them that were in the Woods at the Sermons. So Mr. Tyrel took away Gyes Coat, and gave it to *John Traiford*, and sent him to St. *Tupes* to see good rule kept there.

When Tyms came before the Bishop of *London*, there was at that time the Bishop of *Bath*, and there was *William Tyms* examined of his Faith before them both. So before B. *Tower*, and the Bishop of *Bath*, he had wherewith to answer them both; for the Constables did say that brought him before the Bishop, that they never heard the like. Then the Bishop (as though he would have had Tyms to turn from the Truth) said to the Constables, I pray you (said he) give him good counsel, that he may turn from his error. My Lord, said the Constables, he is at a point, for he will not turn.

Then both the Bishops waxed weary of him, for he had troubled them about six or seven hours. Then the Bishops began to play Tyms cake, and to flatter him, saying, Ah good Fellow (said they) thou art bold, and thou hast a good fresh spirit, we would thou hadst learning to thy spirit. I thank you (my Lords) said Tyms, and both you be learned, and I would you had a good spirit to your learning. So thus they broke up, and sent Tyms to the Bishop of *Winchester*, and there were *Edward Hedge* and *John James* the Constables afore-named discharged, and Tyms was commanded to the Kings Bench, where he was mightily strengthened with the good men that he found there.

And thus hitherto ye have heard, first upon what occasion this William Tyms was apprehended, how he was intreated of Mr. Tyrel the Justice, and by him sent up to the Ordinary of the Diocese, which was Bishop *Boner*; who after certain talk and debating he had with the said Tyms, at length directed him to the Bishop of *Winchester*, being then Lord Chancellor, and yet living, and so was commanded by him upon the same to the Kings Bench.

Here by the way is to be understood, that Tyms as he was but a Deacon, so he was but simply, or at least not Priestly apparelled, forasmuch as he went not in a Gown, but in a Coat; and his Hofen were of two colours, the upper part white, and the neather stocks of Sheeps russet. Whereupon the proud Prelate sending for him to come before him, and seeing his simple attire, began to mock him, saying, Ah Sirra, are you a Deacon? Yes, my Lord, that I am, quoth Tyms. So methinketh, said the Bishop, ye are decked like a Deacon. My Lord, said Tyms, my vesture doth not so much vary from a Deacon; but methinketh your apparel doth as much vary from an Apollle.

So then there spake one of the Bishops Gentlemen, My Lord (said he in mockage) give him a Chair, a Toft and Drink, and he will be lusty. But the Bishop bade, have him away, and commanded him to come before him again the next day at an hour appointed.

Talk between M. Tyrel and W. Tyms.

W. Tyms brooght examined before B. Tower and the Bishop of Bath.

W. Tyms sent from B. Boner to the Bishop of Winchester.

Talk between the Bishop of Winchester and W. Tyms.

But

But *Winchester*, for lack of leisure, or because of sickness growing upon him, or for what cause else I know not, either would not, or could not attend unto him, but returned him again to his ordinary Bishop from whence he came. So *William Tyms* being put off again to Bishop *Baner*, was placed together and coupled with the other five Martyrs above named, and with them brought together to publick examination before the Bishop the 21. day of *March*, first in the Bishops Palace of *London*, where the said Bishop after his accustomed manner proceeding against them, enquired of them their faith upon the Sacrament of the Altar. To whom they answered, that the Body of *Christ* was not in the Sacrament of the Altar really and corporally, after the words of consecration spoken by the Priest: of the which opinion they had been of long time, some later, some sooner, even as God of his mercy did call upon them unto the knowledge of his Gospel.

Then the Bishops Chaplains began to reason with them, but with no great Authority either of the Scriptures, or of the ancient Fathers (ye may be sure) as other their large conferences with the learned do already declare.

Another Examination of Tyms and Drakes, and the rest before the Bishop of London.

These five Martyrs where R. Drakes, Th. Spurge, Rob. Spurge, Level, and another. Their examinations before the Bp. of London. Sacrament of the Altar.

March 21. The 23. day of the same month next after, the Bp. sent again for Tyms and Drakes, and *Ex officio*, did object unto them certain Articles the sum and manner whereof were the same which before were objected to *Whittle, Greene, Tudson, Went, Brown, Elise, Foster, Joan Lushford*, look before. And the 26. day of the same month, he sent for the other four, ministring unto them also the same general Articles. Unto the which they all in effect answered in matters touching their faith, as did the said *Barlet Greene* and the rest. Other appearances they had, as the Bishops common manner of proceeding was more (as I have often said) for order and form of Law, then for any zeal of justice.

March 21. But in conclusion, the 28. day of his month of *March*, *William Tyms*, and *Robert Drakes*, with the other four above named, were brought to the open Confistory in *Pauls* before the said Bishop of *London* to be condemned for Heresie.

The Bishop first began in this or like sort; Tyms, quoth he, I will begin with thee first, for thou art and hast been the ring-leader of these thy companions, thou hast taught them Heresies, and confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and hast endeavoured as much as in thee lyeth, to make them like unto thy self. If thy fault had not tended to the hurt of other, I would then have used thee more charitably, and not have brought thee to this open rebuke. I would according to the rule of *Christ* in the 18. of *Matthew*, have told thee thy fault between me and thee; if thou wouldst not have heard me, I would not so have left thee, but I with two or three other would have exhorted thee; if that would not have served, then would I have told the Church, &c. But for that thy fault is open and manifest to the World, and thou thyself remainest stout in thine error, this charitable dealing is not to be extended towards thee: I have therefore thought good to proceed by another rule, whereof *St. Paul* speaketh, 1 *Timothy* 5. *Such as sin, rebuke them openly, that other may fear.* For this cause art thou brought before me in the face of this People, to receive judgment according to thy deserts. Let me see what thou canst say, why I should not proceed against thee as thine Ordinary.

March 18. My Lord (quoth Tyms) will you now give me leave to speak? Yes, quoth the Bishop. Then said Tyms; My Lord, I marvel that you will begin with a lie. You call me the ring-leader and teacher of this company, but how untruly you have said, shall shortly appear: for there is none of all these my Brethren, which are brought hither as prisoners, but when they were at liberty and out of prison, they dissented from you and your doings, as much as they do at this present; and for that cause they are now prisoners.

So it is evident, that they learned not their Religion in prison. And as for me, I never knew them, until such time as I by your commandment was prisoner with

a Tim. 5.

The answer of W. Tyms to R. Baner.

them; how could I then be their ring-leader and teacher? So that all the World may see how untruly you have spoken. And as for my fault which you make so grievous, whatsoever you judge of me, I am well assured that I hold none other Religion then *Christ* preached, the Apostles witnessed, the Primitive Church received, and now of late the Apostolical and Evangelical Preachers of this Realm have faithfully taught; for the which you have cruelly burned them, and now you seek our Blood also. Proceed on hardly by what rule you will; I force not, I do not refuse you for my Ordinary.

Then said the Bishop, I perceive thou wilt not be contented their ring-leader. How faint thou, wilt thou submit thyself to the Catholic Church as an Obedient Child? in so doing thou shalt be received and do well enough, otherwise thou shalt have judgment as an Heretic.

Then one of the prisoners (whose name is not certainly known) said; My Lord, you are no upright Judge, for you judge after your own lust. But if you will judge us according to the Holy Testaments of *Christ*, which is the Word of Truth, we will accord to your judgment; for unto that Word we wholly submit our selves. But as for your judgment without the Truth God shall condemn. And this prisoner was very earnestly in hand with the Bishop, that they might be judged by the Word of God.

With this the Bishop was offended, calling him busie knave, and commanded him to hold his tongue, or else he should be had away to a place of smaller cafe.

Then Tyms answered and said; My Lord, I doubt not but I am of the Catholic Church whatsoever you judge of me. But as for your Church, you have before this day renounced it, and by Corporal Oath promised never to consent to the same. Contrary to the which you have received into this Realm the Popes Authority, and therefore you are falsely perjured and forsworn all the sort of you. Besides this, you have both spoken and written very earnestly against that Usurped Power, and now you do burn them that will not acknowledge the Pope to be Supreme Head.

Have I, quoth the Bishop? Where have I written any thing against the Church of Rome?

My Lord, quoth Tyms, the Bishop of *Winchester* wrote a very learned Oration, intituled, *De vera obedientia*, which containeth worthy matter against the Romish Authority. Unto the which book you made a Preface, inveighing against the Bishop of Rome, reproving his Tyranny and falsehood, calling his power false and pretended. The book is extant, and you cannot deny it.

Then was the Bishop somewhat abashed, and looking upon such as were present, spake very gently, saying; Lo, here is a goodly matter indeed. My Lord of *Winchester* being a great learned man, did write a book against the supremacy of the Popes Holiness, and I also did write a Preface before the same book, tending to the same effect. And thus did we because of the perilous World that then was. For then was it made treason by the laws of this Realm to maintain the Popes Authority, and great danger it was to be suspected a favourer of the See of Rome; and therefore fear compelled us to bear with the time, for otherwise there had been no way but one. You know when any uttered his Conscience in maintaining the Popes Authority, he suffered death for it.

And then turning his tale unto Tyms, he said; But since that time, even since the coming in of the Queens Majesty, when we might be bold to speak our Conscience we have acknowledged our faults, and my Lord of *Winchester* himself shamed not to recant the same at *Pauls Cross*. And also thou thyself feelest that I stand not in it, but willingly have submitted my self. Do thou also as we have done.

My Lord, quoth Tyms, that which you have written against the supremacy of the Pope, may be well approved by the Scriptures. But that which you now do, is against the Word of God, as I can well prove.

Then

Anno 1556.

Rich. Baner words.

One of the prisoners answers to Bp. Baner.

W. Tyms again answers.

R. Baner charged with perjury and inconsistency.

Baner recited to Winch. book De Vera obedientia.

R. Baner confessed himself by fear.

Tyms again replied to the Bishop.

Anno 1556. Then another, I suppose it was Dr. Cooke, said; *Tyms*, I pray thee let me talk with thee a little, for I think we two are learned alike. Thou speakest much of the Scripture, and yet understandest it not. I will tell thee to whom thou mayst be compared: Thou art like to one which intending to go on hunting, riseth up early in the morning, taketh his Hounds, and forth he goeth, up to the hills, and down into the vallies; he passeth over the fields, over hedge and ditch, he searcheth the woods and thickets; thus laboureth he all the whole day, without finding any game. At night home he cometh weary of his travel, not having caught any thing at all; and thus fareth it by thee. Thou labourst in reading of the Scriptures, thou takest the Letter, but the meaning thou knowest not, and thus thy reading is as unprofitable unto thee, as hunting was unto the man I spake of even now.

The answer of Tyms to the Hunters similitude.
Sir, quoth *Tyms*, you have not well applied your similitude; for I praise God, I have not read the Scriptures unprofitably; but God, I thank him, hath revealed unto me so much as I doubt not is sufficient for my salvation.

Dr. Cooke's Reason.
Then said the Bishop; You brag much of knowledge, and yet you know nothing: you speak much of Scripture, and you know not what Scriptures. I pray thee tell me; How knowest thou that thing to be the Word of God, which thou callest Scripture?

Thomas Drake's answer.
To this answered Robert Drakes, that he did know it to be the Word of God, for that it doth shew unto men their salvation in Christ, and doth revoke and call back all men from wicked life, unto a pure and undefiled conversation.

Dr. Cooke's reply.
The Bishop replied, that the heathen Writers have taught precepts of good living, as well as the Scripture, and yet their writings are not esteemed to be Gods Word.

Tyms answers to Dr. Cooke.
To this answered *Tyms*, saying; The Old Testament beareth witness of those things which are written in the New, for (quoth he) there is nothing taught in the New Testament, but it was fore-shewed in the Law and Propets.

Dr. Cooke denying the principles of Divinity, Eja 59.
I will deny all, quoth the Bishop, I will deny all; what sayst thou then? Then Robert Drakes alleged a sentence in Latine out of the Prophet *Eja*, in the 59. Chapter of his Prophesie; *Spiritus meus qui est in te, &c. My Spirit Which is in thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of the seed of thy seed from henceforth even for ever*; meaning thereby to prove, that he which had the Spirit of God, could thereby discern and judgetruly which was Gods Word: But before he could explicate his mind, he was interrupted by the Bishop, who spake unto Dr. Pendleton, saying.

Dr. Cooke calling for more help. Dr. Pendleton's speech for talk.
Master Doctor, I pray you say somewhat unto these Folks that may do them some good. Then Dr. Pendleton, as he leaned near unto the Bishop, covered his face with both his hands; to the end he might the more quietly devise what to say; but other talk was presently ministred, so that for that time he said nothing.

And thus much William Alsbury, witness hereof, being present therat, so far as he heard, hath faithfully recorded and reported. What more was spoken and there said for they made not yet an end a good while after because he departed then out of the house, he doth not know, nor did hear.

Then the Bishop, after this and such like communication thus passed between them, proceeding at length in form of Law, caused both his Articles and Answers to the same, there and then to be openly read: the sum of which his Confession recorded and left by his own hand writing, tended to this effect as followeth.

The Articles for the which William Tyms of Hockley in Essex, was condemned in the Consistory in Pauls, the 28. day of March, with his Answers and Confession upon the same.

Articles answered by W. Tyms.
First, I did truly confess and believe, that I was baptized, in the true Catholick Church of Christ; for when I was baptized, there was the clement and the Word of God, according to Christs institution. And

my Godfathers and Godmothers did promise for me, that I should forsake the Devil, and all his works, and that I should keep Gods Commandments; and believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith; the which I do believe at this day, and with Gods help I trust to do while I live; for it was not the wickedness of the Minister that made the Sacrament of none effect, &c.

Item, I confessed two Sacraments; and but two in Christs true Church; that is, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, and that Christ is present with his Sacraments, as it pleaseth him.

Item, I confessed that Christ hath a visible Church, wherein the Word of God is truly preached, and the Sacraments truly ministred.

Item, I confessed the See of Rome to be as the late Bishop of Winchester hath written in his Book, *De vera obedientia*, to the which I said unto the Bishop of London, that he had made a godly Preface; and also John Bale hath plainly declared in his Book, called the Image of both Churches, even so much as I believe thereof.

Item, I confessed the Mass to be blasphemy to Christs death and passion.

Item, I Confessed that in the Sacrament of the Altar Christ is not present either spiritually or Corporally; but as they use it, it is an abominable Idol.

Last of all, I confessed the Bishop of London to be mine Ordinary.

After this the Bishop falling to intreating and persuasions, earnestly exhorted him to revoke his Heresies (as he termed them) and to reform himself unto the Church of Rome, and not to stick so much to the literal sense of the Scriptures, but to use the interpretation of the old Fathers.

To the which *Tyms* answered, I will not reform my self thereunto. And I thank God, of this day; for I trust he will turn your curlings into blessings.

And furthermore, asking this question, he said; And what have you to maintain the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, but only the bare Letter?

We have (quoth the Bishop) the Catholick Church. No, said *Tyms*, you have the Popish Church of Rome for you, for which you be perjured and forewarned. And the See of Rome is the See of Antichrist; and therefore to that Church I will not conform my self, nor dare consent unto it.

Then the Bishop seeing his constant boldness to be unmoveable, proceeding to his Condemnation, pronounced the sentence definitive upon him, and gave him over to the secular Power.

The Condemnation of Robert Drakes

After, calling for Robert Drakes, he used towards him the like manner of exhortation that he did before. To whom Drakes said; As for your Church of Rome, I utterly despise and deny it, with all the works thereof, even as I deny the Devil and all his works.

The Bishop then using his accustomed order of Law, with his like exhortations, at last gave him the like blessing that *Tyms* had, and so charged the Sheriff with him.

The Condemnation of Thomas Spurge, and of the other three Martyrs

Thomas Spurge being next demanded if he would return to the Catholick Church, said as followeth; As for your Church of Rome, I do utterly deny it: but to the true Catholick Church I am content to return, and continue in the same, whereof I believe the Church of Rome to be no part or member.

Then in fittie, calling the rest in their courses, and upon the like demands receiving the like answers, the said Bishop gave unto each of them their severall judgments, and so ridding his bloody hands, committed them unto the custody of the Sheriff of London, who sent them unto Newgate, whither they went all most joyfully, abiding there the Lords good time, wherein they should seal this their Faith with the shedding of their Blood; which they most stoutly and willingly performed, the fourteenth day of April, as before is mentioned.

Letters of William Tyms.

To his faithful Sister in the Lord, Prisoner in the Town of Hockley, named Agnes Glascock.

A Letter of
W. Tyms to
Agnes Glas-
cock.

THe grace, mercy, and peace of God our Father through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to your everlasting comfort, be with you my dear Sister Glascock, both now and evermore, Amen.

My most dear and entirely beloved Sister, yea Mother I might rightly well call you for the Motherly care which you have always had for me, I have me most heartily commended unto you, giving God most hearty thanks for you, that he hath given you so loving a heart to Christ's poor Gospel, and his poor afflicted flock for the same: and as you have full godly begun, so I beseech God to give you power to go forward in the same, and never more to look back, fearing neither fire, neither sword; and then I warrant you, you have not far to run.

And now (my dear Heart) remember well what I have taught you when I was present with you, and also written being absent, and no doubt we shall shortly meet again with a most joyful meeting. I go upon Friday next to the Bishop of London's Cole-house, which is the 20. day of March, where I think it will be hard for any of my Friends to speak with me. Howbeit I trust I shall not long tarry there, but shortly after be carried up after my dear Brethren and Sisters, which are gone before me into Heaven in a fiery Chariot: therefore now I take my leave of you, till we meet in Heaven; and hie you after. I have tarried a great while for you, and seeing you be so long a making ready, I will tarry no longer for you. You shall find me merrily singing, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabbath*, at my Journeys end. Therefore now (my dear Heart) make good halt, and loyter not by the way, lest night take you, and so ye be shut out of the gate with the foolish Virgins. And now (my Sister) in witness that I have taught you nothing but the truth, here I write my name with my Blood for a testimonial unto you, that I will seal the simple Doctrine which I have taught you, with the rest. And thus fare you well: And God defend you from Antichrist, and all his Ministers, the false Priests, Amen.

These words following were written with his own Blood.

Continue in Prayer.
Ask in Faith.
And obtain your desire.

By me Will. Tyms in the
Kings-Bench for the
Gospel of Christ.

Another Letter of the said William Tyms, wherein he doth comfort his Sister Glascock, being in great sorrow and repentance for going to the Mass.

Another
Letter of
W. Tyms
to his Friends
in Hockley.

God be merciful unto you, pardon and forgive all your sins, and send you Faith to believe the same, that you may be partaker of his heavenly Kingdom, Amen.

My dear Sister, I have most heartily commended unto you; and as I have lamented your falling from God, by being partaker with that Idolatrous Priest; so have I, since I heard of your earnest repentance, very much rejoiced, and also praised Almighty God for his mercy shewed unto you, in that he hath not left you to your self, but since your denial, he hath shewed his mercy on you, by looking back on you as he did on Peter, and so caused you to repent as Peter did, and bitterly to weep for your sins: whereas if God had left you to your self, you had run forward from one evil to another, till at length your heart should either have been hardened, or else you should have depaired of the mercy of God. And seeing that God hath been so merciful unto you as he hath been, be you not unthankful unto him for the same. For I certify you that your sorrowful heart that you have had, doth declare unto me that God hath pardoned and forgiven all your sins for the blood-shedding of that immaculate Lamb, Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.

Therefore as Peter, after the time that Christ had forgiven him his sin, did boldly confess Christ before all his enemies; even so my dear heart in the Lord, seeing that God hath so mercifully pardoned and forgiven you your sins, now cleave unto him, and be at defiance with his enemies the Papists: and as they do bear witness with their Father the Devil, by going to the Church; and shedding the innocent blood of all those that will not go with them; even so do you bear witness with Christ, by not coming there: for all those that do go thither shall be partakers of their Brethren's blood, that is shed for the testimony of Christ, except they repent and amend; which grace that they may so do, I beseech the eternal God for his Christs sake, if it be his good will, to give them in his good time. And the same good God that hath been so merciful unto you to call you to repentance, him I beseech to keep you in his fear and love, that you may have always affiance in him, and evermore seek his honour and glory to your everlasting comfort in Christ, Amen. Thus fare you well, from the Kings-Bench this 28. of August.

By me William Tyms.

Another Letter of William Tyms to certain godly Women of his Parish, followers of the Gospel.

Race, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you both now and evermore, Amen.

Dear Sisters, I have me most heartily commended unto you, thanking you for the great kindness shewed unto me in this time of mine imprisonment, and not only unto me, but also unto my poor Wife and Children; and also for the great kindness that you shew unto all the living Saints that be dispersed abroad, and are fain to hide their heads for fear of this cruel persecution.

Dear Sisters, when I do remember your constancy in Christ, I call to remembrance the constancy of divers godly Women, as *Susannah, Judith, Hester*, and the good wife of *Nabal*, that through her godly conditions saved both her husbands life, and all her household, when *David* had thought to have slain him for his churlish answer that he sent him. Also I do remember *Rahab* that lodged the *Lords Spies*, how God preserved her and her whole household for her faithfulness that she bare to Gods People. So I do believe that when the Lord shall send his Angel to destroy these Idolatrous Egyptians here in England, and shall find the blood of the Lamb sprinkled on the door-post of your hearts, he will go by and not hurt you, but spare your whole households for your sakes. Also I do remember *Mary Magdalen*, how faithful she was; for she was the first that preached the Resurrection of Christ. Remember the blessed Martyr *Anne Askew* in our time, and follow her example of constancy. And for the love of God take heed that in no case you do consent to Idolatry, but stand fast to the Lord, as the good Woman did that had her seven Sons put to death before her face, and she always comforting them, yea and last of all suffered death her self, for the testimony of her God, which is the living God. Thus I beseech God to send you grace and strength to stand fast to the Lord, as she did, and then you shall be sure of the same Kingdom that she is sure of; to the which Kingdom I pray God bring both you and me, Amen.

By me William Tyms, Prisoner in the Kings-Bench

Another Letter of William Tyms to his Friends in Hockley.

THe grace of God the Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus, our Lord and only Saviour, with the continual aid of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to our everlasting comfort, be with you my dear Brethren, both now and evermore, Amen.

My dearly Beloved, I beseech God to reward the great goodness that you have shewed unto me, seven fold into your bosoms; and as you have always had a most godly love unto his Word, even so I beseech him to

give

Anno
1556.

give you grace to love your own Souls, and then I trust you will flee from all those things that should displease our good and merciful God, and hate and abhor all the company of those that would have you to worship God any otherwise than is contained in his holy Word. And beware of those Masters of Idolatry, that is, these Papistical Priests. My dear Brethren, for the tender mercy of God, remember well what I have said unto you, and also written, the which I am now ready to seal with my Blood. I praise God that ever I lived to see the day, and blessed be my good and merciful God, that ever he gave me a Body to glorifie his Name. And (dear Hearts) I do now write unto you for none other cause, but to put you in remembrance, that I have not forgotten you, to the end that I would not have you forget me but to remember well what I have simply by word of mouth and writing taught you. The which although it were most simply done, yet truly, as your own Conscience beareth me record: and therefore in any case take good heed that you do not that thing which your own Conscience doth condemn. Therefore come out of *Sodom*, and go to Heaven-ward with the servants and martyrs of God, lest you be partakers of the vengeance of God that is coming upon this wicked Nation, from the which the Lord God defend you, and send us a joyful meeting in the Kingdom of Heaven: unto the which God bring you all, Amen. Thus now I take my leave of you for ever in this world, except I be burned amongst you, which thing is uncertain unto me, as yet.

*By me your poorest and most unworthy
Brother in Christ, W. Tyns, in
Newgate, the 12. day of April
condemned to die for Christs Verity.*

*Another Letter of William Tyns, giving thanks to his
Perishoniers, for their Charity shewed to his Wife,
being brought to bed of a Child in his Captivity.*

Another
Letter of
W. Tyns to
the faithful
Brethren in
his Parish.

THe everlasting peace of our dear Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the increase of your Faith, to the performance of his will, and to your eternal comfort in the everlasting Kingdom of heaven, be with you my dear Brethren and Sisters both now and ever, Amen.

My most dear Brethren and Sisters in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I have me most heartily commended unto you, with hearty thanks for all the great liberality that you have shewed unto me, and especially now in this time of my necessity, when that God hath sent my poor Wife a Child in my Captivity; which is no little care to me, so to provide, that I might keep both the Child and my Wife from the Antichristian Church: the which thing I thank my God, through his most gracious providence, I have yet done, though it be (as ye know) great Charge, not to me, but to the Congregation of God; and it grieveth me that I have been so chargeable to them as I have been, and specially you my dear Brethren, I being so unworthy a member as I have been, and also of so small acquaintance; but such is the merciful goodness of God, so to move your hearts with Charity towards me. And as he hath moved your hearts so to do, even so I beseech God to give you power to forsake and refuse all things which be displeasing in his sight, and to do all things which be requisite to a Christian; and send you grace to go forwards in the same as you have godly begun, neither fearing fire nor sword. And, my most dear Hearts, remember well the simple plain Doctrine the which I have taught you, and also written unto you, which was the Truth, and for a testimony of the same, I trust that you shall shortly hear, or else see that I will seal the same with my Blood. And in the mean time I desire you all to remember me in your prayers, as I know you do, and as with Gods help I will do for you, that God, for his dear Son Christs sake, will so finish the days of our pilgrimage, that we may rest together with *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, in the everlasting kingdom of Heaven; to the which I beseech the eternal God for his Christs sake to bring both you and all yours, Amen.

By me William Tyns.

*Another Letter of William Tyns to his Sister Colfox
and Agnes Glascock.*

GRACE and peace from God the Father of all mercy, through the merits of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, be perceived and felt in the hearts of you, my dearly beloved Sisters in the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost the Comforter, both now and evermore, Amen.

My most dear and entirely beloved Sisters in the Lord, after my most hearty Commendations, according to my most bounden duty, I do as I am accustomed, or at least bound to do, that is, I give you warning of your Enemies, which be the Papists, and take good heed to them, for they serve a crafty Master; yea, and as *St. Peter* faith, he sleepeth not, but goeth about like a roaring Lion, seeking whom he may devour. For your old familiar Friends, or worldly Companions, when they see that you will not run to the Idols Temple with them, it will seem a strange thing unto them, that ye run not to the same excess of riot, as *St. Peter* faith, and therefore they will speak evil of you, rail on you, and persecute you.

But, my dear Sisters, let it not trouble you, for it is but to try you, and let it not seem a strange thing unto you. But when they do so, remember wherefore it is, and for whose sake, even because you will not forsake God as they do. For the hatred they bear you, is for the Word of God, and then it is Gods cause, and I tell you he will revenge it. And therefore if ye be railed on, and troubled for his sake, think your selves most happy. For if you suffer with the Patriarchs, Prophets and Apostles, then shall ye be sure to be partakers of the same joy that they are in. Yea, you have heard by the Word of God, how cruelly the Tyrants always have persecuted the true Members of Christ, as he himself hath promised that they shall do unto the end of the world.

By the way I will bring to your remembrance the holy Martyr *St. Stephen*, who for favouring, maintaining and defending the same Doctrine that we now suffer for, was called a Blasphemer, and stoned to death at *Jerusalem*. And Christs Apostles were diversely afflicted all the world over for the same by this viperous generation. *Antipas*, the faithful witness of Christ was slain at *Pergamus*. *Jehon* for receiving of *Paul* and *Silas*, with other Disciples and teachers of the Gospel, was brought before the Council at *Thessalonica*, and accused for a fiditious traitor against *Cæsar*. No marvel therefore that at this day we be vexed on the same sort, maintaining the same cause, and favouring the teachers thereof. Is there any other reward following the true Servants of God now, than hath been afore-times? No surely, for so hath Christ promised. And if they have persecuted him, needs must they persecute his Members; if they have called the Master of the house *Beelzebub*, so will they do his household, *You shall be hated of all men* (saith Christ) *for my Names sake*.

It is no new thing, my dear Hearts, to see the true Members of Christ handled as in our days they be, as it is not unknown to you how they be cruelly entreated, and blasphemed without any reasonable cause. For Hereticks must they be taken, which follow not their traditions. And then they may as well call Christ an Heretic, for he never allowed their dirty Ceremonies. He never went a procession with a Cope, Crofs, or Candlestick. He never sensed Image, nor sang Latin Service. He never fate in Confession. He never preached of Purgatory, nor of the Popes Pardons. He never honoured Saints, nor prayed for the Dead. He never said Mass, Mattins, nor Evensong. He never commanded to fast Friday nor Vigil, Lent nor Advent. He never hallowed Church nor Chalice, Altars nor Palms, Candles nor Bells. He never made holy Water nor holy Bread, with such like. But such dumb Ceremonies, not having the express commandment of God, he calleth the leaven of the *Pharisees*, and damnable hypocritie; admonishing his Disciples to beware of them. He curseth all those that add to his Word such beggarly shadows, wiping their names clean out of the Book of Life. *St. Paul* faith, they have no portion with Christ, which wrap themselves again with such yokes of bondage.

There-

A Letter of
W. Tyns to
his Sisters
in the Lord,
by the mighty
working of
the Holy Ghost
the Comforter.

1 Pet. 5

1 Pet. 4

Rom. 12

Stephen for
favouring, maintaining
the same
Gospel put
to death.

Antipas,
Jehon
for receiving of
Paul and Silas,
with other
Disciples and
teachers of the
Gospel, was
brought before
the Council at
Thessalonica,
and accused for
a fiditious
traitor against
Cæsar.

Math. 13

Christ may
as well be
called an
Heretic
as the
men.

Math. 16
Luke 12
Deut. 4
Apoc. 22
Psalm 111
Gal. 4

Therefore my dear hearts, seeing that our good God hath by the light of his Holy Word, delivered us from all such dark, blind, dumb, beggarly traditions of men, stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and wrap not your selves again in the yoke of bondage. But let us always be ready, looking for the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which as Saint Peter faith, *will come as a thief in the night.* And our Captain Christ faith, *If the good man of the house knew what hour the thief would come, he would surely watch.*

Therefore my dear hearts, be of good comfort, although the World rage never so fore against you. And for your comfort mark well the great mercy of God, who according to his promise for the weakness of our nature hath so alwayed the heat of the fire, that our dear Brethren which are gone before us, to the sight of all men, have found it rather to be joy then pain. And think you surely God will be as merciful unto you, as he hath been unto them; and say with S. Paul, *Rom. 8. Who shall separate us from the love of God? shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, either hunger, either nakedness, either peril, either sword? as it is written, for thy sake are we killed all the day long, &c.*

Therefore (my dear Sisters) if to save your lives, any dissembling Gospellers would have you to go to the Idols Temple with them, say unto them; No, for my Mr. Christ faith, *Matth. 10. He that would save his life, shall lose it.* And in another place to comfort us he faith, *There shall not one hair fall from your head, without it be your Heavenly Fathers will.* And therefore say you that you will not be of that sort, that be neither hot nor cold, left God should frowne you out of his mouth. But make them this answer, saying; S. Paul faith, *2. Corinth. 6. Bear no strange yoke with the unbelievers. For what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness, what company hath light with darkness, what concord hath Christ with Belial, either what part hath he that believeth, with an infidel? How agreeth the Temple of God with images?*

And ye are the Temple of God, as God faith, *I will dwell among them, and walk among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my People. Wherefore come out from among them, and separate your selves (saith the Lord) and touch no unclean thing: so will I receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my Sons and Daughters, saith the Lord.*

Thus mine own Bowels in the Lord, as I began, so make I an end, bidding you beware of your enemies, and take up your Cross, and follow your Captain Christ in at the narrow gate here by persecution, and then you shall be sure to reign and rejoyce with him in his everlasting Kingdom, which he himself hath purchased with his own most precious Blood: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour both now and for ever, Amen.

By me William Tyms.

Another Letter of William Tyms, with an Exhortation to all Gods faithful Servants, to eschew the Society of Idolaters, and Gods enemies.

Grace be with you, and peace from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

I thank my God with all remembrance of you always in my prayers for you, and pray with gladness, because of the fellowship which ye have in the Gospel, from the first day that I knew you, until this day; and I am surely certified of this, that he which hath begun a good work in you, shall go forth with it, until the day of Jesus Christ, as it becometh me to judge of you; whom I have in my heart, and as companions of grace with me, even in my bonds. And thus I pray, that your love may increase more and more in knowledge. Good Brethren, I most heartily desire God, that as you have a willing mind to comfort my vile Earthly Body in this time of persecution, so he will strengthen you with his Holy Spirit, that my imprisonment do not discomform, but rather strengthen and comfort you, to see the goodness of God shewed unto me, in that being a man without learning, and brought before three such Bishops concerning Worldly Willam, he gave me both mouth and Willam; inasmuch that the Bp.

of London went away in a great haile from me, and after that he sent his man with a Bible, turning to the ninth chapter to the Hebrews, and the Bishop of Bath looking on it, said; What meaneth my Lord? this maketh nothing for his purpose. Then I looked on it, and said; my Lord seeth that I was weak, and therefore he hath helped me; for here he hath condemned the sacrifice of your Mase: for you say that you offer a daily sacrifice in your Mase, both for the quick and the dead; and here S. Paul faith *Without Blood-shedding there is no forgiveness of sins*; therefore that is here condemned. He answered, Yea, faith he, so? So say all such Hereticks, and so forth, with many like arguments, which my neighbors that heard them, can declare, therefore I leave them. This have I written, that you should not be afraid, but call upon God, as he hath commanded us to ask, and we shall have; *Seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you.* Also he hath commanded us to call on him in the day of trouble, and he hath promised to hear us. Therefore if we have not both mouth and Willam at his hand, the fault is in us, that either we will not repent us of our wickedness, and amend our lives, or else we be unfaithful, and believe not the promises of God; and so we our selves, are the cause that this Willam is lacking in us. Therefore let us repent and amend our lives, and God is merciful. And in any case, as I have always said unto you, since I first knew you, so say I now: Beware of Idolatry, and of your good intents; if not, mark what hath followed upon them that have left Gods commandments, and done their own good intents. Remember when the Children of Israel had made them a golden Calf, did not God say they had made a god, and would have destroyed them, had not Moses earnestly prayed for them? I let many others places alone that prove the Wrath of God to come upon the People for Idolatry; therefore as we will avoid the Wrath of God, let us keep us unstained from it. You have example out of the Old Testament, how loth the Godly Fathers were to be partakers with the wicked: And yet to see how little we regarded it, it would make any Christian mans heart to weep. God send us more grace. First look in the 11. and 12. of Genesis; Abraham, because he would not be partaker of their Idolatry, fled from the People of Caldea, being his native country. And in the 19. of Genesis. Let at the commandment of the Angels departed from Sodom, left he tarrying with the Sodomites should have been consumed with them. In the 21. of Genesis, Sarah would not suffer Isaac, which was given to mocking, to keep company with her Son Isaac, lest he should also become a mocker. Look in the 16. of Numbers, Moses at Gods appointment commanded the People to depart from the dwelling places of Chore, Dathan, and Abiram, lest they also should be all wrapped in their sins, and so perish among them. So do I, even as Moses Commanded them that they should not keep company with those wicked People, lest they should not keep company with those wicked People, lest the Vengeance of God should light on them, so do I (I say) give you warning that you should not keep company with the Idolaters, in their Idolatrous Temples, lest the wrath of God come upon you to destroy you.

Look what S. Paul faith in the second Epistle, and the sixth chapter to the Corinthians; *Set your selves (saith he) therefore at large, and bear no strange yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? what company hath light with darkness? what concord hath Christ with Belial: either what part hath he that believeth, with an infidel? How agreeth the Temple of God with images? And ye are the Temple of God, as faith God; I will dwell among them, and walk among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my People. Wherefore come out from among them, and separate your selves (saith the Lord) and touch no unclean thing.*

Good Brethren mark what cometh of keeping company with the wicked. Syrach faith, *He that toucheth pitch, shall be defiled therewith: and he that keepeth company with the proud, shall cloath himself with pride.* Even so he that is familiar with Idolaters, cannot be unstained from Idolatry, except he do it to win them to Christ, as there be but a few that do: Yea, it may not be where Idolatry is openly committed, as for an example; Peter, so long as he continued with Christ and Christs Disciples, he continued

Another Letter of Wm. Tyms to Gods faithful Servants.

Anno 1556.

S. Zuer went away: from W. Tyms, belike not able to make his part good.

Heb. 9. God giveth mouth and assurance to his Saints.

Warning to come away from the wicked.

Co. 6.

Syrach 15.

Anno
1556.
continued in the truth, preached the truth, confessed openly Christ to be the Son of the living God, and promised that he would not only go to Prison, but also to what it is to very death with him: but when he came once into the Court into the Bishops House, he streighway was stricken with fure fear, that a poor Maiden and simple Ruffian (such a one as my Lord of London hath, that said, By Gods blood, if I meet with any of these vile Heretics, I will thrust an Arrow in him) when Peter (I say) was amongst them, he denied his Master, and swore that he never knew him, whom he, before he came there, boldly confessed before all men: and again, after that he had repented him of his wicked deed, he boldly preached to the believing Jews, commanding them among other his godly Exhortations, to save themselves from that untoward Generation. How many of our Priests before this storm of Perfection, when the Gospel was truly preached, were bold, and could say, They would dye rather than deny their Master? But when they come once into the Bishops Houses, they preach no more Christ, but utterly deny him: therefore I pray God keep them from thence, or else fend them more grace and strength. It is needfull to pray; therefore watch in prayer.

A vile servant of Bp. Zouari.

As it is. before this storm of Perfection, when the Gospel was truly preached, were bold, and could say, They would dye rather than deny their Master? But when they come once into the Bishops Houses, they preach no more Christ, but utterly deny him: therefore I pray God keep them from thence, or else fend them more grace and strength. It is needfull to pray; therefore watch in prayer.

Paul, all the while he was among the Bishops, was a cruel Persecutor, but after he was called of God from the Bishops, he became a true Preacher: therefore God keep all Christian men out of the hands of our Bishops. S. Paul in the fiftenth to the Romans, faith, I dare not speak any of those things that Christ hath not wrought by me. He faith also, Rom. 16. I beseech you brethren, mark them that make division, and give occasion of evil, contrary to the Doctrine that ye have learned, and them avoid: for they that are such serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies, and with sweet and flattering words deceive the hearts of the simple. Our Master Christ himself hath given us warning which they be: for he hath set the plain mark on them, in the 24. of Matthew, if they say here is Christ, or there is Christ, believe them not, faith Christ: if they say, he is in the desert, go not forth. If they say, he is in the secret place, believe them not. And I pray you, where can he be more secret, then in so small a piece of bread? For my Lord of London, like a Liar, said to me, that after the words be spoken, there remaineth neither Bread nor Wine. Then I asked him what he said to David, where he faith, Thou shalt not suffer thy holy One to see corruption. How say you to that? Will not the Sacrament of the Altar putrifie or corrupt? He answered, Yes. I asked him, what it was that did corrupt, if there were neither Bread nor Wine. He answered, and said the Accidents. I said unto him, It was a mad Accident without Substance: for you say, there is neither Bread nor Wine, and then there is nothing to corrupt: with many such like Arguments.

Bp. Zouari not able to answer to this place of David.

* How can corruption be referred to Accidents, when by all philosophy generation and corruption belong only to the body, and not to the bread, and not to the substance?

Therefore beware of them, for they go about to deceive you with such Arguments. Say not but ye be warned, and a great deal the more worthy of your damnation, if they deceive you, because you have had so much warning. Repent you betimes of your sinful lives, and amend, and then no doubt but God will either turn their hearts, or else take them away, or else he will give us that, that he promised to his Disciples, if we be contented to take the same reward they had. And if we disdain the one, let us not look for the other. For he that will be his Fathers heir, must be contented to receive his Fathers correction. For S. Paul faith in the twelfth to the Hebrews, If we be not under correction, wherewith all are partakers, then are we bastards and not sons.

And you know what belongeth to a bastard; he shall not be his Fathers heir. And if we remember our selves well, how negligent we have been to our Fathers commandment, we shall find our selves worthy to be corrected at his hand. If we refuse his correction, he will reftle us to be his sons. I pray you look what he promised to his Disciples, and I pray you also look how willingly they received it. And so must we do, if we will be partakers with them. First let us see what Christ promised to his Disciples. Look in the tenth of S. Matthew, and there shall you see these words, Behold, I send you forth as sheep among wolves. Be wise therefore as serpents, and innocent as doves. Beware of men, for they shall deliver you up to the Councils, and shall scourge

you in their Synagogues: ye shall be brought before the Head-men and Kings for my Names sake. But when they put you up, take ye no thought, how or when ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in the same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of my Father which speaketh in you, &c. Read the whole Chapter, for it is very comfortable to a Christian man; and mark it well, and you shall find what we ought to do in the time of Perfection. Also look in the second Epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians, and the fourth Chapter, he faith, For we which live are always delivered unto death for Jesus sake, that the life also of Jesus might appear in our mortal flesh. Thus have you heard that S. Paul doth boast of Perfection; even so should we, for it is the way to bring us to rest.

Therefore let us strive to enter in at the narrow gate, and let us remember the saying of S. Paul in the 21. Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, when he was going to Jerusalem. When he was in the House of Philip the Evangelist, these came in a Prophet, and took off his girdle, and bound his hands and his feet, saying, Thus shall they do with the man that turneth this gentle when he cometh to Jerusalem. When the Disciples heard that, they would have persuaded him that he should not go thither: here you shall see what answer this Master made them; he was a faithful Shepherd; What do ye weeping and breaking of my heart? I am not ready to be bound only, but also to dye at Jerusalem, for the Name of the Lord Jesus.

Yet I think there be some that will say, that I needed not to have been taken, if I would have kept me out of the way. But I say unto them, that the thinking away of so many of our Shepherds as be gone, maketh so many of the Flock to scatter; which will be required at their hands, of the Master of the Sheep. What will he say to them at the day of Account when they shall come to receive their wages? He shall say to them, Depart from me ye wicked Hirelings, for when ye saw the Wolf come, ye ran away, and left my Sheep in the Wilderness. If you had been good Shepherds, you would rather have lost your lives than have lost one Sheep committed to your charge, through your fault. And I pray you, what care be the Sheep in, when their Shepherd runneth away from them? I need not tell you, you know the danger that followeth so well.

A note for them which think away havinge Care.

Therefore let us pray to God to send us faithful Shepherds, and also obedient Sheep, that will not hear a strangers voice. I would all men would mark well the saying of S. Paul in the eighth to the Romans, where he faith in these words, Who shall separate us from the love of God? shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or nakedness, either peril, either sword? As it is written, For thy sake are we killed all the day long, and are counted as sheep appointed to be slain: nevertheless we overcome strongly through his help that loved us. Yea, I am sure that neither death, neither life, neither Angels, neither rule, neither power, neither things present, neither things to come, neither height, neither depth, neither any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God, and so forth. Also he faith in another place, All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution, 2 Tim. 3. Thus I prove it to be our heavenly Fathers rod: therefore let us thankfully receive it like obedient Children, and then our Father will love us.

Yet hear what S. Peter faith in his first Epistle, and the fourth Chapter, Dearly beloved (faith he) be ye troubled in this heat which is now come among you to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you, but rejoice inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christs sufferings, that when his glory appeareth you may be merry and glad. If ye be vexed on for the name of Christ, happy are ye for the spirit of glory, and the spirit of Gods rest upon you. On their part be ye evil spoken of, but on your part be ye glorified. Here S. Peter faith it is no strange things, and that I have partly proved before, because we have nothing else promised us in this world.

Therefore let us call on God for grace. Be ye sure that they can do nothing to us, till God permit it. As for example, Look in the first Book of Kings, Chap. 19. you shall see how Saul persecuted David, purposing to kill him; but his labour was in vain.

C c c

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Also in the third Book of *Kings*, the 19. Chapter, *Jehoiachin* threatened and swore to slay *Elias*, but the Lord preserved him. Also in the second chapter of *Job*, you see that Satan could do nothing to *Job*, till God suffered him, neither exercised his cruelties any further then God had appointed him. The Godly Woman *Susanna*, in the thirteenth of *Daniel*, through the false accusation of the wicked Judges, was even at a point to dye, yet God wonderfully delivered her. These have I written to put you in remembrance, that Man can do no more then is the will of God: therefore let us not resist his will, but refer all to him: and let us be doing that thing that God hath commanded us in his holy Word.

Exhortation
not to refuse
God's will.

Dear Brethren, for the Blood of Christ refuse not the Cross of Christ, but remember the saying of the godly Man *David* in his 119. Psalm, where he saith, *It is good for me that I have been in trouble, that I may learn thy Statutes.* In the same place he saith, *Before I was in trouble, I went wrong, but now I have kept thy word.* Even so it is in trouble with us, for the Word of God was never so sweet and comfortable, as it is now that we be in trouble. Also *Saint Paul* saith in the fifth chapter to the *Romans*: *We rejoyce in tribulation: For we know that tribulation bringeth patience, patience bringeth experience, experience bringeth hope, and hope maketh not ashamed.*

God's Word
never so
comfortable
in trouble.

Also I pray you remember the saying of *Saint Paul* in the second to *Timothy*, and the first chapter, where he saith, *Be not ashamed to testify the Lord: neither be ashamed of me.* Even so I say unto you, dear brethren, Be not ashamed of my imprisonment, neither sorry, but rejoyce with me, that I hath pleased God of his goodness to call me to such a dignity as this shall be unto me, if I may have his Grace to lose my Life (which I regard as most vile) for his Names sake: for then I shall be sure to find it again with advantage. Therefore I desire you all that you will pray with me unto Almighty God, that he of his merciful goodness will send me his Grace and strength, that I may continue unto the end; as I will pray for you, that God will preserve you from all the wicked ways of Antichrist, and strengthen and comfort you, if it be his good pleasure that you shall suffer any thing for his names sake, as he hath faithfully promised to do. And I certify you, that if all Men knew the comfort they should receive at the hand of God, being in prison, I think there would come more to prison then there do. For surely we find such comfort at the hand of God since we have been in prison, that we had rather dye then be abroad to see the Idolatry that is committed among them that be abroad; beside the seeking one of anothers Blood, with other wickedness too much; God send me more Grace. But I trust, among you there be none such: and if there be, repent and amend, lest it be verified on you, that is spoken by the Prophet *Jeremy*, the second Chapter, where he saith, *My people hath committed two great evils: They have forsaken me the Fountain of the living Waters, and digged themselves pits: pits (I say) that are broken, and can hold no Water.* Also in the seventh Chapter, he saith, *Hear not the words of the Prophets that preach their own dreams.* Good Brethren beware of those false Prophets that I have given you warning of.

Experiment
of Gods com-
fort in the
prisonment
of his ser-
vants

Dear beloved, here I make an end for this time, desiring the same health both of Body and Soul unto you all, that I would have my self, and I end with the same that *Saint Peter* saith in his first Epistle and the fifth Chapter, *Submit your selves therefore under the mighty band of God, that he may exalt you when the time is come. Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. Be sober and watch, for your adversary the Devil like a roaring Lion walketh about, seeking whom he may devour, whom resist stedfast in faith: remembering that ye do but fulfil the same afflictions, that are appointed to your brethren that are in the World. The God of all Grace that called you unto his eternal Glory, by Christ Jesus, shall his own self, after you have suffered a little affliction, make you perfect, shall settle, strengthen and stablish you. To him be glory and dominion for ever, and while the World endureth, Amen.*

Greet one another with an holy kiss of love. Peace be with you all which are in Christ Jesus. I pray you all say, Amen.

These be in the same prison where I am; the Bishop Anno of *S. Davids*, Doctor *Taylor of Hadley*, Master *Philpot*, 1556. and my singular good Father Master *Bradford*, with five other of *Suffex* Laymen.

I desire some good Brother, to write this new, for I wrote it (as I do many times) with fear. For if the Keepers had found me, they would have taken it from me, and my Pen and Ink also.

Good Brethren, I am kept alone, and yet I thank God he comforteth me past all the comfort of any Man: for I thank him, I was never merrier in Christ.

By me *Williams Tyms*, Prisoner
in the Kings Bench.

About this time, or somewhat before, came down certain Commissioners assigned by the Queen and Council, to *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* (as to other Countries else besides) to enquire of matters of Religion: unto the which Commissioners there was a Supplication then exhibited by some good and well disposed Men (as by the same may appear) dwelling about those parts. Which Supplication, as I thought it not unworthy to be read, bearing the date of this present year, to be printed; so I thought it was not to be omitted, nor unworthy here to be placed, in consideration of the fruit which thereof might ensue to the Reader.

A certain Godly Supplication exhibited by certain Inhabitants of the County of Norfolk, to the Commissioners come down to Norfolk and Suffolk, fruitful to be read and marked of all Men.

I most humble and lowly wife, we beseech your Honours, Right Honourable Commissioners, to tender and pity the humble suit of us poor Men, and true, faithful, and obedient Subjects, whos we have ever heretofore, so intend we, with Gods Grace, to continue in Christian obedience unto the end, and according to the Word of God with all reverend fear of God, to do our bounden duty to all those Superior Powers, whom God hath appointed over us, doing as *St. Paul* saith, *Rom. 13. Let every Soul be Subject to the Superior Powers. For there is no Power but of God: but those Powers that are, are ordained of God. Wherefore whosoever resisteth the Power, he resisteth God, and they that resist get themselves judgment.* These lessons (Right Honourable Commissioners) we have learned of the holy Word of God, in our Mother Tongue.

A Supplication
exhibited
to the
Commissioners
in
Norfolk

First, That the Authority of a King, Queen, Lord, and other their Officers under them, is no tyrannical usurpation, but a just, holy, lawful, and necessary estate for Man to be governed by, and that the same is of God, the Fountain and Author of Righteousness.

The Authority
of Kings
and Queens
approved.

Secondly, That to obey the same in all things not against God, is to obey God, and to resist them, is to resist God. Therefore, as to obey God in his Ministers and Magistrates bringeth life; so to resist God in them, bringeth punishment and death. The same lesson have we learned of *S. Peter*, 1. Pet. 5. saying, *Be ye subject to all humane ordinances for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King, as to the most highest, or to the Lieutenants sent from him, to the punishment of evil doers, but to the praise of such as do well. For so is the will of God, that with well doing, ye should stop the mouths of foolish and ignorant Men, as free, and not as having the liberty to be a cloak to malice, but as the servants of God.*

Wherefore considering with our selves, both that the Christian Magistrates power is of God, and that for the Lords sake we be bound to Christian obedience unto them, having now presently a Commandment, as though it were given from the Queens Majesty, with all humble obedience due to the Regal Power and Authority ordained of God (which we acknowledge to stand wholly and perfectly in her Grace) and with due reverence unto her Graces Commissioners, we humbly beseech you with patience and pity to receive this our answer unto this Commandment, given unto us.

The Christian
Men bound
to obey God
in his
Magistrates.

First, Right Honourable Commissioners, we have considered our selves to be not only English Men, but also Christians, and therefore bound by the holy vow made to God in our Baptism, to prefer Gods Honour in all things,

The honour
of God to be
preferred
before all
regal honour
and power.

Anno
1556.Q. Mary
In justitiis
disagreg. of
from Gods
word, how
and wherof

things, and that all obedience (not only of us mortal men, but even of the very Angels and heavenly Spirits) is due unto Gods Word; Inmuch that no obedience can be true and perfect, either before God or Man, that wholly and fully agreeth not with Gods Word.

Then have we weighed the Commandment concerning the restitution of the late abolished Latin Service, given unto us to dissent and disagreg from Gods Word, and to command manifest impiety, and the overthrow of godlines and true religion, and to import a subversion of the Regal Power of this our Native Country and Realm of England, with the bringing in of the Romish Bishops Supremacy, with all Errors, Superstitions, and Idolatry, wasting of our Goods and Bodies, destroying of our Souls, bringing with it nothing but the severe wrath of God, which we already feel, and fear left the same shall be more fiercely kindled upon us. Wherefore we humbly protest, that we cannot be persuaded, that the same wicked Commandment should come from the Queens Majesty, but rather from some other, abusing the Queens goodnes and favour, and studying to work some feat against the Queen, her Crown, and the Realm, to please with it the Roman Bishop, at whose hands the same thinketh hereafter to be advanced.

Heb. 1.

1. Ed. 4.

Q. Mary
vilincendRe Nipion
set forth in
K. Edwards
rising con-
menced.

Luke 9.

Math. 10.

Math. 11.

An honest
Petition to
Q. Mary.

As the *Agagite Aman* wrought maliciously against the noble King *Affuerus*; and as the Princes of *Babel* wrought against the good King *Darius*: so think we the Queens most gentle heart to be abused of some, who seeking themselves and their own vain glory, procure such Commandments as are against the glory of God. For we cannot have so evil an opinion in her Majesty, that she should subvert the most godly and holy Religion (so accordingly to Gods Word set forth by the most noble, virtuous, and innocent King, a very Saint of God, our late most dear King *Edward*, her Graces Brother) except he were wonderfully abused; who, as hating reformation, will rather the destruction of all others, then acknowledge their errors, and to be according to Gods Word, reformed. For truly, the Religion lately set forth by King *Edward*, is such in our Consciences as every Christian man is bound to confess to be the Truth of God, and every Member of Christs Church here in *England* must needs embrace the same in heart, and confess it with mouth, and (if need require) life and forsake, not only house, land and possessions, riches, wife, children and friends; but also (if God will so call them) gladly to suffer all manner of persecution, and to lose their lives in the defence of Gods Word and Truth set out amongst us. For our Saviour Christ requireth the same of us, saying, *Whoever shall be ashamed of me and my word before this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of Man will also be ashamed of him, when he shall come in the glory of his Father with the holy Angels.* And again saith he, *Whoever will confess me before men, I will confess him before my Father that is in Heaven.* And *whoever will deny me before men, I will also deny him before my Father that is in Heaven.* And *whoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him, but whoever shall rail against the holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him.*

We humbly beseech the Queens Majesty, and you her honourable Commissioners, be not offended with us, for confessing this Truth of God, so faithfully given us in charge of Christ; neither bring upon us, that great sin that never shall be forgiven, and shall cause our Saviour Jesus Christ in the great day of Judgment, before his heavenly Father and all his Angels, to deny us, and to take from us the blessed price and ranfome of his bloodshed, where-with we are redeemed.

For in that day, neither the Queens Highness, neither you, nor any man shall be able to excuse us, nor to purchase a pardon of Christ for this horrible sin and blasphemy of casting aside and condemning his Word. We cannot agree nor consent unto this so horrible a sin; but we beseech God for his mercy to give us and all men graces most earnestly to flee from it, and rather (if the will of God be so) to suffer all extremity and punishment in this world, then to incur such damnation before God.

Example of
R. Manasse,

Manasse, who restored again the wickedness of Ido-

latrious Religion (before put down by *Ezechias* his Father) brought the wrath of God upon the People: so that the Scripture saith, *Notwithstanding the Reformation made by Josias, the Lord turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath wherewith he was angry against Juda, because of the provocation with which Manasses provoked him. And the Lord said, even Juda will I take away from my presence, as I cast away Israel. And I will cast away this City of Jerusalem, and the house whereof I said, My name shall be there.* *Jerobam*, who at *Bethel* and *Dan* erected up a new found Service of God, and not only sinned himself, but also made all *Israel* to sin with him, so that not only he was damned for commanding, but the wrath of God came upon all *Israel*, for obeying that his ungodly Commandment: Yet was it not so heinous an offence to bring in an Idolatry never yet heard of, as after Reformation made by the godly Kings and Princes, by the virtuous and holy Bishops, by the Prophets and Servants of God, to reject and cast off the Word and true Religion of God, and to receive again a damned Impiety.

This most heinous offence is now offered unto us, although the same be painted and coloured with the name of Reformation, restoring of Religion, ancient Faith, with the name of the Catholick Church, of Unity, Catholick Truth, and with the Cloak of feigned Holiness. These are sheepskins, under the which (as Christ faith) the ravening Wolves cover themselves. But Christ willet us to look upon their fruits, whereby we may know them; and truly that is no good fruit, to cast aside Gods Word, and to banish the English Service out of the Churches, and in the place of it to bring in a Latin Tongue unknown unto the People. Which as it edifieth no man, so it hath been occasion of all blindness and error among the People. For afore the blessed Reformation begun by the most noble Prince of godly memory, the Queens good Father; and by our late holy and innocent King, her good Brother, finished; it is not unknown what blindness and error we were all in, when not one man in all this Realm unlearned in the Latin, could say in English the Lords Prayer, or knew any one Article of his Belief, or rehearse any one of the Ten Commandments. And that ignorance, mother of mischief, was the very root and well-spring of all Idolatry, Sodomitical Monckery, and whorish Chastity of unmarried Priests, of all whoredom, drunkenness, covetousness, swearing and blasphemy, with all other wicked sinful living. These brought in the severe wrath and vengeance of God plaguing sin with Famine and Pestilence; and at last the Sword consumed and avenged all their impiety and wicked living. As it is greatly to be feared the same or more grievous Plagues shall now again follow.

We cannot therefore consent nor agree that the Word of God and Prayers in our English Tongue, which we understand, should be taken away from us, and for it a Latin Service, we wot not what (for none of us understand it) to be again brought in amongst us, specially seeing that Christ hath said, *My sheep hear my voice, and follow me, and I give to them everlasting life.* The Service in English teacheth us, that we are the Lords People, and the Sheep of his Pasture, and commandeth that we harden not our hearts, as when they provoked the Lords wrath in the wilderness, lest he swear unto us, as he did swear unto them, that they should not enter into his rest.

The Service in Latin is a confused noise; which if it be good, (as they say it is) yet unto us that lack understanding, what goodnes can it bring? *S. Paul* commandeth, that in the Churches all things should be done to edifying, which we are sure is Gods Commandment. But in the Latin Service nothing is done to edifying, but contrarily all to destroy those that are already edified, and to drive us from Gods Word and Truth; and from believing of the same, and so to bring us to believe lies and fables, that tempting and provoking God, we should be brought into that judgment that blessed *Paul* speaketh of, saying, *Antichrist shall come according to the working of Satan, with all manner of power and signs, and lying wonders in all deceivableness of unrighteousness in those that perish: because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And therefore God will send them strong delusions, that they should believe lies.*

C c c 2

4 Reg. 23.

Example of
Jerusalem.Fool Idolatry
let out
with fair
shows and
pretences.Ignorance
wholly
misdirected;Service is
Latin not to
be edified,
John 10.Against Le-
this Mirine,In the Popes
Service
there is no
edifying,
what fables
be in it the
Lord knoweth.
1 Thel. 2.

and be damned, as many as have not believed the truths, but have approved unrighteousness.

Thus, altogether drawn from God, we shall fall into his wrath through unbelief, till he swear unto us as he did unto the unfaithful Jews, that such Infidels shall not enter into his rest.

The true use of the Lords Supper get extolled.

In the Administration of the Lords Supper, which we confess to be the holy Communion, and partaking with Christ and his holy Congregation, we have learned Gods holy Commandments, and at the rehearsal of every one of them to ask God mercy for our most grievous transgressions against them, and to ask grace of God, to keep them in time to come, that the same may not only outwardly sound in our ears, but also inwardly by the Holy Ghost be written in our hearts.

We have learned also the holy Prayer made for the Queens Majesty; wherein we learn that her Power and Authority is of God, therefore we pray to God for her, that she and all Magistrates under her, may rule according to Gods Word, and we her Subjects obey according to the same.

Causes why the Communion should be received.

Truly (most honourable Commissioners) we cannot think these things evil, but think them most worthy to be retained in our Churches, and we would think our selves not to have true Subjects hearts, if we should go about to put away such godly Prayers, as put us perpetually in memory of our bounden obedience and duty to God and our Rulers. For, as we think, at this present the unquiet Multitude had more need to have these things more often and earnestly beaten and driven into them (specially given in many places to stir and trouble) then to take from them that blessed Doctrine, whereby only they may to their salvation be kept in quiet.

Receiving of both kinds.

Furthermore, we cannot forsake that blessed partaking of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christs Institution, ministered with such godly Prayers, Exhortations and Admonitions teaching us the knowledge of God, the exceeding love and charity of our loving Redeemer Christ, breaking his Body upon the Cross for our sins, and shedding his most precious Blood for our Redemption: which we in eating of that blessed Bread, and drinking of the blessed Cup, assuredly believe that we receive, and be perfectly joynt with Christ and his holy Catholick Church into one Body, and into one unity and brotherly love, whereby each Member faithfully embraceth other. We must needs confess this Institution of Christ to be most holy and godly, whereof we have the only comfort in Confidence against sin and damnation, with the assurance of Salvation, and whereof hath ensued reformation of many heinous sins, much lawing, strife, and contention is ended; drunkennes, whoredom, and other vices, in some reformed, goodness and vertue increased and nourished.

The Mass hath nothing in it but a heap of Ceremonies.

In the Latin Mass we never had no such edifying, but only we saw a great many of Ceremonies and strange Gestures; as turning of the Priest, crossings, blessings, breathings, washing of hands, and spreading abroad of his arms, with like Ceremonies that we understand not. And concerning the Latin Tongue, wherein the Priest prayeth, we wot not whether he blesteth or curseth us. We are not partakers of the Sacrament, as Christs Institution appointeth we should be.

In the ministering of the Sacrament, the Priests alter the Institution of Christ, committing theft and sacrilege, robbing us of the Cup of Christs Blood, contrary to Christs Commandment, saying, *Drink ye all of this.*

The people in Latin, which nothing edifieth us either in Faith or Manners. Christ commandeth not that his Supper should be ministered in an unknown Tongue: but so far as Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh of Gods Word, how can we believe Christs word and promise made unto us in this holy Sacrament, saying, *This is my Body broken for you, and this is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins,* if the same promises of Christ either be not at all recited, or else so recited in Latin, that the Congregation understandeth not, nor heareth not what is spoken? S. Paul saith thus, reciting the saying of Ely, *As truly as I live, saith the Lord, all knees shall bow unto me, all tongues shall give praise unto God.* Also he saith,

Phil.

Let us adore him, and bow down before him: for he hath made himself for us a sacrifice of praise, a sacrifice of good works, which we offer unto him in reverence of mind and with a pure heart, with a voice and with organs, as a sacrifice of good will, which is acceptable by him through Jesus Christ our Lord. And he saith, *Let us adore him, and bow down before him: for he hath made himself for us a sacrifice of praise, a sacrifice of good works, which we offer unto him in reverence of mind and with a pure heart, with a voice and with organs, as a sacrifice of good will, which is acceptable by him through Jesus Christ our Lord.*

All tongues must confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father. The holy Ghost came upon the Apostles in fiery Tongues, so that they spake the Tongues of all Nations under Heaven. S. Paul ministered to the *Corinthians*, and preached to them in their own Mother-tongue, and rebuked the bringing in of strange Tongues into the Congregations. We cannot think it to be well, that so holy an Apostle rebuked. And whatsoever virtue the Latin Tongue hath to such as understand it, to us Englishmen not understanding it, it is altogether without virtue and edifying, and therefore unmeet for our Churches.

The Priests complain that we Lay-men love them not, nor have them in honour, but it is their own fault: For how should we love them, that only seek to keep us in blindness and ignorance, to damn our souls, to destroy our bodies, to rob and spoil our goods and substance under a colour of pretended holiness? We know (right honourable Commissioners) what honour is due to such Wolves, and how by the authority of Gods Word, such are to be fled, as Peltences to the Lords Lambs, whom they miserably daily murder.

But we have rather chosen by this our meek Supplication, humbly to desire the Queens Majesty, and you her honourable Commissioners, to render Gods Word again unto the Churches, and to permit us freely to enjoy the same. For we certainly know, that the whole Religion lately set out by the holy Saint of God, our late most dear King Edward, is Christs true Religion written in the holy Scripture of God, and by Christ and his Apostles taught unto his Church. Wherefore we cannot allow with safe Conscience this refusal of it, and casting of it out of our Churches; so far as to refuse, cast off, and to reject it, is to cast off Christ himself, and to refuse our part in his blessed Body broken for our sins, and his Blood shed for our Redemption. Which thing who doth, the same without repentance can look for no Sacrifice for his sins, but must fearfully wait for the Judgment, and for that vehement fire that shall destroy Christs Adversaries. For if he that despiseth the Law of Moses, is without mercy put to death under two or three witnesses, how much more grievous torments shall he suffer that treadeth under foot the Son of God, and esteemeth the blood of the Testament (whereby he was sanctified) as a profane thing, and contumaciously useth the Spirit of Grace?

Wherefore, we most humbly pray and beseech the Queens gracious Majesty, to have mercy and pity upon us her poor and faithful Subjects, and not to compel us to do the thing that is against our Conscience, and shall so incurably wound us in heart, by bringing into the Church the Latin Mass and Service that nothing edifieth us, and calling out of Christs holy Communion and English Service, so causing us to sin against our Redemption. For such as willingly and wittingly against their Conscience shall so do (as it is to be feared many a one doth) they are in a miserable state, until the mercy of God turn them; which if he do not, we certainly believe, that they shall eternally be damned: and as in this world they deny Christs holy Word and Communion before men, so shall Christ deny them before his Heavenly Father and his Angels.

And whereas it is very earnestly required, that we should go in Procession (as they call it) at which time the Priests say in Latin such things as we are ignorant of, the same edifieth nothing at all unto godliness, and we have learned that to follow Christs Cross, is another matter, namely, to take up our Cross, and to follow Christ in patient suffering for his love, tribulations, sickness, poverty, prison, or any other adversity, whensoever Gods holy will and pleasure is to lay the same upon us. The triumphant Passion and Death of Christ, whereby in his own person he conquered death, sin, hell, and damnation hath most lively been preached unto us, and the glory of Christs Cross declared by our Preachers; whereby we have learned the causes and effects of the same more lively in one Sermon, than in all the Processions that ever we went in, or ever shall go in.

When we worshipped the Divine Trinity kneeling, and in the Litany invoking the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, asking mercy for our sins, and desiring

Anno 1556.

All things done in the church ought to be as a known tongue.

That Priests be not had in honour, it is their own fault.

Gods Word and true Religion cast out of the Church in Q. Marys time.

The Popish following of Christs Cross in Procession.

The true followers of Christs Cross.

Anno 1556. desiring such Petitions as the need of our frail estate and this mortal life requireth, we were edified, both to know unto whom all Christian Prayers should be directed, and also to know that of Gods hand we receive all things, as well to the salvation of our souls; as to the relief of our mortal necessities. And we humbly beseech the Queens Majesty, that the same most holy Prayers may be continued amongst us; that our Ministers praying in our Mother-tongue, and we understanding their Prayers and Petitions, may answer, Amen, unto them. At Evening Service we understood our Ministers Prayers, we were taught and admonished by the Scriptures then read; which in the Latin Even-song is all gone.

At the Ministration of holy Baptism, we learned what League and Covenant God had made with us, and what Vows and Promises we upon our part had made, namely, to believe in him, to forsake Satan and his works, and to walk in the way of Gods holy Word and Commandments.

The Christian Catechism continually taught and called to remembrance the same, whereas before no man knew any thing at all. And many good-men of forty years, that had been Godfathers, to thirty Children, knew no more of the Godfathers office, but to wash their hands ere they departed the Church, or else to fast five Fridays with bread and water.

O merciful God, have pity upon us. Shall we be altogether cast from thy Presence? we may well lament our miserable estate, to receive such a Commandment, to reject and cast out of our Churches all these most godly Prayers, Instructions, Admonitions and Doctrines, and thus to be compelled to deny God, and Christ our Saviour, his holy Word, and all his Doctrine of our Salvation, the Candle to our feet, and the Light to our steps, the Bread coming down from Heaven that giveth life, which who so eateth, it shall be in him a Well-spring streaming unto eternal Life; whereby we have learned all Righteousness, all true Religion, all true Obedience towards our Governors, all Charity one towards another, all good Works that God would us to walk in, what punishment abideth the wicked, and what heavenly Reward God will give to those that reverently walk in his ways and commandments.

Wherefore right honourable Commissioners, we cannot without Impiety refuse and cast from us the holy Word of God which we have received, or condemn any thing set forth by our most godly late King Edward and his virtuous Proceedings, so agreeable to Gods Word. And our most humble sure is, that the Commandment may be revoked, so that we be not constrained thereunto. For we protest before God, we think if the holy Word of God had not taken some root amongst us, we could not in times past have done that poor duty of ours, which we did in assisting the Queen, our most dear Sovereign, against her Graces mortal Foe, that then sought her destruction. It was our bounden duty, and we think God for the knowledge of his word and grace, that we then did some part of our bounden service.

And we meekly pray and beseech the Queens Majesty for the dear Passion of Jesus Christ, that the same Word be not taken away out of her Churches, nor from us her loving, faithful and true Subjects; lest if the like necessity should hereafter chance (which God for his mercy sake forbid, and ever have and defend her Grace, and all us) the want of Knowledge and due remembrance of Gods Word may be occasion of great ruin to an infinite number of her Graces true Subjects. And truly we judge this to be one subtil part of the Devils, (Enemy to all godly peace and quietness) that by taking Gods Word from among us, and planting Ignorance, he may make a way to all mischief and wickedness; and by banishing the holy Gospel of Peace, he may bring upon us the heavy wrath of God, with all manner of Plagues; as death, strange sickness, pestilence, murren, most terrible uproars, commotions and seditions. These things did the Lord threaten unto the Jews for refusing his Word, saying, Go, and thou shalt say unto this people: Ye shall hear indeed, but ye shall not understand, ye shall plainly see, and not perceive. Harden the heart of this people, stop their ears, and shut their eyes, that they see not with their eyes, hear not with their ears, and understand not

with their hearts, and convert and be healed. And I said, How long Lord? And he answered, Until the Cities be destroyed, utterly wasted without inhabitants, and the houses without men, till the Land also be desolate and be unbuilded. And the Prophet Micah, considering the contempt of Gods Word among the Israelites, threatened them thus, When the day, that thy Preachers warned thee of, cometh, thou shalt be wasted away. And let no man believe his friend, or put confidence in his brother. Keep the door of thy mouth from her that lyeth in thy bosom: for the son shall put his father to dishonour, and the daughter shall rise against her mother, the daughter in law against the mother in Law; and a mans foes shall be even they of his own household. The same Plague threatened Christ unto the Jews, for refusing his Peace profeted them in the Gospel, and he wept on the City Jerusalem; which murdered the Prophets, and stoned such as were sent unto her.

The same Plagues, we are afraid, will also fall upon us. For whereas heretofore with the receiving of Christs Word and peaceable Gospel, we had great Benedictions of God, especially this Christian concord and holy peace, so that all were at a full and perfect Ray in Religion, no man offended with another, but as the Sons of Peace, each of us with Christian Charity embraced other: now alas for pity, the Devil (riding upon the red horse, shewed unto S. John in the Revelation) is come forth, and power is given unto him to take peace from the Earth. For now a man can go to no place, but malicious buff-bodies curiously search out his deeds, mark his words, and if he agree not with them in despising Gods Word, then will they spitefully and hatefully rail against him and, calling it Error and Herefie, and the Professors thereof Hereticks and Schismatics, with other odious and spiteful names, as Traitors and not the Queens Friends, not Favourers of the Queens Proceedings; as if to love Gods Word were Herefie, and as though to talk of Christ, were to be Schismatick; as though none could be true to the Queen, that were not false to God; as though none were the Queens Friends, but such, as despitefully rail on her Graces Father and Brother, and on Gods Word that they set forth; as though none favoured the Queens Majesty, but such as hate all godly knowledge.

And in very deed these things that all this tumult is made for, are meer inventions of Popes, brought into the Church of their own imaginations, without commandment or example either of Christ, or of his Apostles; and there is not one word in the Bible, that being truly alledged, maintaineth them, nor any Doctor of Antiquity before S. Austins days, as it hath been divers times sufficiently proved before all the whole Parliament and Convocation of this Realm. Yet these, being meer Traditions of Bishops, are set out for Gods Commandments; and the Queens Authority (given to her of God to maintain his Word) must be abused to put down Gods Word. And you right honourable Justices, and Keepers of Laws and Righteousness, are also abused and made the Bishops Apparators, to set forth such Romish Trash as is to Christs dishonour; and against the Supream Authority of the Regal Estate of this Realm. And we poor Subjects, for speaking of that which is truth, and our bounden Allegiance, are daily punished, railed upon, and noted for seditious, and not the Queens friends.

But God (who is blessed for ever) knoweth that they slander us, and pull the Thorn out of their own foot, and put it in ours: for the Searcher of hearts knoweth, that we bear a faithful and true heart unto her Grace, and unto all her Proceedings, that are not against God and his holy Word. And we daily pray unto the heavenly Father, to lighten her Graces Royal heart with the glorious Light of the Gospel, that the may establish and confirm that Religion, that her Graces Brother, our most dear King, did set out amongst us; and so governing and ruling this her Realm in the fear and true way of God, the may long live, and with prosperity, peace, and honour reign over us.

But we cannot think that those men do seek either Gods honour, or her Graces prosperity, or wealth of the Realm, that take from her Graces faithful Subjects Gods

Prayers and Evening Service in English.
Baptism in English.

Catechism in English.

The effects of Gods word described.

English and Scottish men moved by Gods word, did set up the Queen.

Inconveniences that followed by taking away Gods word.

Ely 6.

Micah.

Luke 19.

Apoc. 6.

Exhort. 1. Gods word made here.

All that the Popes drive for, are but more inventions of Devils.

The Queens, her Commissioners, and Justices abused by the Bishops.

True Subjects wrongfully slandered.

Anno 1556.

Word, which only is the root of all love and faithful obedience unto her Grace, and of all honesty, good life, and virtuous concord among her Commons. And this we fear, lest the Root being taken away, the Branches will soon wither and be fruitless. And when the Philistines have stopped up the Well-spring, the fair Streams that should flow shall soon be dried up. All our Watchmen, our true Preachers have taught us, that as long as we retained Gods Word, we should have God our gracious merciful Father; but if we refused and cast off the Lords yoke of his Doctrine, then shall we look for the Lords wrath and severe visitation to plague us, as he did the Jews for the like offences. And Paul saith, Rom. 2. God grove to them the spirit of unquietness and uproar, eyes wherewith they should not see, and ears wherewith they should not hear, until this day: And as David saith, Psal. 69. Let their table be made a snare to take themselves withal, a trap to catch them, and a stumbling block to fall at. Let their eyes be blinded that they see not, and bow thou down their backs always.

What unquietness followeth the lack of Gods word

O merciful God, all this is now come upon us, and daily more and more increased, and we fear at last it will so bow down our backs, that we shall utterly be destroyed; the troublesome spirit of uproars and unquietness daily troubleth mens hearts, and worketh such unquietness in all places, that no man that loveth quietness, can tell where to place himself. Men have eyes and see not, how grievous an offence it is to cast off the yoke of Gods Doctrine, and to bear the heavy burden that unfaithful Hypocrites lay upon us. We have ears and hear not the warning of Gods Word, calling us to true Repentance, nor his threats against our Impiety. Our most sweet table of Christs Word and most holy Communion is taken away, and turned to a most perillous snare, through the brawling Disputations of men. And as the Idol of Abomination betokened final subversion unto the Jewish Nation; so we fear, this setting aside of the Gospel and holy Communion of Christ, and the placing in of a Romish Religion, betokeneth defolation of this noble Realm of England to be at hand.

For the Plagues of Hunger, Pestilence and Sword, cannot long tarry; but except we repent, and turn again to the Lord, our backs shall be so bowed, that the like horrible Plagues were never seen. And no marvel: for the like offence was never committed, as to reject and cast off Christ and his Word, and in plain English to say, We will not have him to reign over us. O Lord, how terrible is it that followeth in the Gospel? Those mine enemies that would not have me to reign over them, bring them thither, and slay them before me, Luke 19. God be merciful unto us, and move the Queens Majesties heart, and the hearts of her honourable Council, and your hearts (right honourable Commissioners) to weigh these dangers in due time; and to call Gods Word into your Council, and then you shall see how it agreeth with this Bishop-like Commandment; and to be as wary to avoid the contempt of the eternal God, and dangers of the same, as you are prudent and wise in matters of this World, lest if the Almighty be contemned, he stretch forth his Arm which no man can turn, and kindle his Wrath, that no man can quench.

Writing to Q. Mary, to her Council, and Commissioners.

The day of true Subjection desired, first to Christ, then to the Queen.

Now for a Prince ought to require obedience of his Subjects

We have humbly opened unto your Consciences, doubtless fore wounded and grieved by this Commandment; and we meekly pray and beseech the Queens Majesty, for the precious death and bloodshedding of Jesus Christ our Saviour, to have mercy and pity upon us her Graces poor Commons, faithful and true Subjects, Members of the same Body Politick, whereof her Grace is Supreme Head. All our Bodies, Goods, Lands and Lives are ready to do her Grace faithful obedience, and true service of all Commandments that are not against God, and his Word: but in things that import a denial of Christ, and refusal of his Word and holy Communion, we cannot consent nor agree unto it. For we have bound our selves in Baptism to be Christs Disciples, and to keep his holy Word and Ordinances. And if we deny him before men, he will deny us before his heavenly Father and his holy Angels in the day of Judgment; which we trust her benign Grace will not require of us.

And we humbly beseech her Majesty, that we be not enforced unto it; but as we serve her Grace with Body

and Goods, and due Obedience, according to Gods Commandments; so we may be permitted freely to serve God and Christ our Saviour, and keep unto him our Souls, which he hath with his precious blood redeemed, that so (as Christ teacheth) we may render to Caesar that which is due to Caesar, and to God that which is due to God.

For we think it no true Obedience unto the Queens Highness, or to any other Magistrate ordained of God under her, to obey in the things contrary to Gods Word, although the same be never so freightly charged in her Graces Name. The Bishop of Winchester hath truly taught in the point, in his Book of true Obedience, that true Obedience is in the Lord, and not against the Lord. as the Apostle answered before the Council at Jerusalem, commanding them no more to preach in the Name of the Lord Jesus. Judge you (saith the y. whether it be A3: 4.) right in the sight of God, to bear you rather than God. And again they said, We must obey God rather than Man. Wherefore we learn, that true Obedience is to obey God, King of all Kings, and Lord of all Lords, and for him, in him, and not against him and his Word, to obey the Princes and Magistrates of this World, who are not truly obeyed when God is disobeyed, nor yet disobeyed when God is faithfully obeyed.

True obedience how far it reacheth.

Tobias disobeyed not his King, although contrary to his Commandment, and contrary to the usage of all others, when they went to Dan and Bethel, he went unto Jerusalem, and worshipped in the Temple of the Lord. The three young men in Babylon, refusing Nebuchadnezzars Commandment, pleased God more than the whole Multitude that obeyed. And Daniel that prayed to the God of Heaven, contrary to King Darivs Commandment, bare a more true and faithful heart to the King, than those wicked Counsellors, that procured that wicked Law, or those that for fear or flattery obeyed it. Which two Pestilences (fear and flattery) have ever destroyed true Obedience to God and Man; when wicked godless men (that care not if the Devil were worshipped, so they might get and obtain riches, promotions, and dignity, and worldly glory) turn to and fro, as every wind bloweth; and weak and frail men fearing loss of goods, punishment, or death, do outwardly in body that thing, that their hearts and consciences inwardly abhorreth, and so outwardly disobey God, and in heart dissemble with man, which dissimulation we think worthy hate of all men, and most uncomely for Christian men.

Example of true obedience.

Fear and flattery, enemies to true obedience. God and Man.

Wherefore, we humbly beseech the Queens Majesty, with pity and mercy to tender the lamentable fate of us her poor Subjects, which be by this Commandment sore hurt, and wounded in our Consciences, and driven to many miseries, and by the malicious attempts of wicked men suffer great wrongs and injuries, slanders, loss of goods, and bodily vexations. We think not good, by any unlawful stir or commotion to seek remedy; but intend, by Gods grace, to obey her Majesty in all things, not against God, and his holy Word. But unto such ungodly Bishop-like Commandments, as are against God, we answer with the Apostles, God must be obeyed rather than Man. If Persecution shall ensue (which some threaten us with) we desire the heavenly Father, according to his promise, to look from Heaven, to hear our cry, to judge between us and our Adversaries, and to give us faith, strength and patience to continue faithful unto the end, and to shorten these evil days, for his chofens sake; and so we faithfully believe he will.

Faith discombleneth worldly ambition.

Notwithstanding, we trust the Queens gracious and merciful heart will not suffer such tyranny to be done against her poor, innocent, faithful and obedient Subjects, that daily pray unto God for her; which have no remedy in this world, but to sue unto her Highness, our most gracious and benign Sovereign; whom we pray and beseech, for the dear blood of Christ, to pity our lamentable case and hurt of Conscience, and to call back all such Commandments as are against Gods honour, as the good King Darivs, Assuerus, Trajanus, Theodosius, and divers other have done, and permit the holy Word of God and true Religion (set forth by our most holy and innocent King Edward, a very Saint of God) to be restored again unto our Churches, to be frequented amongst us. So shall we grow and increase in the knowledge of God and

Queen Marys authority against mens consciences.

Anno 1556. and of Christ's true repentance and amendment of Life so shall we exhibit true obedience to our lawful Magistrates and all things are ordained of God: so shall love and charity (of late through this commandment so decayed) be again restored, the honour of her regal estate the more confirmed and established and godliness and virtuous life among her loving subjects increased & maintained.

And we most heartily pray you (Right Honorable Commissioners) to be means unto the Queens Highness, and to her Honorable Council, that this our humble sute may be favourably tendered, and graciously heard and granted. And we shall not cease day and night to pray unto the Heavenly Father long to preserve her Grace and all other Magistrates in his fear, and love, and in prosperous peace and wealth, with long life and honor, Amen.

Your poor suppliants, the lovers of Christ's true Religion in Norfolk and Suffolk.

The Story of John Harpole, of the Parish of S. Nicholas in Rochester, Joan Beach Widow, of Tunbridge, Martyrs.

John Harpole, Joan Beach, Martyrs. Touching the Examination of Joan Beach Widow, and of John Harpole within the Diocesis of Rochester, by Maurice Bishop of the said Diocesis, remembrance was made before in the Story of Nicholas Hall, wherein was declared the four Articles Confitorial of the Bishop, objected and laid, as unto the said Nicholas Hall and his company, so also to this Joan Beach Widow: whereof the first was this;

1. That she was of the Parish of Tunbridge, in the Diocesis of Rochester.
2. Item, that all persons which preach, teach, believe or say otherwise or contrary to that their Mother Holy Catholick Church of Christ, are Excommunicate Persons and Hereticks.
3. Item, that the said Joan Beach hath, and yet doth affirm, maintain, and believe contrary to the said Mother Church of Christ, videlicet, that in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, under form of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and memorial thereof; that the very Body and Blood of Christ is in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament.
4. Item, that she hath been, and yet is, amongst the Parishioners of Tunbridge, openly noted and vehemently suspected to be a Sacramentary, and Heretick.

Her personal Answers to the said Articles.

Answers of Joan Beach to the Articles. TO the which foresaid Articles, her answers were these. First, that she was and is of the said Parish of Tunbridge, in the Diocesis of Rochester.

2. That all persons which do Preach and hold otherwise and contrary, to that which the Holy Catholick Church of Christ doth, are to be reputed for Excommunicate and Hereticks; adding withal, that nevertheless she believeth not the Holy Catholick Church to be her Mother, but believeth only the Father of Heaven to be her Father.

3. Thirdly, that she hath, and yet doth verily believe, hold, and affirm, in the Sacrament of the Altar under forms of Bread and Wine, not to be the very Body and Blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and remembrance of his death to the Faithful receiver, and this his Body and substance is only in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament.

Lastly, as touching how she hath been or is noted and reputed among the Parishioners of Tunbridge, she said, she could not tell; howbeit she believed, she was not so taken and reputed.

Examination and Condemnation of John Harpole and Joan Beach.

John Harpole, Joan Beach, Martyrs. He like matter, and the same four Articles were also the same present time and place ministered to Harpole, and Joan Harpole by the foresaid Bishop Maurice; who after the like answers received of him, as of the other before, adjudged and condemned them both together to death, by one form of Sentence, according to the tenour and course

of their several sentence, which ye may read before in Master Rogers Story.

And thus these two Christian Martyrs coupled in one confession, being condemned by the Bishop, suffered together at one fire, in the Town of Rochester, where they together ended their lives about the first day of this present Month of April.

John Hullier, Minister and Martyr.

Next after these ensueth the Martyrdom of John Hullier, Minister, who first being brought up in the School of Eaton, was afterward Scholar, and then Conduet in the Kings Colledge at Cambridge suffered under Doctor Tunstall Bishop of Ely, and his Chancellor, for the sincere setting out of the light of Gods Gracious Gospel revealed in these our days. In whose behalf this is to be lamented, that among so many fresh wits and writings in that University, so little matter is left unto us touching the process of his judgment, and order of his suffering, which so innocently gave his life in such a cause among the midst of them. By certain Letters which he himself left behind, it appeareth that he was zealous and himself in that Doctrine of truth, which every true Christian Man ought to embrace. His Martyrdom was about the second day of this present Month of April.

Letters of Master John Hullier, Minister.

A Letter of John Hullier to the Christian Congregation, exhorting them faithfully to abide in the Doctrine of the Lord.

IT standeth now most in hand (O dear Christians) all them that look to be accounted of Christs flock at the great and terrible day, when a separation shall be made of the sort that shall be received from the other which shall be refused, faithfully in this time of great afflictions to hear our Master Christs voice, the only true Shephard of our Souls, which faith, Whofoever shall endure to the end shall be safe. For even now is that great trouble in hand (as here in England we may well see) that our Saviour Christs flock of so long before, which should follow the true and sincere Preaching of his Gospel. Therefore in this time we must needs either shew that we be his Faithful Souldiers, and continue in his battell unto the end, putting on the armour of God, the buckler of faith, the breastplate of love, the helmet of hope and Salvation, and the Sword of his Holy Word (which we have heard plentifully) with all instance of Supplication and Prayer; or else if we do not work and labour with these, we are Apostates and false Souldiers, shrinking most unthankfully from our gracious and sovereign Lord and Captain Christ, and leaning to Belial. For as he faith plainly, Luke 14. Whofoever bearth not my Cross and followeth me, he cannot be my disciple. And Matih. 6. No Man can serve two Masters: for either he must hate the one, or love the other, or else he shall lean to the one, and despise the other. The which thing the Faithful Prophet Helias signified when he came to the people, and said, Why halt ye between two Opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him, or if Baal be he then follow him, 3 Reg. 18.

Now let us not think, but that the same was recorded in writing for our instruction, whom the ends of the World are come upon, as the Apostle S. Paul faith, Rom. 15. Whatsoever things are written aforehand, they are written for our learning. If Christ be that only good and true Shephard that gave his life for us, then let us that bear his mark, and have our Consciences sprinkled with his Blood, follow altogether, for our Salvation, his Heavenly Voice and calling, according to our profession and first promise. But if we shall not do so, certainly (say what we can) although we bear the name of Christ, yet we be none of his Sheep indeed. For he faith very manifestly, John 10. My Sheep hear my voice, and follow me: a stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voice of a stranger.

Therefore let every Man take good heed in these perilous days (whereof we have had so much warning aforehand,

The witness
as the subtle
Serpent.

1 Tim. 2.

Math. 10.
John 14. 15.
14. 6.
the peace
of Christ
them that
fulfill the
roubles of
this World.
Lake 14.

The first
way of Christ
is better than
the broad
way of this
World.

Ungodly
company to
be avoided.

hand) that he be not beguiled by the goodly outward shew and appearance, as Eve was of our old subtil enemy, whose craft and wilfulness is so manifold and divers, and so full of chiefe windings, that if he cannot bring him directly and the plain straight way to content to his suggestions; then he will allure him and wind him in by some other false ways (as it were by a train) that he shall not perceive it, to deceive him withal, and to steal from him that goodly victory of the incorruptible and Eternal Crown of Glory, which no Man else can have, but he that fighteth lawfully: as at this present day, if he cannot induce him throughly, as other do, to favour his Devilish Religion, and of good will and free heart to help to uphold the fame, yet he will inveigle him to resort to his wicked and whorish School-House, and at the least, wife to be conversant and keep company with his congregation there, and to hold his peace and say nothing, whatsoever he think, so that he be not a Diligent Souldier and a good labourer on Christs side, to further his Kingdom by that subtil means flattering him that he shall both save his life, and also his goods, and live in quiet. But if we look well on Christs Holy Will and Testament, we shall perceive that he came not to make any such peace upon Earth, nor yet that he gave any such peace to his Disciples; I leave peace with you (saith he) my peace I give you, not as the World giveth it, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, nor fearful. These things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye should have peace. In the World ye shall have affliction, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the World. The Servant is not greater then his Lord and Master. If they have persecuted me, they shall also persecute you. If any Man come to me, and hateth not his own Father and Mother, Wife, Children, Sisters, yea, and moreover his own Life, it is not possible for him to be my Disciple. Blessed be ye that now weep, for ye shall laugh: and we be unto you that now laugh, for ye shall mourn and weep. He that will find his life, shall lose it.

Therefore the God of that true peace and comfort, preserve and keep us, that we never obey such a false flattering, which at length will pay us home once for all, bringing for temporal peace and quietness, everlasting trouble, vexation, and disquietness; for these vain and transitory goods, extreme loss and utter damage of the eternal treasure and inheritance; for this mortal life, deprivation of the most joyful life immortal; finally, the entrance into endless death most miserable, unmeasurable pain and torment both of Body and Soul.

Now conferring these two Schoolmasters together, let consider the thing well, and determine with our selves which way we ought to take, and not to take the common broad way which seemeth here most pleasant, and that the most part of the people take Surely I judge it to be better, to go to School with our Master Christ, and to be under his Ferula and rod (although it seemeth sharp and grievous for a time) that at the length we may be inheritors with him of everlasting joy, rather then to keep company with the Devils Scholars, the adulterous generation, in his School that is all full of pleasure for a while, and at the end to be paid with the wages of continual burning in the most horrible lake which burneth evermore with Fire and Brimstone without any end. What shall then these vain goods and temporal pleasures avail? Who shall then help when we cry incessantly, Wo, wo, alas, and weal away for unmeasurable pain, grief, and sorrow? O let us therefore take heed betime, and rather be content to take pains in this World for a time, that we may please God. Our Saviour Christ the true teacher saith: Every Branch that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will take away, John 15.

It is also not written in vain, Eccle. 4.1. The Children of the Ungodly are abominable Children, and so are they that keep company with the Ungodly. What doth he else, I pray you, that resorteth to the ministrations and service that is most repugnant and contrary to Christs Holy Testament, there keeping still silence, and nothing reproving the same, but in the face of the World, by his very deed itself, declare himself to be of a false, fearful, dissembling, fained, and crafty heart, and to have laid away from him the armour of light, discouraging as much as lieth in him all the residue of Christs

holy, and giving a manifest offence to the weak, and also confirming, encouraging, and rejoicing the hearts of the adversaries in all their evil doing? By which example he doth shew himself neither to love God, whom he seeth to be dishonoured and blasphemed of an Antichristian Minister, nor yet his neighbour before whom he should rebuke the evil, as it is expressly commanded in Gods Holy Law, where it is said: Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, that thou bear not sin for his sake, Levit. 19. Wherefore let such a one never fantasie to deceive himself, that his name is registered in the Book of Life, to have the reward of Christs Souldier, except he do the duty, and perform the part of a Faithful and right true Souldier, as other have done before. For such fearfulness cometh not from God, as telleth Saint Paul, 2 Tim. 1. saying, God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and love. He not ashamed, saith he, to testify our Lord, but suffer adversity also with the Gospel, through the power of God, which saved us, and called us with an holy calling.

To be now fearful, when most needs that we should be of strong hearts, is utterly the rejecting of the fear of God, and plain unfaithfulness and disobedience to the express commandment of our Saviour Christ, which faith in his Holy Gospel, Math. 10. Fear not them that kill the Body, &c. For what faithfulness do we express towards him, when he faith thus to us, and yet we declare in our doings the very contrary, being ever fearful, even as the unbelieving Israelites, which unfaithfully feared Gods Enemies the Heathen Canaanites, whereas he had oftentimes given them commandment by his true Prophet Moses, to do the contrary? For the which cause, all the whole number of that Seed were destroyed in process of time in the Wilderness, and enjoyed not the pleasant land of promise. Which was a Bodily figure shewed before, and now agreeing to the promise of the Heavenly Inheritance, which shall be given to none other, but only to all such as with love unfained be wholly bent, without any fear of Man, to fulfill Gods Holy Will and pleasure. But all they that pertain to the lively Faith, to the winning of the Soul, will faithfully stick to the commandment, trusting most firmly and faithfully that he that gave the fame, will also give strength plentifully to perform it, even in the weakest vessels of all, even as we have heard and seen by many and divers examples; he only be praised therefore.

Saint Peter saith, 1 Pet. 3. Fear not though they seem terrible unto you, neither be troubled, but sanctify the Lord God in your hearts. Only (saith Saint Paul, Philippi. 1. let your conversation be as it becometh the Gospel of Christ. Continue in one spirit, and in one Soul, labouring as we do, to maintain the faith of the Gospel, and in nothing fearing your adversaries, which is to them a token of Damnation, and to you of Salvation, and that of God: for unto you it is given that not only ye should believe in Christ, but also suffer for his sake. Wherefore let us be right well assured, that we shall find a most straight reckoning and account, if we transgress the said most wholesome precepts given us of our Master Christ, and of his Apostles, and now in this troublesome time wherein the Gospel is persecuted, shew our selves fearful Souldiers; as it is manifestly declared in the Revelation of Saint John, Chapter, 2.1. where it is written, That the fearful shall have their part with the unbelieving and abominable, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. Again, it is written in the same Book for our warning, Chapter the third, Because ye are not both, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my Mouth.

Now therefore (good Christians) these true testimonies of Gods lively word deeply considered and weighed, let us chiefly stand in awe of his most terrible judgments, and be not as they that presumptuously tempt him. Let him always be our fear and dread. He now chasteneth, he now nourisheth us for our profit, delighting in us even as a loving Father in his beloved Child, to make us perfect, and to have us to be partakers of his Holiness. He now judgeth us (not utterly taking away his everlasting love and mercy from us, he doth from the malignant and wicked) that we should not be condemned with the wicked World: but if we now refuse his most loving chastity.

Anno
1556.

Gods depend
cometh not,
but so such
as play his
Souldiers

Fearfulness
in Christs
cause repro-
ved.

Numb: 11.
14.
Example by
the fearful
Israelites.

1 Th. 2.
Prov. 2.
Hebr. 11.
1 Cor. 11.
2 Reg. 17.

Anno 1556. chaffling, and follow the World, we must needs have our portion with the World. Wide is the gate, and broad is the way which leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in therat: But strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. O how much better is it to go this narrow way with the people of God, then to enjoy the pleasures of Sin for a time?

In consideration whereof, let us without any more flacking and further delays in this great warning by Gods loving visitation, submit our selves betime under his mighty hand, that he may exalt us when the time is come. And thus I wholly commit you to him, and to the Word of his grace, which is able to build further, beseeching you most heartily to pray for me, that I may be strong through the power of his might, and stand perfect in all things, being always prepared and ready, looking for the mercy of our Lord unto eternal rest, and I will pray for you as I am most bound. So I trust he will graciously hear us for his promise sake made unto all the faithful in his dearly beloved Son Christ our alone Saviour, whose Grace be with your Spirit, most dear Christians, for ever. So be it.

By your Christian Brother, John Hullier,
a Prisoner of the Lord.

John Hullier being of long time prisoner, and now openly judged to dye for the Testimony of the Lord Jesus, witheth heartily to the whole congregation of God, the strength of his Holy Spirit, to their everlasting health both of Body and Soul.

I Now (most dear Christians) having the sweet comfort of Gods saving health, and being confirmed with his free Spirit (be he only praised therefore) am constrained in my Conscience, thinking it my very duty to admonish you, as ye tender the Salvation of your Souls, by all manner of means to separate your selves from the company of the Popes hirelings, considering what is said in the Revelation of Saint John, by the Angel of God, touching all Men. The words be these; If any Man worship the Beast and his Image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink the Wine of the Wrath of God, which is poured into the cup of his wrath, and he shall be punished with fire and brimstone before the holy Angels, and before the Lamb, and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up evermore. Mark well here (good Christians) who is this Beast and worshippers that shall be partakers of that unpeakeable torment. The Beast is none other but the carnal and Fleishly Kingdom of Antichrist, the Pope with his rabble of false Prophets and Ministers, as it is most manifest: which to maintain their high Titles, Worldly promotions and dignities, do with much cruelty, daily more and more set forth and establish their own traditions, decrees, decretals, contrary to Gods Holy Ordinances, Statutes, Laws, and Commandments, and wholly repugnant to his sincere and pure Religion and true Worshipping.

Now what do they else but Worship this Beast and his Image, who after they had once already escaped from the filthiness of the World, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, are yet again tangled therein and overcome, using dissimulation unfaithfully for fear of their displeasure, doing one thing outwardly, and thinking inwardly another; so having them in reverence under a cloak and colour, to whom they ought not so much as to say, God speed; and adjoyning themselves to the malignant congregation, which they ought to abhor as a den of Thieves and Murderers, and as the voices being contrary to Christs Voice, if they were of his Flock, they would not know, but would flee from him; as he himself being the good Shepherd of our Souls doth full well in his Holy Gospel testify. Again, what do they else I pray you, but receive the Beasts mark in their foreheads and in their hands, which do bear a fair Face and Countenance outwardly in supporting them as other do, being ashamed openly to confess Christ and his Holy Gospel? But this fairness and dissimulation Christ and his Gospel will in no

wife allow. Of whom it is said, Luke 9. Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this Adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he shall come in the Glory of his Father with his holy Angels. Therefore faith Almighty God by his Prophet Malachy, Malach. 1. Cursed be the dissemblers. Ye were once lightened, and tasted of the Heavenly gift, and were become partakers of the Holy Ghost, and tasted of the Word of God, and of the power of the World to come. And our Saviour Christ faith, Luke 6. No Man that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back, is apt for the Kingdom of God. Therefore Saint John the Apostle useth this for a manifest token, that the backsliding of the true Preachers of Gods Word declare evidently, that they be not of the number of them. For, faith he 1 John 2. They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, no doubt they would have continued with us. Surely so long as we use dissimulation, and to play on both hands, we are not in the light. For whatsoever is manifest, the same is light; as the elect vessel of God S. Paul witnesseth in Ephes. 4.

Wherefore (good Christians) for Gods most dear love, deceive not your selves through your own will, dom, and through the Wisdom of the World, which is foolishness before God; but certify and stay your own Conscience with the sure truth and faithful Word of God, and with the infallible testimonies of Holy Scripture. For although Gods mercy is over all his works; yet it doth not extend but only to them that hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of hope unto the end, not being weary in well doing, but rather waxing every day stronger and stronger in the inward Man. Therefore in the Revelation of S. John, where it is entreated of the Beast and his Image, it is also said, Here is the suffering of Saints, and here are they that keep the Commandments, and the Faith of Jesus Christ, Revelat. 13. Whereby Almighty God doth then plainly, that he doth use those wicked Men as Instruments for a time, to try the patience and faith of his peculiar people, without the performance whereof we can have no part among the living; but as it is said in the same Revelation, The fearful shall have their part in the Lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.

But peradventure ye will object and say unto me; What shall we do? Shall we cast our selves headlong to death? I say not so. But this I say, that we are all bound (if ever we look to receive Salvation at Gods Hand) in this case wholly to be obedient to his determinate counsel and foreknowledge, expressed by the gift of the Spirit in Holy Scripture; and then to cast all our care upon him, who worketh all in all for the best, unto them that love him: and thus he giveth commandment, saying: Come away from her my people, that ye be not partakers of her Sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues, Apoc. 18. Now who hearing this terrible voice of God, which must needs be fulfilled, will not with all speed and diligence apply himself to do thereafter, except such as will presumptuously tempt him? And as touching such, the Wise Man faith, Eccles. 2. He that loveth peril and danger, shall perish therein. But they that be of the Faith of Abraham, even as he did, so will they in all assays and trials be obedient to the Heavenly Voice, howsoever it seemeth contrary to their own natural will and carnal reason, according to the sure word of Faith, which faith; Hope thou in the Lord, and keep his way: hold thee still in the Lord, and abide patiently upon him. Let not thy jealousie move thee also to do evil. Come out from among them, and joyne not your selves to their unlawful assemblies; yea, do not once shew your selves with the least part of your Body to favour their wicked doings, but glorifie God (as most right is) as well in your whole Body outwardly, as inwardly in your Spirit, or else you can do neither of both well; for your Body doth belong to God as well as your Spirit. At the dreadful day of Judgment we shall all receive the works of our Bodies, according to that we have done, whether it be good or bad.

Therefore whatsoever we do, we may not bring the Spirit in bondage to the Body, but contrariwise we must subdue the Body and the will of the Fleish to the Spirit, that the Spirit may freely accomplish the will of God

Mark 16.

Hebr. 6.

1 Cor. 1.

Psalm 145.

Reb. 2.

Gods Mercy
to whom it
belongeth.

Objection
answered.

1 Cor. 12.

Rom. 12.

Psalm 96.

The Body

must joyne

with the

Spirit in fear

of God.

beholdings; for otherwise we shall never be partakers of his promise, with the true Children of Abraham. For as S. Paul saith, *They which are the children of the flesh, are not the children of God. If we shall live according to the flesh, we shall dye. For to be carnally minded, is death; but to be spiritually minded, is life and peace, because that the fleshly mind is enmity to God: for it is not obedient to the Law of God, neither can be. So then they that are in the flesh, cannot please God.* Now choose you which way you will take; either the narrow way that leadeth unto life, which Christ himself, and his faithful followers, have gone through before; or else the broad path-way that leadeth to destruction, which the wicked worldlings take their pleasure in for a while. I for my part have now written this short Admonition unto you of good will (as God is my witness) to exhort you to that way, which at length you your selves shall prove and find to be best, yea and rejoyce thereof. And I do not only write this, but I will also (with the assistance of Gods grace) ratifie and confirm, and seal the same with the effusion of my blood, when the full time shall be expired that he hath appointed; which (so far forth as I may judge) must needs be within these few days. Therefore I now bid you all most heartily farewell in the Lord, whose grace be with your spirit, Amen. Watch and

pray, watch and pray, pray, pray. So be it.

John Hullier.

Anno 1556.

Besides these Letters, the said John Hullier left also a godly Prayer, which if any be disposed to peruse, it is extant in the old Book of Acts to be found, pag. 1515.

The death and martyrdom of six constant Professors of Christ, burned at Colchester, for the testimony of the Gospel, the 28. day of April.

Not long after the death of Robert Drakes, William Tyme, and the other Essex Martyrs, executed in Smithfield, as is above specified, followed in the same order likewise of Martyrdom, at one like fire in the Town of Colchester, (where the most part of them did inhabit) six other blessed Martyrs, whose names be these:

Christopher Lyster of Dagenham, Husbandman.
John Mace of Colchester, Apothecary.
John Spencer of Colchester, Weaver.
Symon Joyne, Sawyer.
Richard Nichols of Colchester, Weaver.
John Hammond of Colchester, Tanner.

The burning of the foresaid six men at Colchester.



Wagon Craft.

With these six was also joyned another, whose name was Roger Grasbroke, but he afterward submitted himself. Of these above named, the Bishop, because he (as it seemed by the short Process recorded by his Register) waxed now weary, made a very quick dispatch. For soon after that, they were delivered unto one John Kingstone, Bachelor of Civil Law, and then Commissary to the Bishop, by the Earl of Oxford and other Commissioners (as appeareth by a Bill indented, made between the Commissioners and the said Commissary, for the receipt of the said Prisoners, dated the 28. day of March, Anno Regni Regis & Regine Philippi & Mariæ secundo & tertio, which is the year of our Lord, 1556.) and by him sent up unto his Lord and Master, the Bishop cauled them to be brought unto his House of Fulham: Where in the open Church, judicially were ministred unto them the same Articles that were propounded unto Bartlet Green and others, mentioned before. To the which they made their several Answers, agreeing altogether in one Truth, as by the sum and effect thereof here ensuing, more plainly appeareth.

John Kingstone
Bp. Secre-
Commis-
sary in
Essex.
These Mar-
tyrs were
delivered
by the
Earl of
Oxford to
the Commis-
sary, and by
the Com-
missary sent
to the Bi-
shop.

1. To the first Article they all consented and agreed; These Answering to the Articles. The Church of Rome is no part of the Church of Christ. The Church of Rome doth believe the Doctrine and Religion taught and set forth in the said Romish and malignant Church.
2. To the second they answered, That they believed, that in the true Catholick Church of Christ there be but two Sacraments; that is to say, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.
3. To the third Article they all agreed, confessing that they were baptized in the Faith and Belief of the Catholick Church, and that their Godfathers and Godmothers had professed and promised for them, as is contained in the same Article.
4. To the fourth they answered, That they always were, and yet then did continue in the Faith and Profession wherein they were baptized; Richard Nichols adding also, that he had more plainly learned the truth of his Profession by the Doctrine set forth in K. Edward the sixth his days, and thereupon he had builded his Faith, and would

Profession of
Baptism.

Anno would continue in the same to his lives end, God assisting him.

1556.

To deny the
legality of
the Pope's
Church, is
not to deny
the Catho-
lick Faith of
Christ.

The Pope
ought to
have no Au-
thority in
England.

The Church
of Rome to
be abhorred.

Against the
Popes trum-
phery.

Against
transubstan-
tiation.

Against the
Mass.

5. To the fifth they answered, That they neither swerved nor went away from the Catholick Faith of Christ. Howbeit they confessed, that within the time articulate (and before) they had misliked, and earnestly spoken against the Sacrifice of the Mass, and against the Sacrament of the Altar, affirming that they would not come to hear or be partakers thereof, because they had; and then did believe, that they were set forth and used contrary to Gods Word and Glory. And moreover they did grant, that they had spoken against the usurped Authority of the Bishop of Rome, as an oppressor of Christs Church and Gospel, and that he ought not to have any Authority in England. For all which sayings they were no whit sorry, but rather rejoiced and were glad.

6. To the sixth they answered, That they never refused, nor yet then presently did refuse to be reconciled to the Unity of Christs Catholick Church: but they said they had, and then did, and so ever would hereafter utterly refuse to come to the Church of Rome, or to acknowledge the Authority of the seat thereof, but did utterly abhor the same, for putting down the Book of God, the Bible, and setting up the Babylonical Mass, with all other of Antichrists merchandize.

7. To the seventh Article, the effect thereof they all granted. And Symon Jyng declared further, that the cause of his refusing to be partaker of their trumphery was, for that the Commandments of God were there broken, and Christs Ordinances changed and put out, and the Bishop of Rome Ordinances in stead thereof put in. Moreover, as touching the Sacrament of Christs Body, Christopher Lyfter affirmed, that in the said Sacrament there is the substance of Bread and Wine, as well after the words of Consecration as before, and that there is not in the same the very Body and Blood of Christ really, substantially, and truly, but only Sacramentally and Spiritually by Faith in the Faithful receivers, and that the Mass is not propitiatory for the quick or for the dead, but meer Idolatry and Abomination.

8. To the eighth they said, That they were sent to

Calcheſter Priſon by the King and Queens Commiſſioners, because they would not come to their Parish Churches, and by them ſent unto the Biſhop of London, to be there- of further examined.

9. To the ninth they all generally agreed, That that which they had ſaid in the premiſſes was true, and that they were of the Dioceſ of London.

Theſe Answers thus made, the Biſhop did diſmiſſ them for that preſent untill the afternoon. At which time having firſt their Articles and Answers read unto them again, and they ſtanding moſt firmly unto their Chriſtian profeſſion, they were by divers ways and means aſſayed and tried if they would revoke the ſame their profeſſed Faith, and return to the Unity of Antichriſts Church.

Which thing when they reſuſed, the Biſhop ſtoutly pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation againſt them, committing them unto the Temporal Power. Who, upon the receipt of the King and Queens Writ, ſent them unto Calcheſter, where the 28. day of April, moſt cheerfully they ended their lives to the Glory of Gods holy Name, and the great encouragement of others.

Sentence
given a-
gainſt them
by B. Becc.

Hugh Laverock an old Man, John Apprice a Blind Man, Martyrs, burned at Stratford the Bow.

IN the diſcourſe of this parcel or part of Hiſtory, I know not whether more to marvel at the great and unſearchable mercies of God (with whom there is no reſpect in degrees of perſons, but he choſeth as well the poor, lame, and blind, as the rich, mighty, and healthful, to ſet forth his glory) or elſe to note the unreaſonable, or rather unnatural doing of theſe unmerciful Catholicks (I mean Biſhop Becc and his Complices) in whom was ſo little favour or mercy to all ſorts and kinds of Men, that alſo they ſpared neither impotent Age, neither lame nor blind, as may well appear by theſe poor Creatures, whoſe names and ſtorie here under follow.

May 15.
Two burned
together at
one ſtake,
Hugh Lave-
rock an old
lame Man,
and John Ap-
price a blind
Man.

Hugh Laverock, of the Pariſh of Barking, Painter,
of the Age of 68. a lame Cripple.
John Apprice, a Blind Man.

The Martyrdome of a blind man, and a lame man,
at Stratford the Bow.



The Martyrdome of three Women



These two poor and simple Creatures being belike accuſed by ſome promoting neighbour of theirs, unto the Biſhop and other of the King and Queens Commiſſioners, were ſent for by their Officer; and ſo being brought and delivered into the hands of the ſaid Biſhop, were the firſt day of May examined before him in his Pa-

lace at London: where he firſt propounded and objected againſt them thoſe nine Articles, whereof mention is made before, miſtred as well unto Barlet Green, as alſo unto many others. To the which they answered in effect, as Christopher Lyfter, John Mace, and other be- fore mentioned had done.

Where.

Whereupon they were again sent to prison, and beside other times, the ninth day of the same Month, in the Confraternity of *Pauls* were again openly produced, and there (after the old order) travelled withal to recant their opinions against the Sacrament of the Altar.

The words
of Hugh Laverock
given to
him.

Whereunto *Hugh Laverock* first said; I will stand to mine answers, and to that I have confessed; and I cannot find in the Scriptures, that the Priests should lift up over their head a Cake of Bread.

The Bishop then turned him unto *John Apprice*, and asked what he would say.

The words
of John Apprice
given to
the Bishop.

To whom he answered; Your Doctrine (said he) that ye set forth and teach, is so agreeable with the World, and embraced of the same, that it cannot be agreeable with the Scripture of God. And ye are not of the Catholick Church; for ye make Laws to kill Men, and make the Queen your Hangman.

At which words the Bishop, belike, somewhat tickled, and therefore very loth to delay their Condemnation any longer (such was now his hot burning charity) commanded that they should be brought after him unto *Fulham*, whether he before dinner did go, and there in the afternoon, after his solemn manner, in the open Church he pronounced the definitive Sentence of Condemnation against them, and so delivering them into the hands of the temporal Officer, thought to dispatch his hands of them, but could not so dispatch his Conscience before the judgment of God, from the guiltiness of innocent Blood.

Sentence of
Condemnation
given
against
Laverock and
John Apprice.

The poor Men, being now in the temporal Officers hands, might not there be suffered long to remain, and therefore the fifteenth day of *May*, very early in the morning, they were carried from *Newgate* in a Cart to *Stratford* the *Bowes*, and most quietly in the fire praising God yielded up their Souls into his hands, through a lively faith in Jesus Christ, whom unto the end they did most constantly confess.

At their death, *Hugh Laverock*, after he was chained, cast away his Crucch, and comforting *John Apprice* his fellow-Martyr, said unto him; Be of good comfort my Brother; for my Lord of *London* is our good Phisician. He will heal us both shortly; thee of thy blindness, and me of my lameness. And so patiently these two good Saints of God together suffered.

Three Women the same time burned in Smithfield, Katherine Hut, Elizabeth Thackvel, and Joan Horns.

May 16.

The next day after martyrdom of this Lame and Blind Man above specified, in the said Month of *May*, were brought to the Fire three Women, with whom also was adjoynd another, who being in the same confancty with them, was likewise partaker of the said condemnation. The names of these were:

Katherine
Hut, Widow.
Joan Horns, Maid.
Elizabeth Thackvel, Maid.
Margaret Ellis, Maid.

Katherine Hut of Backing, Widow.

Joan Horns of Billerica, Maid.

Elizabeth Thackvel of great Bursted, Maid.

Margaret Ellis of Billerica, Maid.

How these with divers other more were persecuted and sent up, especially by Sir *John Mordant*, and *Edmund Tyrel* Esquire, Justices of Peace, this their Letter following will declare.

A Letter sent unto Boner Bishop of London, from Sir John Mordant Knight, and Edmund Tyrel Esquire, Justices of Peace for the County of Essex.

A Letter of
certain per-
secuting
Justices to
Boner.

Our Humble Commendations to your Lordship; these shall be to advertise you, that we have sent unto your good Lordship *Joan Potter*, the Wife of *Hugh Potter*, James Harris, servant of *William Harris* of Bromhill and *Margaret Ellis*, for that they be not conformable to the orders of the Church, nor to the Real Presence of Christs Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, to use your Lordships pleasure with them, as you think good; not doubting, with the punishment of these and other before sent to your Lordship, but that the Parish of great *Bursted* and *Billerica* shall be brought to good conformity. Thus, committing your good Lordship to the tuition of the Almighty God, we take our leave.

From great Bursted this present second day of March, Anno 1556.

Your Lordships to commands; John Mordant, Edmund Tyrel.

After the receipt of these Letters, Bishop *Boner* entering to examination of these four Women above named, laid and objected the like Articles to them, as after his usual form he used to minister, and are before expressed: Whereunto the said Women likewise agreeing in the same Unity of Spirit and Doctrine, according in their Answers, much agreeing unto the other before them.

As first, to the Article in the first place objected, they consented and granted, believing the said Article to be true in every part thereof.

2. To the second, partly they answered, they could not tell what a Sacrament is; *Elizabeth Thackvel*, and *Katherine Hut* adding moreover, that Matrimony, and Baptism, and the Lords Supper were Sacraments ordained in the Church: but whether the other specified in this Article be Sacraments (as they heard them called) ordained by God or not, they could not tell. *Margaret Ellis* being examined severally, as the other were, upon the same, how many Sacraments there were, answered (as a young maid unskilled, in her simple ignorance) that she could not tell. Howbeit she had heard (she said) that there was one Sacrament, but what it was she could not tell, &c.

The simple
ignorance of
these Women
had
most evidently
been
inferred,
then
they could
be
buried.

3. To the third likewise they granted, that they were Baptized by their Godfathers and Godmothers, which Godfathers and Godmothers (said *Margaret Ellis*) did not then know so much, as the doth now know: *Katherine Hut* adding withal and saying, that she was Baptized; but what her Godfather and Godmothers did then promise for her in her name, she could not tell, &c.

4. To the fourth Article *Margaret Ellis*, and *Elizabeth Thackvel* did grant thereunto: *Katherine Hut* said moreover, that she, being of the Age of fourteen years, was of the faith wherein she was christened and yet never, theless the said faith in that Age (she said) was but a dead faith, because she did not then understand what she did believe. *Joan Horns* added, that she, being eleven years of age, began to learn the faith set forth in King *Edwards* days, in the which Faith and Religion (she said) she hath hitherto, and yet doth, and so will hereafter continue, God so assisting her.

5. To the fifth Article they answered and confessed, according all in this effect, that as touching the Mass, they knew no goodness in it; and as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, they believed that Christs Natural Body is in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament of the Altar: & concerning the See of *Rome*, they acknowledged no such supremacy in that See, neither have they any thing to do therewith.

Against the
Mass and Sa-
crament of
the Altar.

6. In answering the sixth Article, they did all generally refuse to be reconciled or united to the Church of *Rome*, or any other Church, contrary to that wherein they now stood and did profess.

7. To the seventh Article they answered likewise, that they had so done and said in all things, as it is in this Article contained: *Katherine Hut* adding moreover the reason why; for that (said she) neither the Service in Latin, Mass, Mattens, and Even-song, nor the Sacraments were used and ministered according to Gods Word: And furthermore, that the Mass is an Idol, neither is the true Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, as they make Men believe.

8. The Answer to the eighth Article, declared that they were all and every one sent up to *Boner* by Sir *John Mordant* Knight, and Justice of Peace in *Essex* (the Lord of his mercy send us better Justices I beseech him) or that they could not affirm the presence of Christs Body and Blood to be truly and really in the Sacrament, and for that they came not to their Popish Parish Church.

By Sir John
Mordant Prom-
ised.

9. To the ninth Article, they answered and confessed the premises thereof to be true, and denied not the same; *Katherine Hut* said, that she was of *Backing* in *Essex* of the peculiar jurisdiction of *Canterbury*, and not of the Diocese and jurisdiction of *London*.

Katherine
Hut Prom-
ised.

After

Anno 1556. After these their Answers received, they were produced again about the thirteenth of April to further Examination, and so at length to their final Judgment; where *Katherine Hut* widow, standing before the Bishop boldly and constantly stood to that which he had said before, neither yielding to his fair promises, nor overthrowing with his terror. Who being required of the Sacrament to say her mind, and to revoke her self unto the fellowship of the Catholick Faith, openly protested, saying, I deny it to be God, because it is a dumb God, and made with mens hands. Wherein the good and faithful Martyr of Christ firmly persisting, so received her Sentence, being condemned of *Boner* to the fire; which she with great constancy sustained by the grace and strength of the Lord, and did abide for the cause and love of Christ.

Joan Horns Maid, produced likewise to her Judgment and Condemnation, with like firmness and Christlike fortitude declared her self a true Martyr and follower of Christs Testament, giving no place to the Adversary; but being charged that she did not believe the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood to be Christ himself; of the which Sacrament (contrary to the nature of a Sacrament) the Adversaries are wont to make an Idol Service; to this the protesting openly her mind, said as followeth; If you can make your God to shed blood, or to shew any condition of a true lively Body, then will I believe you: but it is but Bread (as touching the Substance thereof) meaning the matter whereof the Sacrament consisteth; and that which you call Heresie, I trust to serve my Lord God in, &c.

And as concerning the Romish See, she said, My Lord (speaking to *Boner*) I forsake all his Abominations, and from them good Lord deliver us. From this her stable and constant affection, when the Bishop was too weak to remove her, and too ignorant to convince her, he knocked her down with the butcherly Ax of his Sentence. And so the holy Virgin and Martyr committed to the Shambles of the Secular Sword, was offered up with her other fellows a burnt Sacrifice to the Lord, in odorem bonae fragrantiae, in the favour of a sweet and pleasant smell.

As touching *Margaret Ellis*, she likewise persevering in her forsaide Confession, and resisting the false Catholick errors and heresies of the Papists, was by the said *Boner* adjudged and condemned; but before the time of her burning came, prevented by death in *Newgate* Prison, departed and slept in the Lord.

No less strength in the grace of the Lord appeared in the other Maid *Elizabeth Thackvell*, whose heart and mind the Lord had so confirmed in his Truth, so armed with Patience, that as her Adversaries could by no sufficient knowledge of Scripture convince her affirmation, so by no forcible attempts they could remove her confession. Whereupon the standing to the death, being in like sort condemned, by the said unchristlike *exheredation*, gave her life willingly and mildly for the confirmation and sealing up of the sincere truth of Gods Word.

These three innocent and godly women, thus falsely and wrongfully by men condemned for the just quarrel and cause of Gods Gospel, were had to *Smithfield*, and there cruelly bound to the Stake, gave their Bodies to the Tormentors, their Spirits they commended to God. For whose glory they were willing and ready to suffer whatsoever the cruel hands of their enemies should work against them, dying more joyfully in the flaming fire, than some of them that burned then did peradventure in their beds. Such a Lord is God, glorious and wonderful in all his Saints. The martyrdom of these Saints of God was the 16. of May.

Thomas Drowry a blind Boy, and *Thomas Croker* Bricklayer, Martyrs.

May 1. YE heard a little before of two men, the one blind, the other lame, which suffered about the 15. of May. And here is not to be forgotten another as godly a couple, which suffered the like passion and martyrdom for the same cause of Religion at *Glocester*: of the which two, the one was a blind Boy, named *Thomas Drowry*, whom mentioned before in the History of Bishop *Hooper*, whom the said virtuous Bishop confirmed then in the Lord, and in the Doctrine of his Word.

With him also was burned another in the same place, and at the same fire in *Glocester*, about the fifth of May, whose name was *Thomas Croker* Bricklayer.

Concerning the which blind Boy; how long he was in Prison, and in what year he suffered, I am not certain. Of this incredible Intelligence I have received by the Testimony of the Register then of *Glocester*, named *John Taylor*, alias *Barker*, that the said blind Boy at his last Examination and final Condemnation, was brought (by the Officers, under whose custody he had remained) before Dr. *Williams* then Chancellor of *Glocester*, sitting Judicially with the said Register in the Consistory, near unto the South-door, in the neither end of the Church of *Glocester*. Where the said Chancellor then ministred unto the Boy such usual Articles as are accustomed in such cases, and are sundry times mentioned in this Book: Amongst which, he chiefly urged the Article of Transubstantiation; saying in effect as followeth.

Chancellor. Dost thou not believe, that after the words of Consecration spoken by the Priest, there remaineth the very real Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar?

Thom. To whom the blind Boy answered; No, that I do not.

Chan. Then thou art an Heretick, and shalt be burned: But who hath taught thee this Heresie?

Thom. You Master Chancellor.

Chan. Where I pray thee?

Thom. Even in yonder place; pointing with his hand, and turning towards the Pulpit, standing upon the North-side of the Church.

Chan. When did I teach thee so?

Thom. When you preached there (naming the day) a Sermon to all men as well as to me, upon the Sacrament. You said, the Sacrament was to be received spiritually by Faith, and not carnally and really, as the Papists have heretofore taught.

Chan. Then do as I have done, and thou shalt live as I do, and escape burning.

Thom. Though you can so easily dispense with your self, and mock with God, the World, and your Conscience, yet will I not so do.

Chan. Then God have mercy upon thee; for I will read the Condemnation Sentence against thee.

Thom. Gods will be fulfilled.

The Register being herewith somewhat moved, stood up, and said to the Chancellor;

Register. Fie for shame, Man, will you read the Sentence against him, and condemn your self? Away, away, and substitute some other to give Sentence and Judgment.

Chan. No, Register, I will obey the Law, and give Sentence my self according to mine Office.

And so he read the Sentence condemnatory against the Boy (with an unhappy tongue, and a more unhappy Conscience) delivering him over unto the Secular Power. Who the said fifth day of May, brought the said blind Boy to the place of Execution at *Glocester*; together with one *Thomas Croker* a Bricklayer, condemned also for the like testimony of the Truth. Where both together in one fire most constantly and joyfully yielded their Souls into the hands of the Lord Jesus, *Extremum*. In Lond.

Persecution in Suffolk.

Three burnt at Beckles, May 21.

AFTER the death of these above rehearsed, were three men burnt at *Beckles* in *Suffolk*, in one fire about the 21. of May, Anno 1556. Whose names are here specified.

Thomas Spicer of *Winston*, Labourer.

John Denny and *Edmund Poole*.

This *Thomas Spicer* was a single man, of the age of Nineteen years, and by vocation a Labourer, dwelling in *Winston* in the County of *Suffolk*, and there taken in

The martyrdom of three men burned at Beckles.

D d d

his Masters House in Summer, about or anon after the rising of the Sun, (being in his Bed) by *James Ling* and *John Keretch* of the same Town, and *William Dunning* of *Debham* in the said County.

The occasion of his taking was, for that he would not go to their Popish Church to hear Mass, and receive their Idol at the Commandment of Sir *John Tyrrel* Knight, of *Gipping-Hall* in *Suffolk*, and certain other Justices there, who sent both him and them to *Eye* Dungeon in *Suffolk*, till at length they were all three together brought before *Dunning*, then Chancellor of *Norwich*, and Mr. *Mings* the Register sitting at the Town of *Breckles* to be examined.

And there the said Chancellor, perswading what he could to turn them from the Truth, could by no means prevail of his purpose. Wherefore minding in the end to give Sentence on them, he burst out in tears, intreating them to remember themselves, and to turn again to the holy Mother Church, for that they were deceived and out of the Truth, and that they should not wilfully cast away themselves, with such like words.

Now as he was thus labouring them, and seemed very loath to read the Sentence (for they were the first that he condemned in that Diocese) the Register there sitting by, being weary belike of tarrying, or else perceiving the constant Martyrs to be at a point, called upon the Chancellor in haste to rid them out of the way, and to make an end. At the which words the Chancellor read the Condemnation over them with tears, and delivered them to the Secular Power.

Their Articles.

The Articles objected to these, and commonly to all other condemned in that Diocese by Dr. *Hopson* Bishop of *Norwich*, and by *Dunning* his Chancellor, were these:

1. First, It was Articulate against them, that they believed not the Pope of *Rome* to be Supreme Head immediately under Christ in Earth of the Universal Catholick Church.
2. Item, That they believed not holy Bread and holy Water, Alms, Palms, and all other like Ceremonies used in the Church, to be good and laudable for stirring up the People to Devotion.
3. Item, That they believed not, after the words of Consecration spoken by the Priest, the very natural Body of Christ, and no other Substance of Bread and Wine to be in the Sacrament of the Altar.
4. Item, That they believed it to be Idolatry to worship Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar.
5. Item, That they took Bread and Wine in remembrance of Christ's Passion.
6. Item, That they would not follow the Cross in Procession, nor be confessed to a Priest.
7. Item, That they affirmed no mortal man to have in himself freewill to do good or evil.

For this Doctrine and Articles above prefixed, these three (as is aforesaid) were condemned by Dr. *Dunning*, and committed to the Secular Power, Sir *John Silliard* being the same time high Sheriff of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*.

And the next day following upon the same, they were all burnt together in the said Town of *Breckles*. Whereupon it is to be thought, that the Writ *De Comburendis*, was not yet come down, nor could be, the Lord Chancellor B. *Heath* being the same time at *London*. Which if it be true, then it is plain, that both they went beyond their Commission, that were the Executioners, and also the Clergy, which were the Instigators thereof, cannot make good that they now pretend; saying, that they did nothing but by Law. But this let the Lord find out when he seeth his time.

In the mean time while these good men were at the Stake, and had prayed, they said their Belief; and when they came to the reciting of the Catholick Church, Sir *John Silliard* spake to them; That is well said, first, quoth he, I am glad to hear you say, you do believe the Catholick Church. That is the best word I have heard of you yet.

To which his sayings *Edmund Poole* answered, that though they believe the Catholick Church, yet do they not believe in their Popish Church, which is no part of Christ's Catholick Church, and therefore no part of their Belief.

When they rose from Prayer, they all went joyfully to the Stake, and being bound thereto, and the Fire burning about them, they praised God in such an audible voice, that it was wonderful to all those which stood by and heard them.

Then one *Robert Bacon*, dwelling in the said *Breckles*, a very Enemy of Gods Truth, and a Persecutor of his People, being there present within hearing thereof, willed the Tormentors to throw one *Pagot* to stop the Knaves breaths, as he termed them; so that was his burning Charity. But these good men, not regarding their malice, confessed the Truth, and yielded their lives to the death for the testimony of the same, very gloriously and joyfully. The which their constancy in the like cause the Lord grant we may imitate and follow unto the end: Whether it be death or life to glorifie the Name of Christ, Amen.

And so far as we have here entered into the Persecution of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, it cometh therefore to mind, by occasion hereof, briefly to touch by the way, some part (for the whole matter cannot be so exprest as it was done) touching the troubles of the Town of *Winston* and *Mendlesham* in *Suffolk*, raised and stirred by the said Sir *John Tyrrel* and other Justices there of the like affinity. The sum and effect of which briefly is thus signified to me by writing.

The Persecution in the Towns of Winston and Mendlesham in Suffolk.

BY the procurement of Sir *John Tyrrel* Knt. and other of his Colleagues, there were persecuted out of the Town of *Winston* in *Suffolk*, these persons hereafter following, Anno 1556.

Mrs. *Alice Twaites* Gentlewoman, of the age of threefoore years and more, and two of her Servants.
Humphrey Smith and his wife.
William Catchpole and his wife.
John Mauling and his wife.
Nicholas Burlingham and his wife.
 And one *Raught* and his wife.

Such as were persecuted and driven out of the Town of *Mendlesham*, in the County of *Suffolk*.

Symon Harlstone, and *Katherine* his wife, with his five children.
William Whuting, and *Katherine* his wife.
Thomas Dobson and his wife.
Thomas Hubbard and his wife.
John Doncon and his wife and maid.
William Doncon.
Thomas Woodward the elder.
 One *Kennolds* wife.
 A Poor Widow.
 One mother *Semous* Maid.

Besides those that were constrained to do against their Conscience, by the help of the Parish Priest, whose name was Sir *John Brodsh.*

These be the chiefest Causes why those above named were persecuted.

First, they d'd hold and believe the holy Word of God to be the sufficient Doctrine unto their Salvation.

Secondly, They denied the Popes usurped Authority, and did hold all that Church of Antichrist to be Christ's Adversaries. And further, they refused the abused Sacraments, defied the Mass and all Popish Service and Ceremonies, saying, they robbed God of his honour and Christ of his death and glory, and would not come at the Church, without it were to the defacing of that they did there.

Thirdly,

James Ling,
John Keretch,
Wm. Dunning,
Persecutors
of Debbam in
the said County.

Dunning and
Mr. Mings
Chancellors.

The Articles
whereupon
they were
condemned.

Ceremonies.

Sacrament
of the Altar.

Execution of
burning in
Suffolk done
without a
Writ.

Sir John Silliard
said words.

Anno
1556.

Edm. Poole
rejoiceth the
Popish
Church.

Robert Bacon
his enemy.

Sir John Tyrrel
Persecutor.
Persecution
at Winston &
Mendlesham
in Suffolk.

The names
of good
men persecuted
in Suffolk &
Mendlesham.

Gods people
persecuted.

The faith
and doctrine
of these men.

Anno
1556.

Thirdly, They did hold that the Ministers of the Church by Gods Word might lawfully marry.

Fourthly, They held the Queen to be as chief Head, and wicked Rulers to be a great Plague sent of God for sin, &c.

Fifthly, They denied mans Free-will, and held that the Popes Church did err, and many other in that point with them, rebuking their false confidence in works, and their false trust in mans righteousness. Also when any rebuked those persecuted for going so openly, and talking so freely; their answer was, They knewed, confessed, and believed, and therefore they must speak: and that their Tribulation was Gods good will and providence, and that his Judgments were right, to punish them with other for their sins; and that of very faithfulness and mercy God had caused them to be troubled, so that one hair of their Heads should not perish before the time, but all things should work unto the best to them that love God, and that Christ Jesus was their life and only righteousness, and that only by faith in him, and for his sake all good things were freely given them, also forgiveness of sins and life everlasting.

Many of these persecuted were of great Substance, and had Possessions of their own.

And upon the *Wednesday* in the night the man died, being overcome with hunger and watching. So there was none left but this *Crow*, who, driving up and down in the Sea, called upon God as he could, and might not sleep for fear that the Sea would have beaten him off.

So at length I my self (said *Thomas Morse*) being laden to *Antwerp* with my Crayer, going from *Lee* up on *Friday*, having within my Crayer, of Mariners and Merchants, to the number of 46. persons, and so coming to the *Foreland*, the wind was not very good, so that I was constrained to go somewhat out of my way, being in the Afternoon about six of the Clock, where at the last we saw a thing afar off, appearing unto us like a small buoy, that Fishermen do use to lay with their hooks.

When we saw it, some said, Let us have some light. And I said to him that was at the Helm; Keep your course away, for we shall but hinder the Fisherman, and have no fish neither, and so at my commandment he did. But at length he at the Helm standing higher than all we did, said, Me think Master, it is a man. But yet they, being in doubt that it was but a Fishers Buoy, returned the Ship from him again to keep their course.

Crow beholding the Ship to turn from him, being then in utter despair, and ready now to perish with watching, famine, and moreover miserably beaten with the Seas, at last took his Mariners Cap from his head, and bolding up the same with his arm, as high as he could, thought by shaking it as well as he might, to give them some token of better sight.

Whereupon the Styrenmen more sensibly perceiving a thing to move, advertised us again, declaring how he did see plainly a mans arm; and with that we all beheld him well, and so came to him and took him up. And as soon as we had him in our Ship, he began to put his hand in his bosom; and one asked him if he had money there. No, said he, I have a Book here, I think it be wet; and so drew out his Testament, which we then dried. But the Sea had so beaten him, that his eyes, nose, and mouth were almost clofed with salt, that the heat of his face and the weather had made. So we made a fire and sufficed him with dry clothes, and gave him *Aqua composita* to drink, and such meat as was in the Ship, and then let him sleep.

The next day we awaked him about eight of the clock in the Morning, and his blood began somewhat to appear in his flesh (for when we took him up, his flesh was even as though it had been foddren, or as a drowned mans) and then we talked with him of all the matter before rehearsed. And so saying to *Antwerp*, the Merchants which saw the thing published the same in *Antwerp*; and because it was wonderful, the people there, both men and women, came to the Ship to see him many of them. Some gave him a Peticoat, and some a Shirt, some Hofen, and some Money (always noting how he cast away his Money, and kept his Book).

And many of the women wept when they heard and saw him. And Master Governour of the English Nation there had him before him, and talked with him of all the matter; and pitying his case, commanded the Officer of the English House to go with him to the free Oshouses amongst the English Merchants, and I with them, and at three Houses there was given him six pound ten shillings. And so from thence he went with me to *Roan*, where the people also came to him to see him, marvelling at the great works of God.

And thus much concerning this poor man with his New Testament preserved in the Sea (which Testament the Popes Clergy condemneth on the Land) ye have heard, as I received by the relation of the Party above named, who was the doer thereof, and yet alive dwelling in *Lee*, well known to all Merchants of *London*. In which story this by the way understand, good Reader, (which rightly may be supposed) that if this poor man, thus found and preserved in the Sea with a New Testament in his bosom, had had instead of that a Pix with a consecrated Host about him, no doubt it had been rung ere this time all Christendom over for a Miracle, so far as the Pope hath any Land. But to let the Pope with his false Miracles go, let us return again to our matter begun, and adjoyn another History of much like condition, testified likewise by the Informa-

D d d 2 tion

Witnessed
by the faith-
ful report of
6. witnesses.

Give God the praise.

¶ Forasmuch as we are now in the Month of *May*, before we overpass the same, and because the Story is not long, and not unworthy peradventure of noting, it shall not grieve the studious Reader, a little to give the hearing thereof, whereby to learn to marvel and muse at the great works of the Lord. They that go down (saith the Psalmist) into the Sea, labouring upon the water, have seen the works of the Lord, and his mighty wonders upon the deep, *Psal. 106. &c.* The truth whereof may well appear in this story following; which story, as it is signified and written to me by relation of the party himself, which was doer thereof, called *Thomas Morse*, so I thought to purport the same as followeth.

A Story of one Gregory Crow, marvellously preserved with his New Testament upon the Seas, May 26.

A story of
Gregory
Crow mar-
vellously
preserved
upon the
Sea with his
New Testa-
ment.

Upon *Tuesday* after *Whitsunday*, which was the 26. day of *May*, in this present year 1556. (or else, as he rather thinketh, in the year next before, which was 1555.) a certain poor man, whose name was *Gregory Crow*, dwelling in *Maulden*, went to the Sea, minding to have gone into *Kent* for Filling Earth, but by the way, being foul weather, was driven upon a Sand, where presently the Boat sunk, and was full of water, so that the men were forced to hold themselves by the Masts of the Boat, and all things that would swim did swim out of her. Amongst which *Crow* saw his Testament in the water, and caught it and put it in his bosom. Now it was ebbing water, so that within one hour the Boat was dry, but broken so as they could not save her; but they went themselves upon the Sand (being ten miles at the least from the Land) and there made their Prayers together, that God would send some Ship that way to save them (being two men and one boy in all;) for they might not tarry upon the Sand but half an hour, but it would be flood. In the which time they found their Chest wherein was money to the sum of five pound six shillings eight pence, the which money the man which was with the said *Crow* (whose name I know not) took and gave it unto *Crow* who was owner thereof, and he cast it into the Sea, saying, If the Lord will save our lives, he will provide us a Living, and so they went upon the Mast there, hanging by the arms and legs for the space of ten hours; in the which time the boy was so weary and beaten with the Sea, that he fell off and was drowned.

The boy
beaten with
the Sea, and
drowned.

And when the Water was gone again, and the Sand dry, *Crow* said to his man, It were best for us to take down our Masts, and when the flood cometh we will sit upon them, and so it may please God to bring us to some Ship that may take us up. Which thing they did, and so at ten of the Clock in the night of the same *Tuesday*, the flood did bear up the Mast whereupon they fate.

Crows man
died upon
the Mast.Gregory
Crow driven
upon the
Seas, sitting
upon a Mast.
Gods provi-
dence to be
assured.God a mar-
vellous hel-
per in time
of need.Crow with
the Testa-
ment pre-
served on
the Sea.The sum of
his money
cast into the
Sea restored
him again.

tion of the said *Thomas Morfe* above mentioned, to the intent to make known the worthy acts of the Almighty, that he may be magnified in all his wondrous works. The Story is thus declared, which happened Anno 1556. about *Alchathmas*.

Another like story of Gods Providence upon three men delivered upon the Sea.

Another like story of three men that feared God, by Gods providence preserved on the Sea. These sitting upon a piece of their Ship two days and two nights in the Sea

There was a Ship (saith the said *Thomas Morfe*) whereof I had a part, going toward the Bay for Salt, with two Ships of *Brickleser*, which were altogether going for Salt, as before is said. At what time we were within ten miles of the *North Foreland*, otherwise called *Tenast*, the wind did come so contrary to our Ship, that we were forced to go clean out of the way, and the other two Ships kept their course still, until our Ship was almost out of sight of them. And then they saw a thing driving upon the Sea, and hoised up their Boat and went unto it; and it was three men sitting upon a piece of their Ship, which had sitten so two days and two nights.

There had been in their Ship eight men more, which were drowned, being all Frenchmen, dwelling in a place in *France* called *Olorenne*. They had been at *Danſwick*, and lost their Ship about *Oxford Nas*, as might be learned by their words. They were men that feared God, the one of them was Owner of the Ship. Their exercise, while they were in our Ship, was, that after their coming in, they gave thanks for their Deliverance: both Morning and Evening they exercised Prayer, and also before and after Meat; and when they came into *France*, our Ships went to the same place where these men dwelled, and one of them did sell unto our men their Ships lading of Salt, and did use them very courteously and friendly, and not at that time only, but always whensoever that Ship cometh thither, (as the hath been there twice since) he always doth for them, so that they can lack nothing. I should have noted, that after our Ship had taken up those three men out of the Sea, they had the wind fair presently, and came and overtook the other two Ships again, and so they proceeded in their Voyage together.

For the more credit of this Story above recited, to satisfy either the doubtful, or to prevent the quarreller, I have not only alledged the name of the party which was the doer thereof, but also expressed the matter in his own words, as I of him received it; the Party and Reporter himself being yet alive, and dwelling at *Lee*, a man so well known amongst the Merchants of London, that whoſoever heareth the name of *Thomas Morfe*, will never doubt thereof. And again, the matter it self being so notoriously known to Merchants as well here as at *Antwerp*, that though his name were not expressed, the Story can lack no Witnesses.

The death of William Slech in the Kings Bench.

May 11. Will. Slech died in the Kings Bench, and buried in the field.

The last day of the said Month of *May*, in the year aforesaid, *William Slech* being in Prison for the said Doctrine of the Lords Gospel, and the Confession of his Truth, died in the *Kings Bench*, and was buried on the backside of the said Prison, for that the Romish Catholic Spirituality thought him not worthy to come within their Pope holy Church-yards, neither in any other Christian Burial, as they call it.

The Story of four men condemned at *Lewis* the 6. day of June.

June 6. Four Martyrs burnt at *Lewis*.

In June next following, about the sixth day of the same Month, four Martyrs suffered together at *Lewis*, whose names were these:

Thomas Harland of *Woodmancote*, Carpenter.
John Oswald of *Woodmancote*, Husbandman.
Thomas Avington of *Ardingly*, Turner.
Thomas Read.

To *Thomas Harland* I find in the Bishop of *Londons* Registers, to be objected for not coming to Church. Whereunto he answered, That after the Mass was restored, he never had will to hear the same, because (said

he) it was in Latin which he did not understand, and therefore as good, quoth he, never a whit as never the better.

John Oswald denied to answer any thing, until his Accusers should be brought face to face before him; and nevertheless said, That Fire and Fagots could not make him afraid: but as the good Preachers which were in *King Edwards* time have suffered and gone before, so was he ready to suffer and come after, and would be glad thereof.

These four, after long Imprisonment in the *Kings Bench*, were burned together at *Lewis* in *Suffex*, in one Fire, the day of the Month aforesaid.

The Martyrdom of *Thomas Whood*, and *Thomas Milles*.

In the same Town of *Lewis*, and in the same Month likewise, were burned *Thomas Whood* Minister, and *Thomas Milles*, about the twentieth day of the same Month, for relishing the erroneous and heretical Doctrine of the pretended Catholic Church of *Rome*.

Two dead in the Kings Bench.

In the which Month likewise, *William Adherall* Minister, imprisoned in the *Kings Bench*, there died the 24. day of the same Month, and was buried in the backside: Also *John Clement* Wheelwright, who dying in the said Prison, in like sort upon the Dungehill was buried in the backside two days after, viz. the 25. day of June.

A Merchants Servant burned at *Leicester*.

The next day following of the said Month of *June*, we read of a certain young man, a Merchants Servant, who for the like godliness suffered cruel Persecution of the Papists, and was burnt at *Leicester* the 26. day of the Month of *June* above named.

Thirteen Martyrs burned at *Straford* the Bow.

Not long after the death of the Merchants Servant before mentioned, there followed in this happy and blessed order of Martyrs burned in one Fire at *Straford* the Bow by *Londons*, eleven men and two women, whose dwellings were in sundry places in *Essex*, and whose names hereafter follow.

Henry Adlington.
Lawrence Parnam.
Henry Wye.
William Hallywel.
Thomas Bowyer.
George Searles.
Edmund Harf.

Lyon Cawch.
Ralph Jackin.
John Derisfall.
John Routh.
Elizabeth Pepper.
Agnes George.

Unto whom the 6. of *June*, An. 1556. Dr. *Darbyshire*, Bomer, Chancellor, in form of Law minitred the same Articles that were pronounced unto *Thomas Whittle* and his Company, mentioned before, to the which they made their several answers, in simplicity and in a good confidence. The sum and effect whereof ensueth.

To the first, they all answered affirmatively; but *Lyon Cawch* added further, that he believed that the true Faith and Religion of Christ is, whereſoever the Word of God is truly preached.

To the second Article they all answered in effect, denying that there be seven Sacraments; some affirming that in the Church of Christ there be but two Sacraments, that is to say, Baptism and the Lords Supper: Others referring themselves to believe as the Scripture teacheth them: And other some refused to make answer because of their simplicity.

To the third Article they all answered affirmatively.

To the fourth Article they all answered affirmatively, saying *John Routh*, what he would make no answer therunto, but *John Routh* added, that he believed the Article to be true, but was bound to have no better knowledge.

Anno 1556.

Answer of John Oswald.

June 20. Two Martyrs burnt at *Lewis*.

June 24. W. Adherall.

June 25. John Clement.

June 26. A Merchants Servant.

June 27. Thirteen Martyrs suffering at *Straford* the Bow.

Answer to the second Article.

Answer to the third Article.

Answer to the fourth Article.

know.

Anno 1556. knowledge. And Agnes George added, that in K. Edward the sixth his time she went from her old Faith and Religion, and believed in the Faith and Religion that was then taught and set forth.

Answer to the fifth Article. To the fifth, they all answered in effect affirmatively, saving John Routh, whose answer was, That the Mass is such a thing, which neither can nor will enter into his Conscience. And Henry Adlington answered, That for nine or ten years before, he milked the Mass, and also the Sacrament of the Altar, because they cannot be proved by the Scriptures. And as touching the Authority of the Sec of Rome, he being but fourteen years of age, took an Oath against the same, which Oath (he said) he intended to keep by the grace of God.

Answer to the sixth Article. To the sixth they all answered affirmatively, saving John Routh, and William Halliwell, who both refused to answer, because they knew not what they meant by this Article. But the two Women added, That they refused to be reconciled to the Faith and Religion that was then used in the Realm of England. And Laurence Pernam added, That he never refused to be reconciled and brought to the Unity of the Catholick Church of Christ.

Answer to the seventh Article. To the seventh Article they all answered affirmatively; but William Halliwell denied that ever he called the Mass Idolatry and Abomination. And Henry Wye affirming the Article to be true; yet he confessed his infirmity, that he went to his Parish Church and received, before he was put in Prison.

Answer to the eighth Article. To the eighth Article Edmund Hurst, Ralph Jackson, and George Searles answered affirmatively: Henry Wye said he was brought before certain Justices of Peace in Essex, concerning one Higbed his late Master, and thereupon he was committed to Colchester Castle, and from thence sent to London to the Bishop to be further examined. William Halliwell affirmed the like confession as Henry Wye did, only Higbed excepted. John Derisfall said he was called before the Lord Rich, and Mr. Midmay of Chelmsford, and was by them sent to Boner Bishop of London, to be further by him examined. Thomas Bowyer said he was brought before one Mr. Wiseman of Felsted, and by him was sent to Colchester Castle, and from thence was carried to Boner Bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Lyon Carweb said that he was sent to come before the King and Queens Majesties Commissioners, and there before them appearing three times, was sent to Boner Bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Henry Adlington said, That he coming to Newgate to speak with one Gratwicke there being Prisoner for the Testimony of Jesus Christ, was apprehended and brought before Dr. Story, and by him sent to Boner Bishop of London, to be by him further examined. John Routh said, That he was converted before the Earl of Oxford, and by him sent to the Castle of Colchester, and from thence conveyed to Boner Bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Laurence Pernam said, That he was committed to Harford Prison, because he would not go to Church, and from thence sent to Boner Bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Agnes George said, That she was committed to Prison in Colchester, at the commandment of one Mr. Maynard an Alderman of the Town, because she would not go to Church, and from thence was sent to Boner Bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Elizabeth Pepper said she was apprehended by two Constables and an Alderman, for that she would not come to Church, and by them was sent to Boner Bishop of London, to be by him further examined.

Answer to the ninth Article. To the ninth Article, they all believed the Premises to be true above by them confessed, and that they were of the Diocess and Jurisdiction of London. But Elizabeth Pepper added, That she was of the Town of Colchester.

And Agnes George added, That she was of the Parish of Barefold. And Lyon Carweb added, That he was then of the City of London, by reason that he was at that present a Merchant there.

Henry Wye. Henry Wye, Brewer, was of the Parish of Stamford le Hore, and of 32. years of age.

W. Halliwell. William Halliwell was a Smith, of the Parish of Waltham Holle-Croft, and of the age of 24. years, or thereabouts.

Ralph Jackson was a Servingman, of Shipping Onger, and of the age of 24. years.

Laurence Pernam was a Smith of Hadston, within Laurence the Parish of Amwell, in the County of Hartford, and of the age of 22. years.

John Derisfall was a Labourer, of the Parish of Retington in Essex, and of the age of 50. years.

Edmund Hurst was a Labourer, of the Parish of S. James's in Colchester, and of the age of 50. years and above.

Thomas Bowyer was a Weaver of Much Darnow, and of the age of 36. years.

George Searles was a Taylor, between 20. or 21. years of age, of the Parish of White Nettle, where he was taken and carried to the Lord Rich, who sent him to Colchester Castle, with a Commandment that no Friend he had should speak with him. There he lay six weeks, and was sent up to London, where he was sometime in the Bishops Colchouse, sometime in Lollards Tower, and last of all in Newgate. He was apprehended in Lent, about a fortnight before Easter, in the place aforesaid.

Lyon Carweb was a Broker, born in Flanders, and then resident, at his taking, in the City of London, and of the age of 28. years or thereabouts.

Henry Adlington was a Sawyer, and of Greensted in the County of Suffex, and of the age of 30. years.

John Routh was a Labourer, and of the Parish of John Routh Wickes in Essex, and of the age of 26. years.

Elizabeth Pepper was the wife of Thomas Pepper Weaver, of the Parish of S. James's in the Town of Colchester, and of the age of 30. years, or thereabouts; who when she was burned at Stratford, was eleven weeks gone with child, as she then testified to one Basons wife, who then unloosed her Neckchief, saying moreover, when she was asked why she did not tell them; and answering, Why, quoth she, they knew it well enough. O! such be the bloody hearts of this cruel Generation, that no occasion can lay them from their mischievous murdering of the Saints of the Lord, which truly profess Christ crucified only and alone for the satisfaction of their sins.

Agnes George was the wife of Richard George Husbandman, of West Barefold in the County of Essex, and of the age of 26. years. This Richard George had another wife burned beside her in the Postern at Colchester, and himself lay in Prison until Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, and then was delivered.

When these thirteen were condemned, and the day appointed they should suffer, which was the 27. day of June, An. 1556. they were carried from Newgate in London the said day to Stratford the Bow, (which was the place appointed for their Martyrdom) and there divided into two parts, in two several Chambers. Afterward the Sheriff, who there attended upon them, came to the one part, and told them that the other had recanted, and their lives therefore should be saved, willing and exhorting them to do the like, and not to cast away themselves.

Unto whom they answered, That their Faith was not builded on Man, but on Christ crucified. Then the Sheriff perceiving no good to be done with them, went to the other part, and said (like a liar) the like to them, that they whom he had been with before, had recanted, and should therefore not suffer death, counselling them to do the like, and not willfully to kill themselves, but to play the wile men, &c.

Unto whom they answered as their Brethren had done before, that their Faith was not builded on Man, but on Christ and his Word, &c.

Now when he saw it bootied not to perswade (for they were, God be praised, fully grounded on the Rock Jesus Christ) he then led them to the place where they should suffer, and being all there together, most earnestly they prayed unto God, and joyfully went to the Stake, and kissed it, and embraced it very heartily.

The eleven men were tied to three Stakes; and the two women loose in the midst without any Stake, and so they were all burnt in one Fire, with such love to each other, and constancy in our Saviour Christ, that it made all

the lookers on to marvel. The Lord grant us the like grace in the like need, according to the good pleasure of his will, Amen.

In the company of these foresaid thirteen, were three more condemned to dye; whose Names are here-under specified:

These three
were dis-
pensed all
by the Car-
dinal.

Thomas Freeman.
William Stannard.
William Adams.

Which three answered to those Articles that were propounded unto the said thirteen, in effect as they did. And being thus in the hands of the Secular Power, Cardinal Pool sent his Dispensation for their lives, by what occasion I cannot safely say, but by means thereof they then escaped. The Copy of which Dispensation, because it is exemplified in our first Impression, I shall desire the Reader to refer to the place of the page 1525.

The Sunday after these foresaid sixteen were condemned, Fecknam Dean of Pauls preached at Pauls Cross, where he declared, that they had as many sundry Opinions as they were sundry Persons. At the hearing

Anno

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whereof they drew out their Faith, and set to their Hands as hereafter followeth, and directed the same to their Friends, and the faithful Congregation, as followeth.

Unto all our dearly beloved Friends, and the holy Congregation of Jesus Christ, even so many as love God, grace be with you, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it.

A Letter or
Apology of
the Martyrs,
pursuing
themselves
of the false
flander of
Mr. Fecknam.

It is manifest to all unto whom this our Certificate shall be sent, that where upon Saturday, being the thirteenth day of June, at Fulham, before the Bishop of London, sixteen of us (whose names here-under are subscribed) were condemned to dye for the most pure and sincere truth of Christ's verity; which most godly truth hath been from the beginning with the wicked adversaries thereof continually defaced, and is by the Devil and his Imps even at this present likewise daily slandered: Upon this occasion, dearly beloved Brethren, we are moved, yea constrained, in the ears of all men to manifest our belief, and also briefly the Articles whereof we are condemned, for the avoiding of false reports and slanderous tongues, which might happen by the most ungodly and uncharitable Sermon lately preached at Pauls Cross, the fourteenth of the said Month, being Sunday, by Mr. Fecknam, now Dean of the same Church: where he in that most worthy Audience defamed us to be in sixteen sundry Opinions, which were a thing prejudicial to all Christ's verity; and for a testimonial thereof, this here-under written shall answer our Cause, and therefore we pray you that are of God to judge.

Uniform
agreement
in their Faith

The first, we believe we were baptized in the Faith of Christ's Church, and incorporate unto him, and made Members of his Church, in the which Faith we continue. And although we have erred for a certain time, yet the root of Faith was preserved in us by the Holy Ghost, which hath reduced us into a full certainty of the same, and we do per-

fit, and will by Gods assistance to the end. Now mark, that although the Minister were of the Church malignant, yet his wickedness did not hurt us, for that he baptized us in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

There was both the Word and the Element, and our Godfathers and Godmothers renouncing for us the Devil and all his Works, and confessing the Articles of the Christian Faith for us, and also witnesses that we are baptized, not in the Faith of the Church of Rome, but in the Faith of Christ's Church.

The greatest
Son of their
Baptism.

1. Item, There are but two Sacraments in Christ's Sacrament Church, that is, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. For in these are contained the Faith of Christ his Church; that is, the two Testaments, the Law and the Gospel. The effect of the Law is repentance, and the effect of the Gospel remission of sins.

The Sacrament
of the
Church.

2. Item, We believe that there is a visible Church, wherein the Word of God is preached, and the holy Sacraments truly ministered, visible to the wicked world, although it be not credited, and by the death of Saints confirmed, as it was in the time of Helias the Prophet as well as now.

The visible
Church.

3. The See of Rome is the See of Antichrist, the Congregation of the wicked, &c. whereof the Pope is Head under the Devil.

The See of
Antichrist.

4. Item, The Mass is not only a profanation of the Lords Supper, but also a blasphemous Idol.

The Mass.

5. Item, God is neither spiritually nor corporally in the Sacrament of the Altar, and there remaineth no Substance in the same, but only the Substance of Bread and Wine.

Transub-
stantiation
denied.

For these the Articles of our Belief, we being condemned to dye, do willingly offer our corruptible Bodies to be dissolved in the fire, with one voice assenting and

con-

Anno 1556. confenting thereunto, and in no point dissenting or disagreeing from any of our former Articles.

Apparent also let it be and known, that being of the former Articles before the bloody Bishop examined, he said day and time, we affirmed to believe all that he or they would approve by the Scriptures. But he said that he would not stand to prove it with Hereticks, but said they themselves were the holy Church, and that we ought to believe them, or else to be cut off like withered branches.

Their Names subscribed to the same.

Thirteen of these were Martyrs, as is before said.

Ralph Jackson.	Edmund Hurst.
Henry Adlington.	Lawrence Parnam.
Lyon Cawch.	Thomas Bewyer.
William Halliwell.	Elizabeth Pepper.
George Searles.	Agnes George.
John Routh.	Thomas Freeman.
John Derisfall.	William Stannard.
Henry Wye.	William Adams.

Trouble and business in the Diocess of Litchfield.

IN the Diocess of Litchfield, about the fourteenth of June, in the same year, John Celfstock who was lately come from London before, and now dwelling at Welington, though he suffered no Martyrdom, yet sustained some trouble, being attached and examined by the Bishop, named Ralph Bane, for his Religion, especially for two points, in holding against the reality of Christ in the Sacrament, and against Auricular Confession to be made to the Priest. For the which cause being compelled to recant, he was enjoined in the Church of St. Cedde to bear a Flagot before the Cross, bare-headed, having in the one hand a Taper, and in the other a pair of Beads, &c.

Amongst divers other which in the same Diocess, and the same time were suspected and troubled for the like, was Thomas Flier of Uttoxeter, Shoemaker, Nich. Ball of Uttoxeter, Capper, Thomas Pyot of Chedull.

Item, Henry Crimes for marrying his Wife on Palm-Sunday Even, &c. Some other also there were which had the like Penance enjoined them as Thomas Johnson about the 26. day of this Month of June, because he swore by the holy Mass before the Bishop sitting in Judgment, who for the same was driven to go before the Cross with his Taper and Beads, &c.

Concerning the which Thomas Flier above named, being a godly and a zealous man, this furthermore is to be noted, and not unworthy of grateful memory, that whereas in the Town of Uttoxeter, commandment was directed unto him amongst others from the Ordinary, for pulling down Monuments of Superstition, and namely the Rood-loft; he being one of the Churchwardens or Sidemen, on a time had talk upon the same with certain of his Neighbours, where one wished them ill to chieve, that should go about such an act.

What words passed else amongst them, ministering matter of farther provocation, it is not perfectly known. In fine, the said Flier being offended, and afterward meeting with him that had used such words before, began to commune with him of the matter; but in the end the man so little repented him of those sayings, that he added yet more fierce words, and at length strokes also, in such wise, that at the conflict the said Thomas Flier was slain; and yet so was the matter handled, and such amends was made with Money by the Murderer and his Friends, to the said Fliers wife, that he suffered little or nothing for the same, save only that he was banished the Town, and sworn and bound never to come in it so long as the said Fliers wife should live.

Three men dead in the Prison of the Kings Bench.

AFTER the burning of these in Stratford, the same Month died in the Prison of the Kings Bench in Southwark, one Thomas Parret, and was buried in the backside, the 27. day of the Month above said.

Also Martin Hunt (as is reported) in the same Prison was furnished the 29. day. At which time likewise died in the same Prison, as I find recorded, one John Norice,

and after the same sort as the other was buried on the backside of the said Prison, the day above mentioned.

The Story of three Martyrs suffering at St. Edmundsbury.

AFTER the death of the afore said Thomas Parret, June 16. Martin Hunt, and John Norice, were three martyred at St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, in one fire, whose Names are here under specified:

Roger Bernard.
Adam Foster.
Robert Lawton.

The first Examination of Roger Bernard before Dr. Hop-ton Bishop of Norwich.

WHEN Roger Bernard came before the Bishop, first he was asked whether he had been with the Priest at Easter to be thriven, and whether he had received the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, or no? Unto whom Roger Bernard answered, No: I have not been with the Priest, nor confessed my self unto him, but I have confessed my sins to Almighty God, and I trust he hath forgiven me; whereof I shall not need to go to the Priest for such matters, who cannot help himself.

Bish. Surely Bernard thou must needs go, and confess thy self unto him.

Rog. That shall I not do (by Gods grace) while I live.

Bish. What a stout boyly Heretic is this? How desperately he answereth?

Rog. My Lord, it grieveth me no whit (I thank God) to be called Heretic at your hands: for so your Forefathers called the Prophets and Confessors of Christ, long before this time.

At these words the Bishop rose up in a great heat, and bade Bernard follow him. Then the Bishop went and kneeled before that they call the Sacrament of the Altar, and as he was in his Prayers kneeling, he looked back, and asked Bernard why he came not and did as he did. Unto whom Bernard answered, I cannot tell why I should so do. Why, quoth the Bishop, thou lewd Fellow, whom seest thou yonder, pointing to the Pix over the Altar?

Rog. I see no Body there. Do you, my Lord?

Bish. Why, naughty man, dost thou not see thy Maker?

Rog. My maker? No, I see nothing but a few Clouds hanging together on a heap. With that the Bishop rose up sore displeased, and commanded the Jaylor to take him away, and to lay Irons enough on him. For, quoth he, I will tame him ere he go from me, I trow so; and so he was carried away.

The second Examination of Roger Bernard before the said Bishop.

THE next day Bernard was brought again before the Bishop, who asked him if he did not remember himself since the day before, that he was before him.

Rog. Yes, my Lord, I have remembered my self very well, for the same man I was yesterday, I am this day, and I hope shall be all the days of my life, concerning the matter you talked with me of.

Then one of the Guard standing by, said, My Lord, I pray you trouble not your self any more with him, but let me have the examining of him, I shall handle him after another sort, I trow, and make him a fair Child ere he go, you shall see.

So was he committed to him, and brought by him to an Inn, where were a great many of Priests assembled together, and there they fell all in flustering him, and persuading him with gay enticing words what they could; but when therein they might not prevail, for that the Lord assisted the good poor man, then began they to threaten him with whipping, stocking, burning, and such like, that it was wonderful the do they made with him. Unto whom Bernard said, Friends, I am not better then my Master Christ and the Prophets, which your Fathers served after such sort; and I for his Names sake am content.

Rog. Bernard
firstly
Auricular
Confession.

Note the
Catholic
Clarity of
this Protest

One of the
Guard taketh
Bernard to
School.

A whole
company of
Catechists.

June 14.
Ralph Bane
Bishop of
Litchfield,
a cruel
Persecutor.

Marrying in
Lent
punished.
June 26.
The John
for breaking
by the holy
Mass, did
penance.

Thomas Flier
slain in
Gods quarrel.

June 27.
The Parret.

June 29.
John Hunt.

Roger Bernard
Condemned by
the Bishop
of Norwich.

Brought
thence by
Thomas Men.

June 20.
Adam Foster
Martyr.

George Revet,
The Martyr,
Sir John Tyrrel
persecutor.

Gods stroke
upon willid
persecutors.

A young
Man Perish
clerk a-
gainst his
Confession.

Revet pray-
ed for a
strange-
ken.

Revet con-
fessed the
Lords hand
against him,
and yet con-
tinued in his
sin.

tent to suffer the like at your hands, if God shall so permit, trusting that he will strengthen me in the same according to his promise, in spite of the Devil and all his Ministers. So when they could not make him to relent or yield, they said, behold a right Scholar of *John Fortune*, whom they had then in prison. Then carried they him to the Bishop, who immediately condemned him as an Heretick, and delivered him to the Secular Power.

This *Roger Bernard* was a single Man; and by his vocation a Labourer, dwelling in *Fransden* in *Suffolk*, who was taken in the night by Master *Tamages* Men, because he would not go to Church to hear their unfavoury Service, and so by them carried to prison.

Adam Foster.

A *Adam Foster* of the age of six and twenty years, Husbandman, being married, dwelling in *Mendlesham* in the County of *Suffolk*, was taken at home in his house a little before the Sun going down by the Constables of the said Town, *George Revet* and *Thomas Mause*, at the Commandment of *Sir John Tyrrel* of *Gyppinghal* in *Suffolk*, Kt. because he would not go to Church and hear Mass, and receive at *Easter*, except he might have it after Christs Holy Ordinance. When they came for him, they told him he must go with them unto the Justice. Unto whom *Adam Foster* said, for Christs Cause, and to save his Conscience, he was well contented; and so they led him to *Sir John Tyrrel*, and he sent him to *Aye* dungeon in *Suffolk*, from whence at length he was sent to *Norwich*, and there condemned by Bishop *Hopton*.

Now after his taking, the said *Thomas Mause* and *George Revet* were stricken with a great fear and sickness, whereby *Mause* pined and consumed away even unto death, although he was a Man of young and lusty age. But *George Revet* who was the said *Mause*s fellow, and a great Reader of the Scripture, or (as a Man may term it) a talkative Gospeller, would not be premonished by the Works of God, but set his Son to help the Priest say Mass, and to be Clerk of the same Town of *Mendlesham* for lucre sake; yet was there a fair warning given him of God, although he had not the Grace so to consider it, the which thing was this.

A young Man of the same Parish newly married, called *Robert Edgore*, being of a ripe wit and sound, was Clerk in the said Church before the said *Revet* set his Son in that room, and executed the Office a little, yet, alas too long, against his own Conscience; whereby at length the Lord took away his wits, that many years after, his poor and woful Wife, good Woman, was compelled to keep him chained, and bound continually, lest he should unawares do himself or some other some mischief, as many times (the more pity) he was ready enough to do.

This (as I said) would not admonish *Revet*, but needs he must persist in his wicked purpose. Notwithstanding at the length, as many Men were offended with him in the Parish, as honest women especially (being mightily grieved at his ungodly doings) came to him and said, Neighbour *Revet*, are ye not afraid to let your Son help the naughty Priest to say Mass, and to serve that abominable Idol? and he said, No.

Then said they, we fear not to go to Church and hear Mass, seeing you, being a Man that so much profess Christianity, will let your Son help the Priest say Mass, &c.

At which words *Revet* waxed angry, and in his rage immediately made his Prayer unto God after this manner, or with such like words, saying; O Lord, if it be not thy will that my Son should so do, then I beseech thee send some strange token to let me understand what thy good pleasure is therein, &c. So according to his Petition, within short space after, his neighbors Bull came into his Pasture, and there he having a very proper Gelding, which was his felicity above any thing he had, the Bull running upon him, did so wound and gore him, that immediately thereof his Gelding died, and he thereby nothing amended. For although he knew and confessed, that it was the Lords hand upon him for the sufferance of his Son in that wicked vocation; yet would he not take him from it, but permitted him still to use and frequent the same against his own Conscience.

At the last, the Lord justly sent upon him a great swelling in his Legs, which did so grievously vex and trouble him by reason it swelled upward, that at length having thereby brought upon him a very strange sickness, he died most miserably, in so impatient manner; that it terrified all good hearts to hear thereof. The Lord grant for Christs sake, that we may observe his Judgments better, to his glory and our comfort, Amen. *Ex testimonio quorundam Suffolensium.*

Robert Lawton.

R *Robert Lawton* was a single Man, of the age of thirty years, and by vocation a Linen Weaver, who was apprehended in the night by one *Robert Kereth*, at the commandment of *Sir John Tyrrel* of *Gyppinghal* in *Suffolk*, Knight, and so was immediately carried to *Aye* Dungeon in *Suffolk*, where he remained a certain time, and after was led to *Bury*. The cause of his taking was, for that he would not go to Church to hear Mass, and receive their Popish Idol.

When these three fore said Martyrs were carried to their deaths, viz. *Roger Bernard*, *Adam Foster*, and *Robert Lawton* at *Bury*, after they had made their Prayer, being at the Stake, and the tormentors attending the fire, they most triumphantly ended their lives, in such happy and blessed condition, as did notably set forth their constancy and joyful end, to the great praise of God, and their commendation in him, and also to the encouragement of others in the same quarrel to do the like. The Lord of strength fortifie us to stand as his true Souldiers in what standing soever he shall think it good to place us, Amen.

In the Examination of *Roger Bernard*, ye heard a little before, how he was compared by the Priests there, to *John Fortune*, and called his Scholar. This *John Fortune*, otherwise called *Cutler*, of *Himelsham* in *Suffolk*, was by his occupation a Black-Smith, whom they had before then in Examination a little before, the 20. day of April. In Spirit he was zealous and ardent, in the Scriptures ready, in Christs Cause stout and valiant, in his answers marvellous, and no less patient in his wrongfull suffering then constant in his Doctrine. Whether he was burned, or died in Prison, I cannot certainly find; but rather I suppose that he was burned. Certain it is, howsoever he was made away, he never yielded. What his Answers and Examinations were before *D. Parker* and the Bishop, ye shall hear him, although not with his own mouth speaking, yet with his own hand you shall see written, what he did say, as followeth.

The Examination of John Fortune before Doctor Parker and Mr. Foster.

First *D. Parker* asked me how I believed in the Catholic Faith.

And I asked him which Faith he meant; whether the Faith that *Stephens* had, or the Faith of them that put *Stephen* to death.

D. Parker being moved, said, What a naughty fellow is this? you shall see anon he will deny the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

M. Foster. Then said Master *Foster*, I know you well enough. You are a busie Merchant. How sayest thou by the blessed Mass?

For. And I stood still and made no answer.

Fost. Then said Master *Foster*, why speakest thou not, and makest the Gentleman an answer?

For. And I said, Silence is a good answer to a foolish question.

Park. Then said the Doctor, I am sure he will deny the blessed Sacrament of the Altar also.

For. And I said, I know none such, but only the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Park. Then said he, you deny the order of the seven Sacraments. And why dost thou not believe in the Sacrament of the Altar?

For. And I said, because it is not written in Gods Book.

Park. Then said he, you will not believe unwritten Verities.

Anno
1556.

Revet died of a strange sickness. The Lords hand upon *Revet*.

June 20.
Robert Lawton Martyr.
at *Robert Kereth* a persecutor.

The Martyrdom of *Robert Lawton*, *Adam Foster*, *Robert Lawton* at *Bury*.
Anno 1556.
June 20.

The Examination of *John Fortune* before *D. Parker*, and *M. Foster*.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

For.

Anno 1556. Fort. And I said, I will believe that those unwritten verities that agree with the written verities be true: but those unwritten verities that be of your own making, and invented of your own brain, I do not believe.

M. Foff. Well, said M. Foff, you shall be whipped and burned for this gear I trow.

Fort. Then said I, if you knew how these words do rejoyce my heart, you would not have spoken them.

Foff. Way thou fool, dost thou rejoyce in whipping? Fort. Yea, said I, for it is written in the Scriptures, and Christ said, Thou shalt be whipped for my names sake: and since the time that the sword of tyranny came into your hands, I heard of none that was whipped. Happy were I, if I had the maiden-head of this persecution.

Away with him then, said he for he is ten times worse then Samuel: and so he was carried to prison again.

The Second Examination of John Fortune before the Bishop of Norwich.

When I came before the Bishop, he asked me if I did not believe in the Catholick Church. I said I believe that Church whereof Christ is the head.

Then the said Bishop, Dost thou not believe that the Pope is Supream Head of the Church? And I said, No, Christ is the Head of the True Church.

Bish. So do I believe also: but the Pope is Gods Vicar upon Earth, and the Head of the Church, and I believe that he hath power to forgive sins also.

Fort. Then said I, the Pope is but a Man, and the Prophet David said, that no Man can deliver his Brother, nor make agreement for him unto God: For it cost more to redeem their Souls, so that he must let that alone for ever.

Bish. And the Bishop again fetching about a great circumstance, said, Like as the Belweather weareth her Bell, and is the Head of the Flock of Sheep: so is the Pope our Head. And as the Hives of Bees have a Master Bee that bringeth the Bees to the hive again: so doth our Head bring us home again to our True Church.

Fort. Then I asked him, whether the Pope were a Spiritual Man: and he said, Yea. And I said again, They are spiteful Men; for in seventeen Months there were three Popes, and one poisoned another for that presumptuous fear of Antichrist.

Bish. It is maliciously spoken (said he) for thou must obey the power and not the Man. And thus was the Pope denied to be Supream Head.

Well, said he, why sayst thou to the Ceremonies of the Church?

Fort. And I answered, All things that are not planted by my Heavenly Father, shall be plucked up by the roots, saith Christ. For they are not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end.

Bish. They are good and godly and necessary to be used.

Fort. Saint Paul called them weak and beggarly.

Bish. No that is a lye.

Fort. I hearing that, said, that Saint Paul writeth thus in the fourth to the Galatians, You foolish Galatians (saith he) who have bewitched you, that ye seek to be in bondage to these weak and beggarly Ceremonies? Now which of you do lye? you or S. Paul? And also it is said, that works instituted, and enjoined without the commandment of God, pertain not to the Worship of God, according to the text, Matth. 23. In vain do Men Worship me with Mens traditions and commandments. And S. Paul saith, Wherefore do ye carry us away from the Grace of Christ to another kind of Doctrine? And Christ openly rebuked the Scribes, Lawyers, Pharisees, Doctors, Priests, Bishops, and Hypocrites, for making Gods commandments of none effect, to support their own tradition.

Bish. Thou liest, there is not such a word in all the Scriptures, thou naughty Heretic! Thou art worse then all other Heretics for Hooper (said he) and Bradford allow them to be good, and thou dost not. Away with him.

Here you may perceive, how that the Catholick Church cannot err, but whatsoever they say must needs be true. And so my Lord Bishop cannot lye, as it may appear to all Men plainly in the Text.

The Third Examination of John Fortune before the Bishop of Norwich.

The next day I was brought before the said Bishop again, where he made a Sermon upon the sixth Chapter of St. Johns Gospel, of Chrills words, I am the Bread that came down from Heaven, &c. And thereupon had a great bibble babble to no purpose. So in the end I was called before him, and he said to me:

Bish. How believest thou in the Sacrament of the Altar? Dost thou not believe, that after the consecration, there is the real substance of the Body of Christ?

Fort. And I answered him, that is the greatest plague that ever came into England.

Bish. Why so?

Fort. I said, if I were a Bishop, and you a poor Man as I am, I would be ashamed to ask such a question. For a Bishop should be apt to teach and not to learn.

Bish. I am appointed by the Law to teach, so are not you.

Fort. And I said, Your Law breaketh out very well: for you have burned up the true Bishops and Preachers, and maintained liars to be in their stead.

Bish. Now you may understand that he is a Traitor: for he denieth the higher powers.

Fort. I am no Traitor: for Saint Paul saith, All Souls must obey the higher powers, and I resist not the higher powers, concerning my Body, but I must resist your evil Doctrine wherewith you would infect my Soul.

Adock. Then said a Doctor, My Lord, you do not well; let him answer shortly to his Articles.

Bish. How sayest thou? make an answer quickly to these Articles.

Fort. Saint Paul saith, Heb. 10. Christ did one Sacrifice once for all, and set him down on the right hand of his Father, triumphing over Hell and Death making intercession for sins.

Bish. I ask thee no such question, but make answer to this Article.

Fort. If it be not God before the Consecration, it is not God after: for God is without beginning and without ending.

Bish. Then said he, lo, what a stiff Heretic is this? He hath denied all together: how sayest thou? Is it Idolatry to worship the Blessed Sacrament or no?

Fort. God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in Spirit and Truth.

Bish. I ask thee no such question: answer me discreetly.

Fort. I answer that this is the God Manicism, that robbeth God of his honour.

Bish. It is pity that the ground beareth thee, that thou hast a Tongue to speak. Then said the Scribe; Here are a great many more Articles.

Bish. Then said the Bishop, Away with him: for he hath spoken too much.

Another Examination of John Fortune.

And when I came to mine Examination again, the Bishop asked me if I would stand unto mine answer that I had made before: and I said, Yea: for I had spoken nothing but the truth. And after that he made a great circumstance upon the Sacrament.

Then I desired him to stand to the Text, and he read the Gospel on Corpus Christi day, which said, I am the Bread which came down from Heaven: believest thou not this? And I said, Yea truly.

And he said, Why dost thou deny the Sacrament? Because your Doctrine is false, said I.

Then said he, how can that be false which is spoken in the Scripture? And I said, Christ said, I am the Bread, and you say the Bread is he. Therefore your Doctrine is false, said I.

And he said, Dost thou not believe that the Bread is he? And I said, No.

Bish. I will bring thee to it by the Scriptures.

Fort. Hold that fast my Lord: for that is the best Argument that you have yet.

Bish. Thou shalt be burned like an Heretic.

Fort.

Another Examination of John Fortune before the Bishop of Norwich.

Catholick Prelates obstinacious to higher powers so long as they make their display, but when they do otherwise, then they examine them.

Other talks between John Fortune and the Bishop of Norwich.

John 6.

Fort. Who shall give judgment upon me ?

Bish. I will judge an hundred such as thou art, and never be shaven upon it.

Fort. Is there not law for the spirituality as well as for the Temporality ? And Sir Clement Higham said, Yes. What meanest thou by that ?

Fort. When a Man is perjured by the Law, he is cast over the Bar, and sitteth no more in judgment. And the Bishop is a perjured Man, and ought to sit in judgment of no Man.

Bish. How provest thou that ?

Fort. Because you took an Oath in King Henries days to resist the Pope. So both spiritual and temporal are perjured, that here can be no true judgment.

Bish. Thinkest thou to escape judgment by that ? Nor for my Chancellor shall judge thee. He took no Oath, for he was then out of the Realm.

M. Higham. It is time to weed out such fellows as you be, indeed.

Bish. Good fellow, why believest not thou in the Sacrament of the Altar ?

Fort. Because I find it not in Gods Book, nor yet in the Doctors. If it were there I would believe it with all my heart.

Bish. How knowest thou it is not there ?

Fort. Because it is contrary to the second Commandment : and seeing it is not written in Gods Book, why do you then rob me of my Life ?

Then the Bishop having no more to say, commanded the Bailiff to take him away.

And thus much touching the Examinations of this Man. Now whether he dyed in fire, or was otherwise prevented with death, as I said before, I am uncertain.

In the Register of *Norwich* this I do find, that his Sentence of Condemnation was drawn and registered; but whether it was pronounced, in the said Register it is not expressed, according as the usual manner of the Notary is to declare, in the end of the sentence. Nevertheless this is most certain, that he never abjured nor recanted, howsoever it pleased the Lord by death to call him out of this World.

The death of John Careles in the Kings Bench.

About this time, the first day of July, amongst divers other prisoners which died the same year in the Kings Bench, was also one John Careles of Coventry a Weaver. Who though he were by the secret judgment of Almighty God prevented by death, so that he came not to the full Martyrdom of his Body, yet is he no less worthy to be counted in honour and place of Christs Martyrs, then other that suffered most cruel torments, as well for that he was for the same truths sake a long time imprisoned, as also for his willing mind and zealous affection he had thereunto; if the Lord had so determined it as well may appear by his Examination had before Doctor Martin. Which Examination because it contained nothing almost but wrangling interrogations, and matters of contention, wherein Doctor Martin would enter into no communication about the Articles of his accusation, but only urged him to detect his fellows, it shall not be greatly material therefore to express the whole, but only to except so much as pertaining to the question of predestination, may bring some fruit to the Reader.

The effect of John Careles Examination before Doctor Martin briefly declared.

First, Doctor Martin calling John Careles to him in his Chamber, demanded what was his name. To whom the other had answered, that his name was John Careles, then began Doctor Martin to demand at his pleasure upon that name, saying, that it would appear by his condition, by that time he had done with him, that he would be a true careles Man indeed. And so after other by-talk there spent about much needless matter, then he asked him where he was born.

Careles. Forsooth, faith he, at Coventry.

Martin. At Coventry ? what so farr, Man ? How comest thou hither ? Who sent thee to the Kings Bench to prison ?

Careles. I was brought thither by a Writ, I trow, what Anno he was I cannot tell. I think Master Marshal can tell 1556.

Marshal. In good Faith I cannot tell what the matter is ; but indeed my Lord chief Justice sent him from the Bar.

Mart. Well Careles, I would thou shouldst play the Wife Mans part. Thou art a handfom Man, and it is pity but thou shouldst do well, and save that which God hath bought.

Careles. I thank your good mastership most heartily : and I put you out of doubt, that I am most sure and certain of my Salvation by Jesus Christ; so that my Soul is safe already, whatsoever pains my Body suffer here for a little time.

Mart. Yea marry, you say truth. For thou art so predestinate to life, that thou canst not perish in whatsoever opinion thou dost dye.

Careles. That God hath predestinate me to eternal life in Jesus Christ, I am most certain, and even so am I sure that his Holy Spirit (wherewith I am sealed) will so preserve me from all Heresies and evil opinions, that I shall dye in none at all.

Mart. Go to, let me hear your Faith in predestination. For that shall be written also.

Careles. Your mastership shall pardon me herein. For you said your self ere while, that you had no Commission to examine my Conscience. I will trouble my self with answering no more matters then I needs must, until I come before them that shall have more Authority further to examine me.

Mart. I tell thee then I have Commission; yea, and commandment from the Council to examine thee: for they delivered me thy Articles.

Careles. Yea, I think indeed that your mastership is appointed to examine me of my Articles, which you have there in writings, and I have told you the truth. I do confess them to be mine own fact and deed; but you do now examine me of predestination, whereof my Articles speak nothing at all.

Martin. I tell thee yet again, that I must also examine thee of such things as be in controversy between thee and thy fellows in the Kings Bench, whereof predestination is a part, as thy fellow N. hath confessed, and thy self dost not deny it.

Careles. I do not deny it. But he that first told you that matter, might have found himself much better occupied.

Mart. Why? what if he had not told me? thinkest that I would not have known it? Yes, or else thou shouldst have withstood my Commission. For I tell thee truth, I may now examine thee of the Blessed Sacrament, or any other thing that I list, but that I would shew thee favour, and not be too hasty with thee at the first.

Marsh. Yea in deed Careles, Mr. Doctor hath Commission to examine you or any other of your fellows.

Martin. Yea marry have I, I tell thee the truth of it. Careles. Then let your Scribe set his pen to the paper, and you shall have it roundly, even as the truth is. I believe that Almighty God our most dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodness, did elect in Christ.

Careles. Tush, what need all that long circumstance? Write, I believe God elected, and make no more ado.

Careles. No, not so M. Doctor. It is an high mystery, and ought reverently to be spoken of. And if my words may not be written as I do utter them, I will not speak at all.

Mart. Go to, go to, write what he will. Here is more business then needeth.

Careles. I believe that Almighty God our most dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodness (through Jesus Christ) did elect and appoint in him before the Foundation of the Earth was laid, a Church or Congregation, which he doth continually guide and govern by his Grace and Holy Spirit, so that not one of them shall ever finally perish. When this was written, M. Doctor took it in his hand and read it, saying :

Mart. Why, who will deny this?

Careles.

The B. of
Dorchester
charged
with perju-
ry.

The death
of John Careles.

July 1.
The death
of John Careles
prisoner in
the Kings
Bench.

John Careles
examined
before Dr.
Martin.

The effect
of John Careles
Examination.

How John
Careles was
brought to
the Kings
Bench.

D. Martin
declared his
Commission.

Why Dr.
Martin
would not
examine
him of the
Sacrament.

Careles opi-
nion of
Gods
election.

Anno 1556. Carel. If your Mastership do allow it, and other learned Men when they shall see it, I have my hearts desire.

Mart. And do you hold none otherwise, then is there written?

Carel. No verily, nor never did.

Mart. Write what he saith, otherwise he holdeth not. So that was written. It was told me also, that thou dost affirm, that Christ did not dye effectually for all Men.

Carel. Whatsoever hath been told you, it is not much material unto me. Let the tellers of such tales come before my face, and I trust to make them answer. For indeed I do believe that Christ did effectually dye for all those that do effectually repent and believe, and for no other: so that was written also.

Mart. Now Sir, what is *Trews* Faith of Predestination? He believeth that all Men be predestinate, and that none shall be damned. Doth he not?

Carel. No forsooth, that he doth not.

Mart. How then?

Carel. Truly I think he doth believe as your Mastership and the rest of the Clergy do believe of predestination, that we be elected in respect of our good works, and so long elected, as we do them, and no longer.

Mart. Write what he saith, that his fellow *Trew* believeth of predestination as the Papists do believe.

Carel. Ah Master Doctor, did I so term you? Seeing that this my Confession shall come before the Council, I pray you place my terms as reverently as I speak them.

Mart. Well, well, write that *Trew* is of the same Faith as the Catholics be.

Carel. I did not so call you neither, I wonder what you mean.

Mart. You said the Clergy, did you not *Careles*?

Carel. Yes forsooth did I. So then it was written of the Clergy.

Mart. Now Sir, what say you more?

Carel. Forsooth I have no further to say in this matter.

Mart. Well *Careles*, I pray thee proveth thyself a wife Man, and do not cast away thy life wilfully.

Carel. Now the Lord he knoweth, good M. Doctor, I would full gladly live, so that I might do the same with a safe Conscience. And your Mastership shall right well perceive that I will be no wilful Man, but in all things that I stand upon I will have sure ground.

Mart. Now the Lord knoweth, good *Careles*, that I would gladly make some means to preserve thy Life. But thou speakest so much of the Lord, the Lord; wilt thou be content to go with my Lord *Fitzwater* into Ireland? me thinks thou art a goodly tall fellow to do the Queen service there. How sayest thou?

Carel. Verily Master Doctor, whether I be in Ireland, France, or Spain, or any place else, I am ready to do her Grace the best service that I can, with Body, Goods and Life, so long as it doth last.

Mart. That is honestly said, I promise thee, every Man will not say so. How say you M. *Marshall*? this Man is meet for all manner of service. Indeed thou art worthy, *Careles*, to have the more favour.

Carel. Indeed Sir, I hope to be meet and ready unto all things that pertain unto a true Christian subject to do. And if her Grace or her Officers under her do require me to do any thing contrary to Christ's Religion, I am ready also to do my service in *Smithfield* for not observing it, as my Bed-fellow and other Brethren have done, praised be God for them.

Mart. By my troth thou art a pleasant fellow as ever I talked with of all the Protestants, except it were *Tomson*. I am sorry that I must depart with thee so soon; but I have such business now, that I can tarry with thee no longer. Well yet thou canst not deny, but you are at jar amongst yourselves in the *Kings Bench*, and it is so throughout all your Congregation: for you will not be a Church.

Carel. No Master Doctor that is not so. There is a thousand times more variety in opinions among your Doctors, which you call of the Catholic Church, yea and that in the Sacrament, for the which there is so much Blood shed now a days, I mean of your late Doctors and

new Writers; as for the old they agree wholly with us.

Mart. No, *Careles*, this is not so; there thou art deceived.

Carel. Verily it is so, Master Doctor, I am not deceived therein any thing at all; as it hath been, and is evidently proved by such as God hath indued with great learning. Then he turned to the Marshal, and whispered with him a while.

Mart. Turning unto me again, he said, Farewell *Careles*: for I cannot tarry no longer with thee now, my business is such.

Carel. God be with you, good Master Doctor, The Lord give your Mastership health of Body and Soul.

Mart. God have mercy good *Careles*, and God keep thee from all errors, and give thee Grace to do as well as I would with my self.

Carel. I thank your good Mastership, I pray God I may do always that is acceptable in his sight. Whereunto they all said, Amen. And so I departed with a glad heart; God only have the whole praise, Amen.

It appeareth by the Examination of the foresaid *John Careles*, that he endured prisoner the space of two whole years, having Wife and Children. In the which his captivity, first being in *Coventry* jail, he was there in such credit with his Keeper, that upon his word he was let out to play in the Pageant about the City with his companions. And that done, keeping touch with his Keeper, he turned again into prison at his hour appointed.

And after that being brought up to *London*, he was induced with such patience and constant fortitude, that he longed for nothing more earnestly, than to come to the promotion to dye in the fire for the profession of his Faith: and yet it so pleased the Lord to prevent him with death that he came not to it, but died in the prison, and after was buried in the fields in a dunghill.

In the mean time while he was in Prison in the *Kings Bench*, it chanced he was in great heaviness and perturbation of mind and Conscience, whereupon he wrote to Master *Philpot* being then in the Colehouse. Upon the occasion hereof M. *Philpot* sent an Epistle consolatory unto him, specified before among M. *Philpots* Letters. Unto the which Epistle *John Careles* maketh answer again as followeth.

Letters of John Careles.

A Letter of John Careles answering to the loving Epistle or Letter sent to him before by M. John Philpot.

A Faithful friend is a strong defence, whose findeth such a one, findeth a treasure.

A Faithful friend hath no peer, the weight of Gold and Silver is not to be compared to the goodness of his Faith.

A Faithful friend is a medicine of life, and they that fear the Lord shall find him, Eccles. 6.

The Father of mercy and God of all consolation, comfort you with his eternal Spirit (my most dear and Faithful loving friend, good Master *Philpot*) as you have comforted me by the mighty operation of the same; the everlasting God be praised therefore for ever, Amen.

Ah my dear heart and most loving brother, if I should do nothing else day and night so long as the days of Heaven do endure, but kneel on my knees, and read Psalms, I can never be able to render unto God condign thanks, for his great mercy, fatherly kindness, and most loving compassion extended unto me most vile, sinful, wicked, and unworthy wretch. Oh that the Lord would open my mouth and give me a thankful heart, that from the bottom of the same might flow his continual praise. Oh that my sinful flesh (which is the cause of sorrow) were clean separated from me, that I might sing Psalms of thanksgiving unto the Lords name for ever; that with good *Samuels* Mother I might continually record this noble verse following, the which by the good experience I have found most true, praised be my good God therefore.

A wrong faith of predestination believing to be elected in respect of good works.

D. Martin presented favour to Careles.

More variety in the Popes Church then is amongst the Protestants.

D. Martin took his leave gently of Careles.

J. Careles died in Prison and was buried in the fields.

A Letter of John Careles to M. Philpot.

1 Reg. 2.
John Careles
raised up
by the Lord
out of great
heavens.

The Lord (faith that good Woman) killeth and maketh alive: He bringeth down to Hell, and fetcheth up again. Praise be the Lord for ever, yea, and praised be his name, for that he hath given me true experience and lively feeling of the same. Blessed be the Lord God, whose mercy endureth for ever, which hath not dealt with me according to my deep deserts, nor destroyed me in his displeasure when I had justly deserved it. Oh what reward shall I give again unto the Lord for all the great benefits that he hath done for my Soul? I will gladly receive the Cup of Salvation at his hand, and will worship his Name with Prayer and with Praise.

Ah my dear heart, yea most dear unto me in the Lord, think not this sudden change in me, to be some fickle plantain of my foolish head (as in deed some other would surely suspect it to be;) for doubtless it is the marvellous doing of the Lord; most merciful unto me his unworthy Creature. God for his great mercies sake give me Grace to be more thankful unto him then I heretofore have been, and keep me that I never fall forth of his favour again.

And now, my dear Brother and most blessed Messenger of the Lord, whose beautiful feet have brought much glad tidings to my Soul, what shall I do or say unto you, in the least part to recompence the Fatherly affection and Godly care that you continually keep for me? Oh that God would give me the Spirit of fervent Prayer, that I might yet that way supply some little part of my duty toward you. Ah my true loving friend, how soon did you lay aside all other business, to make a sweet plaister for my wounded Conscience, yea, and that out of a painful pair of stocks, which place mult needs be uneasy to write in? But God hath brought you into a straight place, that you might set my Soul at liberty. Out of your pinching and painful seat, you have plentifully poured upon me your precious Nard, the sweet favour whereof hath greatly refreshed my tired Soul. The Lord likewise refresh you, both Body and Soul, by pouring the oyl of his gracious Spirit in your sweet heart.

This comfort
received of
Mr Phelps,
read in Mt.
Tulip
Letters.

Jer 10.

Jer 26.

Jer 1.

Jer 15.

Math 7.

The circum-
spect behav-
iour of Mr.
Phelps.

John Careles
advice to M.
Ph. p. 1.

Mal 4.

Ah good Jeremy, hath Phasor put thee into the Stocks? why, now thou hast the right reward of a Prophet. Thy glory never began to appear until now. I doubt not but shortly, in stead of *Abiham* the Son of *Shapham*, Jesus the Son of the living God will come and deliver thee forth of the hands of all thine enemies, and will also make good, against them and their Antichristian Synagogue, all the words that thou hast spoken in his Name. The Lord hath made thee this day a strong defended Tower, an Iron Pillar, and a brazen Wall against the whole rabble of Antichrist, and though they fight against thee never so fiercely, yet shall they not overcome thee, for the Lord himself is with thee to help and deliver thee; and he will rid thee out of the hands of the wicked, and will deliver thee out of the hands of the Tyrants. And in that you are not busied in casting pearls before swine, nor in giving the holy things unto dogs, you are much to be commended in my simple judgment. And sure I am, that your circumspect and modest behaviour hitherto hath been as much to Gods glory, and to the shame and confusion of your enemies, as any Mens doings that are gone before you.

Wherefore mine advice and most earnest desire is, with all other of your loving friends, that you still keep that order with those blood-thirsty Bitcheeps, Bishops I should say, that you have begun. For though in conclusion they will surely have your Blood, yet shall they come by it with shame enough, and to their perpetual infamy whiles the World doth endure. They would indeed condemn you in hugger mugger, to darken Gods Glory if it might be: But Satans thoughts are not unknown to you, and the depth of his subtilty is by you well foreseen. Therefore let them do whatsoever God shall suffer them to do for I know all things shall turn to your best. Though you lye in the dark, strowed with the Bishops black coal-dust: yet shall you be shortly restored unto the heavenly Light, and made as white as Snow in *Salmon*, and as the wings of a Dove that is covered with Silver Wings, and her Feathers like Gold. You know the vessel, before it be made bright, is soiled with Oil, and other things, that it may scour the better.

Oh happy be you that you be now in the scouring house: for shortly you shall be set upon the Celestiall shelf as bright as Angels. Therefore my dear heart, I will now according to your loving request, cast away all care, and joy rejoyce with you, and praise God for you, and pray for you day and night; yea, I will now with Gods Grace sing Psalms of praise and thanksgiving with you. For now my Soul is turned to her old rest again, and hath taken a sweet nap in Christs lap. I have cast my care upon the Lord, which careth for me, and will be *Careless*, according to my name, in that respect you would have me. I will leave out my unseasonable addition as long as I live: for it can take no place where true faith and hope is resident. So soon as I had read your most godly and comfortable Letter, my sorrows vanished away as smook in the wind, my Spirit revived, and comfort came again, whereby I am sure the Spirit of God was Author of it.

Anno
1556.

John Careles
turned into
joy.

Gods graci-
ous work
through M.
Phelps
Letter.

Oh my good M. *Philpot*, which art a principal Pot-indeed filled with most precious liquor, as it appeareth by the pteous pouring forth of the same; Oh Pot most happy, of the high Potter ordained to honour, which doth contain such heavenly treasure in the earthen vessel; Oh Pot thrice happy, in whom Christ hath wrought a great miracle, altering thy nature, and turning Water into Wine, and that of the best, whereout the Master of the Feast hath filled my cup so full, that I am become drunken in the joy of the Spirit through the same: When Martyrdom shall break thee (O vessel of honour) I know the fragrant favor of thy precious Nard will much rejoyce the heavy hearts of Christs true Members, although the *Judas*es will grudge and murmur at the same. Yea, and burst out into words of slander, saying, it is but loist and waste.

John Careles
drunken
with the joy
of the Spirit.

Be not offended, dear heart, at my Metaphorical speech: For I am disposed to be merry, and with *David* to dance before the Ark of the Lord; and though you play upon a pair of Organs not very comely or easie to the Flesh, yet the sweet sound that came from the same, causeth me thus to do. Oh that I were with you in Body, as present I am in Spirit, that I might sing all care away in Christ: for now the time of comfort is come. I hope to be with you shortly, if all things happen right. For my old friends of *Coventry* have put the Council in remembrance of me, not six days ago, saying, that I am more worthy to be burned then any that was burned yet. Gods blessing on their hearts for their good report. God make me worthy of that dignity, and hasten the time, that I might set forth his glory.

2 Reg 6.

Careles accus-
ed to the
Council by
Careles back
friends in
Covenry.

Pray for me, dear heart, I beseech you, and will all your company to do the same, and I will pray God for you all, so long as I live. And now farewell in Christ, thou blessed of Gods own Mouth. I will for a time take my leave, but not my last farewell. Blessed be the time that ever I came into the *Kings Bench*, to be joynd in love and fellowship with such dear Children of the Lord. My good Brother *Bradford* shall not be dead whiles you be alive: for verily the Spirit of him doth rest on you in most ample wise. Your Letters of comfort unto me in each point do agree, as though the one were a copy of the other. He hath planted in me, and you do water, the Lord give good increase. My dear Brethren and fellow Prisoners here, have them humbly and heartily commended unto you, and your company, mourning for your misery, but yet rejoycing for your pteous consolation and comfort in Christ. We are all cheerful and merry under our Cross, and do lack no necessities, praised be God for his providence and great mercy towards us for evermore, Amen.

Note how
comfortably
the Lord
worketh in
his prisoners
Salute.

Gods provi-
dence to-
ward his
people.

To his Wife.

As by the great mercy of God, at the time of his good will and providence appointed (my dearly beloved Wife) you and I were joynd together in the holy and Christian state of Godly Matrimony, as well to our great joy and comfort in Christ, as also to the increase of his blessed Church and Faithful Congregation, by having lawful Children by and in the same, with the which God of his mercy hath blessed us, praised be his Name therefore: even so now by his merciful will and divine ordinance, the time is come (so far as I can perceive) wherein he will

Another les-
son of J.
Careles to
his Wif.

Anno
1556.It is a
true mirth
of a faithful
Christian,
forsaking
wife and
Children for
Christ's sake.True obedi-
ence of a
faithful Wo-
man.

Manh. 10.

Good coun-
sel given to
his Wife.Care of chil-
dren to be
call upon
the Lord.The mother
day is
bringing up
her Children.

will, for his glory and our eternal comfort, dissolve the same, and separate us asunder again for a time. Wherefore I thought it good, yea, and my bounden duty, by this simple Letter to provoke, stir, and admonish you, to behave your self in all your doings, sayings, and thoughts, most thankfully unto our good God for the same. And therefore (my dear Wife) as you have heartily rejoiced in the Lord, and oftentimes given God thanks for his goodness, in bringing us together in his Holy Ordinance: even so now I desire you, when this time of our separation shall come, to rejoice with me in the Lord, and to give him most hearty thanks, that he hath (to his glory and our endless commodity) separated us again for a little time, and hath mercifully taken me unto himself, forth of this miserable world, into his celestial Kingdom; believing and hoping also assuredly, that God of his goodness, for his Son Christ's sake, will shortly bring you, and your dear Children thither to me, that we may most joyfully together sing praises unto his glorious name for ever. And yet once again I desire you for love of God, and as ever you loved me, to rejoice with me, and to give God continual thanks for doing his most merciful will upon me.

I hear say that you do oftentimes use to repeat this godly saying, *The Lords will be fulfilled*. Doubtless it rejoiceth my poor heart to hear that report of you, and for the Lords sake, use that godly prayer continually, and teach your Children and family to say the same day and night: and not only say it with your tongues, but also with your heart and mind, and joyfully submit your will to Gods will in very deed, knowing and believing assuredly, that nothing shall come to you or any of yours, otherwise then it shall be his Almighty and Fatherly good will and pleasure, and for your eternal comfort and commodity. Which thing to be most true and certain, Christ testifieth in his Holy Gospel, saying, *Are not two little Sparrows sold for a farthing, and yet not one of them shall perish without the will of our Heavenly Father?* And he concludeth saying, *Fear not ye therefore, for ye are better then many Sparrows*. As though he should have said, If God have such respect and care for a poor Sparrow, which is not worth one farthing, that it shall not be taken in the lime-twig, net, nor pitfall, until it be his good will and pleasure; you may be well assured, that not one of you (whom he so dearly loveth, that he hath given his only dear Son for you) shall perish, or depart forth of this miserable life without his Almighty good will and pleasure.

Therefore dear Wife, put you trust and confidence wholly and only in him, and ever pray that his will be fulfilled, and not yours, except it be agreeing to his will; the which I pray God it may ever be, *Amen*. And as for worldly things, take you no care, but be you well assured the Lord your dear God and Father will not see you nor yours lack, if you continue in his love and Chastity fear, and keep a clear Conscience from all kind of Idolatry, Superstition and wickedness, as my trust is that you will do, although it be with the loss and danger of this temporal life. And good *Margaret*, fear not them that can kill both Body and Soul, and cast them into Hell Fire. Let not the remembrance of your Children keep you from God. The Lord himself will be a Father and a Mother, better then ever you or I could have been unto them. He himself will do all things necessary for them; yea, as much as rock the cradle, if need be. He hath given his Angels charge over them, therefore commit them unto him. But if you may live with a clear Conscience (for else I would not have you to live) and see the bringing up of your Children your self, look that you nurture them in the fear of God and keep them far from Idolatry, Superstition, and other kind of wickedness; and for Gods sake help them to some learning if it be possible, that they may increase in virtue and godly knowledge, which shall be a better dowry to marry them withal, then any worldly substance; and when they be come to age, provide them such husbands as fear God, and love his holy word; charge you take heed that you match them with no Papists, and if you live and marry again your self (which thing I would with you to do, if it need, require, or else

not) good Wife take heed how you bestow your self that you and my poor Children be not compelled to wickedness. But if you shall be able well to live God true Widow, I would Counsel you so to live still, for the more quietness of your self and your poor Children. Take heed *Margaret*, and play the wife Womans part: You have warning by other, if you will take an example. And thus I commit you and my sweet Children unto Gods most merciful defence. The blessing of God be with you; and God send us a merry meeting together in Heaven. Farewel in Christ; Farewel mine own dear Hearts all. Pray, pray.

To my good Brother, Mr John Bradford.

The peace of God in Jesus Christ, the eternal comfort of his sweet Spirit, which hath surely sealed you unto eternal Salvation, be with you and strengthen you in your joyful journey towards the celestial *Hierusalem* (my dear Friend and most faithful Brother *Mr Bradford*) to the setting forth of Gods glory, and to your eternal joy in Christ, *Amen*.

Ever since that good *Mr Philpot* shewed me your last Letter (my dear Heart in the Lord) I have continued in great heaviness and perplexity; not for any hurt or discommodity that I can perceive coming towards you, unto whom doubtless death is made life and great felicity, but for the great loss that Gods Church here in *England* shall sustain by the taking away of so godly, so worthy, and necessary an instrument, as the Lord hath made you to be. O that my life and a thousand such wretched lives more might go for yours. Oh, why doth God suffer me and such other Caterpillars to live, that can do nothing but consume the Alms of the Church, and take away you, so worthy a workman and labourer in the Lords Vineyard? But wo be to our sins and great unthankfulness, which is the greatest cause of the taking away of such worthy instruments of God, as should set forth his glory, and instruct his People. If we had been thankful unto God for the good Ministers of his word, we had not been so soon deprived both of it and them. The Lord forgive our great ingratitude and sins, and give us true repentance and faith, and hold his hand of mercy over us, for his dear Son Christ's sake. Take not away all thy true Preachers forth of this Realm (O Lord) but leave us a seed, lest *England* be made like unto *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, when thy true *Lots* be gone.

But what go I about to mingle your mirth, with my mourning, and your just joy with my dejected sorrow? If I loved you indeed, as I have pretended, I should surely rejoice with you most heartily, and praise God on your behalf from the very bottom of my Heart; I should praise God day and night for your excellent election in and through his great mercy, and should give him most humble thanks for your Vocation by his Gospel, and your true knowledge in the same; I should earnestly praise him for your sweet justification, whereof you are most certain by Gods Grace and Spirit, and should instantly pray unto him for your glorification, which shall shortly ensue; I should rejoice and be glad to see you so dignified by the Crown of Martyrdom, and to be appointed to that honour, to testify his truth, and to seal it with your Blood; I should highly extol the Lord, who hath given you a Glorious Victory over all your enemies visible and invisible, and hath given you grace and strength to finish the *Tower* that you have begun to build. Finally, if I loved you, I should most heartily rejoice and be glad to see you delivered from this Body of sin, and vile prison of the flesh, and brought into that Heavenly Tabernacle where you shall be safely kept, and never offend him more.

This and much more should I do, if I had a good heart towards God, or you his dear Child. But (alas) I am an Hypocrite, and do seek nothing but mine own commodity. I would have Gods everlasting providence give place to my peevish will and purpose, although it were to the hindrance of his glory and your sweet commodity. God forgive me my horrible ingratitude, sins and offences against him: and good Brother, do you forgive me my great negligence and unthankfulness towards you, and henceforth I promise you, I will put my will

to Gods will, and pray that the same may be fulfilled in you, as long as you be on this earth; and when you are taken hence, I will most heartily praise the Lord for you, so long as I have my being in this world. Ah my dear Heart, now I must take my leave of you, and as I think, my *Ultimum vale* in this life, but in the life to come I am right well assured we shall merrily meet together, and that shortly I trust. And in taking of my leave of you (my dear Heart in the Lord) I shall desire you faithfully to remember all the sweet messages that the Lord our good God and most dear loving Father hath sent you by me his most unworthy Servant, which as they are most true, so shall they be most truly accomplished upon you eternally; and for the more assurance and certification thereof to your godly Conscience, he hath commanded me to repeat the same unto you again, in his own name and word.

Therefore now give ear and faithful credence. Harken O ye Heavens, and thou Earth give ear, and bear me witness, the great day, that I do here faithfully and truly the Lords message unto his dear Servant, his singularly beloved and elect Child *John Bradford*. *John Bradford*, thou man so specially beloved of God, I pronounce and testify unto thee in the word and name of the Lord *Jehova*, that all thy sins whatsoever they be, be they never so many, so grievous or so great, be fully and freely pardoned, released and forgiven thee, by the mercy of God in Jesus Christ thine only Lord and sweet Saviour, in whom thou dost undoubtedly believe. Christ hath cleansed thee with his blood, and clothed thee with his righteousness, and hath made thee in the sight of God his Father, without spot or wrinkle; so that when the fire doth his appointed office, thou shalt be received (as a sweet burnt sacrifice) into Heaven, where thou shalt joyfully remain in Gods presence for ever, as the true inheritor of his everlasting Kingdom, unto the which thou wast undoubtedly predestinate and ordained by the Lords infallible purpose and decree, before the foundation of the world was laid. And that this is most true that I have said, I call the whole Trinity, the Almighty and Eternal Majesty of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to my record at this present; whom I humbly beseech to confirm and stablish in thee the true and lively feeling of the same, *Amen. Selah.*

Now with a merry heart and joyful spirit, something mixed with lawful tears, I take my farewell of you mine own dear Brother in the Lord; who send us shortly a merry meeting in his Kingdom, that we may both sing praises together unto him with his holy Angels and blessed Spirits for ever and ever. Farewel thou blessed in the Lord, Farewel in Christ, depart unto my rest in the Lord; and pray for me for Gods sake.

As I had made an end of this simple Letter, I heard some comfort both of good Mr. *Philipps* Servant and yours: but (alas) I do scarcely believe them. Well, I will hope in God, and pray all night that God will send me some comfort to morrow, and if the Lord give you sparing to morrow, let me hear four words of comfort from you, for Gods sake. The blessing of God be with you now and for ever, *Amen.*

Yours for ever in the Lord Jesus,
J. Careles, living in hope against hope.

In reading this Letter of *John Careles* to Mr. *Bradford* above prefixed, wherein he maketh so much mention of a certain Letter of his sent to him, and of the great exceeding consolation he received of the same, thou wilt with peradventure (good loving Reader) in thy mind, to have some sight also of the said Letter of Mr. *Bradford*. Wherein to satisfy thy desire, or rather to prevent thy petition, I have herunto annexed the same, to the intent thou maist not only understand the contents thereof, but also receive fruit thereof to thy consolation likewise. The purport of the Letter here followeth.

Mr. Bradford to Careles.

Almighty God our dear Father, through and for the merits of his dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, be

merciful unto us, pardon us our offences, and under the wings of his mercy protect us from all evil, from henceforth and for ever, *Amen.* Anno 1556.

Dear Brother Careles, I heartily pray you to pray to God for me, for the pardon of my manifold sins and most grievous offences, which need none other demonstration unto you than this, namely, that I have behaved my self so negligently in answering your godly triple Letter, which are three witnesses against me. God lay not them, nor any other thing to my charge to condemnation, though to correction, nor my will, but his will be done. Concerning your request of absolution (my dearest Brother) what shall I say, but even as truth is? that the Lord of all mercy, and Father of all comfort, through the merits and mediation of his dear Son thy only Lord and Saviour, hath clearly remitted and pardoned all thy offences (whatsoever they be, that ever hitherto thou hast committed against his Majesty); and therefore he hath given to thee as to his Child (dear Brother *John Careles*) in token that thy sins are pardoned; he (I say) hath given thee a penitent and believing heart, that is, a heart which desireth to repent and believe: For such a one is taken of him (be accepting the will for the deed) for a penitent and believing heart indeed.

Wherefore (my good Brother) be merry, glad, and of good cheer, for the Lord hath taken away thy sins; thou shalt not die. Go thy ways; the Lord hath put away thy sins. The East is not so far from the West, as the Lord hath now put thy sins from thee. Look how the Heavens be in comparison of the Earth, so far hath his mercy prevailed towards thee his dear Child, *John Careles*, brought Christ the Beloved. Say therefore with David, Praise the Lord, O my Soul, and all that is within me praise his holy Name: for he hath forgiven thee all thy sins; as truly he hath. And hereof I desire to be a witness. God make me worthy to hear from you the like true message for my self. Mine own dearly Beloved, you have great cause to thank God most heartily that he hath given you such repentance and faith; the Lord increase the same in you and me a most miserable wretch, whose heart is harder than the Adamants Stone, or else I could not thus long have stayed from writing unto you. If I live and may, I purpose and promise you to make amends. Pray for me, my most dear Brother, I heartily beseech you, and forgive me my long silence. God our Father be with us for ever, *Amen.*

Yours in the Lord, J. Bradford.

To my most dear and faithful Brethren in Newgate, condemned to die for the testimony of Gods everlasting Truth.

The everlasting peace of God, in Jesus Christ, the continual joy, strength and comfort of his most pure, holy, and mighty spirit, with the increase of faith and lively feeling of his eternal mercy, be with you, my most dear and faithful loving Brother *Tymis*, and with all them that of my dear Hearts in the Lord, your faithful fellow-Soldiers, and most constant Companions in bonds, yea of men condemned most cruelly for the sincere testimony of Gods everlasting Truth, to the full finishing of that good work, which he hath so graciously begun in you all, that the same may be to his glory, the commodity of his poor afflicted Church, and to your everlasting comfort in him, *Amen.*

Ah my most sweet and loving Brethren, and dearest Hearts in the Lord, what shall I say, or how shall I write unto you, in the least point or part to utter the great joy that my poor heart hath conceived in God, through the most godly example of your Christian constancy and sincere confession of Christs Verity? Truly my tongue cannot declare, nor my pen express the abundance of spiritual mirth and gladness, that my mind and inward man hath felt, ever since I heard of your hearty boldness, and modest behaviour before that bloody Butcher, in the time of all your crafty examinations, especially at your cruel condemnation, in their cursed Confistory place. Blessed be God the Father of all mercy, and praised be his name, for that he hath so graciously performed upon you his dear Darlings, his most sweet and comfortable promises, in not only giving you the continual aid, strength and comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit

to

John Careles
taketh his
leave of
Mr. *Bradford*.

Testimony
of Gods
S. iiii.

John Careles
doth Gods
message to
Mr. *Bradford*.

Power and
part of
the Keys of
the Gospel.

Another
Letter of
John Careles
to the con-
stant Bre-
thren in
Newgate
condemned.

Example of
true love
and charity
among the
Martyrs.

Anno 1556.
The ceremonies to be used in the Mass, as they are now used, are contrary to the Gospel, and therefore should be abolished.

unto the faithful confession of his Christ, for whose cause (O most happy men) ye are condemned to die: but also in giving you such a mouth and wisdom, as all your wicked enemies were not able to resist, but were fain to cry, Peace, peace, and not suffer you to speak. As truly as God liveth (my dear Brethren) this is not onely unto you a most evident Probation that God is on our side, and a sure certainty of your everlasting saluation in him, but also to your cruel Adversaries (or rather Gods cursed enemies) a plain demonstration of their iust eternal wo and damnation, which they shall be full free shortly to feel, when ye shall full sweetly posside the place of felicity and pleasure prepared for you from the beginning.

Therefore (my dearly beloved) cease not so long as ye be in this life, to praise the Lord with a lusty courage, for that of his great mercy and infinite goodness, he hath voucht you worthy of this great dignity, to suffer for his sake not onely the loss of goods, Wife, and Children, long imprisonment, cruel oppression, &c. but also the very deprivation of this mortal life with the dissolution of your bodies in the fire. The which is the greatest promotion that God can bring you or any other unto in this vale of misery, yea so great an honour, as the highest Angel in heaven is not permitted to have; and yet hath the Lord for his dear Son Christs sake reputed you worthy of the same, yea and that before me and many other, which have both long looked and longed for the same.

Alh my most dear Brother Tym, whose time resteth altogether in the hands of the Lord, in a full happy time comest thou into this troublesome world, but in a much more blessed hour shalt thou depart out of the same: so that the sweet saying of Solomon, or rather of the Holy Ghost, shall be full well verified upon thee, yea and all thy faithful fellows, *Better is the day of death (saith he) then the day of birth.* This saying cannot be verified upon every man, but upon thee my dear Brother, and such as thou art, whose death is most precious before God, and full dear shall your Blood be in his sight. Blessed be God for thee my dear Brother Tym, and blessed be God again that ever I knew thee, for in a most happy time I came first into thy company. Pray for me, dear Brother, pray for me, that God will once vouch me worthy of that great dignity whereunto he hath brought you.

Alh my loving Brother Drake, whose Soul now draweth nigh unto God, of whom ye have received the same, full glad may you be that ever God gave you a life to leave for his sake: Full well will he restore it to you again in a thousand fold more glorious life. Praise God, good Brother, as you have a great cause, and pray for me, I beseech you, which am so much unworthy (so great are my sins) of that great dignity whereunto the Lord hath called you and the rest of your godly Brethren; whom I beseech you to comfort in the Lord, as you can full well; praised be God for his gifts, which you have heartily applied to the setting forth of his glory, and the commodity of his poor afflicted Church. Which thing shall surely redound to your everlasting joy and comfort, as you shall most effectually feel ere ever it be long, though the wicked of the world judge far otherwise.

Alh mine own hearts, and most dearly beloved Brethren, *Cavel, Ambrose*, and both the *Spurges*; blessed be the Lord on your behalf, and praised be his name, which hath given you such a Glorious Victory; Full valiant have you shewed your selves in the Lords fight, and full faithful in your painful service. Faint not, but go on forward as ye have most godly begun, for great shall your reward be at the end of this your travel. Alh my good faithful Brethren all, what shall I say, or what shall I write unto you? but even the same that good *Elizabeth* did say to her godly Kinswoman *Mary* the blessed Mother of Christ, *Happy art thou* (quoth that good Woman) *which hast believed: for all things which the Lord hath spoken to thee, shall be fulfilled.* So I say to you (my dear Hearts in the Lord) happy are ye all, you twice happy shall you be for evermore, because ye have steadfastly believed the most sweet promises which God the Father hath made unto you with his own mouth, in that he hath promised you (which are the faithful seed of the believing *Abraham*) that ye shall be blessed ever, world without end. The promises of God you

most sweet Father as ye do believe; so do ye bear record that God is true. The testimony whereof ye have full worthily borne to the world, and shortly will full surely seal the same with your Blood, yea even to morrow, I do understand. Oh constant Christians! O valiant Souldiers of the high Captain Jesus Christ: who for your sake hath conquered the Devil, Death, Sin and Hell, and hath given you full victory over them for evermore. Oh worthy witnesses, and most glorious Martyrs, whose invincible faith hath overcome that proud, sturdy, bragging Prince of the world, and all his wicked army; over whom ye shall shortly Triumph for evermore. Alh my sweet Hearts, the everlasting treasures are full surely laid up for you in Heaven. The inaccessible and most Glorious Crown of Victory is already made and prepared for you, to be shortly clapt upon all your happy heads. The Holy Angels of your Heavenly Father are already appointed to conduct your sweet Souls into *Abrahams Bosom*. All the Heavenly Hosts rejoyceth already, for that they shall shortly receive you with joy and felicity; into their blessed fellowship, *Selah.*

Rejoyce which double joy, and be glad my dear Brethren, for doubtless ye have more cause then can be expressed. But (alas) I that for my sins am left behind, may lie and lament with the holy Prophet, saying, *Woe is me that the day of my joyful rest are prolonged.* Ah cursed Satan, which hath caused me so sore to offend my most dear loving Father, whereby mine exile and Banishment is so much prolonged. Oh Christ my dear Advocate, pacify thy Fathers wrath, which I have justly deserved, that he may take me home to him in his sweet mercy. O that I might now come home unto thee with thy blessed Brethren. Well, thy will O Lord be effectuously fulfilled, for it is onely good, and turneth all things to the best, for such as thou in thy mercy hast chosen.

And now farewell my dear hearts, most happy in the Lord: I trust in my good God, yet shortly to see you in the Celestial City, whereof undoubtedly the Lord hath already made you free Citizens. Though you be yet with us for a little time, your very home is in Heaven, where your treasure doth remain with your sweet Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, whose calling you have heard with the ears of your hearts, and therefore ye shall never come into judgment, but pass from death to life. Your sins shall never more be remembered, be they never so many so grievous, or so great: for your Saviour hath cast them all into the bottom of the Sea; he hath removed them from you, as far as the East is from the West, and his mercy hath much more prevailed over you, than is distance between Heaven and Earth; and he hath given you for everlasting possession of the same, all his holiness, righteousness, and justification, yea and the Holy Ghost into your hearts, wherewith ye are surely sealed unto the day of redemption, to certifye you of your eternal election, and that ye are his true adopted Sons, whereby ye may boldly cry unto God, *Abba dear Father*, for evermore: so that now no creature in Heaven, Earth nor Hell, shall be able to accuse you before the Throne of the Heavenly King. Satan is now cast out from you; he himself is judged, and hath no part in you. He will once more bite you by the heel, and then he hath done, for at that time you shall quise his head through your own good Christ, and so have you final victory for evermore. In joyful Triumph whereof, ye shall sweetly ascend into the place of eternal rest, whither your eldest Brother Christ is gone before you to take possession for you, and to prepare your place under the Holy Altar, with *Crammer, Latimer, Ridley, Rogers, Hooper, Sanders, Farrar, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot*, with many other, who will be full glad of your coming, to see six more of their appointed number that their Blood may so much the sooner be revenged upon them that dwell on the Earth.

Thus I make an end, committing you all to Gods most merciful defence, whose quarrel ye have defended, whose cause ye have promoted, whose glory ye have set forth, and whose name ye have constantly confessed. Farewel for a while my dear hearts in the Lord, I will make as much haste after you as I may. All our dear Brethren salute you. They pray for you, and praise God for you continually. *Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord,*

Lord, for they rest from their labours, faith the Holy Ghost, and their works follow them.

Your own John Careles, a most unprofitable servant of the Lord. Pray, pray, pray.

Ye heard before the Letter of Thomas Whittle, written to John Careles, wherein he yieldeth great thanks unto him for the singular joy and consolation received by his Letters. The copy of which letters sent unto him if any be disposed to peruse, here under followeth to satisfie his desire.

To Mr. Green, Mr. Whittle, and certain other prisoners in Newgate, condemned, and ready to be burnt for the testimony of our Lord Jesus.

Another letter of J. Careles, wherein he doth animate Green, Whittle, and the rest of those company unto their martyrdom.

THe everlasting peace in Jesus Christ, the continual comfort of his most pure and Holy Spirit, be with you my dear and faithful Brethren and Sisters of Newgate, the Lords appointed sheep unto the slaughter, to the good performance of the great and noble work of the Lord, which he hath so graciously begun in you all; that the same may redound to the setting forth of his glory, and to the commodity of his Church, and to your own everlasting comfort in him. So be it.

Alh my dear Hearts, and most faithful Brethren and Sisters in the Lord, what high lauds and praise, yea what humble and continual thanks am I bound to give to God our Father for you and on your most happy behalf, who so mightily hath magnified himself in you thus far forth, in giving you his holy and mighty Spirit, to the constant confessing of Christs verity, even to the cruel condemnation, and I doubt not but he will do the same to the death. Oh happy and blessed are you that ever you were born, that the Lord will vouch you worthy of this great dignity, to die for his sake. Doubtless it is the greatest honour that God can give you in this life. Yea if they be so blessed of God that die in the Lord, as the Holy Ghost faith they be how much more blessed and happy then are you that die not only in the Lord, but also for the Lord. O that it were the good will of God, that the good hour were now come, that I might go with you. Ah that my fins made me not unworthy of such an excellent dignity.

Be thankful dear Hearts, be thankful and rejoice in the Lord: for mighty is his mercy towards you, and great is your reward in Heaven the which you like faithful persons have plucked to you with a godly violence of an invincible faith. Oh worthy Warriours of the most high Captain! Oh constant confessors of the everlasting verity! how glorious a Crown of Victory shall you shortly receive, which is prepared for all such as do continue to the end? Oh you sweet Saints of the Lord, how precious shall your death be in his sight? Oh how dear are your Souls to your Redemer, in whose hand they shall most joyfully rest, and the pains of death shall never touch you? Oh how blessed shall you be, when Christ shall appear, at the which time you shall receive your Bodies again full of immortality? Oh how joyful shall you be, when Christ according to his promise shall knowledge you before his Father and his Holy Angels, as you have most constantly confessed him to be your Lord and only Saviour before men?

Oh blessed Green, thou meek and loving Lamb of the Lord, how happy art thou to be appointed to die for his sake? A full dainty dish art thou for the Lords own tooth. Fresh and Green shalt thou be in the House of the Lord, and thy fruits shall never wither nor decay. Although thou go here forth sowing thy good fruit with tears, the time shall come that thou shalt reap with joy and gladness the fruits of everlasting life, and that without ceasing. Be merry therefore and fear not, for it is thy Fathers will to give thee a Kingdom, wherunto he hath chosen thee before the foundations of the world were laid.

Oh happy Minister, thou man of God, how glad mayest thou be of Gods most gracious favours, which hath prevented thee in the day of thy trial? Oh happy Peter, whose part thou hast well played; therefore thy reward and portion shall be like in to his. Now hast thou great experience of mans infirmity, but much more proof

and taft, yea sense and feeling of Gods abundant bottomless mercy. Although Satan desired to sift thee, yet Christ thy good Captain prayed that thy faith should not fail. Gods strength is made perfect by thy weakness, and his grace is sufficient for thee his dear Child. Thine example did so encourage and strengthen thy poor Brethren, that God is every way glorified by thee, and shortly will be glorified thee with himself, with that glory which he hath prepared for thee his elect dearling before the world was made. Therefore rejoice and be glad, for thou hast good occasion, in finding such favour in his sight.

This is most true (O my other Brethren, whom I do not know, neither have I heard much of you) happy are you that ever you were born, and blessed be our God which hath given you such victory over the bloody Beast, shortly shall you be clothed in large white garments, and fine robes of righteousness, and so shall you follow the Lamb on Mount Zion with new songs of mirth and melody, for your delivery forth of Satans power and tyranny. God for evermore be blessed for you, and strengthen you to the end, as I doubt not but he will: for he never failed them that put their trust in him.

O my dear and faithful Sister Joan Warne, what shall I say to thee? Thy trial hath been great: thy victory in Christ hath been notable. Thou hast overcome many a sharp shower and storm. Shortly shalt thou arrive at the haven of quiet rest, and receive a reward due to a constant Martyr. Thou shalt go home to thy heavenly Father, and possesse for ever the inheritance which Christ hath purchased for thee, where thy earthly parents be, still looking for thee, which have triumphed over Antichrist most victoriously. Oh blessed parents of happy Children, which have shewed such an example as the like hath been seldom seen! I salute thee dear Sister of like constant mind, whose constant example is worthy of continual memory. Praised be God for you mine own sweet Sisters, which hath made you play such wide virgins parts. He hath plentifully poured the oil of his Spirit into the lamps of your faith, so that the light thereof shall never be extinct. You shall enter with your Bridegroom into everlasting joy, wherunto you were chosen in him from the beginning.

Oh my dear Brethren and Sisters, you blessed Saints of the Lord, how much, and how deeply am I bound to praise God for you both day and night. Pray, pray for me (my dear Hearts) for the tender mercy of God, that I may be made worthy to follow your trace. Oh that I had run the race of my life as far as you have done yours and were as nigh my journey as you are to be unto yours. But alas, I ly like the lame man at the pools side by Sillemans porch, and every man goeth into the place of health before me. But God will appoint me one, one day to put me in. I trust my Lord of Londons Colehoufe is empty, and all his Officers Idle. Therefore they must shortly fetch more sleep to the Shambles; for he is the common slaughter slave of all England. But happy are you that are passed through the pikes, and delivered out of his hands, and from all the angels of the darkness of this world, which long tempted you in the Wilderness of the fame: but now shall the Angels of God come and minister unto you; for they are your servants to hold you up in their hands, that you shall not hurt your foot, nor one hair of your head shall perish. They shall carry you up to heaven in a fiery chariot, though you leave your mantle behind you for a time, until God restore the same again in a more ample and glorious sort.

Thus in haste, as it doth appear, I am constrained to make an end, committing you all to Gods most merciful defence; who ever have you in his blessed keeping, desiring you all to remember me in your godly and faithful prayers, as I will not forget you in mine, by Gods grace. The blessing of God be with you all my dear Brethren and Sisters. All our Brethren and fellow prisoners here have them most heartily commended unto you, and pray for you without ceasing. God send us a merry meeting in his Kingdom. Amen.

By your Brother and unfained lover,
John Careles, prisoner, abiding his
most merciful will and plea, etc.
Pray, pray, pray.

Anno

1556.

Another
Letter of
Jn. Careles,
privately
written to
his bedfel-
low Wm.
Tyms.

To my dear and faithful Brother William Tyms, prisoner
in Newgate.

THe everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, with the continual joy, comfort, and strength of his sweet Spirit, be multiplied, and daily more and more increased in your good heart (my most faithful and dear Brother Tyms) to the full quieting of your Conscience, and beating back of all the fiery darts of the wicked, that you may shortly receive the glorious Crown of Victory, and in the same Triumph over all your enemies, for ever more, Amen.

I cannot express the exceeding great joy and consolation of my poor heart, considering the marvellous Works of God most graciously wrought upon you, not only in proving you and trying your faith by his great and huge crosses both inwardly and outwardly, but also in giving you so great consolation and constancy in the midst of the same. Faithful is God, and true of his promises, who hath said; *That he will never suffer his chosen Children to be tempted above their strength, but in the midst of their temptation will make an escape for them*, by such means as may make to his glory and their everlasting consolation. My dear heart, great cause have you to be of good comfort, I see in you as lively a token of Gods everlasting love and favour in Jesus Christ, as ever I perceived in any man. In respect whereof, I do even with my heart love, honour, and reverence you, beseeching God for his glorious Names sake, in the Bowels and Blood of our Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, to finish his good work in you, as I doubt not but he will do, according to his infallible promises, yea I am well assured thereof, forasmuch as you have so effectually received his Holy Spirit into your heart, as a pledge and a sure seal of your eternal redemption, and a testimony of your adoption in Christ Jesus. For which cause Satan so fore envieth you, that he hath now bent all his fierce Ordinance against you, thinking thereby utterly to destroy the invincible Fort of your faith, founded most firmly upon the unmoveable Rock Christ, against the which neither the Devil, Sin, nor yet Hell Gates shall ever prevail, Selah.

Therefore mine own bowels in the Lord, be not discomforted for this your conflict, which doubtless shall greatly increase your Crown of Glory, Triumph and Victory; but take a good heart unto you, and buckle boldly with Satan, both in himself and his subtle members. It is the very divine Ordinance of God, that all his regenerate People shall be tempted, proved, and tried, as we see by the example of our Saviour Christ; who as soon as he was Baptized, was straightways led of the Holy Ghost into the Wilderness, there to be tempted of the Devil. But there got he such a Glorious Victory of Satan, that he could never since finally prevail against any of his poor members, but in every assault that he maketh either inwardly or outwardly, he getteth a foil, and taketh shame; so that now he rageth with all the spite possible, specially because he knoweth his time is but short. Saint James testifieth that he is but a very coward, that will soon flee if he be faithfully resisted. And as for his tempting tools, the Lord hath made them manifest unto us, so that he cannot deceive us though he assault us; For as S. Paul saith; *His very thoughts are not unknown to us*, as it doth in you largely appear, praised be the Lords Name therefore.

You see (dear Brother) that now to molest you and such as you are, that be even passing from this vale of misery, he hath but two ways, or two pieces of Ordinance to shoot at you, with the which he cannot hurt you, because you have two Bulwarks to defend you. The first of these terrible Guns that Satan hath shot at you, is the very fame that he continually shooteth at me, that is to say, fear and infidelity; for the ugliness of death and horror of my sins, which be so many, grievous, and great. But this pellet is easily put away with the sure shield of faith, in the most precious death and Blood-shedding of our dear Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, whom the Father hath given unto us wholly to be ours for evermore, and with him hath given us all things, as Paul saith; so that though we be never so great

sinners, yet Christ is made unto us holiness, righteousness, and justification. He hath clothed us with all his merits, mercies, and most sweet sufferings, and hath taken unto him all our misery, wretchedness, sin, and infirmity. So that if any should now be condemned for the same, it must needs be Jesus Christ, which hath taken them upon him. But indeed he hath made satisfaction for them to the uttermost jot; so that for his sake they shall never be imputed to us, if they were a thousand times so many more as they be. This do you most effectually feel and know (dear Brother) a great deal better than I can tell you, blessed be God therefore.

And now Satan, seeing that he cannot prevail with his boysterous battery against this Bulwark or Iath, which doth so quench all his fiery darts, that they can do you no harm, but rather do you good service to cast you down, under the mighty hand of God, that he may take you up by his only grace and power, and so you may render him all the glory by Jesus Christ (which thing the enemy can in no wise abide) therefore he shooteth off his other Piece most pestilent, to provoke you to put some part of your trust and confidence in your self, and in your own holiness and righteousness, that you might that way rob God of his glory; and Christ of the honour and dignity of his death. But blessed be the Lord God, you have also a full strong Bulwark to beat back this pestiferous pellet also, even the pure Law of God, which proveth the best of us all damnable sinners in the sight of God, if he would enter into judgment with us according to the severity of the same, and that even our best works are polluted and defiled in such sort, as the Prophet describeth them. With which manner of speaking our free-will Pharisees are much offended; for it telleth all mans righteousnesses to the ground (I had like to have said to the bottom of hell) and extolleth only the righteousness of Jesus Christ, which is allowed before God, and is freely given to all those that firmly believe, as blessed be God you do.

Alh my good Brother Tyms, Satan hath but his hand in a wrong box when he beginneth to tempt you, either to gain-glory or mistrust: for you are an old beaten fouldier, and have had good experience of these manner of temptations, both by your self and other, whom you know well were beloved of God. Be of good cheer therefore dear heart, be of good cheer, for now Satan hath wrought all his malice, he hath done all that he can, and hath shot off all his last Peces, wherewith he had thought to have done most mischief; but now he seeth he cannot prevail (the strong Tower of our faith being so invincible) he will pluck up all his tents, and get him to some other place to practise the like assaults, and then will the Angels of God come and minister unto you the most sweet and heavenly consolations of the Holy Ghost. To him therefore who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that ever we can desire or think, I do most heartily commit you, with all the rest of your godly prison-fellows, who comfort, strengthen, and defend you with his grace and mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, as he hath hitherto done, that you having a most glorious Victory over the subtle Serpent, and all his wicked seed, may also receive the Crown of glory and immortality prepared for you before the foundations of the World were laid, and is so surely kept for you in the hands of him whose promise is unfallible, that the Devil, sin, death, or hell, shall never be able to deprive you of the same. The blessing of God be with you now and for evermore, Amen. Pray, pray, pray for me.

Your own for ever,

John Careles.

To my good Sister M. C.

THe peace of God in Jesus Christ, and the eternal comforts of his sweet Spirit, be with you my dear and faithful Sister, to the full accomplishment of that good work which he hath most graciously begun in you; that the same may be effectually to the setting forth of his glory and to your everlasting Consolation in him, Amen.

The second
pellet of:
Satan, is
confidence
and trust in
our good
works
Remedy a-
gainst the
second pellet
is 44.

Satan over-
come in
Goss. S. 111

Another
letter of Jn.
Careles to
his sister
M. C., a
sister and
sister of
the Gospel.

My loving and faithful Sister in the Lord, I thank you for all your loving kindness shewed unto me in your fervent and faithful Prayers; and for your most godly and comfortable Letter, whereby you do not only much increase my joy and comfort, but also put me in remembrance of my duty towards you.

Blessed be the Lord God, which of his great mercy hath so beautified his Church in these our days, that even unto many godly women he hath given most excellent gifts of knowledge and understanding of his Truth, so that they are not only well able to inform their own Consciences in all things necessary to salvation, but also most sweetly comfort their sorrowful Brethren and Sisters that sustain any trouble for the testimony of Gods Truth, yea, and that which is more, even in the midst of their great conflicts of Conscience. Of which most happy number of godly and virtuous women (my dear Heart) you are one, and that of the chiefest, being plentifully indued with the gifts of Gods most gracious Spirit, as it doth full well appear in your daily doings. God only have the praise therefore.

Forasmuch then as God hath given you the gift to write, I shall most heartily desire you to let me hear from you sometimes, be it never so little, for truly I take great comfort and courage thereby, especially in my poor Conscience, which is sore assaulted of subtle Satan, and in a manner oppressed of my sins. Pray (dear Sister) that God may give me true, hearty and earnest repentance, and increase my faith, for they are both the good gifts of God only, and far pass the reach of my power, to take at my pleasure.

Therefore (dear Sister) if you help me to beg the fame of our dear loving Father, I am sure that he both can and will give them in his good time. As for the fear of death, or terror of the fire, I most heartily thank my good God, I feel it not; only it is mine own sins and unthankfulness which holdeth hard battel, and wageth strong war against me, which only goeth about to separate me from my good Captain Christ, that I should not enjoy his glorious victory; but God being on my side (as I am sure he is) that cannot continually prevail against me. Though God for a time permit Satan to take his pleasure on me, as he did upon Job, yet I doubt not but in the end all shall turn to my profit, through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose most merciful defence I commit you (dear Sister) with all the rest of the Lords elect. Farewel in Christ.

Yours unfeignedly, John Careles.
Pray, pray, pray, pray.

To my dear Brother T. V.

The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual comforts of his most pure and holy Spirit, be with you my most dear Friend and faithful Brother V. to the increase of your Faith, and comfort of your sorrowful Spirit, which is to the Father a sweet sacrifice through Christ, for whose sake he will never despise your humble and contrite heart, but doth favourably accept the same, and will in most ample wise perform the desire thereof to his glory, and your eternal comfort in him.

In the midst of my manifold crosses and troubles, wherein I am constrained to flee unto God for refuge and succour by earnest and faithful Prayer, I cannot forget you my dear heart in the Lord, but esteeming your state for mine own, I do pour forth my complaint for you, as I do for my self, and rather more, as I think present need doth require, desiring most heartily to hear the good success of the same in you. The Lord God, for his great mercies sake, accomplish my desire, as I doubt not but he will, when he seeth it good and meet to his glory, and to your comfort and commodity. Oh that I might once see you so merry in Christ, as you have just cause to be, that you might say with David, *Psal. 57. Awake my glory, awake Lute and Harp, bring forth the Psalter with the merry Song, that I might sing a new Song of praise and thanksgiving unto the Lord, for the light of his favourable countenance, his help and deliverance.* Oh, that would refresh me as a most precious

Oil, and gladden my poor heart, which is assaulted with sorrow more ways than one. I doubt not but the same shall by your means receive much comfort, though for a time it doth mourn with you, that we may be made both glad together, yea, and that with such gladness as shall continue for ever. But in the mean space (I say) most happy are you, that so heartily mourn for the absence of the Bridegroom. If you were not a wedding Child, you could never do it. Only Christs true Disciples do mourn for his absence: therefore shall they doubtless rejoice at his presence, which will be so much more joyful, by how much the absence is more sorrowful.

Therefore (my good Brother) take a good heart unto you, and be of good cheer. Say with the Prophet David, *Psal. 42. O my Soul, why art thou so heavy, and why art thou so disquieted within me? O put thy trust in God, for I will yet give him thanks for the help of his loving countenance, and because he is my God.* Read *Psal. 41.* and *42.* for your comfort, and consider that the holy King and Prophet, at the making and first saying of them, was even in the same case that you are now in; but he still comforted himself with the sweet Promises of God: and so do you my dear heart, for to you they do as well pertain as they did to him, and as surely shall they be performed upon you, as they were upon him: for he is one God and dear Father unto you both, and for his mercy, truth and promise sake, he must needs make good unto you all that he hath said. If his love towards you stood in the respect of your own merit and worthiness, you might well mourn, lament and complain; yea, you had good cause to doubt, fear, and mistrust. But seeing he loveth you only for and in Jesus Christ, who is your whole holiness, righteousness and redemption; lay away all mourning, lamenting, and complaining, banish from you all fear, mistrust, and infidelity, and know that as long as Christ doth continue Gods Son, so long must the love of the Father continue towards you immutable, and his good will unchangeable, and cannot be altered through any of your infirmities. For this is most true, that as long as the cause of any thing doth last, so long must the effect remain; but Christ is the whole cause why the Father loveth you, and he also continueth for ever; then must I needs conclude, that the love of the Father continueth towards you for ever, and (as the *Psalms* most joyfully so often sung: *His mercy endureth for ever and ever.*)

This is most true (mine own dear Heart) although why God the Lord for a time hide it from your senses, that you might be the more earnest in prayer to him for the feeling of it, and also the more thankful for it when he doth give the lively taste of it, as doubtless he will do ere ever it be long; and then shall you be well able to comfort other in the same state that you are now in, with the same comfort wherewith you are, and further shall be comforted of God.

Therefore lift up your hands that are now a little fallen down, and stretch forth the weak knees of your troubled mind, which now mourneth with a godly mourning, and therefore shall it be full well comforted with that sweet peace of God which passeth all understanding: and you are sure already to enjoy the blessing that Christ gave unto the godly mourners of *Sion* upon the Mount, at the first Sermon that he made. Oh happy V. in whole mourning company I had rather be, than in the house of mirth and banquetting of such as see not what cause they have to mourn and be sorry. But yet (my good Brother) use a measure in this your godly mourning, and make not your faithful Friends too much sorry for you. Let the persuasions of such godly Lovers as you do daily company withal, or rather the persuasions of the Holy Ghost by them, move you to some godly mirth and rejoicing. Consider that you are commanded of God by the mouth of Saint Paul thereto, *Rejoice in the Lord* (saith he) *and I say again rejoice, Philip. 4.* Mark how he doubleth the sentence, that we may perceive it is a most earnest and necessary thing he requireth. Obey the Commandment of God in this behalf; wherein, as you cannot but highly please him, so I assure you, you shall very much rejoice my poor heart, and the hearts of other which pray for you with mourning Tears, and make that cruel enemy

Anno
1556.

Comfort (of
a sick Con-
science).

Gods great
gift is in Wo-
men.

Howe how
Gods com-
fort gives
comfort by
weaker
vestels.

I ha Careles
nothing
toucheth
with fear of
death, or of
the fire, but
only of his
own sins.

Another
Letter of
John Careles,
wherein he
comforteth
the afflicted
mind of a
certain good
Brother,
mourning
for lack of
Gods feel-
ing.

Gods love
goeth not
by our de-
servings,
but by faith
in Jesus
Christ.

Christ only
is the cause
why his
Father
loveth us:

Why God
the Lord for
a time hide
it from your
senses.

Revel. 7.

Measure
ought to be
in mourn-
ing.

Example
of Christian
charity and
compassion
towards his
afflicted
Brother.

Anno
1556

enemy Satan and all your Adversaries sorry, which will
rejoyce and laugh to see you mourn. Oh my good Brother,
let it manifestly appear; that the Lord of his
great mercy hath heard our faithful and hearty requests
for you. Oh how would that rejoyce me in the midst of
my troubles.

Therefore how to conclude; because the darkness con-
straineth me to make an end for this time, I say; my
dear and faithful Brother, you in respect of the great
cause you have of your own part through Christ, and
for the glory and honour of Almighty God; the com-
fort, joy, and rejoycing of your dear Brethren and Sis-
ters in Christ, also your own duty to the commandment
of God; and last of all to vex, molest, and grieve Sa-
tan withal, rejoyce in the Lord, and be most heartily
glad in him, who is wholly yours, and you are his, and
shall be for ever more, *Selah*.

Farewell mine own bowels in the Lord, and praise
God with joyful lips and a merry heart, and pray for
me his most unprofitable Servant, which have more cause
concerning my self to lament, than any one man alive:
but my good Bridegroom is present, and biddeth me
call away my mourning garments, and therefore
I must needs be merry with him: and so he biddeth you
to be, by my mouth, for he is present with you, although
for sorrow you cannot know him, as *Magdalen* could
not in the garden, until he spake unto her. The Lord
God speak these words of comfort in your heart, and
open the eyes of your mind, that you may perfectly
perceive and feel his Blessed presence, and so rejoyce in
the same for evermore, *Amen*. Comfort your heart in
Christ, and cast your care upon him, for he careth for
you.

Your Brother in the Lord, abiding his good
pleasure, John Carcles.

To my dear and faithful Brother, Augustine Bernher.

Another
Letter of
John Carcles
to faithful
Augustine
Bernher,
counselling
him to be
circumspect
in these
dangerous
days.

The peace of God in Jesus Christ, the help, comfort,
and assistance of his eternal Spirit be with you my
dear and faithful Brother *Augustine*, and with all the
rest of my good Brethren and Sisters of the houses of
Baxterley and *Manceter* (which mourn for the misery of
Gods People) to your everlasting consolation in him,
Amen.

Right glad I am to hear (my dear and faithful Brother
Augustine) that God of his great mercy and infinite
goodness hath yet so graciously delivered and preserved
you out of your enemies hands, beseeching Almighty
God also from the bottom of my heart, to be your con-
tinual defence unto the end, as hitherto he hath most
graciously been, that you may live and die both to
Gods glory, the commodity of his Church, and to the
increase of your own everlasting joy and comfort in him.

Know you (dear Brother) that I have received your
Letter, for the which I heartily thank you. Indeed I
think it very thort, although it seemeth something sharp-
ly to rebuke me in the beginning, for the breach of my
promise in not writing to you of this long time. Well
Brother, I am content to bear it with patience, consider-
ing that you are troubled otherwise (the Lord comfort
you and all heavy hearts;) neither will I spend Ink and
Paper for my purgation in this point. God he know-
eth whether I be so mindless of my promise as it appea-
reth in your sight I am. Your request I will truly per-
form to the uttermost of my Power, as gladly as any
poor wretch shall do in the world, and I thank God I
have done no less of long time. And as my poor Prayer-
er shall be a handmaid to wait upon you which way so-
ever you ride or go; so I beseech you that my simple
counsel may take some place in you, in this time of your
Pilgrimage, which you pass in no small peril. God keep
and preserve you for his Names sake.

I do not disallow, but much praise and commend your
heartly boldness in putting your self in pres, when any
one of Gods People needeth your help in any point.
But yet I would not have you thrust your self in dan-
ger, when you can do them no good, or at leastwise
when they may well enough spare that good you would
do them: For if you should then chance to be taken,
you shall not only be no comfort unto them, but also

a great discomfort; adding sorrow unto their sorrow.

I do not persuade you to absent your self from any
place where your presence of necessity is required; for
in all such places, I know; God will preserve you as he
hath hitherto wonderfully done; praised be his Name
therefore: or if it shall please him to permit you in any
such place to be taken, I know he will most sweetly
comfort your Conscience with this consideration; that it
is the very providence and appointment of God; that
you should there and then be taken up for a witness of
his Truth unto the world: but I cannot allow; nor be
contented that you should rashly or negligently thrust
your self into that place where your wicked enemies do
continually haunt, yea and lay wait for you when no ne-
cessity of your self, nor of any other of Gods People
doth require your company. If they need any of your
godly counsel, you may write unto them that thing that
you think good; which (I dare say) will be sufficient
unto them: For (continual thanks and praises be given
unto the everlasting God) there is none of those that be
cruelly condemned for Gods Truth, that now be weak-
lings; for they have manfully passed through the pikes,
and they have boldly abiden the brunt of the Battle,
and therefore I reckon the worst is past with them alre-
ady. So that now and then a godly Letter from you to
them shall do as much good, as your company shall do,
and perchance more too; for writing sticketh longer
in the memory than words do, yea though your Letters
were as short to them, as your last was to me, so that the
same be something sweeter, and not all thing so tharp.

This (dear Brother) is the simple counsel which I
would gladly have you observe, partly for that I heartily
pray for your preservation to the commodity of Christs
Church; and partly for that I unfeignedly wish the peace,
comfort, and tranquillity of your own Conscience, which
I know will be quickly ready to accuse you, if you do
any thing wherein you have not the Word of God for
your warrant. For as in a glass that is clear, a small
mote will soon appear: even so the good Conscience
of Gods chosen Children, being more clear than crys-
tal, will quickly accuse them at the least fault they do
commit; whereas the wicked worldlings have their Con-
science so clogged, and corrupted through the custom of
sin, that they cannot once see or perceive their shameful
deeds and wicked works, until God set the same before
them for their utter destruction, and then despair they
immediately. But seeing that God hath given you a
clear Conscience, and a pure, sharp, quick and lively
sight in your Soul, I would wish you to beware that you
do nothing unadvisedly, but upon a good ground. For
an accusing Conscience is a sore thing when death doth
approach, and then Satan will not stick to tell you that
you have too much tempted God, when peradventure
you have done nothing so at all. For this cause (I say)
partly I have thought it good to admonish you (as I have
done often) to be circumspect, according to the counsel
of Christ, which biddeth you beware of men. Other
things I have not to write, for I know this bearer can
certifie you of all things at large, better than I can declare
it by writing.

I beseech you, good *Augustine*, help me forwards with
your hearty prayers, for I trust I have but a small time
to tarry in this troublesome world. Dr. Story told our
Marshall that we should all be dispatched so soon as he
came from *Oxford*, whither he and other bloody Butchers
be gone to make slaughter of Christs sheep that lie
there appointed to be slain. God for Christs sake
put them and such like besides their cruel purpose, if it
be his good will and pleasure, *Amen* good Lord. I pray
you do my most hearty commendations to my dear Sis-
ter and Faithful Friend, good Mistress *Mary Glover*. I
beseech God be her comfort, as I doubt not but he is:
I am very glad to hear that she doth so joyfully and so
patiently bear this great Cross that God hath laid upon
her. I pray God strengthen her, and all other his dear
Saints unto the end, *Amen*. Commend me unto my
dear and faithful Sister *Elizabeth B.* I thank her most
heartily for my Napkin, and so I do your dear Brother
for my Shirt. Truly that day that we were appointed
to come to our answer before the Commissioners (which
had sent word the same morning that they would

A good
Conscience
is soon
troubled.

Conscience
of sin func-
tion is re-
born where
none is con-
verted.
Mark 16.

D. Story

COI 22

He counsel-
leth *Augustine*
to be
circumspect,
and not
rashly to
thrust him-
self in dan-
ger.

The Christian
courage of
John Careles.

come to the Kings Bench by eight of the Clock, and the house and all things were trimmed and made ready for them) I got that Shirt on my back, and that Napkin in my hand, and me thought they did help to harness me, and weapon me well to go fight against that bloody Beast of Babylon. And trust me, truly if they had come, I would have stricken three strokes the more for your two fakes, as well as God would have abled me to have set them on, as by Gods grace I will not fail to do at the next skirmish that I come to. Wherefore I pray you pray for me, that I may be strong and hardy to lay on good load. Oh that I might so strike him down, that he should never be able to rise again. But that stroke be- longeth only unto the Lord, to strike at his coming, the which I trust will be shortly. Oh hasten it good Lord, and shorten these sorrowful and sinful days, for thy great mercies sake.

Farewel my dear and faithful loving Brother. The Lord defend, keep, and preserve you from the power of your enemies visible and invisible, and send us a most joyful and merry meeting here or elsewhere, as it shall please his goodnes to appoint us.

In the mean space I shall most earnestly desire you to pray for me, for I never had more need in my life, and doubtless you shall never want my poor prayer, if it shall please God to accept the prayer of so sinful a wretch as I am. The Lord impute not my sins to me, for Jesus Christ sake; unto whose most merciful defence I do most heartily commit you. The blessing of God be with you now and ever, Amen. I pray you do my most hearty commendations unto Mr. John Glover. I do not forget him in my daily prayers, and I trust he doth remember me.

Your poor Brother always mindful
of you in my prayer, John Careles
Prisoner, abiding Gods pleasure.

To my dear Brother Henry Adlington, a Prisoner in the
Lollards Tower.

Another
Letter of
John Careles
to Henry
Adlington,
after a Mar-
tyr, partly
com-
forting,
and partly
counseling
him how to
answer his
Adversaries.

The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual aid, strength, joy, and comfort of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increase of Faith, and lively feeling of his mercies be most effectu- ally wrought in your heart, my dear and faithful loving Brother Adlington, and in the hearts of all your other godly Prison-fellows, to the full finishing of that good work, which the Lord hath most graciously begun in you; that the same may be to the advancing and setting forth of his glory, the Commodity of his poor afflicted Church, and to your own eternal joy and comfort in him, Amen.

My most dear and faithful loving Brother in the Lord, I with all the rest of my loving Brethren here with me, do most humbly and heartily commend us unto you, with all faithful remembrance of you in our daily prayers, giving God earnest thanks on your most happy behalf, for that he hath given you such hearty boldness and Chris- tian constancy in the faithful confession of his everlasting verity. Blessed be God for thee my dearly beloved Brother, which hath vouched thee worthy of so great dignity, as to suffer for his sake, and setting forth of his glory. Oh glad in heart mayst thou be, to whom it is given, not only to believe in thy Lord and Christ most lively, but also to suffer for his sake, as one of his feeble sheep appointed to the slaughter. Be of good comfort therefore my good Brother; for your calling unto the Cross of Christ was after a marvelous sort. Surely, it was only the Lords appointment, and therefore he will well perform his own work in and upon you, to the great magnifying of his glory, and comfort of your Brethren, whose hearts are mightily refreshed, to hear how heartily you have behaved your self hitherto.

This present day I received a Letter from you, at the reading whereof my Brethren and I were not a little comforted, to see your Confidence so quickened in Christ and your continuance so steadfast in him; which things be the special gifts of God, not given unto every man, but to you his dear darling, elect and Chosen in Christ, and such as you be. And whereas you do require to

know my simple mind concerning your answer unto Dr. Anno
Story and the Chancellor; truly I say you did answer
them very well: for there are but two Sacraments indeed
that is to say, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Sacra-
ment of the Body and Blood of Christ; as you have
full well answered them, praised be God for his good
gifts, who chuseth the weak to confound the strong, and
the foolish to confound the worldly wise. If, when you
come before them again, they do ask you what a Sacra-
ment is, say you that a Sacrament, being mingled accord-
ing to Christs institution, is a visible sign of an invis-
ible grace, and hath the promise of Gods mercy annexed
unto it, available to all such as do worthily receive it, and
not unworthily worship it, as they would have us to do,
contrary to Gods commandment. And these proper-
ties, belonging to Christs true Sacraments, cannot be ap-
plied unto any one of those five Sacraments which they
have invented of their own brain, since Antichrist began
to reign, to blind the People withal.

I perceive (dear heart) that upon Friday they do in-
tend to condemn you, and give you your judgment.
Therefore I think they will have no great reasoning with
you, but bid you answer them directly, either yea, or
nay, to all such things as they have to charge you withal,
which they have gathered of you since you came into
their cruel hands. But if they will needs make many
words with you, because you are but a simple man, and
therefore perchance they will be the busier with you to
trouble you with many questions, to comber your know-
ledge, and then seem to triumph over you and that
Truth that you do hold; if (I say) they do this (as per-
haps for some evil purpose they will) then be you so
plain and as short as you can, saying roundly unto them
these or such like words, as nigh as you can.

Be it known unto you, that I in all points do believe
as it becometh a true Christian, and as I have been truly
taught in the days of that good King Edward, of such
godly Preachers and Prophets sent of God, as have sea-
led their Doctrine with their Blood, from whom I will
dissent in no point: for I am a poor man without learn-
ing, but am commanded of God to follow the counsel of
his constant Preachers, and so do I intend to do, God
giving me grace and assistance thereto.

As for you, I know you to be none of Christs She-
pherds, but ravening Wolves, which come to kill and
scatter the flock of Christ, as the Lord said you should;
and doth will us to beware of you and your poysoned
Doctrine, bidding us to judge you according to your
fruits, whereby all men may see and know what ye be,
that will not be wilfully blind. But the good Shepherds
have given their lives for the defence of Christs flock;
and I am commanded to follow their faithful and godly
example, and to confess with them one Truth, even to
the fire, if God shall see it good; and this as a true
Christian I have hitherto done, and henceforth by Gods
grace intend to do.

And if for the same God shall suffer you to take away
my life, as you have done theirs, I am contented there-
with: his will be done, for that only is good. But of
this be you sure, the Lord will shortly call you to ac-
count for all the innocent Blood that is shed within this
Realm; which you have brought into a most woful case,
and made many a heavy heart in the same, and more I
perceive you will make, so long as the Lord for our sins
will suffer you to prosper, and until the time that your
iniquities shall be full ripe. But then be you sure, the
Lord will sit in judgment upon you, as well as you do
now upon his Saints, and will reward you according to
your deservings; to whom with my whole heart I com-
mit my cause, and he will make answer for me, when
the full time of my refreshing cometh. In the mean
space, I will keep silence with this that I have said, trust-
ing that I have sufficiently discharged my Confidence in
confessing my Faith and Religion to you, declaring of
what Church I am, even of the Catholick Church of
Jesus Christ, which was well known to be here in Eng-
land in our late good King Edwards days, by two spe-
cial tokens which cannot deceive me, nor yet suffer me to
be deceived; that is to say, the pure preaching of
his holy Word, and the due administration of his holy
Sacraments, which is not to be seen in your Romish
Church,

What a Sa-
crament it.

He instruct-
eth him how
and what to
answer to
the Adver-
saries.

We are
bound to
follow our
true preach-
ers.

God will
require ac-
count of
Blood.

The Catho-
lick Church
in King Ed-
wards days
in England,
of two special
marks to
know the
true Church
in England
in King Ed-
wards days.

Anno
1556.

Church, and therefore it cannot justly be called the Church and Spouse of Christ. I believe in the holy Trinity, and all the other Articles of the Christian Faith contained in the three Creeds; and finally all the Canonical Scripture to be true in every sentence. And I detest all Sects both of the *Arrians* and *Anabaptists*, or any other that divide themselves from the true Church of Christ, which is his mystical Body, the ground and pillar of Truth, and the very House of the living God. And if for these things you take away my life, and make your selves guilty of my blood, you may; for I am in your hands as the Sheep brought to the shambles, abiding the grace of the Butcher. And be you sure your judgment sleepest not, but when you cry peace, peace, and all is safe, then shall your plagues begin like the sorrow of a Woman travelling with Child, according to Christs infallible promise.

This kind of Answer, my dear Heart, it shall be best for you to make; and by Gods grace I do intend to take the same order my self in time to come, when the Lord shall vouch me worthy of that great dignity, whereunto he hath called you. And if they shall laugh you to scorn; as I know they will, saying, thou art a Fool, and an unlearned Ass-head, and art able to make answer to nothing, &c. care you not for it, but still commit your cause unto God, who will make answer for you, and tell them that they have been answered again and again of divers godly and learned men; but all will not help: for you have one solution of all manner of questions, even a fair fire and faggots, this will be the end of your disputations. Therefore I pray you to trouble me no more, but do that which you are appointed, when God shall permit the time. I am no better than Christ, his Apostles, and other of my good Brethren that are gone before me.

1 Theft 5.
The Papists
have one
solution for
all manner
of questions.

This kind of answer will cut their Combs most, and edifie the people that stand by, so that the same be done coldly, with sobriety, meekness and patience; as I heard say our sweet Brethren *Thomas Harland* and *John Oswald* did at *Lewes* in *Suffex*, to the great rejoicing of the Children of God that were in those parts: and I hear say, that they were dissolved from this earthly Tabernacle at *Lewes* on Saturday last, and were condemned but the Wednesday before; so that we may perceive the Papists have quick work in hand, that they make such halt to have us home to our heavenly Father. Therefore let us make our selves ready to ride in the fiery Chariot, leaving these sorry Mantles and old Cloaks behind us for a time, which God shall restore to us again in a more glorious wife.

4 Reg. 2.

My good Brother *Henry*, you shall understand that bragging *John T.* hath beguiled his Keepers (who trusted him too well) and is run away from them, and hath brought the poor men into great danger by the same. The one of them is cast by the Councils commandment into the *Gate-house* at *Wesminster*, the other is fled forth of the Country for fear.

Free-will.

Thus you may see the fruits of our Free-will men, that made so much boast of their own strength. But that house which is not builded surely upon the unmoveable Rock, will not long stand against the boisterous winds and storms, that blow so strongly in these days of trouble.

But, my dearly beloved Brother, blessed be God for you, and such as you be, which have played the parts of wise builders. You have digged down past the land of your own natural strength, and beneath the earth of your own worldly wisdom, and are now come to the hard Stone and unmoveable Rock Christ, who is your only Keeper; and upon him alone have you builded your Faith most firmly, without doubting, mistrust or wavering. Therefore neither the storms nor tempests, winds nor weathers that Satan and all his wily workmen can bring against you, with the very gates of Hell to help them, shall ever be able once to move your house, much less to overthrow it; for the Lord God himself, and no man is the builder thereof, and hath promised to preserve and keep the same for ever. Unto his most merciful defence therefore I do heartily commit you and all your good company, desiring him for his sweet Son *John Carcles* sake, to comfort and strengthen

you all, that you may be constant unto the very end; that after the final victory is once gotten, you may receive the immarcescible Crown of glory, of Gods free gift, through his great mercy in Jesus Christ our only Saviour. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, thanks, power, rule and dominion for ever and evermore, Amen. The blessing of God be with you all.

John Carcles.

To my most dear and faithful Brother T.V.

The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual joy and comfort of his most pure, holy and mighty Spirit, with the increase of faith, and lively feeling of his mercy, be with you my dear heart in the Lord, and faithful loving Brother *T.V.* to the full accomplishing of that good work which he hath so graciously begun in you, that the same by all means may be to the setting forth of his glory, to the commodity of his poor afflicted Congregation, and to the sweet comfort and quietness of your Conscience in him now and evermore, Amen.

A Letter of
John Carcles
written
in his
last
breath
to
certain
of his
afflicted
Brethren,
oppressed
with
persecutions
and mourn-
ing for his
sin.

With such due honour, love and reverence, as it becometh me to bear unto the sweet Saints and dearly beloved Children of God, I have me most heartily commended unto you my dear Brother *V.* with all earnest and faithful remembrance of you in my daily prayers, thanking God right heartily that you do likewise remember me in yours; assuring you that my poor heart doth daily feel great consolation thereby, God only have the praise for the same and all other his benefits. Ah my dear Heart in the Lord, well is me that ever I was born, that God of his great mercy and infinite goodness hath used me (most miserable wretch) at any time, as his instrument, to minister any thing unto you either by word or writing, that might be an occasion of your joy and comfort in the Lord, and a provoking of you to praise and thanksgiving unto God for the same, as your most loving and godly Letter seemeth to import. Oh, happy am I that the Lord hath appointed me unto so good a ground to sow his seed upon; but much more happy are you, whose heart the Lord hath prepared and made so meet to receive the same so effectually, giving thereto the sweet showers and heavenly dews of his grace and holy Spirit, that it may bring forth fruit in due season accordingly; the increase whereof we shall shortly reap together with perfect joy and gladness, and that continually.

Therefore, my dear Brother, I say unto you as good *Elizabeth* did to her dear cousin *Mary, Luke 1.* Happy are you, and happy shall you be for evermore, because you have believed. The most sweet and faithful promises of your Redeemer Jesus Christ you have surely laid up in the treasury of your heart. His comfortable dealings you have faithfully heard, his faithful admonitions you have humbly obeyed; and therefore you shall never come into judgment: your sins shall never be remembered; for your Saviour hath cast them all into the bottom of the Sea, he hath removed them from you as far as the East is from the West, and hath given you for an everlasting possession, his justification and holiness, so that now no Creature, neither in Heaven nor in Earth, shall be able to accuse you before the Throne of the heavenly King.

Remission
of sins.
Math. 7.
Gal. 1. 10.

Satan is now judged, he is now cast out from you, he hath no part in you; you are wholly given unto Christ, which will not lose you: your steadfast faith in him hath overcome the sturdy and bragging Prince of the world; Christ hath given you the final victory over him and all his Army, that they shall never hurt you.

What would you have more? Oh my dear heart, how great treasures are laid up in store for you, and how glorious a Crown is already made and prepared for you?

And albeit the Holy Ghost doth bear witness of all these things in your heart, and maketh you more sure of certain thereof, than if you had all the outward Oracles in the world; yet I, being certainly persuaded, and fully assured by the testimony of Gods Spirit in my Conscience of your eternal and sure salvation in our

Testimon-
y of Gods
Spirit.

forever

Practice of
the true
Key of
the Gospel.

sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, have thought it good, yea and my bounden duty, not only at this time to write unto you, and to shew you my joyful heart in that behalf; but also by the word and commandment of Christ to pronounce and affirm in the Name and Word of the heavenly King *Jehovah*, and in the behalf of his sweet Son Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom all knees shall bow, whom all Creatures shall worship, and also by the impulsion of the Holy Ghost, by whose power and strength all the faithful be regenerate; I do (I say) pronounce to thee my dear Brother *T. V.* that thou art already a Citizen of Heaven.

The Lord thy God in whom thou dost put all thy trust, for his dear Sons sake, in whom thou dost also undoubtedly believe, hath freely forgiven thee all thy sins, clearly released all thine iniquities, and fully pardoned all thy offences, be they never so many, so grievous, or so great, and will never remember them any more to condemnation. As truly as he liveth, he will not have thee die the death, but hath utterly determined, purposed, and eternally decreed, that thou shalt live with him for ever. Thy sore shall be healed and thy wounds bound up even of himself for his own names sake. He doth not, nor will he look upon thy sins in thee; but he respecteth and beholdeth thee in Christ, into whom thou art most assuredly grafted by Faith in his Blood, and in whom thou art most assuredly elected and chosen to be a sweet vessel of his mercy and salvation, and wast thereto predestinate into him before the foundation of the world was laid. In testimony and earnest whereof he hath given thee his good and holy Spirit, which worketh in thee Faith, Love, and unfeigned Repentance, with other godly virtues contrary to the corruption of thy nature.

Exercise of
the true
Key of
the Church.

Also he hath commanded me this day (although a most unworthy wretch) to be a witness thereof by the ministry of his holy Word, grounded upon the Truth of his most faithful Promises; the which thou believing shalt live for ever. Believest thou this my dear heart? I know well thou dost believe. The Lord increase thy Faith, and give thee a lively feeling of all his mercies, whereof thou art warranted and assured by the testimony of the Holy Ghost, who confirm in thy Conscience (to the utter overthrowing of Satan, and chase his most hurtful dubitations, whereby he is accustomed to molest and vex the true Children of God) all that I have said; and by Gods grace I will, as a witness thereof, confirm and seal the same with my Blood, for a most certain Truth.

Wherefore (my good Brother) praise the Lord with a joyful heart, and give him thanks for this his exceeding great mercy, casting away all dubitation and wavering, yea all sorrow of heart, and pensiveness of mind; for this, the Lord your God, and most dear and loving Father, commandeth you to do by me, nay rather by his own mouth and word pronounced by me. But now my dear Brother, after that I have done my message, or rather the Lords message, indeed I could find in my heart to write two or three sheets of Paper, declaring the joy I bear in my heart for you, mine own bowels in the Lord: yet the time being so short (as you do well know) I am here constrained to make an end, desiring you to pardon my slackness, and to forgive my great negligence towards you, promising you still that so long as my poor life doth last, my prayer shall supply that my pen doth want, as knoweth the Almighty God, to whose most merciful defence I do heartily commit you and all other his dear Children, as well as though I had rehearsed them by name, desiring them most heartily to remember me in their hearty and daily prayers, as I know right well they do; for I feel the daily comfort and commodity thereof, and therefore I neither will nor can forget them, nor you, or any such like. The blessing of God be with you all, *Amen*.

Yours for ever unfamously,
John Careles.

A Letter of Thanks to a faithful Friend of his, by whom he had received much comfort in his inward trouble.

I thank be God the Father of all mercy, for the great comfort and Christian consolation which he hath

so mercifully ministered unto my poor afflicted heart by your means, my most dear and faithful Brother. Truly methinketh your words, or rather Gods words by you uttered, have a wonderful power and efficacy working in my heart at the hearing and reading of them. Rejoice therefore, my dear Brother, and be thankful unto God; for verily he both is and will be mightily magnified in you, and that divers and many ways, both to the strengthening of them that stand in his Truth, and also to the raising up of such as are fallen from the same. God make me thankful for you, and on your behalf; for verily great is the goodness of God towards me, in giving me acquaintance in faithful love and amity with you; Gods Name be praised for ever therefore, and he perform all his merciful promises upon you, as I doubt not but he will, for his sake in whom you trust.

I thank my God most heartily, and also you, my good Brother, for that you are careful for me in your faithful prayers, remembering my just deserved sorrows, as though they were your own, and labouring so much to solace the same. Ah my gracious good God, what am I, for whom thou and thy dear Children should be so careful? O sweet Lord, forgive me my great ingratitude and sin, and grant that I never abuse thy great benefits. O let the love of thine elect, which love me for thy sake, be a sure sign and token, yea a most firm testimony and seal to my sinful Conscience of thine everlasting love and mercy towards me in Christ; as verily it would and ought to be, if mine infidelity did not let it. Oh circumscribe therefore the foreskin of my heart, that I may with lively faith behold thy great love towards me in all thine elect, that I may always be thankful for the same, and love thee and them again most heartily and unfeignedly.

Ah my dear Heart, how sweetly and how truly, yea how godly and how comfortably have you rehearsed the sweet saying of *Solomon* concerning prosperity with true and Godly Friends: I will join with it the sentence which goeth a little before, for doubtless it may be well verified on you. *A sure Friend (saith the wise man in Ecclesi. 6.) will be unto thee even as thine own soul, and a deal faithfully with thy household-folk. If thou suffer trouble and adversity, he is with thee, and bideth not his face from thee. A faithful friend is a strong defence: who so findeth such an one, findeth a treasure. A faithful friend hath no peer: the weight of gold is not to be compared to the goodness of his faith. A faithful friend is a medicine of life, and they that fear the Lord shall find him, &c.* Lo (my dear Heart in the Lord) here is a lively image or description of you; for verily such an one have I alwaies found you unto me, not only forrowing for my great sorrow, but also oftentimes making me merry and joyful, with such joys as the world cannot feel. Now let the world brag of his fained friendship; but I will boast of this true friendship in God, and esteem it a more treasure than all transitory things.

And as for my mourning, dear brother, God hath made you to turn it unto mirth; for God hath put you in stead of them to be my comfort, whom he hath in his great mercy taken away. I trust henceforth to leave the mourning for my great loss, and to praise God for gaining unto himself so great glory by his chosen Children. God make me a true mourner of *Sion*, both for mine own sin and wickedness, and also to see his honour defaced, that I may be made meet and apt to bear the joyful and comfortable message that your beautiful feet shall bring me. God bless thee my dear Heart, and faithful loving Brother, and increase his good gifts of grace in thee, as he hath most happily begun, that you may daily more effectually feel and lively perceive the certainty of Gods with this grace wherein you stand, and firmly testify the same to the conversion or confounding of all gain-sayers, and to children, the comfort and confirmation of all Gods dear Children, *Amen*. Farewel mine own sweet Brother, Farewel as mine own Heart.

Your own in Christ,

John Careles.

Another

2000
1556
A Letter of
John Careles
to a faith-
ful friend
of his, of
Thank-
giving.

He giveth
him thanks.

What a
treasure
a faithful
friend is.

There is no
true friend-
ship but a-
mong godly
persons.

Such mourn-
ers should
be comforted
by the consoling
of Gods dear
children, and
others
Gods dear
children,
and blessed
be they that
so mourn.

Ann

1556.

Another
Letter of
John Careles
to Agnes
Glascock
his wife.

Another Letter of John Careles, to a certain godly faithful Sister, by the names of E. K.

The grace and free mercy of God in Jesus Christ, the sweet consolations of the Holy Ghost, the guide of all Gods dear Children, be with you, strengthen and comfort you my dearly beloved Sweet Sister, E. K. now and ever, Amen.

Albeit (my dearly beloved Sister in Christ) as yet we did never see one another personally to any knowledge, yet by the virtuous report that I have heard of you, and also by the large loving Token that I have received from you, me think that I do even presently see you, and behold your person faithfully walking in the fear and love of God, joying and rejoicing with you in the spirit, as though we were freely talking together of Christs verity. The Lord God do I humbly beseech in the Bowels and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that he will strengthen us both with his holy and mighty Spirit, that we may constantly continue in the confession of his Truth unto the end; that like as we now see one another presently in Spirit, we may also see one another personally in the glorious presence of God and his holy Angels, where undoubtedly we shall know one anothers personage, to our great joy, felicity, and endless comfort.

Preparation
to the
Crois.

And now therefore dear Sister K. be strong in the Lord our God, for doubtless the time of tryal is at hand; a great persecution, with cruel murdering of Gods dear Saints is like to be very shortly in this woful wicked Realm of England. Therefore (dear Sister) for the love of God prepare you to the Crois with all diligence, and make your self ready to die with Christ, that you may also live with him for ever. There is no remedy, if you will be Christs Disciple, you must needs take up your Crois and follow him; for the Disciple must not look to be above his Master, nor the Servant to be better intreated then his Lord. If we were of the world (good Sister) no doubt the world would love us. But forasmuch as Christ hath chosen us out of the world to serve God in Spirit and verity, let us be well assured the world will hate us and persecute us, as it hath done our Lord and Master Christ. But yet let us be of good cheer, for Christ hath overcome the world. The pain is but short that we can feel here, but the pleasure is perpetual that we shall feel else where.

Consolation
under the
Crois.

Let us set before us the example of Christ, which abode the Crois, and despised the shame, in respect of the joy that was set before him; even so let us consider for whose sake we suffer, whose cause we defend, and what glorious reward we shall have at the day of our victory, and then doubtless the consolation of these things will make sweet all our sufferings, and soon swallow up all the sorrows that we are sowed in for Gods sake. I could recite divers Texts of the Scriptures to confirm this point. But I need not, for I am well assured that you do know them most perfectly already. The Lord give you strength, and assist you with his holy Spirit, that you may continually walk in all points according to your godly knowledge: And then shall you not do as the most part of our Gospellers do now a daies, the more is the pity.

Against
Murther
Gospellers

There are a great many in England that do perfectly know, that the Idolatrous Mass is abominable, devilish, and detestable in the sight of God. And yet alas, they be not afraid to pollute and defile their bodies, which ought to be the temples of the Holy Ghost, with being present at it, so sinning against God and their own Conscience.

Exhortation
to fly from
the Mass.

But dear Sister K. do you fly from it both in body and Soul, as you would fly from the very Devil himself. Drink not of the Whore of Babels Cup by any means; for it will infect the body, and Poyson the Soul. Be not partakers of her sins (saith the Angel) lest ye be partakers of the plagues that shall shortly be poured upon her. O what an aray is this, that so many that know Gods Truth will now turn again and defile themselves in the filthy puddle of Antichrists stinking Religion? They go about to save their lives with their double dissimulation; but doubtless, they shall lose everlasting life by it;

if they do not repent in time, and turn unto the Lord. But (dear Sister) my trust is, that you do utterly abhor the coming to any such thing. I hope that you will not by any means turn back into Egypt now, but that you will boldly venture through the wilderness of trouble and persecution, that you may come into the land that floweth with all kind of heavenly pleasures and joy, full delectations, and possess the same for ever.

Let us consider, how that every one of us doth owe unto God a death by nature, and how soon the Lord will require it of us we know not. O how happy are we then, if God of his good will appoint us to pay natures debt with suffering for his Truth and Gospels sake, and so making us his faithful witnesses with the Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and Confessors, yea, with his dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, to whom he doth here begin to fashion us like in suffering, that we might be like him also in glory. Thus my dearly beloved Sister, I have been bold to trouble you a little with my rude and simple Letter, being made in haste as it doth appear. Yet I desire you to take it in good worth, as a token of my poor zeal unto you, and to accept my good will. And if it please God to spare me life and liberty, I trust hereafter to write unto you more largely. Fare ye well dear Sister, E. K. the Lord bless you and all yours, and pour upon you the heavenly dew of his grace. The Lord endue you with plentiful knowledge of his verity, and fill you with his holy and mighty Spirit, that you may continually rejoice in the comforts of the same now and ever, Amen. Pray, pray, pray with steadfast faith.

Your daily Oratour John Careles,

Prisoner of the Lord.

In the Letters of William Tynis, ye heard before much mention made of Agnes Glascock. This Agnes Glascock, through infirmity, and her Husbands perfections, was allured to go to Mass. For which cause the falling into great sorrow and repentance, was raised up again by the comfortable Letters of William Tynis, and John Careles, as before you may read; and after that was constant in the sincere profession of the Verity, and in danger for the same of persecution; unto whom John Careles writeth therefore his Letter, as followeth.

A Letter of John Careles to Agnes Glascock.

The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual aid, strength, and comforts of his most pure, holy and mighty Spirit be with you my dear and faithful Sister Glascock, to the good performance of that good work which God hath so graciously begun in you, to his Glory, the commodity of his poor afflicted Church and to your own eternal comfort in him, Amen.

A Letter of
John Careles
to Mrs.
Agnes Glascock.

In our Lord I have my most humble and hearty commendations unto you, my dear Sister and most faithful Mother Glascock, with all remembrance of you in my daily prayers, giving God most hearty laud, praise, and thanks for you, and on your behalf, in that he of his great mercy hath hitherto so mightily strengthened you, constantly to cleave unto your Captain Christ, notwithstanding the great assaults and manifold temptations that you have had to the contrary. Doubtless (dear Heart) it cannot be expressed what joy and comfort it is unto my very Soul, to see how mightily the Lord hath magnified himself in you, and other his dear elect dearelings, whom he will shortly glorify with himself, as he hath done other of his sweet Saints, that are gone before you. Rejoyce therefore and be glad; for verily you have good cause, if you diligently consider the great dignity that God hath called you unto, even now in your old age, to be one of his worthy witnesses unto the world; and I think you shall with me and other your Brethren in bonds, seal the Lords verity with the testimony of your Blood. Surely (sweet Sister) this is the greatest promotion that God can bring you or any other unto, in this life; and an honour that the highest Angel in Heaven is not permitted to have.

What an
high honour
it is to
offer for
Christ.

Therefore

Therefore happy are you, O faithful Daughter of *Abraham*, that the Lord will now prefer you before many other, yea or any other of your age, that I do know in *England*. Oh faithful and virtuous Matron, which wilt not be moved from the sure Rock Christ, upon whom you have so firmly built your house, that neither storms nor tempests, neither yet Hell-gates, or any other temptations, shall ever be able to prevail against it. Full well doth it appear by your constant continuance, that you have plaid the part of a wife Builder, in counting the cost aforehand, belonging to the finishing up of your Tower. And I doubt not but (through Gods gift) you have sufficient to the performance thereof, that the hypocrites of their part shall have no just cause to triumph against you, or to mock you, saying, Lo, this woman began to build, but is not able to make an end. Therefore go on boldly and fear not; for God is faithful (as *St. Paul* saith) which will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength, but either he will give you grace and strength to stand unto the death (which is the gate and entrance into life) or else he will make such an out-caste for you, as shall be to the setting forth of his glory; the which above all other things, we that are his chosen Children ought to seek, yea even with the loss of our own lives, being yet well assured that the same shall not be shortened one minute of an hour before the time that God hath appointed.

He exhort-
eth her to
be strong.

Call therefore (dear Sister) all your care upon the Lord, which (as *St. Peter* saith) careth for you. Great is his Providence for you, and mighty is his love and mercy towards you. With his grace he will defend you, and with his holy Spirit he will evermore guide you, wherewith he hath surely sealed you unto the day of redemption; he hath also given you the same in earnest for the recovery of the purchased possession, which he hath prepared for you before the foundation of the world was laid. Be strong therefore, and take a good heart, as I hear say you be. God for ever be blessed for you, which hath so graft his love in your good heart, that nothing is able to separate you from the same, but will rather chuse to suffer adversity with the People of God, than to enjoy the pleasure of sin for a little season. Oh happy Woman, that canst find in thy heart to esteem the rebukes of Christ to be greater riches than all the treasures of the world, as good *Moses* did. Doubtless great is your reward in Heaven; which you shall shortly receive of his free gift, and not of any deserving.

The charity
of Mrs.
Glascock
to the prisoned
Saints.

Thus (dear Mother *Glascock*) I have been bold to trouble you with my rude and simple Letters, desiring you to take them in good worth, being done in great haste, as it doth appear, but yet proceeding from a poor heart which floweth over in love towards you, as my daily prayers for you can testify; which I trust shall supply that part of my duty towards you, that my Pen now wanteth. I thank you, dear Heart, for all your loving tokens, and for the great kindness you have hitherto shewed unto my poor Brother *Tyms* and his Wife and Children, with all other of Gods People, to whom you daily do good: the Lord recompence the same sevenfold into your bosom, as I doubt not but he will, according to his unfallible promises. I pray you have my hearty commendations unto your Husband. I beseech the Lord strengthen him in the confession of his Truth (as my trust is that he will) that we may all joyfully rest with *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob* in the Kingdom of God; unto the which he bring us, that with his most precious Blood hath bought us. The blessing of God be with you now and ever, *Amen*.

Your daily Orator and unfeigned Lover,
John Careles, Prisoner of the Lord.
Pray, pray, pray.

A brief Admonition written to Mrs. Agnes Glascock, in a Book of hers, when she came to the Prison to visit him.

There is nothing that the holy Scripture throughout doth so much commend unto us, as true faith and

steadfast trust in the promises of Gods eternal mercies towards us in Jesus Christ. For from the same, as forth of the chief fountain and well-spring of life, do flow all kind of vertues and godly fruits, specially true love towards God, in the which we ought purely to serve him all the days of our life; and also Christian charity towards our Neighbours, as well to help them at all needs, as also not to hurt them by any means. Therefore pray earnestly for the increase of faith and lively feeling of Gods mercy; for all things are possible unto him that can undoubtedly believe. Faith is that thing which assureth us of Gods mercy, and whereby we vanquish all the fiery darts of the Devil; our victory that overcometh the world; the knife that killeth and mortifieth the flesh: and finally that which setteth us at peace with God, and quieteth our Consciences always before him, and maketh us merry and joyful under the Cross, with many more things than I can now express. Pray therefore for Faith, in faith. And for the Lords sake beware of Popery and Popish Idolatry, the Idol of the wicked Mass, and other Idolatrous service. Make not your Body, which is a member of Christ, a member of Antichrist. Remember that we shall receive of God according to that we do in the body, be it good or evil. Therefore glorifie God in your Body which is dearly bought. Betray not the Truth, lest the Lord deny you. If God be God, follow him. You cannot serve two Masters. I write not this as doubting you, but by the way of admonition. God keep you from all evil.

The efficacy
of Faith.

My Sister dear, God give you grace,
With steadfast Faith in Christ; Name,
His Gospel still for to embrace,
And live according to the same.
To die therefore think it no shame,
But hope in God with faithful trust;
And he will give you praise with fame,
When you shall rise out of the dust.
For which most sweet and joyful days,
To God with Faith your prayer make:
And think on me while you pray,
The which did write this for your sake.
And thus to God I you betake,
Who is your Castle and strong Rock;
He keep you whether you sleep or wake,
Farewel dear Mrs. A. Glascock.

Another Letter of John Careles to Mistress A. G. to comfort her in her repentance, after she had been at Mass, fruitful for all them to be read, which have fallen, and are to be raised up again.

The peace of God in Jesus Christ, the eternal comforts of his sweet Spirit be with you, and strengthen then and comfort you my dear and faithful Sister, *Amen*.

Another
comfortable
Letter of
John Careles
to Mrs. Agnes
Glascock,
being in
great repen-
tance for
going to
the Mass;

Although the perillous daies be come, whereof Christ prophesied, that if it were possible the very elect should be deceived; yet let the true faithful Christians rejoyce and be glad, knowing that the Lord himself is their Keeper, who will not suffer one hair of their heads to perish without his Almighty good will and pleasure, neither will he suffer them to be further tempted than he will give them strength to bear; but will in the midst of their temptation make a way for them to escape out; so good and gracious a God is he to all his chosen Children. And though sometimes he do let his elect stumble and fall, yet (no doubt) he will raise them up again, to the further increase of their comfort, and to the setting forth of his glory and praise. Which thing (my dear and faithful loving Sister) I trust shall be well verified on you. For I do hear say, that by the manifold allurements, inticements, procurements, yea and inforcements that you dear heart have had, your foot hath chanced to slip forth of the way, to the great discomfort of your soul, and the heaviness of your heart: But my good Sister be of good cheer, for the Lord will not so leave you, but he will raise you up again, and make you stronger than ever you were; so that your fall shall turn to his glory and your profit. For if you had not by this proved the experience of your own strength, or rather your own weakness, you

Ann. 1586. you would have stood too much in your own conceit, or perchance have gloried in your self, and have despised and condemned other weak persons that have committed the like offence. Therefore now you may see what the best of us all can do, if God leave us to our selves. Which thing ought to move you to be diligent to call earnestly upon God for his grace and the strength of his Holy Spirit (without the which we are not able to stand one hour) and to be most thankful for the same when you have it, and then to be more circumspect in time to come.

To trust to Gods promises.

Therefore (dear Sister) seeing that you have done otherwise then the Word of God and your own conscience would allow; yet dear Heart, do you not think that God therefore will cast you clean away, but know that he hath mercy enough in store for all them that truly repent and believe in him, although the sins of them were as many in number as the sands in the Sea, and as great as the sins of the whole world. It is a greater sin to mistrust the mercy and promises of God, then to commit the greatest offence in the world. Therefore (good Sister) beware in any wife, that you do not once mistrust the promises of Gods mercy towards you; but know for a very surety, that all your sins be utterly forgiven you for Christs sake, be they never so many, so grievous, or so great.

Calumny of sin a perillous matter.

But now (dear Heart) take heed and beware that you do not cloak that sin; and increase the same daily, in communicating with the wicked in their Idolatry, and devilish doings at their den of thieves. Do not (I say) dear Sister, come at any of the Antichristian Service, left by little and little you utterly lose a good Conscience and at length esteem it for no offence as a great number do at this day; to the great perill of their Souls. The Lord be merciful to them, and give them grace to repent in time and turn to the Lord, and then they shall be sure to find mercy at the Lords hands as doubtless you have done, praised be his name therefore.

A.G. indicted by her husband to go to the mill.

Ah my dear Sister, you may now see the words of Christ verified upon your self, that a mans greatest foes shall be of his own household; for your husband hath gotten you to do that, which all the Tyrants in the world could never have made you to do. Doubtless he may be sorry for it. God give him grace to repent, or else, without doubt, it will be laid to his charge one day, when he would not by his will hear it for all the goods in the world. Well, I think my Brother Tyms will write him a Letter shortly that shall touch his Conscience, if he have any Conscience at all.

The railing up of a troubled Conscience his fall.

But now again to you dear Sister. The thing that is done cannot be undone, and you are not the first that hath offended, neither are you so good and so holy, as hath at a time slipt forth of the way. Therefore I would not have you to be so much discomforted as I hear say you be, as though God were not as able to forgive you your offence, as he was to forgive his dear Saints that offended him in times past; or as though God were not as merciful now, as ever he was. Whereas in very deed, There is with the Lord (as the Prophet saith) mercy and plentiful redemption, and his mercy far surmounteth all his works; and he never faileth any that put their whole trust and confidence in him, how great an offender or how wicked a Trespasser soever he be: No, he maketh their falls and backslidings many times to turn to their profit and commodity, and to the setting forth of his glory; as doubtless, dear Sister, yours shall do, if you put your whole faith, hope, and trust onely in his infinite and eternal sweet mercies.

God turneth all things to the best, to them that be his.

Satan when he cannot bring a man to his service, he persuades him with distrust of Gods mercy.

Oh what a subtle, crafty, lying Serpent is that Satan our old enemy? that when he seeth that he cannot make us to continue in our wickedness to do him service, would then bring us into a doubting and mistrusting of the mercy of God, which is the greatest offence that can be; yea, infidelity is the root and original of all other sins. Therefore (my sweet Sister) give no place to that cruel Adversary of mankind, who hath been a liar and a murderer from the beginning, but stedfastly believe the Lord, who hath sent you word by me his most unworthy servant, that all your sins be pardoned, forgiven, and clean released for Jesus Christs sake our onely Lord and Saviour. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, thanks, power,

rule, and dominion for ever and for ever, Amen. Farewell, my dear Sister, be of good cheer. Believe in the Lord and you shall live for ever. The Lord increase your faith, Amen, Amen.

Your poor Brother, and daily faithful Orator John Careles, prisoner of the Lord. Pray for me.

Another Letter of John Careles to A. B. a faithful Minister of the Lord, containing certain fruitful precepts of Matrimony.

I beseech the same everlasting Lord (my dear and faithful Brother) that blessed young Tobias with his Wife Sarah, and brought them together in due time with reverence and fear, preserve and bless you both, and your seed after you that they may increase the number of the faithful by thousands and thousands. And as the Lord of his great mercy and fatherly providence hath been always careful for you, and now hath for your comfort accomplished his good work in coupling you with a faithful mate; so see that you be thankful for his providence towards you, that it may every way in you be an increase of love and godliness, yea of Christian Joy and gladness in these sorrowful days, but yet so, that you mourn with the true Mourners of Sion, and be sorry (yet in measure) for the hurt of the same. Pray also in faith for her prosperity, that the Lord may build up the Walls of Jerusalem again.

A Letter of J. Careles to B. a faithful servant of Christ.

Oh that the Lord would turn Sions Captivity as the Rivers into the South: Then should our hearts be made glad, and our mouths filled with laughter. Then would the Heathen Hypocrites say; The Lord hath done much for them. Oh, the Lord hath done great things for us already, whereof let us heartily rejoice and praise his name therefore. For though we now sow with tears, yet shall we be sure to reap with gladness: and as we now go forth weeping, bearing forth good seed, so shall we come again with joy, and bring our sheaves full of Corn. Yea the death of the Martyrs (which is most precious in his sight) shall be the life of the Gospel, spite of the Papists Hearts.

Pal. 141

The death of the Martyrs is the life of the Gospel.

Pray for me (dear Heart) that I may be counted worthy to sow some seed amongst the sweet Saints of the Lord, that I may reap the same again, without ceasing, at the harvest. It is now sowing time of the year, men say in the Country, and I think I shall make an end of sowing before all March be past; for I hear say that I shall prove how my plough will enter into the stony ground of the hard hearted Papists, within these four days. I hope to hold fast, and not to look back, neither for fear nor flattery, until I have made an end of sowing, and then will I let me down and rest me, and ask them all no leave, and look for the lively fruit and increase thereof with joy and gladness.

A sowing time in March.

My dear Brother, the time approacheth near (I praise God therefore) that I must put off this sinful tabernacle, and go home to my Heavenly Father, where divers of my dear Brethren are already looking and wishing for me. I beseech you therefore that you will help me forward with your faithful prayers, as I know you do, for I do feel the comfort and commodity thereof.

That you have observed my simple Counsel I am right glad; and I trust in the Lord God, you shall find comfort in the same. And that you may so do indeed, I have been so bold to write these few words unto you, because I shall see you no more in this corruptible life; therefore mark them well. First and above all things you must be very circumspect to keep the band of love, and beware that there never spring up the root of bitterness between you. If at any time there happen to rise any cause of unkindness between you, (as it is impossible always to be free from it) see that you weed up the same with all lenity, gentleness, and patience, and never suffer your self, nor your Wife to sleep in displeasure.

If you have cause to speak sharply, and sometimes to reprove, beware that you do not the same in the presence of other, but keep your words until a convenient time (which is the point of a Wife Man, faith Solomon)

F f f and

This counsel was that he should marry, notwithstanding certain letters whereby Satan sought to hinder his marriage. The root of bitterness to be weeded out with the spade of patience. How and when the husband ought to reprove.

and then utter them in the Spirit of meekness, and the groaning Spirit of perfect love; which you must also let sometimes to cover faults, and wink at them if they be not intolerable. Whatsoever loss and mischance shall happen unto you, take it patiently, and bear it merrily; and though the same should come partly through your wives negligence, yet let it rather be a loving warning to take heed in time to come, then a cause of sorrow for that which is past and cannot be helped. I know by mine own experience, that we are in this life subject to many inconveniences, and that of nature we are prone to displeasure, and ready to think unkindness for every little trifle, and specially with our best friends, yea soonest with our loving wives, which be most loth to displease us.

Not to take unkindness for every trifle.

But let us beware of this cankered corruption, and consider that we ought most of all in love to bear with them according to Christs example towards his congregation, for whom he gave himself to cleanse it, &c. I had thought to have treated this matter at large, but even now I am intermitted and otherwise letted. I doubt not but you know your duty therein a great deal better then I can declare it unto you; and as you know it, so will do it: but I love to be bold with you. I intend to write to your Wife very shortly, and so take my last farewell of you for ever in this world. And thus in great haste I am now constrained to make an end. The blessing of God be always with you.

Your own for ever, John Careles.
Pray, pray, pray with faith.

Another Letter of John Careles, to Elizabeth, Wife of the said A. B. containing certain godly precepts of Matrimony pertaining to her duty.

Another Letter of Mr. Careles to the wife of the party above specified.

The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual aid, strength, and comfort of his most holy and mighty Spirit, with increase of knowledge, faith, and perfect feeling of Gods eternal mercy, be with you my dear and faithful loving Sister E. B. and with your godly loving Husband and my dear and faithful Brother, to the full performance of that good which he hath so graciously begun in you, that in all things you may be made rich and blessed in him, and your feed after you, now and ever, Amen.

As I have been long desirous to write unto you (my dear Heart in the Lord) not only being thereto bound of duty, but also often provoked of him, to whom I owe my self and all that I am able to do (I mean even that blessed of the Lords own Mouth, whom God hath joynt with you in that holy and christian state of Matrimony) even so at the last I have obtained time and occasion in some part to perform that which I have long purposed. And forasmuch as the Lord of his great mercy and fatherly care and providence over you his dear Child, hath now graciously accomplished that good work amongst many others, which I (as a friend of the Bridegroom) have full heartily wished and often praised for; I think it good, yea and my bounden duty, to treat of such things as may be profitable to preserve mutual love and faithful amity between you, which I know Satan will chiefly labour to diminish, if he cannot altogether destroy the same, left by many joyful occasions you should be provoked continually to praise God for his good gift, which that enemy hath by all means sought to hinder from you.

Satan an enemy to all godly affairs.

As for all other things I know you are sufficiently instructed, and also have a most learned companion, who is well able further to teach you if need do require: But in this thing I know my experience is more then his. Therefore (my good Sister) first and before all things see that you do diligently consider, that as every good and perfect gift pertaining to Soul and Body, is given from above, and cometh from the Father of light: even so to whomsoever the Lord dealeth any of his benefits, of them he doth chiefly require always a thankful heart for the same; for else he will either take away his good gifts again, or turn the same to their great discommodity, and in the end to the increase of their damnation: so detestable in his sight is the sin of ingratitude. But to such as be thankful for his benefits, he doth not only to the old ever add new, but also maketh the commodity of his former gifts

The sign of ingratitude.

ever more and more to increase, until by them they are fully persuaded and thoroughly certified of his everlasting love in Christ Jesus, which is eternal life it self: so much doth he of his great mercy delight in a thankful heart.

And so God loveth a thankful heart.

Therefore I do yet once again earnestly require you, that above all things you be thankful to God for his benefits; not only for your election, creation, redemption, and preservation; but also for his other temporal gifts, wherewith he hath induced you: amongst the which the chief and most excellent is (as testifieth the Holy Ghost) your good, godly, and faithful loving Husband. For (as the wife man faith) Goods and Possessions may come to a man by the death of his friends, but a good Wife is the gift of God, which the Lord will give for a good portion to such as fear him.

A good wife is the gift of God.

And the like is of a good Husband, as the Lord hath now given you, praised be his name therefore. He hath not given you, an Ignorant, Forward, Churlish, Brawling, Wallowing, Rioting, Drunken Husband, wherewith he hath plagued many other (as he might also have done you) but he hath given you a most godly, learned, gentle, loving, quiet, patient, thrifty, diligent, and sober husband, by whom he will nourish, cherish, keep, and defend you, instruct and teach you, yea care and provide for you and your Children (the which he will also by him give you) such things as be necessary for you. He hath not dealt so with every Body; and yet he hath done this much more for you my dear Sister, and will thereto increase joy and love between you. For as he delighteth in the love and godly agreement of Man and Wife together; so is it he God delighteth only that maketh them and all the whole household to be of one mind. Unto the which his gracious work he requirerh your diligence, and will use you as his instrument and mean, the more effectually to accomplish the same. And therefore I now require you to observe this my simple counsel, the which I have here written as a testimony of one mind. Unto the which his gracious work he requirerh your diligence, and will use you as his instrument and mean, the more effectually to accomplish the same. And therefore I now require you to observe this my simple counsel, the which I have here written as a testimony of one mind. Unto the which his gracious work he requirerh your diligence, and will use you as his instrument and mean, the more effectually to accomplish the same.

It is the duty of the husband to be of one mind with his wife.

Now as I have shewed you how you should be thankful unto God for his good gifts, so I exhort you, and (as much as in me lieth) charge you to be evermore thankful unto your dear loving husband, who hath given himself unto you; which is a more precious jewel in the Church of God, then perchance you are yet aware of. Think of your self unworthy to be matched with such a instrument of God; and also reverence evermore the gifts of God in him, and seek with true obedience and love to serve him, in recompence of his true and painful heart towards you. Be loath in any wife to offend him, yea rather be careful and diligent to please him, that his Soul may bless you if at any time you shall chance to anger him, or to do or speak any thing that shall grieve him, see that you never rest until you have pacified him and made him merry again.

The duty of the wife to love her husband.

If at any time he shall chance to blame you without a cause, or for that you cannot do therewith (which thing hapneth sometimes to the best man living) see that you bear it patiently, and give him no uncomely or unkind word for it; but evermore look upon him with a loving and cheerful countenance, and rather take the fault upon you, then seem to be displeased.

Be always merry and cheerful in his company, but not with too much lightness. Beware in any wife of swelling, pouting, or lowering, for that is a token of a cruel and unloving heart; except it be in respect of sin, or in the time of sickness.

Be not sorrowful for any adversity that God sendeth; but beware that nothing be spilt or go to waste through your negligence. In any wife see that you be quick and cleanly about his meat and drink, and prepare him the same according to his diet in due season. Go cleanly and well favouredly in your apparel, but beware of pride in any wife.

A cheerful countenance.

Temperance in apparel.

Finally, in word and deed shew your self wife, humble, merry, and loving towards him, and also towards such as he doth love, and then shall you lead a blessed life. I could speak of many things, the which I have learned and proved true by experience; but I know that you will do in all things much better then I can teach you, because you have that anointing that teacheth you all things,

Anno 1556. things, who hath also given you an heart to obey, and serve him. Yet I trust you will not be offended for this, which I have written, but rather accept my good will towards you, whom I love in the Lord, as well as I do my Daughter Judith.

Thus as mine own Soul I commend you both to God, desiring him to bless you with all manner of spiritual blessings in heavenly things, and also with the dew of Heaven, and Fancies of the Earth, that in all things you may be made rich in Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour. The Lord increase and bless the fruit of your Bodies, that your Children may stand round about your table, thick, fresh, and lusty, like the Olive Branches. God give you both a long life, that you may see and bless your Children Children, unto the third and fourth Generation, and teach them the true fear and love of God, and that faith for the which they shall be accepted in his light.

God let you see the prosperity of *Sion*, for whose lying in the dust let your Hearts mourn. The Lord make perfect your love together in him, and always increase the same, and bring you both in peace to your graves, at a good age. And now I bid you both most heartily Farewell; and I think I shall now take my leave of you for ever in this life. I beseech you both to aid me with your continual prayers, (as I will not forget you in mine) that I may have a joyful Victory through Jesus Christ: To whose most merciful defence I do most heartily for ever commend you to be kept unblameable until his coming. The which I beseech him to hasten for his mercies sake.

Your own unfained, John Careles,
prisoner of the Lord.

Here endeth the Letters of John Careles.

The History and Martyrdom of a learned and virtuous young Man, called Julius Palmer, sometime Fellow of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, with two other Martyrs to wit, John Gwin, and Thomas Askin, burned together in Newbery, at a place there called the Sand pits.

Three Martyrs suffering at Newbery, Julius Palmer, John Gwin, Tho. Askin, Martyrs, July 16.
THe same Month of July, in which Careles, as before is declared, was released out of prison by death, in short time after, about the sixteenth day of the same Month of July, suffered these three godly and constant Martyrs above mentioned, at Newbery, in which number was Julius Palmer, sometime student and Fellow of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, and afterwards School-master in the Town of Reading. Concerning whose story and Martyrdom here followeth although not so much as he deserved to have said, yet so much as sufficiently may set forth the great working of God in this young man.

Julius Palmer.

The story of Julius Palmer.
AS all Gods works are wondrous, in calling of all sorts of men to confirm his truth, and to bear witness unto his assured and infallible word, which the Adversaries have depraved and corrupted with their false glosses, to establish the fleshly Kingdom of Antichrist, and to purchase security in the World, which they seek to keep in there possession by all means possible, rather cursing with the Thunderbolt of Excommunication, burning, hanging, drowning, racking, scourging and persecuting by secret practice, and open violence the simple sheep of our Saviour Christ, then that their false forged packing should be detected, their estimation appeared, their kitchen cooled, their rents, revenues, goods, lands and possessions abated: I say, as Gods Works be wonderful, which chuse some of all sorts to confess his Gospel; so there is no one example in the whole godly fellowship of Martyrs, more to be marked, yea more to be wondered at, then this, that one, which all King Edwards days was a Papist within the University of Oxford, and so obdurate, as that he did utterly abhor all godly prayer, and sincere preaching, and almost of all them, with whom he lived, was therefore likewise abhorred, and (as I may say) pointed at with the finger, did yet after in Queen Maries time suffer most cruel death, at the Papists hands at Newbery in Berkshire,

for the most ready and zealous profession of the blessed truth.

His Name was Julius Palmer, born in Coventry, where also his parents dwelt. His Father had sometime been Mayor of the City, and occupied Merchandise, albeit he was an Upholster by his mystery. How he was brought up in his young and tender years, from his first entering, we know not, but as we have learned, he was sometime scholar to Mr. Harley, which taught the free Schooler of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford; by whose diligence, and the goodness of his own capacity, he became a toward young scholar in prose and verse. For he had a very prompt and ready memory, a wit sharp and pregnant. He spake Latin with great facility of utterance, and wanted not competent knowledge in the Greek tongue; inso-much that divers times he supplied the Room of the Greek Reader in his house. He was a subtle disputant, both in the publick schools, and also at home. He used to say, that he was never so pleasantly occupied, as when he came to the hard debating of profound questions in Philosophy; so that he hath oftentimes watched and spent the whole night in the discussing and searching out the truth of deep and difficult questions, as *De principiis, de infinitis, de vacuo, de tempore, de casu, & fortuna, &c.* And this used he to do sundry times, with divers of his equals.

In familiar talk he greatly delighted, for the exercise of his learning, to defend the contrary to that which was affirmed, yet with modesty, and without all ostentation. For he greatly abhorred all overthwart cavelling, all frivolous talk, and unsavoury brabbling. He was not captious, but would reason so soberly, and with such probability, that even his Adversaries would no less marvel at the dexterity of his invention, then at his comely and decent behaviour in prosecuting the same.

And although he applied Divinity very lately, it appeareth that he recompensed the final time of his study with the greatness of his diligence bestowed in the same, and his late coming to the truth, with his earnest and zealous proceeding therein. For by the secret inspiration of Gods Holy Spirit, inwardly working in his heart, he gave an apparent signification in his young years, that if God had spared his life to age, he would have grown to such maturity and ripeness of judgment, as whereby he should have been an ornament to Christs Church, and an honour to his Country.

And some what to speak of his Civil behaviour, he was of manners courteous without curiosity, of countenance cheerful, without high looks, of speech pleasant, without affectation, he was affable and lowly as any Child, and yet quick spirited, and vehement in reasoning. He practised no deceit toward any man, for he was of such simplicity, that he was apter to be deceived, then to deceive, and he was so great a contemner of all reproaches and injuries, that he would say, None were to be counted valiant, but such as could despise injury.

In private study he was so insatiable, that he arose ordinarily every morning at four of the clock, and went not lightly to bed before ten at night. Inso-much that as he grew in years and understanding; so he came to be a Bachelor of Art, and at length, for the hope appearing in him, to the preferment of a fellowship in Magdalen Colledge, where also he was admitted to the office of a Reader in Logic, Anno 1550. Now if he had at the first favoured sincere Religion, so much as he followed his book, then had we had the less matter to note in him. But indeed he was so much (as is aforesaid) addicted to the Romish faith, that his company and conversation in the same house was altogether with such as were utter enemies to the Gospel of Christ. If he came to common prayer at any time, it was by violence and compulsion, for otherwise he came not. Sermons would he hear none himself, nor yet suffer his scholars to resort unto them by his good will: for he was fully persuaded, that they might be better occupied at home. The Preachers themselves he did both disdain and despise, and all such as were setters forth of sound doctrine beside. For the which contumacy and stubbornness, he was so oft called before the Officers of the Colledge, and punished sometimes by the purling, sometime by the lack of his commons, and otherwise by certain tasks, and exercises of learning, enjoined unto him, that divers supposed him to have endeavoured,

Julius Palmer born in Coventry.

Julius Palmer scholar to Mr. Harley Schoolmaster of Magdalen Colledge.

Julius Palmer added to philosophy.

Julius Palmer began next to apply Divinity.

The civil behaviour of Julius Palmer.

Palmer great verb.

Palmer fellow of Magdalen Colledge.

Palmer Reader of Logic in his Colledge.

Palmer an utter enemy to sound Religion.

Palmer impugner of King Edwards time.

Fff 2 of

of set purpose, continually to seek occasion, whereby he might be counted a sufferer for the fantastical Religion of the Romish Church.

I both for
up in Ove-
ford against
D Haddons
President.

In the end, not long before the death of King Edward that godly Prince, certain slanderous Libels, and railing Verses, were privily fixed to the walls and doors in sundry places of the Colledge against the President, which was then Dr. Haddon, whereby was ministered further matter of trouble to Palmer. For whereas it was well known that he, and some of his Companions, had a very little while before spoken contumelious words against the President; it could not be now avoided, but that thereby arose a vehement firmness and suspicion, that he conspiring with others, had contrived, made and scattered abroad the said slanderous Writings. Great inquisition was made in the Colledge, to search out the Author of so malicious and despicable a deed, but nothing could be found and proved against Palmer, or any of his Companions. Now Palmer, being herupon examined by the Officers, did not only with stout courage deny the fact to have been his, but also spake further many reproachful words touching the said Officers, and sent the same to him in writing, whereby he was by them adjudged to be an unworthy Member of that Society. And so for this, and other Popish pranks (continuing obstinate still) he was expelled the House.

Julius Pal-
mer expelled
from the Col-
ledge for
Popery.

Jul. Palmer
driven to
teach Child-
ren.

After he was thus dispatched of his Room, he was fain for his own maintenance to apply himself to be a teacher of Children in the house of Sir Francis Kneller, in the which Trade he continued until the coming in of Queen Mary. And when her Visitors were sent to Magdalen Colledge, under a title of Reformation (whereas all things were better afore) I mean to displace divers of the Fellows that were learned, and to put right Catholics (as they called them) in their rooms; then came this Julius Palmer, waiting to be restored to his Living again, of which he had been deprived before, thinking by good right to be restored of them, whose Faith and Religion (as he said) he did to the uttermost of his power defend and maintain. And indeed at length he obtained the same. Then after he was restored again to his House in Queen Marys reign, God dealt so mercifully with him, that in the end he became of an obstinate Papist, an earnest and zealous Gospeller.

Palmer re-
stored again
to his Col-
ledge.

Concerning whose conversion to the Truth, for the more credit to be given to the same, we have here put down a Letter written by one Mr. Bullingham, Fellow in some part of King Edwards time with the said Palmer, then also of the same faction of Religion with him, and toward the latter end of the said Kings Reign, a voluntary Exile in France for Papistry. In Q. Marys days, likewise a Chaplain unto Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester. And after the coming in of Queen Elizabeth such an one, as for his obstinacy was quite and clean dispatched from all his Livings by her Majesties Commissioners. And yet now (God be praised therefore) a most constant Professor, and earnest teacher of the Word of God. This Man at the request of a certain Friend of his in London, being desirous to know the certain truth thereof, wrote unto him concerning this Julius. The Copy of which Letter we thought good here to insert, for that the parties being alive can testify the same to be true and certain, if any man shall doubt thereof.

The Letter of Mr. Bullingham is this.

After Bullingham, I wish you and all yours continual health in the Lord. Hitherto have I not written any thing unto you concerning Julius Palmer, that constant witness of Gods Truth, for that his doings and sayings known unto me, were worn out of my remembrance; and to write an untruth, is were rather to deface and blemish, than to adorn and beautifie him. After his conversion to the most holy Gospel, I never saw his face. Wherefore the less have I to certifye you of. But so much as seemeth to me to serve much unto the purpose, here I commend unto you; and in witness that my sayings are true, I subscribe my name, willing, praying, and beseeching you to publish the same to the whole world. At what time I Bullingham intended to forsake Eng-

land, and to flee into France for the wicked Popes sake, (which came to pass indeed: for in Roan I was for a time) this Julius Palmer and Richard Duck, brought me outwards in my journey till we came to London: where on a day Julius Palmer and I walked to St. James the Queens Palace; and as we leaned at the great Gate of that place, Palmer spake thus unto me. Bullingham, you know in what misery and calamities we are fallen for the Pope and his Religion. We are young men, abhorred of all men now presently, and like to be abhorred more and more. Let us consider what hangeth over our heads. You are departing into a strange Country, both friendless and monies, where I fear me you shall taste of fewer savours then hitherto you have done. And as for me, I am at my wits end. The face of Hell it self is as amiable unto me, as the sight of Magdalen Colledge; For there I am hated as a venomous Toad. Would God I were raked under the Earth. And as touching our Religion, even our Conscience bear witness that we taste not such an inward sweetness in the profession thereof, as we understand the Gospellers to taste in their Religion:

Yea, to say the truth, we maintain we wot not what, rather of will than of knowledge. But what then? Rather than I will yield unto them, I will beg my Bread. So Palmer bequeathed himself to the wide world, and I passed over into Normandy. At my return into England again, my chance was to meet Palmer in Pauls, where a Road was set up. (This our meeting was in the beginning of Queen Marys reign, and our miserable departing not long before the end of King Edwards days.) Then after our greeting, thus said Palmer. Bullingham, is this our god, for whom we have [sworn]? No Palmer, quoth I, it is an Image of him. An Image, quoth he? I tell thee plainly Bullingham, John Calvin (whose Institutions I have perused since our departure) telleth me plainly by Gods Word that it is an Idol, and that the Pope is Antichrist, and his Clergy the filthy sink-hole of Hell, and now I believe it. For I feel it sensibly. Oh that God had revealed these matters unto me in times past. I would have bequeathed this Romish Religion or rather irreligion to the Devil of Hell from whence it came. Believe them not Bullingham. I will rather have these knees pared of, then I will kneel to yonder Jacknape (meaning the Road.) God help me, I am born to trouble and adversity in this World. Well Palmer, said I, is the wind in that Corner with you? I warrant you it will blow you to little ease at the end. I will never have to do with you again. So I left Palmer walking in Pauls, who throw the element of fire is exalted above the elements, where eternal rest is prepared for persecuted Martyrs. Thus much is true, and let it be known that I Bullingham affirm it to be true. More I have not to say. In these words and deeds it appeareth that God had elected him. From Bridgewater, April 26. Anno 1562.

By me John Bullingham.

When he was by the Visitors restored to his Colledge, although he began something to favour and taste of Gods Truth, by conference and company of certain godly and zealous men abroad, in time of his expulsion, especially at the house of Sir Francis Kneller: yet was he not thoroughly perswaded, but in most points continued for a while either blind, or else doubtful. Neither could he chuse, but utter himself in private reasoning from time to time, both in what points he was fully resolved, and also of what points he doubted. For such was his nature alway, both in Papistry and in the Gospel, utterly to detect all dissimulation, inasmuch that by the means of his plainness, and for that he could not flatter, he suffered much too, both in King Edwards, and also in Queen Marys time. Whereas he might at the first have lived in great quietness, if he could have dissembled, and both done and spoken against his Conscience, as many stirring Papists then did. And likewise he might have escaped burning in Queen Marys time, if he would either have spoken, or kept silence against his Conscience, as many weak Gospellers did. But Palmer could in no wise dissemble.

Behold the
obstinacy
of the Pa-
pists, which
knowing
the Truth
will not
yield.

Behold his
extraneous-
ness now he is
turned to
the Truth;

The conver-
sion of Pal-
mer after his
restoring a-
gain into the Col-
ledge.

Plain Pal-
mer could
never dis-
semble with
his Conscience.

Now whilst short space, God fo wrought in his heart, that he became very inquisitive, and careful to hear and understand, how the Martyrs were apprehended; what Articles they died for, how they were used, and after what sort they took their death. Inasmuch that he spared not at his own charges to find over one of his scholars, in the Company of a Bachelor of that house, to *Glocester*, to see and understand the whole order of Bishop *Hoopers* death, and to bring him true report thereof. Which thing some think he the rather did, because he was wont in King *Edward's* time to say; that none of them all would stand to death for their Religion. Thus he learned with what great, extreme and horrible cruelty the Martyrs of God were tried, and how valiantly they overcame all kind of torments to the end. Whereof he himself also did see more experience afterward, at the examination and death of those holy confessors and Martyrs which were burned at *Oxford* before his eyes; inasmuch that the first hope, which the godly conception of him, was at his return from the burning of *Br. Ridley*, and Bishop *Latimer*. At what time, in the hearing of divers of his friends, he brake out into these words and such like; Oh raging cruelty! Oh tyranny ragical, and more then barbarous!

Soon that day forward he studiously fought to understand the truth, and therefore with all speed he borrowed *Peter Martyrs* Commentaries upon the first to the *Corinthians*, of one of *Magdalens* yet alive, and other good books of other men. And so through hearty prayer and diligent search and conference of the Scriptures, at length he believed and embraced the truth with great joy; and so professed in the same, that daily more and more, he declared it both in word and deed: In such sort, as he never hated the truth more stubbornly before, than afterward he willingly embraced the same, when it pleased God to open his eyes, and to reveal unto him the light of his word. And now again when he should come to Church, in those days of Popery, there to be occupied among the rest, in singing of Responses, reading of legends, and such like stuff allotted unto him, he had as much pleasure, he said, to be at them, as a Bear to be baited, and worried with dogs. When he came, it was (as it appeared) more to avoid displeasure and danger; then for any good will, and ready affection.

At length through Gods grace, he grew up to such maturity and ripeness in the truth, that he spared not to declare certain sparks thereof in his outward behaviour and doings. For when he should keep his bowing measures at *Confeſſion*, (as the custom there was) in turning himself to and fro, sometime Eastward, sometime Westward and afterward knock his breast at the elevation time, against these Idolatrous Adorations his heart did so vehemently rise, that sometime he would absent himself from them, and sometime being there, he would even at the facing time (as they termed it) get him out of the Church to avoid those ungodly gestures, and Idolatrous Adoration.

To be short, perceiving after a while, that he was greatly suspected and abhorred of the President then being, which was *Mr. Cole*, and of divers others which before were his friends, and therewithal feeling great conflict and Torment of Conscience daily to grow, with his Conversation with Idolaters; feeling also that his new life and old living might not well nor quietly stand together, he addressed himself to depart the house. For he thought it not best to abide the danger of expulsion, as he did at the first; feeling the weather was now waxed warmer. And being demanded at that time of a special friend (who would gladly have persuaded him to stay there longer) whether he would go, or how he would live, he made this answer, *Domini est terra, & plenitudo ejus*, i. The earth is the Lords, and the fulness thereof. Let the Lord Work, I will commit my self to God, and the wide World.

Here I think it expedient, before I write of the painful furies that he suffered after he came abroad into the perilous gulphs, and deep sea of this wretched wide world, first, to rehearse one or two examples of his outward behaviour, at such times as he had recourse to the College after his last departure, whereby the Reader may yet better understand of his simplicity and plainness, and how far wide he was from all cloaked dissimulation in Gods cause, which certain godless persons have sought maliciously to charge him withall. Being at *Oxford* a certain

time in *Magdalen College*, and having knowledge that the Spanish Frier *John*, who succeeded *D. Peter Martyr*, in the office of the Divinity Lecture) would preach there that present Sunday, he would not at the first grant to be present at it. At length a friend of his, a Fellow of that house, persuaded so much with him, that he was content to accompany his said friend to the Church. But suddenly as the Frier vehemently inveighed against Gods truth, in defending certain Popish Heresies, *Palmer*, having many eyes bent and directed towards him, departed from amongst the midst of the auditory, and was found in his friends chamber weeping bitterly. Afterward being demanded why he slipped away upon such a sudden, Oh said he, if I had not openly departed, I should have openly stopped mine ears. For the Friers blasphemous talk, in disproving, or rather depraving the verity, made mine ears not to glow, but my heart woe to smart, then if mine ears had been cut from my head.

It chanced another time, that the same friend of his, called *Mr. Shipper*, being then Burfar of the house, bade him to dinner in his chamber. *Palmer* not knowing what guests were also thither invited and bidden, hapned there (contrary to his expectation) to meet with the foresaid Frier, with whom were present *Dr. Smith*, *Dr. Trelham*, and divers other Papists, whose company *Palmer* could not well bear: and therefore whispering his friend in the ear, he said he would be gone, for that was no place for him. I will, saith he, to the *Burfar's* table in the great Hall. The *Burfar* understanding his mind, desired him of all friendship not to depart, alleging that it were the next way to bewray himself, and as it were of purpose to cast himself into the Briers, with many other persuasions, as the shortness of time would permit. In the end he condescended to his request and tarried. Now as he came to the fire side, the Frier saluted him cheerfully in Latine, for he could not speak English. *Palmer* with an amiable countenance returned him gently: But when the Frier offered him his hand, he casting his eye aside, as though he had not seen it, found matter of talk to another standing by, and so avoided it; which thing was well marked of some, not without great grudge of *Thomas*.

After they were set and had well eaten, the Frier with a pleasant look offering him the cup, said, *Propino tibi, juvenis erudite*, i. I drink to you, learned young man. *Palmer* at that word blushing as red as scarlet, answered, *Non agnosco nomen, domine*, i. I knowlege no such name O sir. And therewith taking the cup at his hand, he set it down by him, as though he would have pledged him anon after, but in the end it was also well marked, that he did it not. When dinner was done, being sharply rebuked of the said *Burfar* his friend, for his so unwise, uncivil and unseemly behaviour (as he termed it) he made answer for himself, and said, *Oleum corum non demulcet, sed frangit caput meum*, i. The oyl of these men doth not supple, but breaketh my head.

Another time, which was also the last time of his being at *Oxford*, not long before his death, one *Barwick* an old acquaintance of his, being sometime Clerk of *Magdalens*, and then Fellow of *Trinity Colledge*, a rank Papist, began to reason with him in his friends chamber aforesaid, and perceiving him to be zealous and earnest in the defence of the verity, he said unto him in the hearing of *Mr. Thomas Parry*, and others there present: Well *Palmer*, well, now thou art stout, and hardy in thine opinion, but if thou wert once brought to the stake, I believe thou wouldst tell me another tale. I advise thee beware of the fire, it is a shrewd matter to burn. Truly said *Palmer*, I have been in danger of burning once or twice, and hitherto (I thank God) I have escaped it. But I judge verily, it will be my end at the last, welcome be it, by the Grace of God. Indeed it is a hard matter for them to burn, that have the mind and Soul linked to the Body, as a thiefs foot is tied in a pair of fetters: but if a man be once able, through the help of Gods Spirit, to separate and divide the Soul from the Body, for him it is no more Maffery to burn, then for me to eat this pece of bread.

Thus much by the way concerning his plainness, without dissimulation, & how he feared not openly to shew himself more grieved in heart to hear the Word of God blasphemed, than to suffer any worldly pains. Now let us proceed in our story, and faithfully declare both the occasion and manner of his death. Fff 3. Within

Dr. John the Spanish Frier, succeeded Dr. Peter Martyr in the office of the Divinity Lecture.

Palmer could not abide the blasphemousness of Friers John.

Palmer refused to take Friers John by the hand.

Julius Palmer was reluctant to drink with Frier John.

Barwick words to Palmer.

Palmer's words to Barwick.

Palmer placed by patent to be School-master at Reading.

Palmer circumvented by false Justification.

Palmer thusly searched for Books.

J. Palmer forced to depart the Town of Reading.

Unnatural words of a Mother may give the young curie, but Gods curie they cannot give, much less can the Pope.

The Father had been dead against the Son, the Mother against the Son, &c. Luke 11.

Within short space after he had yielded up his Fellowship in Oxford, he was through Gods providence (who never faileth them that first seek his glory) placed School-master by Patent in the Grammar-School of Reading, where he was well accepted of all those that feared God, and favoured his Word, as well for his good learning and knowledge, as also for his earnest zeal, and profession of the Truth. But Satan the enemy of all godly attempts, envying his good proceedings and prosperous success in the fame, would not suffer him there long to be quiet. Wherefore he stirred up against him certain double faced hypocrites, which by diffimulation and crafty insinuation had crept in, to understand his secrets, under pretence of a zeal to the Gospel. Which men he (suspecting no deceit) right joyfully embraced, making them privy of all his doings. For as he himself was then fervently inflamed with the love of heavenly Doctrine; so had he an incredible desire by all means possible to allure and incourage others to the profession of the same.

These faithful and trusty Brethren, so soon as they had found good opportunity, spared not in his absence to rifle his study of certain godly Books and Writings; amongst the which was his replication to *Morewines Verbes*, touching *Winchesters* Epitaph, and other Arguments both in Latine and English, written by him against the Popish proceedings, and specially against their unnatural and brutish tyranny, executed toward the Martyrs of God. When they had thus done, they were not ashamed to threaten him that they would exhibit the same to the Council, unless he would without delay depart out of their Coasts, and give over the School to a Friend of theirs. The Truth of this story appeareth in part by a Letter written with his own hand, out of Prison, eight days before he was burned; which because it is of certain credit, and came to our hands, therefore we are the bolder to avouch it for a Truth.

Thus then was this filly young man, for the safeguard of his life, forced to depart upon the sudden from Reading, leaving behind him in the hands of his enemies his stuff, and one quaters stipend, and so he took his journey toward *Ensham*, where his Mother then dwelt, hoping to obtain at her hands certain Legacies due to him by his Fathers last Will, which he should have received certain years before; and taking his journey by Oxford he requested certain of his Friends to accompany him thither. His Mother understanding his late and errand by *Malter Shipper* and his Brother (whom he had sent before to intreat for him) as soon as he beheld him on his knees, asking her blessing as he had been accustomed to do: thou shalt, said she, have Christs curie and mine wheresoever thou go. He pausing a little, as one amazed at so heavy a greeting, at length said, Oh Mother, your own curie you may give me, which God knoweth I never deserved, but Gods curie you cannot give me, for he hath already blessed me. Nay, faith she, thou wentest from Gods blessing into the warm Sun, when thou wast banished for an Heretic out of that worshipful House in Oxford, and now for the like Inaverry, art driven out of Reading too. Alas Mother, faith he, you have been misinformed. I was not expelled nor driven away, but freely resigned of mine own accord. And Heretic I am none, for I stand not stubbornly against any true Doctrine, but defend it to my power. And you may be sure, they use not to expel nor banish, but to burn Heretics (as they term them.) Well quoth she, I am sure thou dost not believe as thy Father and I, and all our Fore-fathers have done; but as we were taught by the new Law in King *Edwards* days which is damnable I heretick.

Indeed I confess, said he, that I believe that Doctrine which was taught in King *Edwards* time, which is not Heretic but Truth, neither is it new, but as old as Christ and his Apostles. If thou be at that point, faith she, I require thee to depart from my house, and out of my sight, and never take me more for thy Mother hereafter. As for money and goods I have none of mine, thy Father bequeathed nought for Heretics. Fagots I have to burn thee, more thou gettest not at my hands. Mother, faith he, whereas you have cursed me. I again pray God to bless you, and prosper your all your life long, and with

like soft talk, sweet words and abundance of tears trickling down his cheeks, he departed from her, wherewith he so mollified her hard heart, that he hurried an old Angel after, him and said, take that to keep thee a true man.

Thus poor Palmer being destitute of worldly friendship, and cruelly repelled of her, whom he took to have been his surest friend, wist not which way to turn his face. Soon after, when he had bethought himself, it came to his mind to return secretly to *Magdalen* Colledge, upon the assured trust and alliance, that he had a privy Friend or two in that house. At what time, by the suite of one *Alane Cope*, then Fellow of the House, he obtained Letters Commendatory, from Master *Cole* President there, for his preferment to a School in *Gloucestershire*. So he getteth him away, committed by his Friends to Gods divine protection, of whom some accompanied him as far as *Ensham Ferry*, and some to *Burford*.

Afterward as he went alone, musing and pondering of matters, it came in his head (as he writeth in an Epistle to one of his Friends) to leave his appointed journey, and to return closely to Reading, trusting there by the help of Friends to receive his quaters stipend, and convey his stuff to the custody of some trusty Body. To Reading he cometh, and taketh up his lodging at the *Cardinals Hat*, desiring his Hostels instantly to assign him a close Chamber, where he might be alone from all resort of company. He came not so closely, but that this viperous generation had knowledge thereof. Wherefore without delay they laid their heads together, and consulted what way they might most safely proceed against him, to bring their old cankered malice to pass. And soon it was concluded, that one Mr. *Hampton* (which then bare two faces in one hood, and under the colour of a Brother played the part of a dissembling hypocrite) should resort to him under the pretence of friendship, to feel and fish out the cause of his repair to Reading.

Palmer as he was a simple man, and without all wrinkles of cloaked collusion, opened to him his whole intent. But *Hampton* earnestly perswaded him to the contrary, declaring what danger might ensue if this were attempted. Against his counsel Palmer replied very much, and as they waxed hot in talk, *Hampton* flung away in a fury, and said; as he had fished, so should he fowl for him. Palmer not yet suspecting such pretended and devised mischief, as by this crooked and pestiferous generation was now in brewing against him, called for his Supper, and went quietly to bed: But quietly he could not long rest there.

For within short space after, the Officers and their retinue came rushing in with Lanterns and Bills, requiring him in the King and Queens name to make ready himself, and quietly to depart with them. So this filly young man perceiving that he was thus Judasly betrayed (without opening his lips) was lead away as a lamb to the slaughter, and was committed to ward, whom the Keeper as a ravening Wolf of greedy of his prey, brought down into a vile, stinking, and blind dungeon, prepared for thieves and murderers, and there he left him for a time, hanging by the hands and feet in a pair of stocks, so high, that well-near no part of his Body touched the ground.

In this Cave or Dungeon he remained about ten days under the tyranny of this unmerciful Keeper.

Here by the way, gentle Reader, I have by a little digression to give thee to understand, concerning one *Thomas Thackham*, for that the said *Thomas Thackham* in the story of this *Julius Palmer*, was noted and named in our former Book, to be a doer and a worker against the said blessed Martyr: he therefore being not a little grieved, made his reply again in writing, for purgation and defence of himself against the false information of his slanderer. Albeit for his confusion in writing I pass not much upon, either what he hath written or can write. Only the thing that moveth me most is this; For that the said *Thomas Thackham* not long since, coming to me himself, hath so attested and deposed against the information, with such swearing and deep adjuration, taking the name of the Lord God to witness, and appealing to his judgment to the utter perdition of his Soul, if it were not false which by information was reported of him, and he faultless in the matter. Which being so, I could not otherwise refuse, but to give credit to his Oath, and upon the same to alter and correct so much as appertaineth to the

Anno 1556.

Palmer driven from his Mother.

Alane Cope in help and support of Julius Palmer.

Hampton a dissembling hypocrite, and a false witness.

Palmer betrayed and apprehended.

Palmer miserably used in Prison.

anno 1556. the defamation (as he calleth it) of his name, referring the truth of the matter to his own Confidence, and the judgment of the Lord God, to whom either he standeth if it be true, or falleth if it be false.

And now to our story again, concerning the process and accusation of *Julius Palmer*, omitting by the way the Names of *Thomas Thackham*; and *Downer*.

Here followeth the first Examination and accusation of Julius Palmer at Reading.

The first examination of Julius Palmer.

After this he was brought before the Major; and there by the procurement of certain false Brethren (the Lord knoweth what they were) who had been conversant with *Palmer*, and robbed his study, divers grievous and enormous Crimes were laid to his charge, as Treason, Sedition, furnished Murderer, and Adultery. To whom *Palmer* answered, that if such Horrible and Hainous Crimes might be proved against him, he would patiently submit himself to all kind of Torments that could be devised. But O ye cruel Blood-suckers (saith he) ye follow the old practices of your progenitors, the Viperous and Woolvish generation of Pharisees and Papists: but be ye well assured, that God already seeth your subtle devices and crafty packing, and will not suffer the outrageous fury of your Venemous Tongues and fiery Hearts to escape unpunished. All this while no mention was made of Heretic or Heretical writings.

Their greatest proofs against him were these.

Evidence put up against Palmer.

First, that *Palmer* said, the Queens Sword was not put in her hand to execute Tyranny, and to kill and murder the true Servants of God.

Item, that her Sword was too blunt toward the Papists, but toward the true Christians it was too sharp.

Note the Wopshipful process of the quarelling Papists.

Item, that certain Servants of Sir *Francis Knolles* and others, resorting to his lectures, had fallen out among themselves, and were like to have committed Murder, and therefore he was a fower of sedition, and a procurer of unlawful Assemblies.

Item, that his Hostess had written a Letter unto him (which they had intercepted) wherein she required him to return to *Reading*, and sent him her Commendations, by the token that the knife lay hid under the beam, whereby they gathered that she had conspired with him to murder her Husband.

Item, that they found him alone with his Hostess by the fire side in the Hall, the Door being shut to them forthwith. When the evidence was given up, the Mayor dismissed them and went to dinner, commanding *Palmer* to the Cage, to make him an open spectacle of ignominy to the eyes of the world. And *Thackham*, the better to cover his own shame, caused it to be bruted, that he was so punished for his evil life and wickedness already proved against him.

Palmer cleared himself.

In the afternoon *Palmer* came to his answer, and did so mightily and clearly defende their evidence, and defend his own Innocency, proving also that the said Letters were by themselves forged, that the Mayor himself was much ashamed that he had given such credit unto them, and so much born with them, so that he sought means how they might convey him out of the Country privily.

Note here the fruits of Romish Religion.

But here among other things this is not with silence to be passed over, that one *John Galant*, a zealous professor of the Gospel, a little after this came to the prison and found him some what better intreated then before. When he beheld him, O *Palmer*, saith he, thou hast deceived divers mens expectation: for we hear that you suffer not for righteousness sake, but for your own demerits.

John Galant, a zealous professor.

Oh Brother *Galant*, saith he, these be the old practices of that Satanical brood. But be you well assured, and God be praised for it, I have so purged my self, and detected their falsehood, that from henceforth I shall be no more molested therewith. And there having pen and ink, he did write some what whereby part of his story here rehearsed, is well confirmed. But now to these Bloody Advantages.

New police devised against Julius Palmer.

After this, when they saw the matter frame so ill favourably, fearing that if he should escape secretly,

their doing would tend no less to their shame and danger, then to the Mayors dishonesty; they devised a new policy to bring to pass their long hidden and festered malice against him, which was by this extreme refuge. For, whereas before they were partly ashamed to accuse him of Heresie, seeing they had been counted earnest Brethren themselves; and partly afraid, because they had broken up his study, and committed theft: yet now left their iniquity should have been revealed to the world, they put both fear and shame aside, and began to reficist and rip up the old sore, the scar whereof had been but superficially cured, as you have heard; and so to colour their former practices with the pretence of his reformation in Religion, they charged him with the writings that they had stolen out of his study.

Thus *Palmer* was once again called out of the prison to appear before the Mayor, and *Bird* the Official, and two other Justices, to render an account of his faith before them; to answer to such Articles and Informations as were laid against him. And when they had gathered of his own mouth sufficient matter to intrap him, they devised a certificate, or bill of instructions against him, to be directed to Doctor *Jeffrey*, who had undertaken to hold his Visitation the next Tuesday at *Newbery*, which was the sixteenth of July. And thus were the false witnesses and bloody Accusers winked at, and the innocent delivered to the Lyon to be devoured. When it was therefore concluded that *Palmer* should be sent over to *Newbery*, the said Letters testimonial were conveyed over together with him; the contents whereof shall partly appear hereafter; In the mean time I think it good here to rehearse one example among other, both of charitable affection toward him, and of his modesty correspondent to the same.

Palmer called before the Mayor of Reading, Bird the Official, and two Justices.

Dr. Jeffrey the Bishopps Chancellor of Sarum.

Master *Rider* of *Reading*, a faithful witness of Gods Truth, hearing how cruelly *Palmer* had been dealt withal in the prison, and pined away for lack of necessities, and how evidently he had proved himself innocent before the Officers, of such Crimes as were objected against him, he sent to him his servant secretly the night before his departure to *Newbery*, with a bowed groat in token of his good heart toward him, requiring him to let him understand if he lacked necessities, and he would provide for him. *Palmer* answered, the Lord reward your Mr. for his benevolence toward me, a miserable subject in this world, and tell him that (God be praised) I lack nothing.

Mr. Rider of Reading a faithful favourer of Gods Gospel.

In the morning before they took their Journey, *Thomas Atkin*, alias *Roberts*, being fellow prisoner with him in Christs cause, sitting at breakfast, and beholding *Palmer* very sad, leaning to a window in the corner of the house, asked why he came not to breakfast. Because I lack money (saith *Palmer*) to discharge the shot. Come on man (quoth he) God be praised for it, I have enough for us both. Which thing when Mr. *Rider* heard of, it cannot be expressed, how much it grieved him that *Palmer* had deceived him with so modest an answer.

Thomas Atkin or Roberts, being fellow prisoner with Julius Palmer.

Thus to *Newbery* they came on Monday night, and forthwith they were committed to the comfortable Hosterie of the blind house, where they found *John Guin*, their faithful Brother in the Lord. Now how they came before the Consistory of Dr. *Jeffrey*, and how *Palmer* was examined, it doth in part appear by this examination hereunto annexed, which although it be not perfectly and orderly penned, as the report goeth it was spoken, nor perchance altogether in such form of words, yet as exactly as we are able to compact and dispose it, being gathered out of several notes of *Richard Shipper*, *John Hunt*, *John Kirry* of *Newbery*, *Richard White* of *Marlborough*, which were oculati testes, and present at the hearing thereof.

Julius Palmer brought to Newbery.

Witnesses to the second part of this story.

The second Examination and accusation of Julius Palmer at Newbery, in the hearing of more then three hundred persons.

In the year 1556. xvi. of July, four or five seats were prepared in the Quire of the Parish Church of *Newbery* for the Visitors, whose names here ensue, Doctor *Jeffrey* for the Bishop of *Sarum*, Sir

The examination of Julius Palmer before the Bishop of Sarum, Dr. Jeffrey.

Dr. Jeff. Sir Richard Abbrides Knight, and then High-Sheriff of the Shire, Sir William Ramsford Knight, Mr. John Hinchcomb Esquire, and the Parson of Inglesfield. After the Prisoners were presented, the Commission read, and other things done in order accordingly, Doctor Jeffery called to Palmer, and said; Art thou that jolly Writer of three Half-penny Books that we hear of?

Palmer. I know not what you mean.

Jeff. Have you taught Latin so long, that now you understand not English?

To this he answered nothing.

Then Dr. Jeffery standing up said, We have received certain Writings and Articles against you, from the Right worshipful the Mayor of Reading, and other Justices, whereby we understand, that being convicted afore them, you were convicted of certain Heresies.

First, That you deny the Popes Holiness Supremacy.

Next, That there are but two Sacraments.

Thirdly, That the Priest sheweth up an Idol at Mass; and therefore you went to no Mass, since your first coming to Reading.

Fourthly, That there is no Purgatory.

Last of all, That you be a fower of Sedition, and have sought to divide the unity of the Queens Subjects.

The Sheriff. You were best see first what he will say to his own handy work.

Jeff. Ye say truth. Tell me Palmer, art thou he that wrote this fair Volume? Look upon it.

Palmer. I wrote it indeed, and gathered it out of the Scripture.

Jeff. Is this doggish Rhime yours also? Look.

Palmer. I wrote this, I deny not.

Jeff. And what say you to these Latin Verses, entitled Expedition, &c. Are they yours too?

Palmer. Yea Sir.

Jeff. Art thou not ashamed to affirm it? It came of no good spirit, that thou didst both rail at the dead, and slander a Learned and Catholick man yet alive.

Palmer. If it be a slander, he hath slandered himself: for I do but report his owne writing, and open the folly therein declared. And I reckon it no railing to inveigh against Annas and Caiaphas being dead.

Jeff. Saist thou so? I will make thee recant it, and wring peccavi out of your lying lips, ere I have done with thee.

Palmer. But I know, that although of my self I be able to do nothing, yet if you and all mine enemies both bodily and ghostly, should do your worst, you shall not be able to bring that to pass, neither shall ye prevail against Gods mighty Spirit, by whom we understand the Truth, and speak it so boldly.

Jeff. Ah, are you full of the Spirit? are you inspired with the Holy Ghost?

Palmer. Sir, no man can believe, but by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Therefore, if I were not a Spiritual man, and inspired with Gods Holy Spirit, I were not a true Christian. *Qui spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus.* i. He that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his.

Jeff. I perceive you lack no words.

Palmer. Christ hath promised not only to give us store of words necessary, but with them, such force of matter, as the gates of Hell shall not be able to confound, or prevail against it.

Jeff. Christ made such a promise to his Apostles, I trow you will not compare with them.

Palmer. With the holy Apostles I may not compare, neither have I any alliance in mine own wit or learning, which I know is but small: yet this promise I am certain pertaineth to all such as are appointed to defend Gods Truth against his enemies, in the time of their persecution for the same.

Jeff. Then it pertaineth not to thee.

Palmer. Yes, I am right well assured, that through his grace it appertaineth at this present to me, as it shall (I doubt not) appear, if you give me leave to dispute with you before this audience, in the defence of all that I have there written.

Jeff. Thou art but a beardless Boy, start up yesterday out of the Schools, and darrest thou presume to offer dispute, or to encounter with a Doctor.

Palmer. Remember Master Doctor, *Spiritus ubi quis furat.* And again, *Esse infantium &c.* And in another place, *Abicandisti heri a sapientibus &c.* i. The Spirit breatheth where it pleaseth him, &c. Out of the mouth of Infants, &c. And thou hast hidden these things to place or from the wife, &c. God is not tied to time, wit, learning, place, nor person. And although your wit and learning be greater than mine; yet your belief in the Truth, and zeal to defend the same is no greater than mine.

Regist. Sir, if you suffer him thus impudently to trifle with you, he will never have done.

Jeffery. Well, ye shall understand, that I have it not in Commission at this present to dispute with you, neither were it meet that we should call again into question such Articles as are already discussed, and perfectly defined by our Mother the holy Church, whom we ought to believe without why, or wherefore, as the Creed telleth us. But the cause why ye be now called hither, is that ye might be examined upon such Articles as are ministered against you, and such matter as is here contained in your hand-writing, that it may be seen whether you will stand to it, or nay. How say you to this?

Palmer. By your holy Church you mean the Synagogue of Rome, which is not universal, but a particular Church of shavelings. The Catholick Church I believe, yet not for her own sake, but because she is holy, that is to say, a Church that grounded her belief upon the word of her Spouse Christ.

Jeffery. Leave railings, and answer me directly to my question. Will you stand to your writing, or will you not?

Palmer. If you prove any sentence therein comprized, not to stand with Gods Word, I will presently recant it.

Jeffery. Thou impudent Fellow, have I not told thee, that I came not to dispute with thee, but to examine thee?

Here the Parson of Inglesfield pointing to the Pix, said, What seest thou yonder?

Palmer. A Canopy of silk bordered with gold.

Parson. Yea, but what is within it?

Palmer. A piece of Bread, in a Clout, I trow.

Parson. Thou art as forward an Heretic as ever I talked withal. Here was much spoken of *Confiteor*, and other parts of the Mass.

Parson. Do you not believe that they which receive the holy Sacrament of the Altar, do truly eat Christs natural Body?

Palmer. If the Sacrament of the Lords Supper be ministered, as Christ did ordain it, the faithful Receivers do indeed spiritually and truly eat and drink in it Christs very natural Body and Blood.

Parson. The faithful Receivers? Ye cannot blear our eyes with such sophistry. Do not all manner of Receivers, good and bad, faithful and unfaithful receive the very natural Body in form of Bread?

Palmer. No Sir.

Parson. How prove you that?

Palmer. By this place, *Qui manducat me, vivet propter me.* i. He that eateth me, shall live for me.

Parson. See that fond Fellow, whilst he taketh himself to be a Doctor of the Law, you shall see me prove him a stark foolish Daw. Do you not read likewise, *Quicumque invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit*? i. *id est*, Who ever invocateth the Name of the Lord, shall be saved? Ergo, Do none but the godly call upon him? Therefore you must mark how St. Paul answereth you. He saith, that the wicked do eat the true Body to their condemnation.

As Palmer was bent to answer him at the full, the Parson interrupted him, crying still, what saist thou to St. Paul?

Palmer. I say, that St. Paul hath no such words.

Parson. See, the impudent Fellow denieth the plain Text. *Qui edit & bibit corpus Domini indigne, reus erit judicii.* i. He that eateth and drinketh the Body of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of judgment.

Palmer. I beseech you lend me your Book.

Parson. Not so.

The Sheriff. I pray you lend him your Book. So the Book was given over to him.

Palmer.

Dr. Jeff. Sir Richard Abbrides Knight, and then High-Sheriff of the Shire, Sir William Ramsford Knight, Mr. John Hinchcomb Esquire, and the Parson of Inglesfield. After the Prisoners were presented, the Commission read, and other things done in order accordingly, Doctor Jeffery called to Palmer, and said; Art thou that jolly Writer of three Half-penny Books that we hear of?

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Anno
1556.The Parson
conspired
with his
own Book
The Parson
mouth stop-
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the Sacra-
ments.Baptism of
Infants.Children
dying be-
fore they
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saved; of
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Eyes, Chil-
dren that
are brought,
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to be bap-
tized.Sir Richard
Abridges
gentle offer
to Palmer.Palmer
refused
worldly
offer to
keep his
Conscience.God calleth
at divers
times and
hours.

Palmer. Your own Book hath, *Qui manducat hunc panem, &c.* i. He that eateth this Bread.

Parson. But Saint Hierome's Translation hath *Corpus*. Palmer. Not so Mr. Parson, and God be praised that I have in the mean season, shut up your lips with your own Book.

Jeffrey. It skilleth no matter whether ye write Bread or Body, for we be able to prove that he meant the Body. And whereas you say, they eat it spiritually, that is but a blind shift of default.

Palmer. What should I say else?

Jeffrey. As holy Church faith, really, carnally, substantially.

Palmer. And with as good Scripture, I may say, grossly or monstrously.

Jeffrey. Thou speakest wickedly. But tell me, Is Christ present in the Sacrament or no?

Palmer. He is present.

Jeffrey. How is he present?

Palmer. The Doctors say, *modo ineffabili*. Therefore why do ye ask me? Would God ye had a mind ready to believe it, or a tongue able to express it unto you.

Jeffrey. What say you to the Baptism of Infants?

Palmer. I say, that it standeth with Gods Word, and therefore it ought of necessity to be retained in the Church.

Jeffrey. Ye have forgotten your self I wis, for ye write that Children may be saved without it.

Palmer. So I write, and so I say.

Jeffrey. Then it is not necessary to be frequented and continued in the Church.

Palmer. Your Argument is not good, Mr. Doctor.

Jeffrey. Will you stand to it?

Palmer. Yea, Mr. Doctor, God willing.

Jeffrey. Note it, Registrar.

More of his Examination in that time and place is not yet come to our hands: whensoever God sendeth it, I will impart and communicate the same to the Reader. In the mean season we are credibly informed of this; that Sir Richard Abridges, the same day after dinner, sent for him to his lodging, and there, in the presence of divers persons yet alive, in *Newbury* and elsewhere, friendly exhorted him to revoke his Opinion, to spare his young years, wit, and learning. If thou wilt be conformable, and shew thyself corrigible and repentant, in good faith (said he) I promise thee before this Company, I will give thee meat and drink, and books, and ten pound yearly, so long as thou wilt dwell with me. And if thou wilt set thy mind to marriage, I will procure thee a Wife and a Farm, and help to stuff and fit thy Farm for thee.

How sayst thou?

Palmer thanked him very courteously, and made him further answer concerning his Religion somewhat at large, but very modestly and reverently, concluding in the end, that as he had already in two places renounced his living for Christs sake, so he would with Gods grace be ready to surrender and yield up his life also for the same, when God should send time.

When Sir Richard perceived that he would by no means relent: Well Palmer (saith he) then I perceive one of us twain shall be damned. For we be of two Faiths, and certain I am there is but one Faith that leadeth to life and salvation.

Palmer. O Sir, I hope that we both shall be saved.

Sir Richard. How may that be?

Palmer. Right well Sir. For as it hath pleased our merciful Saviour, according to the Gospels Parable, to call me at the third hour of the day, even in my flowers, at the age of four and twenty years, even so I trust he hath called, and will call you at the eleventh hour of this your old age, and give you everlasting life for your portion.

Sir Rich. Sayst thou so? Well Palmer well, I would I might have thee but one month in my house, I doubt not but I would convert thee, or thou shouldst convert me.

Then said M. Winchcom, Take pity on thy golden years, and pleasant flowers of lusty youth, before it be too late.

Palmer. Sir, I long for those springing flowers, that shall never fade away.

Winchcom. If thou be at that point, I have done with thee.

Then was Palmer commanded again to the Blind-house; but the other two silly men were led again the same After-noon to the Confortory, and there were condemned, and delivered to the Secular power of the Sheriff there present, by name Sir Richard Abridges.

It is reported also, that Doctor Jeffrey offered Palmer a good Living if he would outwardly shew himself conformable, keeping his Conscience secret to himself, or at least declare that he doubted which was the truest Doctrine. But I cannot affirm it for a Surety.

The next Morning the 16. of July, Palmer was required to subscribe to certain Articles, which they had drawn out, touching the cause of his Condemnation. In the Front whereof, were heaped together many hateful terms, as horrible, heretical, damnable, devilish and execrable Doctrine. To these words Palmer refused to subscribe, affirming that the Doctrine which he professed, was not such, but good and sound Doctrine.

Jeffrey. Ye may see, good People, what shifts these Heretics seek, to escape burning, when they see justice minifred unto them. But I tell thee, this stile is agreeable to the Law, and therefore I cannot alter it.

Palmer. Then I cannot subscribe to it.

Jeffrey. Wilt thou then crave mercy, if thou like not justice, and revoke thy heresie?

Palmer. I forsake the Pope, and his Popelings, with all Popish heresie.

Jeffrey. Then subscribe to the Articles.

Palmer. Alter the Epithetions, and I will subscribe.

Jeffrey. Subscribe, and qualifie the matter with thine own Pen. So he subscribed. Whereupon Doctor Jeffrey proceeded to read the Popish Sentence of his cruel Condemnation, and so was he delivered to the charge of the Secular power, and was burned the same day in the After-noon, about five of the Clock.

Within one hour before they went to the place of Execution, Palmer in the presence of many people, comforted his Fellows with these words. Brethren (saith he) be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not. Remember the words of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, *Happy are you when men revile you and persecute you for righteousness sake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, and be not able to touch the soul. God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted further than we shall be able to bear it.* We shall not end our lives in the fire, but make a change for a better life. Yea for Coals, we shall receive Pearls. For Gods holy Spirit certifieth our spirit, that he hath even now prepared for us a sweet Supper in Heaven for his sake which suffered first for us.

With these and such like words, he did not only comfort the hearts of his silly Brethren that were with him appointed as Sheep to be slain, but also wrestled out plentiful tears from the eyes of many that heard him. And as they were singing a Psalm, came the Sheriff Sir Richard Abridges and the Bayliffs of the Town, with a great company of harnessed and weaponed men to conduct them to the fire. When they were come to the place where they should suffer, they fell all three to the ground, and Palmer with an audible voice pronounced the 31. Psalm, but the other two made their prayers secretly to Almighty God.

And as Palmer began to arise, their came behind him two Popish Priests, exhorting him yet to recant and save his Soul. Palmer answered and said, Away, away, tempt me no longer. Away, I say, from me all ye that work iniquity: for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears. And so forthwith they put off their rayment, and went to the Stake and kissed it. And when they were bound to the post, Palmer said, Good People, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end. And for Christs sake beware of Popish Teachers, for they deceive you.

As he spake this, a Servant of one of the Bayliffs, threw a Fagot at his face, that the blood gushed out in divers places. For the which fact the Sheriff reviled him, calling him cruel Tormentor, and with his walking Staff brake his Head, that the blood likewise ran

John Child,
The Clerk,
Martyrs,
condemned.
Sir Richard
Abridges,
Sheriff.Palmer re-
quired to
set his hand
to his Arti-
cles.The Popish
Sentence
read against
Palmer.Palmer com-
forted his
two fellow
Martyrs go-
ing to their
death.Palmer,
John, Abridges,
brought to
the place of
execution.The words
of Palmer
to the Popish
Priests.

about

about his ears. When the Fire was kindled, and began to take hold upon their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and quietly and cheerly, as though they had felt no smart, they cried; Lord Jesus strengthen us, Lord Jesus assist us, Lord Jesus receive our

Souls. And so they continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, and knocking their hearts, and calling upon Jesus until they had ended their mortal lives. Anno 1556.

The Martyrdom of the three godly Saints.



A notable spectacle in the Martyrdom of Jesus Palmer.

Among other things this is also to be noted, that after their three Heads by force of the raging and devouring flames of Fire, were fallen together in a lump or cluster, which was marvellous to behold, and that they all were judged already to have given up the Ghost, suddenly Palmer, as a man waked out of sleep, moved his tongue and jaws, and was heard to pronounce this word *Jesus*. So, being resolved into ashes, he yielded to God as joyful a Soul (confirmed with the sweet promises of Christ) as any one that ever was called beside to suffer for his blessed Name. God grant us all to be moved with the like spirit, working in our hearts constantly to stand in defence and confession of Christ's holy Gospel, to the end, Amen.

De martyrio Palmeri hexasticon.

Epitaphium in Palmam.

Palmerus flammis Christi pro dogmate passus,
Impositum pondus, cum bona palma, tulit.
Non retrocessit, sed contra audientior iuit.
Illisam reitueni, fortis in igne fidem.
Propterea in calum nunc Palmerus iste receptus
Iustitia Palmam non pereuntis habet.

Iustus ut Palma florebit.

A memorable Story of one Agnes Wardall in the Town of Ipswich, pursued for the true Faith of Christ's Gospel.

A notable Story of Agnes Wardall of Ipswich. Dr. Argentine Schoolmaster, Mr. Butler Constable, Phil. Ulmer, Edm. Leach, J. Steward, Matthew Butler Apothecary, a curious singing Man, a fine player of the Organs, a perfect Papist, and a diligent promoter of good men. This Butler being then

About the said month of July, in this present year, 1556. there was one Richard Argentine, Doctor of Physick, otherwise called Richard Sexton, with certain other dwelling in the Town of Ipswich, not many in number, but in heart and purpose mightily bent to impugn and impeach the growing of Christ's Gospel and favourers of the same. In the number of whom were Philip Ulmer, Edmund Leach, John Steward, and Matthew Butler Apothecary, a curious singing Man, a fine player of the Organs, a perfect Papist, and a diligent promoter of good men. This Butler being then

Constable in the Town of Ipswich, as he was in the watch by night upon Cornhill, cometh to him Doctor Argentine in great haste, giving him intelligence of one Agnes Wardall, being then lately come home to her house in Ipswich. Whereupon immediately, such a way was contrived between them, that the said Agnes Wardall forthwith should be apprehended: but God, in whose providence the direction of all things consisteth, by whose disposition they have their operation, so graciously provided for his Servant, and so prevented their malignant devices, that they came to no great effect in working, although on the contrary part there wanted no good will, as here consequently you shall further understand.

This Agnes Wardall was a Woman that lived in Gods fear, and was at defiance with their Romish trash, desiring rather with hard fare and evil lodging to be abroad, than to be at home in her house, and among the tents of the ungodly: her Husband also being a man living in the fear of God, and for the testimony of his Conscience being also hunted, by force of the Law was constrained to avoid his house, and got into a Crair with an honest man, serving as a Saylor, a faculty not of him before frequented, nor he a man nimble for that trade, because God had given him an impediment by reason of a stumped foot, unfit to climb to top and yard; yet so it pleased God to enable him with his strength, that he was strong and lusty to do good service, as they can well witness that were of his company.

The said Agnes Wardall chanced on a day to come home to see her poor House and Children, which was under the guiding of a young Maid, and being espied news was born to Dr. Argentine: who having knowledge thereof, as is aforesaid, went speedily unto the Apothecary the Constable aforesaid, and informed him what a notable Cure was to be wrought on Wardall's Wife in the apprehending of her. Which was more like to speed than mine, had not the mighty providence of God wrought contrary to their expectation.

This being known to the Constable, the Watch was charged speedily, and each Company sent to his place. And Argentine and Butler took unto them a good number,

Agnes Wardall driven by persecution to serve in a ship.

Agnes Wardall persecuted by Dr. Argentine and his Maces.

1556. Anno number, and forth they go into the house of this poor woman to lay hands upon her, and beset the house on the forehide and backside, lying open in the fields, and other time were sent to the house of his Mother, which was not far from his house. This done one knockt at the street door where *Argentine* and *Bulwer* was, with one of their weapons, and no answer was made; the second time somewhat harder, but had no answer. In the mean time they fearing that some conveyance was made knocked the third time more hard then before.

There was not far from the door where they knocked, a certain Day-window, where one might look out and speak: And so at the third knocking, a woman who at that time was tenant to *R. Wardall's* Mother, and had but two nights before lye in the house, speaking out hard by their ears, asked who was there?

Ah Sirrah, quoth *Argentine*, are you so nigh and will not speak? How fortun'd it that ye spake not at the first, being so nigh? How fortun'd it, quoth the woman? Marry I shall tell you; I am but a stranger here, and I have heard say, that there be spirits walking here about, which if a man do answer at the first call or second, he stands in great danger, and I was never so afraid of my life. At this her answer they laughed, and commanded her to open the door in the *Queens* name, for they were the *Queens* watch.

Agnes Wardall being at that time in bed in an inner Chamber, having her Maid with her, and her two Children being at that time very heavy asleep, heard not the knocking. Her Maid hearing at the second knock, called and thogged her Dame, and with much ado awak'd her, and said, The watch is at the door. What? thou yest, said she. Yes truly said the Maid, and hath knockt twice. With that she arose with all speed, and put on her cloaths very slightly, and took with her a Buckram Apron, which afterward she cast on her head, when she was fain to creep in a ditch with nettles, and so pass'd down into a Parlour, wherein stood a Cupbord with a fair Press, into the which the Maid did lock her.

And immediately went up to a Chamber which was hard by the street, where she might see and speak to the Watch, and said, Who is there? Then they bade her open the door. And she said, We have no Candle. And they said, Open the door, or we will lay it on the floor. With that she came down and opened the door. Then asked they the Maid, who is within? And she said, none but a woman that dwelleth with us, and two Children. Then said they, where is thy Dame? Truly said she I cannot tell, she is not within. She was here in the evening, said they. Yea said the Maid, but she went forth I know not whither. Notwithstanding they charged her that she knew where she was, which she denied. Then got they a Candle light at one of the neighbours houses, and came in, and in the entry met the woman which had answered them at the window, and said she was afraid of Sprites. *Argentine* looking upon her, clapt her on the back, and said, Thou art not the woman whom we seek for.

So entred they the house, and searched a Parlour next the street where the woman lay which was his Mothers Tenant, and a young Child that suckt on her breast, and not only in the bed, turning it down past all honest humanity, but also under the bed, behind the painted Clothes, and in the Chimney, and up into the Chimney, and finding the bed hot, said, Who lay here in the Bed? The woman said I and the Child. And none else, quoth they? No said the woman. When they could find nothing there for their purpose, from thence they went into an inner Parlour, in the which stood the Cupbord wherein she was, and searched the Parlour which was but a little one. And one of the Company, laying his hand on the Cupbord, said, This is a fair Cupbord, the may be here for any thing that is done. That is true faith another of them. Notwithstanding, they looked no further, but went from that into the Chamber aloft, wherein the said *Agnes* had lye with her Maid and Children, with all other rooms and chambers.

At length they came down into the Yard, where they found a horsetied at a pale eating of shorn grass. Then asked they the Maid, whose Horse is this? She

answered, it is her Horse indeed, and she came in before night and went abroad again, but I know not whither. Then were they in good hope to find their prey, and besetted them with speed, and went into an out-chamber that was in the Yard, in which was a Boy in bed of 12. or 14. years old. And being in his dead sleep, they suddenly awak'd him and examined him for his Dame. Who answered, he knew not where she was, and unto that stood firmly, although their threats were vehement, not only to the poor silly Boy, but also to the good simple plain Maid. Then caught they him to arise and dress him, and sent both Maid and Boy up to the Cage, where they put the Maid, but kept the Boy among their trusty Souldiers, so that one of them should not speak with another.

Now while some were on the Cornhill, and other some searching the neighbours houses and backside, the wife of *Wardall* being in the Press fast locked up, and almost smothered for want of breath, desired the woman her Mothers Tenant, when she heard her in the Parlour, to let her out. She asked her where the Keys were, who answered they were in a Hamper, which she found, and shaid to unlock the Press, and of a long time could not. Then desired she her to break it open; for (said she) I had rather fall into their hands, then to kill my self. Then went she to her Mothers Tenant and fought for her Husbands Hammer and Chisel, to break it open, but could not find it, nor any thing else to break it open withal; and came again and told her she could find nothing to break it open with.

Then said she, assay again to open it, for I trust God will give you power to open it. And being within in much extremity, she heartily prayed unto God; who heard her prayer and helped her: for at the first assay and turn of the Key, it opened easily. When she came out, she looked as pale and as bleak, as one that were laid out dead by the wall, and as she her self looked afterward when she was dead as the same woman reported, which then let her out, and was also at her death long after in the *Queens* Majesties Reign that now is, and all on a vehement sweat as the like drops of rain.

Then went she out into the backside, where was a pale toward the fields for the defence of the garden, wherein was one or two loose pales, by the which both she and her Husband had divers times used to come and go in and out, so went she out into the fields. And passing one little field, and over a stile, througged her self in a low ditch with nettles, and covered her head with the Buckram Apron afore mentioned, and so crept low, and lay in the ditch. After long search when they could not find her in the Town, certain of the Watch returned again to the fields side; among whom was one *George Manning*, with *John Bate* the Crier of the same Town coming together. This *Manning* was a simple honest plain man, but *Bate* a very enemy, and one that in *Queen Marius* time would have been a Priest as it was reported, but that he was married.

Manning epying where she lay, gave a hem, and another made a noise with his Bill, he being before *Bate*; at the which the lay still, and at the last they departed to the street side to the Constable. All this time the Maid was in the Cage, and the Boy with the other of the watch until perfect daylight. Then went they up, and let out the Maid, and sent her home, and the Boy also; but they made the Maid believe they had found her Dame. Who answered, if ye have her, keep her fast.

On the morrow, *Manning* sent her word to beware that she should hide her self no more for fear.

Thus by the might and Power of God was his faithful Servant delivered from their cruelty, and they known to be his Adversaries, not only at that time, but divers times after and before. Notwithstanding, the said *Argentine*, at his first coming to *Ipswich*, came in a Servants Coat. And then being in the days of *K. Henry the Eighth*, he would accountably use the reading of Lectures himself, in the which he was well commended at that time. After obtained the office of Usher of the free Grammar School, and the Master being dead, got to be Master himself. And being married to a very honest woman remained there the days of *K. Edward*; And when God took him from us for our just deserved plague,

Agnes Wardall in danger to be smothered.

Gods mercy to help her in the time of need.

Another escape of *Agnes Wardall*, by Gods good providence.

George Manning an honest man.

The doings and Conditions of *Argentine* described. *D. Argentine* in *K. Edward's* time a Protestant.

Example of a faithful Maid to her Mistress.

The house searched for *Agnes Wardall*.

Gods merciful provision working for his Servants.

Unmerciful fakers of a poor womans Blood.

The blind ones every good man and woman from such wicked spirits.

He seetheth our brethren not that keepeth from evil spirits.

Agnes Wardall hideth her self in a press from the hands of her persecutors.

*D. Argentius
in Q. Mary's
time a full
P. and a full
P. and a full
P. and a full*

plague, and Queen Mary came to her Reign, none more but in all Papistry and superstition then he, Painting the posts of the Town with *Verat Regina Maria*, and in every Corner.

I furthermore, after the death of his Wife (which was an honest woman) he was made a Priest, taking upon him divers times to preach (but never without his white Miniver-hood) such Doctrine as was shameful to hear, saying Mass, and carrying about the pix in high processions. Furthermore, leading the Boy S. Nicholas with his Miniver-hood about the streets for Apples and Belly-chaar. And who so would not receive him, he made them Hereticks, and such also as would not give his Fagot to the Bonfire for Queen Mary's Child. And thus continued he at Ipswich the most part of Queen Mary's days, molesting their good men, some for not going to the Church, some for not being confessed, some for not receiving, &c. till at length, toward the end of Queen Mary he came to London, and in this Queens time began to shew himself again a perfect Protestant. And thus much of *Argentius. Ex testimonio. Petri Moonati.*

The trouble of Peter Moon and his Wife, and of other godly Protestants at Bishop Hoptons Visitation in Ipswich.

IN the year of our Lord God, 1556. the Scene or Visitation being kept before Whitsonide in the Town of Ipswich in Suffolk, by Dr. Hepton being then Bishop of Norwich, and Miles Dunning, being then his Chancellor, divers and sundry godly Protestants, through the accusation of evil men, were fore troubled and presented before him: among whom were accused one Peter Moon a Taylor, and Anne his Wife, for their disobedience to the Law, in not shewing their readiness to come to the Church, and to be partakers of such Roguish Observances as at that time were used.

*Peter Moon
accused to
B. Hopton.*

And first the said Peter Moon was commanded to come before the Bishop, where he was examined of three sundry Articles, to wit: 1. Whether the Pope were supreme Head: 2. Whether King Philip and Queen Mary were right Inheritors to the Crown: 3. And whether in the Sacrament of the Altar was the very Body of Christ substantially and really there present.

*3. Articles
objected to
Peter Moon.*

Unto the which the said Peter being timorous and weak, fearing more the face of man then the heavy wrath of God, affirmed, and in manner granted unto their demands. Whereupon the Bishop being in good hope, that although he had not come to the Church, nor received the Sacrament of the Altar, nor been ready to do his duty as the law had commanded; yet there shewing his mind, said, that he liked well the man: for such as have been (said he) earnest in evil things, will also be earnest in that that is good and godly, if once they be won.

*Peter Moon
crouch to
the Bishop
Articles
through in-
firmity.*

Thus as this spiritual Father was commanding his carnal Child, and rather preferring him to Hell-fire, then unto the sincere Word and Commandments of God, it chanced amongst many others in the Chamber, was one of the Portmen of the same Town, named Smart, an earnest member of their Romish Law, doing of a very good Conscience that he did, who after the death of Queen Mary lived not many years, but rendered his life in godly repentance, protesting, that if God should suffer him to live, he would never be the man he had been before, what Laws soever should come again: so that before the time of his sickness he frequenting earnestly the Sermons in the same Town, made by divers godly learned men, would weep as it had been a Child, being notwithstanding of courage as stout a man as any was in Ipswich. Such is the marvellous mercy of God in calling to his Kingdom, whom, and when he pleaseth.

*Commenda-
tion of
Smart of
Ipswich.
A Smart of
Ipswich re-
penteth his
Papery at
his death.*

*Smart ac-
cuses
Moon.*

This Portman afore said, perceiving the Bishop thus, as it were, at an end with the said Moon, and so he like to be discharged, said unto the Bishop; My Lord, indeed I have good hope in the man and that he will be conformable: but my Lord, he hath a perilous woman to his Wife. For I will tell you my Lord, she never came to Church yet, since the Queens Reign, except it were at Eventing, or when she was Churched. And not then until Mass were done. Wherefore your good Lord-

ship might do a good deed to cause her to come before you, and to see if you could do any good. And therefore I beseech your good Lordship to command him to pray her to come before your Lordship.

*Anno
1556.*

At which words Moon was somewhat stirred, in that he said command him to pray her to come before your Ldp. And he said unto him, under my Lords correction I speak, I am as able to command her to come before my Lord, as ye are to command the worst Boy in your house. Yea, my Lord, said the other, I cry your Lordship mercy: I have informed your Lordship with an untruth, if this should be so. But if he be so able as he saith, he might have commanded her to have come to Church in all this time, if it had pleased him. Well said the Bishop, look you come before me at Afternoon, and bring your Wife with you; I will talk with her.

*Peter Moon
commanded
to bring his
Wife before
the Bishop.*

As my Lords Dinner at that time was serving up, Moon departed and tarried not to take part thereof, having such an hard breakfast given him before to digest. At Afternoon Moon delayed and waited his time, bethinking when he might most conveniently come, especially when his Accuser and his wives should not have been there. And according to the commandment came with his Wife, which was not so secretly done, but his Accuser had knowledge thereof, and came with all expedition in such poof speed, that in manner he was windless entering into the Bishops Chamber.

The Bishop hearing that Moon and his Wife were come, called for them, and said to Moon; Is this your Wife, Moon? Yes, my Lord, said he. O good Lord (said the Bishop) how a man may be deceived in a woman? I promise you a man would take her for as honest a woman, by all outward appearance, as can be. Why, my Lord, said Moons Wife, I trust there is none that can charge me with any dishonesty, as concerning my Body; I delie all the world in that respect.

*B. Hopton
preferreth
so men
consulting
adultery,
before one
woman
transgres-
sing the
Popes Ordi-
nances.*

Nay (quoth the Bishop) I mean not as concerning the dishonesty of thy Body: but thou hadst been better to have given the use of thy Body unto twenty sundry men, then to do as thou hast done. For thou hast done as much as in thee lyeth, to pluck the King and the Queens Majesties out of their Royal seats through thy disobedience, in shewing thyself an open enemy unto Gods Laws, and their proceedings.

Then began the Bishop to examine the said Moon again, with the afore said Articles; and his Wife also. And the hearing her Husband relent, did also affirm the same, which turned unto either of them to no small trouble of mind afterward, but, yet neither were they like thus to escape, but that in the mean time Dunning the Bishops Chancellor came up in great haste, and brought news to the Bishop, that there were such a number of Hereticks come, of which some came from Boxford, some from Lanham and about from the Cloth-countrey, that it would make a man out of his wits to hear them: and there are among them both Hereticks, and Anabaptists, said he. And thus Doctor Dunning with his blustering words interrupting Moons Examination, went down again as the Devil had driven him, to keep his fir among them, and to take order what should be done with them.

The Bishop beginning to bewail the state of the Country, in that it was so infected with such a number of Hereticks, and rehearsing partly their Opinions to those that were at that time in the Chamber, Moons Wife had a young Child, which she herself nursed, and the Child being brought into the yard under the Bishops Chamber, cried, so that she heard it, and then said; My Lord, I must have done with me. My Child crieth beneath, I must go give my Child suck, with such like words. And the Bishop being (as it were) out of wind to talk their deliv- with them any more, said; Go your way, I will talk with you in the morning; look ye be here again in the morn- ing: with this they both departed.

*A parcel
of Gods pro-
vidence in
their deli-
verance
from further
trouble.*

And beneath in the stone-Hall of the same house, the Chancellor Dunning being very busy about his bloody business, espied Moon and his Wife coming, and must needs pass by the place where he stood, and said: Nay soft, I must talk with you both; for ye are as evil as any that are here to day. To whom Moons Wife answered; My Lord hath had us in excommunication, and therefore ye shall have nought to do with us. Nay quoth he,

A Letter sent from the Bayliffs, Lieutenant, and Jurates of St. Peters Port, to the Dean and Curates of the Isle of Garnsey

A Letter of the Bayliff to the Dean of Garnsey.

After Dean and Justices in your Court and Jurisdiction, after all amicable recommendations, please to you to know that we are informed by the disposition of certain honest men, past before us in manner of an inquiry; in the which inquiry Katherine Cawches, and her two daughters, have submitted themselves in a certain matter criminal: Wherein we be informed that they have been disobedient to the commandments and ordinances of the Church, in contemning and forsaking the Mass, and the ordinances of the same, against the will and commandment of our Sovereign Lord the King and the Queen. Whereof we send you the said matter, so far as much as the matter is spiritual, to the end you may proceed therein after your good discretion, and as briefly as you can possible, and also that it pertained to your office, recommending you to God, the which gave you grace to do that which pertained to right and justice. Written the first day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1556.

After these Letters and Information thus addressed to Jacques Amy Dean, and to other of the Clergy, the said women were again convened before the Justice aforesaid with his Assistants. In the presence of whom they being examined of their Faith, concerning the Ordinances of the Romish Church, made their Answer that they would obey and keep the Ordinances of the King and Queen, and the Commandments of the Church, notwithstanding that they had said and done the contrary in the time of King Edward the Sixth, in shewing obedience to his Ordinances and Commandments before. After which Answer taken, they were returned again to Prison, until the other had an answer of their Letter from the Dean and his Complices. During which time, the Dean and Curate gave their Information touching the said women, and delivered the same to the Bayliff and Jurates, condemning and reputing them for Hereticks, the women neither hearing of any Information, neither yet being ever examined at any time before of their Faith and Religion. Whereupon when the said Bayliff and Jurates understood that the said Dean and Curates had not examined the women of their Faith, they would not sit in Judgment on that day, but ordained the women to come first before the Dean and Curates to be examined of their Faith. And so the Officers, at the commandment of the Justices, did fetch and present them before the said Dean and Curates. The which being accomplished and done, they were examined apart severally one from another: After which Examination, they incontinently were returned again into Prison.

Katherine Cawches, Perrotine Maffley, Guillemine Gilbert, examined before the Dean and his Fellows.

The names of the Persecutors which fate upon the death of the three women.

Then the fourteenth day of the said Month of July, in the year aforesaid, after the Examination above specified before Elier Gosselin Bayliff, in the Presence of Thomas Devicke, Pierres Martine, Nicholas Cary, John Bloude, Nicholas de Lisle, John Leverchaunt, John le Fever, Pierres Bonamy, Nicholas Martine, John de la Marche, Jurates; Sir Jacques Amy Dean, and the Curates, did deliver before the Justice, under the Seal of the Dean, and under the signs of the Curates, a certain Act and Sentence, the sum whereof was, that Katherine Cawches and her two daughters were found Hereticks, and such they reputed them, and have delivered them to Justice, to do execution according to the Sentence; of the which the tenor followeth.

The Sentence.

Katherine Cawches, Perrotine Maffley, Guillemine Gilbert, wrongfully condemned by the Dean and Justices.

The unjust Sentence of the Dean against the 3. Marys.

Anno Domini millesimo, quingentesimo, quinquagesimo sexto, die vero 13. Mensis Julij apud Ecclesiam Divi Petri in portu maris insula promotor. per nos Dominum Decanum inquisito facta sunt de fide Catholica, & super Sacramenta Ecclesiastica, videlicet super Sacramentum Baptismi, Confirmationis, Penitentiae, Ordinis, Matrimonij, Eucharistiae, & extremae Unctionis, nec non super Ceremonias Ecclesiae, ac de veneratione & honoratione beatae Mariae & Sanctorum, & Missa & ejus effluvia, & de Ceremoniis Ecclesiae, videlicet Katherine Cawches, ejusdemque duarum filiarum Guillemine & Perrotine nuncu-

patum, & harum tam conjunctim quam separatim, & via juris. Et quomodo pluries ad veniam petendam, & ad delicta sua cognoscenda, & horum omnium & iniquitatum, quaequidem praedicta omnino negaverunt & negant, quod locuti fuerunt aliquid verbum inane, in honestum, pocius, & vatum contra fidem Catholicam, Sacramenta Ecclesiae, & alias Ceremonias Ecclesiae. Quapropter auditu negationibus praedictarum, & attestacionibus & depositionibus, testimonium per nos visum, consideratum, & bene ponderatum, & per opiniones Curatorum & Vicariorum ibidem assistentium super easdem Kath. & Perrotinam, nec non & Guillemine crimine hereticas invenimus & reputamus. Quapropter coram vobis Dominis Balivis omnino remissimus ut antea remisimus. Thomas le Coll de mandato, John Allet, Guillelmus Panquer, Petrus Tardise, & Johannes Maniel.

Anno 1556. Sollicitudo Catholica.

When this was done, commandment was given to the Kings Officers to go to the Caffle to fetch the said women, to hear the Sentence against them in the presence aforesaid. And they appearing before them, said in the ears of all the Auditory, that they would see their Accusers, and know them that have depose against them, because they might make Answers to their sayings and personages, and to have their Libel accordingly; for they knew not that they had offended the Majesties of the King and Queen, nor of the Church, but inirely would obey, serve, and keep the Ordinances of the King and Queen, and of the Church, as all good and true Subjects are bound to do. And for any breach of the King and Queens Laws that they had done, they required Justice. All which their Reasons and Allegations notwithstanding, the said poor women were Condemned, and adjudged to be burnt, until they were consumed unto ashes, according to a Sentence given by Elier Gosselin Bayliff: of the which Sentence the tenor hereafter followeth.

The three women willing to be comforted to the Queens Ordinances, were notwithstanding Condemned.

The effect of the Sentence in English.

The 17. (or some other think the 27. day of the month of July, 1556. Elier Gosselin Bayliff, in the presence of Thomas Devicke, Pierres Martine, Nicholas Cary, John Bloude, Nicholas Devic, John le Marchant, John le Reg, John Bayliff, Pierres Bonamy, Nicholas Martine, and John de la Marche, Jurates, Katherine Cawches, Perrotine Maffley, Guillemine Gilbert, the said Perrotine and Guillemine daughters to the said Katherine, are all condemned and judged this day to be burned, until they be consumed to ashes in the place accustomed, with the confiscation of all their goods, moveables, and heritages, to be in the hands of the King and Queens Majesties, according and after the effect of a Sentence delivered in Justice by Mr. Dean and the Curates, the 13. day of the month of July, in the year aforesaid, in the which they have been approved Hereticks.

The wilful Sentence and Murther of Elier Gosselin Bayliff, against the three innocent women in Garnsey.

After which Sentence pronounced, the said women did appeal unto the King and Queen, and their honourable Council, saying, That against reason and right they were condemned, and for that cause they made their Appeal; notwithstanding they could not be heard, but were delivered by the said Bailiff to the King and Queens Officers, to see the Execution done on them according to the said Sentence.

The time then being come, when these three good Servants and holy Saints of God, the innocent Mother and two daughters should suffer, in the place where they should consummate their Martyrdom were three Stakes set up. At the middle Post was the Mother, the eldest daughter on the right hand, the youngest on the other. They were first strangled, but the Rope brake before they were dead, and so the poor women fell in the fire. Perrotine, who was then great with Child, did fall on her side, where happened a rueful fight, not only to the eyes of all that there stood, but also to the ears of all true-hearted Christians that shall read this History. For as the belly of the woman burst asunder by the vehemency of the flame, the infant being a fair Man-child, fell into the fire, and effusions being taken out of the fire by one W. Hovse, was laid upon the Grass.

The Mother and two daughters made their Appeal to the King and Queen, but could not be heard.

Then was the Child had to the Provost, and from him to the Bayliff, who gave sentence that it should be carried back again and cast into the fire. And so the Infant baptized

Anno 1556. Baptized in his own Blood, to fill up the number of Gods innocent Saints; was both born and died a Martyr, leaving behind to the World, which it never saw, a spectacle wherein the whole World may see the Herodian cruelty of this graceless Generation of Catholick tormentors, *Ad perpetuam rei infamiam.*

Now forsomuch as this story percase, for the horrible strangeness of the fact, will be hardly believed of some, but rather thought to be forged, or else more amplified of me then truth will bear me out, therefore to discharge my credit herein, I have not only foretold thee a little before, how I received this story by the faithful re-

A lamentable spectacle of three Women, with a silly Infant traying out of the mothers womb, being first taken out of the fire, and cast in again, and so all burned together, in the Isle of Garnsey, 25 & 26 July 28.



lation both of the French and English; of them which were there present witnesses, and lookers upon; but also have hereto annexed the true supplication of the said Inhabitants of *Garnsey*, and of the Brother of the said two Sisters, complaining to the Queen and her Commissioners, concerning the horribleness of the Act; which Supplication, for the more evidence, here under followeth to be seen.

To the Right Honourable, and the Queens Highness most gracious Commissioners, for the hearing and determining of matters of Religion and causes Ecclesiastical.

Most lamentably and woefully complaining, sheweth unto your gracious and Honourable Lordships, your poor and humble Orator *Matthew Cawches*, of the Isle of *Garnsey*, that where *Jaques Amy* Clerk, Dean of the Isle aforesaid, assisted by the Curates there, against all Order, Law, and Reason, by colour of a Sentence of Heresie, pronounced against *Katherine Cawches*, the Sister of your Honours said Suppliant, and *Perotine* and *Guillemine* her two Daughters, did cause the said *Katherine*, being a poor Widow, and her said two Daughters most cruelly to be burned, although the said persons, nor any of them, did hold, maintain, or defend any thing directly against the Ecclesiastical Laws then in place, under the Reign of the late Queen *Mary*, but in all things submitted themselves obediently to the Laws then in force: and yet the cruelty of the said Dean and his Accomplices, in perpetrating such Murder as aforesaid, raged so far, that whereas, whilst the said persons did consume with violent Fire, the womb of the said *Perotine* being burned, there did issue from her a goodly Man-Child, which by the Officers was taken up and handled, and after in a most despicable manner thrown into the Fire, and there also with the silly Mother most cruelly burnt: In tender consideration whereof, and forsomuch as this Bloody Murder was not in due order of any Law, or in any manner according to Justice, but of meer malicious hatred, as the true Copy of the whole proceedings in this matter, by the said Dean and his Accomplices, here ready to be shewed to

your Honours, will make very plain and manifest: It may therefore please your good and gracious Lordships, of the zeal that you bear to Justice, and for our Lord Jesus Christs sake, to have due consideration in Justice of such horrible Murder, so cruelly committed as aforesaid, according to the right demerit thereof. And that it may please your Honourable Lordships to order and decree also, that all the goods of all the said parties, by pretence aforesaid wrongfully taken as confiscate, may be delivered your said poor beseecher, to whom of right they do belong. And your Honours said Suppliant will daily pray to God for your long preservation, to his glory, and your everlasting health.

This Supplication being presented in manner aforesaid to the Queens Honourable Commissioners, in the year 1562. such order therein was taken, that the matter being returned again down to the said Country, further to be examined, the Dean thereupon was committed to Prison, and dispossessed of all his Livings. So that in conclusion, both he, and all other partakers of that Bloody Murder, whether of Conscience, or for fear of the Law, were driven not long after to acknowledge their trespass, and to submit themselves to the Queens pardon. The terror of whose several submission, as they are left in the Rolls, I thought here to publish to the World, for a memorial of the more truth of this story.

The several Submission of certain Garnsey Men, confessing their trespass in the wrongful condemnation of two three Women above specified.

Heyer Gosseline, of the Parish of *St. Peter le port* in *Garnsey*, Merchant, *Nicholas Cary* the elder, *John Mercham*, *Peter Bonamy*, of the Parish of *Saint Martin*, and *Nicholas Martin*, Son of *John*, having humbly submitted themselves to the Queens most excellent Majesty, acknowledging their erroneous judgments, as well against *Katherine Cawches*, and *Guillemine*, and *Perotine*, her two daughters, and the Infant of the said *Perotine*, executed by Fire for supposed Heresie, as also

G G 2 for

Jaques Amy
the Dean
of the Isle
of *Garnsey*.

The Clerk of the Peace at the Assizes, who was the first who took the said Submission.

for the acquitting of *Nicolas Norman*, a wilful Murderer, and other matters contained in their several Submissions; pray the Queens Majesties pardon for the said crimes and others committed in their several Submissions.

John Blundel the elder, of the Parish of *S. Saviour*, within the Isle of *Garsney*, upon like Submission and acknowledging of his Offence, prayeth like grace and pardon for his consent given to the execution of the said three women.

Richard Devicke, of the Parish of *S. Peter le port*, Merchant, prayeth like grace and pardon for his consent and judgment given for the acquitting of the said *Norman*, according to his Supplication and Submission late presented by *Peter Bonamy*, the same *Devicke*, and *Peter Pelley*, of the Parish of *S. Peter le port*, Merchants.

The said *Peter Pelley* prayeth the benefit of the said pardon to be extended unto him, according to his Submission in the said Supplication.

Jacques Amy Clerk, prayeth the benefit of the said pardon for his Sentence with the Clergies against the said women, according to his Submission.

Thomas Effar, of the Parish of *S. Peter le port*, humbly prayeth, as Procurator lawfully constituted by the Chapter, Bayliff and Jurates, that the same pardon may be extended to acquire all the Inhabitants of the said Isle of the Arrearsages, &c.

The Copy of the Queens Pardon following upon their Submission, as in form here-under followeth.

The Copy of the Queens Pardon to them of Garsney.

Regina, omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod nos de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostro pardonavimus, remisimus, & relaxavimus, ac pro nobis, heredibus & successoribus nostris, per presentes perdonamus, remittimus, & relaxamus *Hillierio Gosseline*, de Parochia *S. Petri* in *Portu*, infra insulam nostram de *Garsney*, Mercator; *Johanni Blundel* de Parochia *S. Salvatoris* infra prædictam insulam de *Garsney* seniori, Mercator; *Nicolaus Carie* seniori de dicta Parochia *S. Petri* in *Portu*, infra eandem insulam de *Garsney*, Mercator; *Johanni Marchant* de eadem Parochia & Insula, Generosus; *Nicolaus Martin* filio *Johannis* de dicta Parochia *S. Petri* in *Portu*, infra prædictam insulam de *Garsney*, Mercator; *Richardo Devicke* de dicta Parochia *S. Petri* in *Portu*, infra prædictam insulam de *Garsney*, Mercator; *Petro Pelley* de dicta Parochia *S. Petri* in *Portu*, infra prædictam insulam de *Garsney*, Mercator; & *Jacobo Amy* de Parochia *S. Salvatoris*, infra dictam insulam de *Garsney*, Clericus; & eorum cuilibet, conjunctim & divisim, seu quocumque, alio nomine, seu quibuscumque, aliis nominibus, cognominibus, seu additamentis, nominis vel cognominis, officiorum, artium, vel locorum, idem *Hillierius*, *Nic. Carie*, *Johannes*, *Nicolaus Martin*, *Johannes*, *Blundel*, *Richardus*, *Petrus*, & *Jacobus* censentur, veniunt, seu nuncupantur, aut nuper consueverunt, vocantur, seu nuncupantur, aut quocumque alio nomine, seu cognomine, aut additione nominis, vel cognominis, dignitatis, officii, artis aut loci, aliqui eorumdem *Hillierii*, *Nicolaus Carie*, *Johannes*, *Marchant*, *Nicolaus Martin*, *Johannes*, *Blundel*, *Richardus*, *Petrus*, & *Jacobus*, censentur, vocentur, seu nuncupantur, aut nuper consueverunt, vocantur, seu nuncupantur, omnia & omnimoda murdræ, homicidia, felonias & felonice interfectiones *Katherine* *Cawche*, & *Guillelmine* & *Petronie* filiarum ejusdem *Katherine* & eorum cujuslibet, ac accessarias eorumdem, ac omnia & singula, felonias, insulas, verberationes, vulnerationes, combustiones, transgressiones, offensas, rixas, rotas, conventicula illicita, assemblationes, congregationes, insidiationes, conspirationes, accessarias auxiliorum, compurationes, procuraciones, abertationes, confortationes, & mantentiones, conclamaciones, forisfacturas, contemptus, impetitiones, negligencias, & alia malefacta quocumque, murdræ, homicidia & feloniam interfectionem prædictarum *Katherine*, *Guillelmine* & *Petronie*, seu aliorum earum tangen. in aliquo, seu concern. per præfatos *Hillierium*, *Nicolaum Carie*, *Johann. Marchant*, *Nicolaum Martin*, *Johann. Blundel*, *Richardum Devicke*, *Petrum Pelley*, & *Jacobum Amy*, seu eorum aliquem, seu aliquos, ante præsentem diem, qualitercumque facti. habui. commissi. seu perpetrati ac omnes & singulas fugas & fugas, quas

cunque per præfatos *Hillierum*, *Nicolaum Carie*, *Johann. Marchant*, *Nicolaum Martin*, *Johann. Blundel*, *Richardum Devicke*, *Petrum Pelley*, & *Jacobum Amy*, seu eorum aliquem, seu aliquos, ratione seu occasione murdræ, homicidia aut feloniam interfectionem prædictarum. facti. seu habit. adeo pleni & integri, ac in tam amplissima, & forma, prout, si quilibet prædictorum *Hillierii*, *Gosseline*, *Nicolaus Carie*, *Johannes*, *Marchant*, *Nicolaus Martin*, *Johannes*, *Blundel*, *Richard. Devicke*, *Petro Pelley*, & *Jacobi Amy*, specialiter literas nostras patentes de perdonatione habuisset.

Perdonavimus etiam, remisimus, & relaxavimus, ac pro nobis, heredibus & successoribus nostris per presentes, perdonamus, remittimus, & relaxamus, præfatis *Hillierio Gosseline*, *Nicolaus Carie*, *Johannes*, *Marchant*, *Nicolaus Martin*, *Johannes*, *Blundel*, *Richardus*, *Devicke*, *Petro Pelley*, & *Jacobi Amy*, & eorum unicuique, heredibus, executoribus, administratoribus, & assign. suis imperpet. omnes & omnimodas injurias, insidias, & ingresses, per ipsos seu eorum aliquem, ejusdem aut eorum vel aliorum eorum procuratores, agentes, vel ministros, in omnia & singula maneria, terras, tenementa, possessiones, & hereditamenta nostra quocumque, quovis modo nuper *Canthariarum*, *Gildarum*, obitu. fraternitatis. seu collegiorum nostrorum, aut aliorum seu aliquorum progenitorum nostrorum, infra prædictam insulam de *Garsney* existent. ante decimum septimum diem Novemb. Ann. regni nostri primo facti. perpetrati. seu commissi. Ac omnia & singula debita, redditus, computa, arreragia, & collectiones, receptiones, detentiones, & non solutiones granorum, & aliorum reddituum, exituum, proficuum quoruncumque nobis aut aliorum progenitorum nostrorum pro ejusdem *Canthariis*, *Gildis*, obitu. fraternitatis, seu Collegiis, seu eorum aliquo vel aliquibus, quovis modo ante prædictum decimum septimum diem Novemb. Decimo Anno regni nostri primo, debiti. pertinent. seu spectant.

Perdonavimus, remisimus, & relaxavimus, ac de gratia speciali, ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris prædictis, pro nobis, heredibus, & successoribus nostris, per presentes perdonamus, remittimus, & relaxamus præfatis *Hillierio Gosseline*, *Nicolaus Carie*, *Johannes*, *Marchant*, *Nicolaus Martin*, & *Richardus* *Devicke*, & eorum cuique liberationem, evasionem, escapiam, & voluntat. ad libertatem positionem ejusdem *Nicolaus* *Norman*, nuper de Parochia *S. Salvatoris*, infra prædictam insulam, *Norman*, de homicidio, seu murdræ, nuper judicati. attincti. & convicti. existent. pro interfectione sine murderatione, ejusdem *Johannis* *Bregban*, de dicta Parochia *S. Petri* *Salvatoris*, infra insulam prædictam, *Husbandman*. At omnia & omnimoda, felonias, crimina, offensas, penas, mortes, punitiones, forisfacturas, contemptus, negligencias, ignorancias ac alia delicta & offensas, quacumque prædictam liberationem, evasionem, escapiam, & ad libertatem positionem prædicti *Nicolaus* *Norman* tangendis, seu aliquo modo concernen. per præfatos *Hillierium*, *Nicolaum Carie*, *Johannem* *Marchant*, *Nicolaum Martin*, & *Richardum* *Devicke*, seu eorum aliquem, vel aliquos, ante præsentem diem, qualitercumque habui. facti. commissi. seu illepti.

Perdonavimus etiam, remisimus, & relaxavimus, ac per presentes, ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris, pro nobis, heredibus, & successoribus nostris, perdonamus, remittimus, & relaxamus, præfatis *Hillierio Gosseline*, *Nicolaus Carie*, *Johannes*, *Marchant*, *Nicolaus Martin*, *Johannes*, *Blundel*, *Richardus*, *Devicke*, *Petro Pelley*, & *Jacobi Amy*, omnia & omnimoda rixas, rotas, illicitas congregationes, & conventicula illicita, in pacis nostre perturbationem, per præfatos *Hillierium*, *Nicolaum Carie*, *Johannem* *Marchant*, *Nicolaum Martin*, *Johannem* *Blundel*, *Richardum* *Devicke*, *Petrum Pelley*, & *Jacobum Amy*, seu eorum aliquem, seu aliquos, entrebas qualitercumque infra insulam prædictam habui. commissi. facti. seu perpetrati. &c.

A Defence of this Garsney Story against Mr. Harding.

And thus have you the true narration of this History, discoursed without corrupting or falsifying any part or sentence thereof, no less faithfully of my part reported, then I received of them, who dwelling in the same Isle, and being present the same time, were best acquainted with the matter, and have given sufficient evidence, not only to me, but also to the Queens Highness Com.

Defence of this Garsney Story against Mr. Harding.

Anno 1556. Commissioners, concerning the same, as both by the Letter of the Bailiff, by the Sentence of the Dean, by the Supplication of the Plaintiff, and submission of the Parties, and likewise by the Queens pardon granted unto them, may well appear.

By all which proofs and circumstances thus debated, it remaineth manifest for all men to perceive, what cruelty and wrong was wrought against these poor women above specified, and no less matter offered, in a case so unjust, justly to expostulate, or rather to wonder at the hard hearts of these men, but especially of the Catholic Clergy of *Garnsey*, who professing the Gospel of Peace and Charity, should after the example of Christ walk in the steps of meekness and mercy, and yet contrary, not only to all Christian Charity and Manifestation, but also against all order of Equity or Humanity, were so extreme and rigorous to condemn them to the burning fire, under the pretended colour of Heresie. Who if they had been Hereticks indeed, yet mercy would have corrected the error, and saved life; equity would have considered mans weak fragility, at least true justice would have heard both the Parties advisedly, and also substantially have surveyed the cause, and not have rushed out the Sentence of Death so hastily as they did: yea, and though they had been Hereticks indeed, yet true Christian Charity would have stretched further, and at least have given them leisure and respite of time to reclaim themselves. But now what is here to be said? they being no Hereticks at all, as neither it could then, nor yet can be proved. For by King *Edwards* Religion (which was objected to them) were Hereticks, yet were they then no Hereticks, when they revoked the same; and if Queen *Maries* Religion were Heresie, then were they much more Hereticks themselves, which condemned them of Heresie.

But most of all we have herein to wonder at Master *Harding*, who in his late Rejoynder, written against the Bishop of *Salisbury*, notwithstanding all these evidences and demonstrations so certain and manifestly appearing, yet goeth about first to deny the story, terming it to be a fable; and afterward being forced to fly *ad status infancie*, to admit the story, he removed *ad translationem criminis*; and there seeking by all means to clear the Clergy from the spot of cruelty, transference the whole blame only upon the women that suffered; but principally upon *Persine*, whom he specially charged with two Capital Crimes; to wit, Whoredom and Murder.

And first, touching his Accusation of Whoredom, let us hear how he proveth this matter: Because (he saith) by story it is granted, that she was with child: and yet the Historiographer doth not declare (neither durst for shame) who was her Husband, or Father to the Child, &c. As though that Historiographers, being occupied in setting forth the Persecution of Gods People, suffering death for Religion and Doctrine of Christ, were bound, or had nothing else to do but to play the Sumner, and to bring forth who were Husbands to their Wives, and Fathers to their Children; which new found Law of History being never required before, nor observed of any Story writers. If Mr. *Harding* now shall exact of me, first let him begin with himself, and shew us (as wife as he is) who was his own Father, if he can. And yet I think not contrary, but his Mother was an honest woman. And no less also do I think of this of *Persine* aforesaid; whereof more shall be said (God willing) hereafter.

But in the mean time here cometh in the cavilling Objection of Mr. *Harding*, who beareth the Reader in hand, as though for shame I durst not, or of purpose would not express it, &c. My answer whereunto is this: First, to express every minute of matter in every Story occurrent, what Story-writer in all the world is able to perform it? Secondly, although it might be done, what reasonable Reader would require it? Thirdly, albeit some curious Readers would so require, yet I suppose neither requirer, nor convenient to be observed. And fourthly, what if it were not remembered of the Author? What if it were to him not known? What if it were of purpose omitted, as a matter not material to the purpose? Many other causes besides might incur, which

the Reader knoweth not of. And shall it then by and be imputed to shame and blame, whatsoever in every narration is not expressed? or doth Mr. *Harding* himself, in all his Sermons, never premit any thing that conveniently might be inferred? Who was the Husband of this *Persine*, the Historiographer hath not expressed; I grant: and what thereof? Erge, Thereupon conclude he, that for shame I durst not. Nay, I may marvel rather, that he durst for shame utter such untidy Arguments, or so affectantly pronounce of another mans mind and purpose, which is as privy to him, as then it was to me unknown what was her Husbands name. And though it had been known, what was that material in the Story to be uttered? or what had it relieved the cruel parts of them, which burned both the Mother and Infant together, though the Infants Father had been expressed? And how then did I for shame conceal that which was not in my knowledge at that time (if I would) to express, nor in my suspicion to misdeem?

Nevertheless, if he be so greatly desirous (as he pretendeth) to know of me; who was this Infants Father, I will not stick with Mr. *Harding*, although I cannot swear for the matter, yet to take so much pain for his pleasure, to go as near as I may. For precisely and determinately to point out the right Father, either of this, or any Child; I trow, neither will Mr. *Harding* require it of me, neither is he able peradventure himself, being asked, to demonstrate his own. And yet, as much as I may, to satisfy his dainty desire herein, and partly to help the innocency of the woman, touching this demand, Who should be the Infants Father: Who, say I, but his own Mothers Husband? the name of which Husband was *David Jones*, a Minister, and married to the said *Persine* in King *Edwards* time, in the Church of our Ladies Castle Parish at *Garnsey*; the party which married them being called Mr. *Noel Regner* a Frenchman, and yet alive, witness hereunto, and now dwelling in London in *S. Martins le grand*.

Thus then, after my knowledge, I have shewed forth, for Mr. *Hardings* pleasure, the right Husband of this *Persine*, and what was his name, who was also alive, his wife being great with Child, and partaker of the Persecution of the same time, and a Schoolmaster afterward in *Normandy*, &c. Now if Mr. *Harding* can take any such advantage hereof to disprove that I have said; or be so privy to the begetting of this Child, that he can prove the said *David Jones*, which was the right Husband to this Wife, not to be the right Father to this Infant, let him shew herein his cunning by what mighty demonstrations he can induce us to deem the contrary; and as I shall see his reason, I shall shape him a answer, in such sort (I trust) that he will perceive, that Whoredom, whereof I may know it, shall find no bolstering by me; I wish it might find as little amongst the chaste Catholics of Mr. *Hardings* Church.

From this I proceed now to the second part of his infamous Accusation, wherein he chargeth her of Murder. A strange Case, that the which was murdered her self, with her Child, and died before him, should yet be accused to murder the Child. Murder doubtless is an horrible iniquity in any person; but the Mother to be murderer of her own Infant, it is a double abomination, and more then a Monster, so far disagreeing from all Nature, that it is not lightly to be furnished of any, without vehement causes of manifest probation.

Wherefore, to try out this matter more thoroughly touching this murdering Mother, let us see: First, what hand did the lay upon the Child? None. What weapon had she? None. Did she then drown it; or cast it in some pond, as we read of the Strumpets at *Rome*, whose Childrens heads were taken up in Pope *Gregories* Mote by hundreds, what time Priests began first to be restrained of a lawful Wedlock: witness the Epistle of *Volusianus*? or else did she throw it by the walls into some private corner, as I am credibly certified; that in the eighth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, certain Scaples and other young Infants bones were found and taken out with a stick in the hole of a stonie wall, in *Lenton Abbey*, by certain Gentlemen within the Country of *Northampton*, *James Barusse*, *Richard Loveis*, and *W. Love*.

G E G 3 lace

The cruel dealing of the Garnsey men against these three women.

Mr. Harding in his Rejoynder against Mr. Jones, p. 184.

Two crimes objected against Persine, to wit, Whoredom and Murder.

Mr. Harding in his Rejoynder, fol. 184 p. 2.

Persine utterly acquitted of Whoredom.

Mr. Harding requires of others to do that, which he is not able to do himself.

David Jones Husband to Persine, Master, Persine married, where, and by whom.

Persine fully acquitted of murder.

A story of young Infants murdered in Lenton Abbey, and found in the eighth year of Queen Elizabeth.

lace walking in the Prior-Chamber; witness the said *W. Lovelace*, with other which saw the Bones aforesaid? Or otherwise did she take any hurtful drink to impoisonate the Child within her, as commonly it is reported few Nunneries to have been in England, wherein such a Tree hath not been growing within their ground, meet for practising of such a purpose? Neither so, nor so. What then? did she purposely and wittingly thrust her self in jeopardy, to the destruction of her Child, when she needed not, as Pope *Joan*, when she might have kept her Bed, would needs adventure forth in Procession, where both she her self, and her Infant perished in the open street?

Pope Joan
murderer of
her child.

How and by
what reason
Mr. Harding
proven Pe-
rotine to be a
murderer.

Well then, thus much by this hitherto alledged and granted, we have gotten this woman here to be accused of murdering her Child, which neither laid hand upon it, nor used weapon against it; neither used any other practise in drowning, hanging, breaking, burying, poisoning, or any other wilful means, whereby to destroy it. And how then? by what manner of way was this woman a murderer of her young Babe? Forsooth (saith Mr. Harding) when she was accused and condemned to be burned, she did not claim the benefit of her Belly, whereby the life both of her self for the time might have been delayed, and the Child preserved.

Lady Jane
thought to
be with
child at her
death.
The Law be-
nificial to
women
claiming the
benefit of
their belly.

Whether she did or no, I have not perfectly to say; no more, I ween, hath Mr. Harding. Howbeit this is certain, and by witness known, that she uttered no less to her Ghostly Father in Confession. And what if she had opened the same to the Judges? They would (saith he) have spared her life for the time, and so the Innocent had been preserved. And how is Mr. Harding sure of this, more then was the life spared of the young Lady, and Multres sometime of Mr. Harding, who suffered, notwithstanding she was reported of some to be with Child; because the Law (saith he) is beneficial to women in her case, claiming the benefit thereof.

Unlawful
proceeding
in the death
of Perotine.

The Law so giveth, I grant. But it followeth not therefore, whatsoever the Law giveth or prescribeth, the same to be put by and by in execution. But many times the Law goeth as it pleaseth them which have the handling of the Law. As for example; the Law willeth none to be condemned by Sentence of Death for Heresie, which the first time revoke their opinion, and yet contrary to this Law they condemned her unlawfully. Again, the like Law, none to be executed for Heresie, before the Writ be sent down *De Comburendo*, and yet contrary to this Law, without any such Writ, (as far as I yet understand) they burned her most cruelly. And what Law then was here to be looked for of these men, who in their doings herein seemed neither to observe Law, nor to regard Honesty, nor much to pass for Charity? And albeit she had claimed never so much the privilege of the Law, what had that availed with those men, whose hunting altogether (as by their own proceedings may appear) seemeth to be for the household goods of these women, which after their death immediately they incoached into their own hands.

Perotine de-
fended by
simple ig-
norance.

Lack in the
Judges.

But be it admitted, that neither she demanded this benefit of the Law, nor that the Judges would ever have denied her, if she had so done; yet it had been the part of a grave Accuser, before he had been descended into such a railing action of murder against a poor woman now dead and gone, first to have advised wisely with himself, whether it might be, that she had no such intelligence what benefit the Law would have given, in case it had been required. For not unlike it is, and well may be thought, rather yea, than no, that the simple woman, brought up all her life long in her Mothers house in an obscure Island, and in such an out-corner of the Realm, far off from the Court, and practise of English Laws, never heard before of any such benefit of the Law; and therefore upon meer simplicity, and for lack of skill required it not, because she knew not what to require. Peradventure also her Senies might be so affonied with the greatness and fuddeness of the fear, that it was out of her remembrance. Certes, it had been the duty of the Judges, which knew the Law, and having of the woman before them, could not be ignorant of her case, to have questioned with her thereof, and to have holpen her simplicity in that behalf. Or at least; if they

had disdained, yet it had been the Priests part, who was her Ghostly Father, and made privy thereunto, either to have instructed her, or to have layed the execution of her death for safeguard of the Child.

Anno
1556.
The Priest
to blame.

But all this denieth Mr. Harding, and to aggravate the matter, inferreth, that the not of any simple unskilfulness of the Law, but only of meer wilfulness, for a voiding of worldly shame, concealed her own turpitude, and so became a murderer of her Babe, &c. These be the words of Mr. Harding, written by him not of any sure ground, but only upon his Catholick conjecture; for other demonstration certainly to prove this true, he bringeth none. Wherefore to answer conjecture by conjecture, thus I reply to him again, That in case she had been asked the question of the Judges and Inquiritors, whether she had been with child, and then had denied the same; or else if she, by any other colourable means, had cloaked her being with child, whereby it should not appear, this Accuser might have spoken probable advantage against the woman. Now, as Perotine as she was never demanded of their parts any such question, nor did ever deny any such matter; so to answer this man with as good probability, I hold, that in case they had required that matter of her, she would never have denied it. And therefore whereas she is accused for her not uttering of her being with Child; why may she not, by as good reason again be defended for not denying the same?

Rejoynder,
fol. 143. p. 1.

Mr. Harding
ground only
upon con-
jectures.

as Perotine as
he did not
open her
being with
child, so nei-
ther did she
ever deny it.

The state of
Mr. Harding's
Accusation.

But she should have uttered it, saith he. It had been well done, say I; and I would she had: but yet that is not the question between him and me, what she should have done, but why she did it not. Mr. Harding wandering in his blind fumes, phantaseth the cause only to be, for hiding her dishonesty, and for that she would not shame the Gospel. So that in summa, to this effect tendeth all his Accusation.

Perotine being big with child, at her Condemnation did not shew it to the Judges:

Ergo, She did it to conceal her turpitude, and because she would not shame the Gospel.

Mr. Harding
Argument.

But here this Accuser must understand, if he have not forgot his Logick, that such Arguments which do truly hold a signis, do always presuppose, that the signs which go before the things signified, must be necessary, perpetual and firm, as is between causes natural and their effects. Otherwise, if the signs be doubtful, voluntary, or accidental, there is no firm consequent can proceed thereof.

The Argu-
ment ac-
cused.

Now, if the said Accuser should be put to his proof, how to justify this his sequel to be true by evident demonstration, that she did it only for covering her dishonesty; I suppose verily he should be found to say more than he is able to make good, and in conclusion should be brought into the like case, as were the Pharisees, who coming to accuse the Adulterers before Christ, went away mute, with as much shame out of the Temple, as the woman her self came in, having not one word to answer. For, a man to pronounce assuredly upon the secret cogitation and intent either of man or woman, farther than by utterance of speech is to him signified, passeth his capacity, and is to be left only to him, which is *scrutans corda & renes Deus*.

Arguments
of signs and
conjectures,
how they
hold.

But forasmuch as Mr. Harding worketh (as I said) by surmises, confirming every thing to the world, let us see what may be surmised as much again to the contrary, concerning the quality of this surmised murder: wherein divers things are to be considered, as hereunder followeth.

The first Conjecture is this, That such manner of women, which for worldly shame are disposed to murder their children, have other ways to compass that wickedness, then by silence keeping. Now, as touching this Perotine going to be burned, neither could this silence save her, if she would, from worldly shame, neither is it to be thought any such intent ever to be in her, to murder her child; as might well appear in her Mothers house, where if she might have continued her whole time out, she intended no less but honestly to be brought to bed, and to nurse up her Child, neither caring for shame of the world, nor fearing any slander to the Gospel. Whereby may be

The first
Conjecture.

Anno 1556. be argued, that no such intent of murder was ever in her thought.

For how is it like that she, which had gone so long with Child, almost to the full time of her deliverance; and never thought, nor wrought any hurt to the Infant all that while, should now, going to her own death, mind more hurt to her child, then she did before, hoping her self to live?

The second conjecture. Secondly, how knoweth Master Harding to the contrary, but that she was known in the Town to be with Child, and went boldly abroad without note of any shame, before the time she came in trouble? Which being true, shame then could be no cause, why she should conceal her Child more now after her Condemnation, then she did before she was condemned.

The third conjecture. Thirdly, admit the case it was not known before, what advantage thereby should rise to her being now appointed to dye, by concealing her being with Child? She should have eschewed (saith M. Harding) the publick shame and obloquy of the World, in that none should have known her to be with Child. First, what shame was it for a married Wife to be noted to be with Child? Again, what gain had that been to her, to avoid the shame and fame of the World, which had not to live in the World, being now condemned to dye?

The fourth conjecture. Fourthly, how is it like, that for shame she meant to conceal that from the World, which both knew she should not live in the World, and also suffer that kind of death whereby her Child could not be hidden from the sight of the World, though she had gone about her self never so much to conceal it?

The fifth conjecture. Fifthly, how is it like, that any Woman, going to such a sharp punishment of Fire to be consumed, would let for any Worldly shame to rescue her own Life from so bitter torment, at least so long as the might, beside a safeguard also of her Child, if by any means she had any remedy.

The sixth conjecture. Sixthly, forasmuch as Master Harding doth so hainously charge her with the wilful murdering of her own natural Child, let all indifferent Consciences thus consider with themselves, what was the cause that moved her so willingly to recant as she did, but partly to save her own Life, and especially the poor innocent? Whereby it is manifest to be understood, what a motherly affect on she had to save her infant, if the Fathers of the spirituality had not been so cruel, against all order of Law to cast both her and her Child away, all this her said recantation notwithstanding.

The seventh conjecture. Seventhly and lastly, when Master Harding hath weighed all that ever he can against this poor *Peronne*, yet is all the same but a by-matter from this principal purpose pretended, supposing thereby, through his depraving of her, to justify and excuse the Popes Holy Clergy, which wrought her death. Which will not be: For whatsoever her Life was besides, yet forasmuch as the cause of her death and condemnation was neither for theft, whoredom, nor murder, but only and merely for Religion, which deserved no death, I therefore having in my story no further to deal, as I said before, so do I say again, that the cause of her condemning was wrongful, her death was cruel, the sight of the Babe was rueful, the proceeding of the Judges was unlawful, the whole story is pitiful, and of all this the Priest and Clergy were the Authors principal. All which being considered, and well expended, Master Harding, I trust, may stand sufficiently contented. Or if he think murder to be a thing, which ought not (as it ought not indeed) lightly to be passed over, let him then find out murder where it is, and tell us truly without affection of partiality, where the true murder lieth; whether in the poor Woman, which together with her Child was murdered, or in them, which without all Law and Conscience brought them both to death.

The conclusion of this defence. Briefly and finally to conclude with this Man, whatsoever the Woman was, she is now gone. To bite so bitterly against the dead is little honesty. And though the accusation had in it some truth, yet this accusation here needed not. Now the same being false, it is too much unmerciful. At least being doubtful and to him unknown, charity would have judged the best. Humanity would have spared the dead. And if he could not

afford her his good word; yet he might have left her cause unto the Lord, which shall judge both her and him. To pray for the dead he findeth in his Mass; but to backbite the dead, he neither findeth in his Mass; Matens, nor Evensong. And no doubt but in his Dirige and Commendations he commendeth many a one, less deserving to be commended then this Woman; let Catholick affection be set aside. And though the merits of her cause deserved not his commendations, yet did she never deserve at Master Hardings hand to give her such a *Kriselen* (as they say) after her departure. Cruelly she suffered enough alive, though Master Harding had not added this cruel invective to her former afflictions: wherein notwithstanding he hurseth not her, but hurseth peradventure himself, neither so much disdaineth her honesty, as he blemisheth his own. It hath been the manner of learned Men in time past, with their defending Oration ever to be more ready, then to accuse. And if they did at any time accuse, yet never but enforced; neither did they accuse any but such only as were alive, and that neither but in such matters, wherein either the Common-Wealth or themselves were vehemently touched.

Now if this grieve him so greatly, that in my story I have termed her to be a Martyr; let him consider the cause wherefore she suffered, which was neither for Felony, Murder, nor Whoredom, but only for the Religion in King Edwards time received; and when he hath considered that Religion, I shall cross her out of the Book and fellowship of Martyrs. In the mean time my exhortation shall be this to Master Harding.

First, that if he will needs become a writer in these so furious and outrageous days of ours, he will feast his Vein of writings with more mildness and charity, and not give such example of railing to others.

Secondly, that he will moderate his judging and condemning of other with more equity and indifference, and not to be so rash and partial. For if she be to be accounted a murderer, which so carefully went about by recantation to save both her self and her Child from the Fire; what is to be said of them which condemned her so cruelly, and caused both her and the Infant to be burned, notwithstanding that she for safeguard of their Lives had (as I said) recanted. And yet so partial is he, that in all this invective, crying out so intemperately against the Woman and the Child that were burned, he speaketh never a word of their condemners and true murderers indeed.

Thirdly, forasmuch as Master Harding is here in hand with infanticide, and with a casting away young Childrens lives, I would wish, that as he hath lifted the doings of this Woman to the uttermost, who was rather murdered then a murderer; so he would with an indifferent eye look on the other side a little upon them of his own Clergy, and see what he could find there amongst those wilful contemners of immaculate marriage. Not that I do accuse any of incontinency, whose lives I know not, but there is one above, that well knoweth and seeth all things, be they never so secret to Man, and most certainly will pay home at length with Fire and Brimstone when he seeth his time.

I say no more, and not so much as I might, following herein the Painters, which when their colours will not serve to expresse a thing that they mean, they shadow it with a veil. But howsoever the matter goeth with them, whether they may or may not be suspected touching this crime aforesaid of infanticide; most sure and manifest it is that they are more then worthily to be accused of homicide in murdering the Children and Servants of God, both men and women, wives and mayds, old and young, blind and lame, mad and unmad, discreet and simple innocents, learned with the unlearned, and that of all degrees, from the high Archbishop to the Clerk and Sexton of the Church, and that most wrongfully and wilfully, with such effusion of innocent Christian Blood, as crieth up daily to God for vengeance.

And therefore Master Harding, in my mind should do well, to spare a little time from these his invectives, wherewith he appeareth the poor Protestants of Murder, whom they have murdered themselves, and exercise his pen with some more fruitful matter, to exhort these spiritual Fathers first to cease from murdering of their own Children,

Exhortation to M. Harding.

Murder is the Spiritual Clergy noted.

God knoweth what filling, and Murdering of Infants there is in the World.

Agamils, of
which Men
unmarried
or against
Marriage.

dren , to spare the Blood of Innocents , and not to persecute Christ so cruelly in his members as they do : And furthermore , to exhort in like manner these Agamils , and wilful rejecters of Matrimony , to take themselves to lawful wives , and not to resist Gods Holy Ordinance , nor encounter his Institution with another contrary Institution of their own devising , lest perhaps they prevented by fragility , may fall into danger of such inconveniences above touched : which if they be not in them , I shall be glad ; but if they be , it is neither their railing against the poor Protestants , nor yet their secret auricular confession , that shall cover their iniquities from the face of the Lord , when he shall come to reveal *abscōdita tenebrarum , & judicare seculum per ignem* .

The part of
a true ac-
cuser.

And thus , for lack of further leisure , I end with Master Harding ; having no more at this time to say unto him , but with him to fear God , to embrace his truth , to remember himself , and to cease from this uncharitable railing and brawling , especially against the dead , which cannot answer him ; Or if he will needs continue still to be such a vehement accuser of other , yet that he will remember what belongeth to the part of a right accuser : First , that his accusation be true ; secondly , that no blind affection of partiality be mixt withal : thirdly , whosoever taketh upon him to carp and appeach the crimes of other , ought themselves to be sincere and upright , and to see what may be written in their own foreheads .

Whoredom and Murder be grievous offences , and worthy to be accused . But to accuse of Murder the parties that were murdered , and to leave the other persons untouched which were the true murderers , it is the part of an accuser , which deferreth himself to be accused of partiality .

As verily I think by this Woman , that if she had been a Catholick Papist , and a devout follower of their Church , as she was a Protestant , she had neither been condemned then alive of them , nor now accused , being dead , of M. Harding . But God forgive him , and make him a good Man if it be his will .

Three Martyrs burned at Greentead in Suffex.

July 18.
The Martyr-
dom of two
Men and one
Woman at
Greenhead in
Suffex.

HERE about the same time that these three Women with the Infant were burned at *Garnsey* , suffered other three likewise at *Greenhead in Suffex* , two Men and one Woman ; the Names of whom were *Thomas Dungeate* , *John Foreman* , and Mother *Tree* , who for righteousness sake gave themselves to death and torments of the fire , patiently abiding what the furious rage of Man could say or work against them , at the said Town of *Greenhead* ending their lives , the 18. of the said Month of *July* , and in the year aforesaid .

The Burning and Martyrdom of Thomas Moor in the Town of Leicester, June 26. the year , 1556.

July 26.

AS the Bloody rage of this persecution spared neither man , woman nor child , wife nor maid , lame , blind nor cripple , and so through all Men and Women , as there was no difference either of Age or Sex considered , so neither was there any condition or quality respected of any person : but whosoever he were , that held not as they did on the Pope , and Sacrament of the Altar , were he learned or unlearned , wife , or simple innocent , all went to the fire , as may appear by this simple poor Creature and innocent Soul , named *Thomas Moor* , retaining as a Servant to a Mans House in the Town of *Leicester* , about the age of 24. and after manner of an Husbandman , who for speaking certain words , that his Maker was in Heaven , and not in the Pix , was thereupon apprehended in the Country , being with his friends . Who coming before his Ordinary , first was asked , whether he did not believe his Maker there to be , pointing to the high Altar . Which he denied .

The burning
of the Moor
a simple in-
nocent , at
Leicester.

Then asked the Bishop , How then , said he , dost thou believe ?

The young Man answered again ; as his Creed did teach him .

To whom the Bishop said ; And what is yonder that thou seest above the Altar ? He answering , said ; Forsooth I cannot tell what you would have me to see . I see there fine Clothes , with Golden Taffels , and other gay gear

hanging about the Pix , what is within I cannot see . Why ? Dost thou not believe , said the Bishop , Christ to be there , *Flesh , Blood , and Bone* ? No , that I do not , said he .

Whereupon the Ordinary making short with him , read the Sentence , and so condemned the true and Faithful Servant of Christ to death , in *Saint Margarets Church* in *Leicester* ; who was burnt , and suffered a joyful and glorious Martyrdom , for the testimony of righteousness in the same Town of *Leicester* , the year of our Lord above mentioned , 1556. about the 26. of *June* .

To this *Thomas Moor* , we have also annexed the Answers and Examination of one *John Jackson* , before Doctor *Cook* , one of the Commissioners , for that it belongeth much unto the same time .

The Examination of John Jackson , had before Doctor Cook , the 11. day of March , Anno 1556.

First , when I came before him , he railed on me , and called me Hereticke . I answered and said , I am no Hereticke .

Cook . Yes quoth he . For M. Read told me , that thou wast the rankest Hereticke of all them in the *King* .

Bench .
Jackson . I said , I knew him not .
Cook . No , quoth he ? Yes , he examined thee at the *King* .

Bench .
Jack . I answered him , and said , he examined five other , but not me .

Cook . Then answer me : what sayest thou to the blessed Sacrament of the Altar ? tell me .

Jack . I answered , it is a diffute question , to ask me at the first dally , you promising to deliver me .

Cook . What an Hereticke is this , quoth he ?

Jack . I said , it is easier to call a Man Hereticke , then to prove him one .

Cook . Then he said , What Church art thou of ?

Jack . What Church , quoth I ? I am of the same Church that is builded on the Foundation of the Prophets and the Apostles , Jesus Christ being the head corner stone .

Cook . Thou art an Hereticke , quoth he .

Jack . I said , Yea , quoth I ? how can that be , seeing that I am of that Church ? I am sure that you will not say that the Prophets and Apostles were Heretics .

Cook . No , quoth he . But what sayest thou to the blessed Sacrament of the Altar again ? Tell me .

Jack . I answered him and said , I find it not written .

Cook . No , quoth he ? Keeper away with him .

Jack . Yet I tarried there long , and did talk with him , and I said ; Sir , I can be content to be tractable , and obedient to the Word of God .

Cook . He answered and said to me , that I knew not what the Word of God meant , nor yet whether it were true or not .

Jack . I answered , and said to him , yea that I do .

Cook . Whereby , quoth he ?

Jack . Hereby , said I . Our Saviour Christ saith ; Search the Scriptures , for in them you think to have eternal life . For they be they that testify of me .

Cook . This is a wise proof , quoth he .

Jack . Is it so , quoth I ? What say you then to these words that the Prophet David said ? Whatsoever he be that feareth the Lord , he will shew him the way that he hath chosen : his Soul shall dwell at ease , and his seed shall possess the land . The secrets of the Lord are among them that fear him , and he sheweth them his covenant .

Cook . Well , quoth he , you shall be rid shortly one way or other .

Jack . Then I said to him , my life lieth not in mans hands ; therefore no Man shall do more unto me then God will suffer him .

Cook . No , quoth he ? Thou art a stubborn and naughty fellow .

Jack . You cannot so judg of me , quoth I , except you did see some evil by me .

Cook . No , quoth he ? Why may not I judge thee , as well as thou and thy fellows judge us , and call us Papists ?

Jack . Why , quoth I ? that is no Judgment : but Christ

Anno
1556.

The con-
demnation
and Mar-
tyrdom of
the Moor.
By Regill.
Episc.
Litchin.

Examin-
tion of
John Jackson
before Doctor
Cook.

The Church.

The Sacra-
ment of the
Altar.

Although
they call you
Papists , yet
they judge
you not to
desert.

Anno 1556. Christ faith, *If you refuse me, and receive not my word, you have one that judgeth you. The word that I have spoken unto you now, shall judge you in the last day.*
 Cook. I pray thee tell me, who is the Head of the Congregation?

Jack. I answered, and said, Christ is the Head.
 Cook. But who is Head in Earth?
 Jack. I said, Christ hath Members here in Earth.
 Cook. Who are they, quoth he?
 Jack. They, quoth I, that are ruled by the Word of God.
 Cook. You see a good fellow, quoth he.
 Jack. I am that I am, quoth I.

Cook. Then he said to my Keeper, Have him to Prison again.

Jack. I am contented with that, quoth I; and so we departed. I answered no further in this matter, because I thought he should not have my Blood in a corner. But I hope in the living God, that when the time shall come, before the Congregation I shall shake their building after another manner of fashion. For they build but upon the sand, and their walls be dawbed with untempered mortar, and therefore they cannot stand long.

Therefore (good Brothers and Sisters) be of good cheer: for I trust in my God, I and my other prison-fellows shall go joyfully before you, praising God most heartily, that we are counted worthy to be witnesses of his truth. I pray you accept my humble answer, at this time, committing you unto God.

Of this *John Jackson*, besides these his foresaid Answers and Examination before D. Cook one of the Commissioners, no more as yet came unto our hands:

The Examination of John Newman, Martyr, which is to be referred to his story before.

John Newman was first apprehended in *Kent*, dwelling in the Town of *Maidstone*, and there was examined before D. *Thornton* Suffragan and others, at *Tenterden*. From thence he was brought to *Boner*, and there condemned with *Master Denley* and *Packingham* and burned at *Saffron Walden*, as is before storied. But because his Examinations and Answers before the Suffragan came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to bestow them, rather than they should utterly be suppressed. And first what his answers were by writing to the said Suffragan after his apprehension, you shall hear by the tenor of his own words, as follow.

The copy of *I may please you to understand, that for the space of all the time of King Edwards Reign, we were diligently intrusted with continual Sermons, made by such Men, whose faith, wisdom, learning, and vertuous living was commended unto all Men, under the Kings hand and Seal, and under the hands of the whole Council. These Men taught diligently a long time, persuading us by the allegations of Gods Word, that there was no Transubstantiation, nor corporal presence in the Sacrament. Their Doctrine was not believed of us suddenly, but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual Prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived, but if it were true that God would incline our hearts unto it; and if it were not true, that we might never believe it.*

We weighed that they laboured with Gods Word, and we asked the advice of our friends; neither could we find that they Preached false Doctrine. We considered also, as we did learn, that the Kings Grace and his Council, and the most part of all the whole Realm, believed as they taught, because no Man Preached the contrary. Also we knew, that the Preachers were commanded by the King, and the Laws of the Realm, to Preach unto us such Doctrine, as was to the Authority of Gods Word agreeable, and none other. And by their diligent setting forth of it, by the Kings Commandment, and the consent of the whole Council, and by the Authority of the Parliament, we embraced it, and received it, as a very infallible truth taught unto us for the space of seven years. Wherefore until such time as our Consciences are otherwise taught and instructed by Gods Word, we cannot with safeguard of our Consciences take it, as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God, that the

Queens merciful Highness, neither yet her most Honourable Council, will in a matter of faith use compulsion or violence, because faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of Man, neither of Mans Law; neither at such time as Men require it, but at such time as God giveth it.

The Examination and Answers of John Newman, Martyr, before Doctor Thornton, and others.

Irist, one of the Doctors, or one of the Bench, either the Archdeacon, or *Fauced*, or some other, whose Name *John Newman* doth not express, beginneth, asking in this wise.

Doctor. How say you to this? *This is my Body, which is given for you.*

Newman. It is a figurative speech, one thing spoken, and another meant, as Christ faith, *I am a vine, I am a door, I am a Stone, &c.* Is he therefore a material Ruse, a vine, or a door?

Doct. This is no figurative speech. For he faith, *This is my Body, which is given for you.* And so faith he not of the Ruse, vine, or door; but that is a figurative speech.

New. Christ faith, *This cup is the New Testament in my Blood.* If ye will have it so meant, then let them take and eat the Cup.

Doctor. Nay, that is not so meant; so it is a common phrase of speech among our selves: We say to our friend, Drink a Cup of drink, and yet we mean he should drink the drink in the Cup.

New. Why, if ye will have the one so understood, ye must so understand the other.

Doct. Nay, it is a common use of speech, to say drink a Cup of Ale or Beer: and therefore it is no figurative speech.

New. The often using of a thing, doth not make that thing otherwise then it is: but whosoever one thing is spoken, and another meant; it is a figurative speech.

Doct. Well, we will not stand here about. How say ye by the Real Presence? is not Christs Natural Body there that was born of the Virgin Mary?

New. No, I do not so believe, neither can I so believe; for the Soul of Man doth not feed upon natural things, as the Body doth.

Doct. Why, how then doth it feed?

New. I think the Soul of Man doth feed as the Angels in Heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God; and so the Soul of Man doth feed and eat, through faith, the Body of Christ.

Collins. Yea, but if the Body do not feed upon natural things, the Soul cannot continue with the Body: therefore the Body must needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together.

New. I grant it to be true: but yet the Soul doth live otherwise then the Body, which doth perish; therefore natural things do but feed the Body only. I pray you what did *Judas* receive at the Supper?

Collins. Marry, *Judas* did receive the very Body of Christ, but it was to his damnation.

New. Why? was the Devil entred into him before? Then he had both the Devil and Christ in him at one time.

Collins. Nay, the Devil did enter into him afterward. New. Yea, and before too: what do you think? had he but one Devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of Devils at the latter end.

Collins. Well, put case it be so, what say you to that?

New. Marry, if Christ and the Devil were both in *Judas* at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?

Collins. We grant they were both in *Judas* at that time; for Christ may be where the Devil is, if he will; but the Devil cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ.

New. Christ will not be in an unclean person that hath the Devil.

Thornton. Why, will ye not believe that Christ was in Hell? yet ye will grant that the Devil is there; and so might he be in *Judas* if it pleased him.

New. Christ would not suffer *Mary Magdalene* to

The Body of Christ, is a figurative speech.

This cup is the New Testament, is a figurative speech.

What is a figurative speech?

Collins reasoned with John Newman.

Whether Judas received the Body of Christ, or no.

Thornton reasonably with John Newman.

1612

touch him, which fought him at his Grave, and did love him intirely; much less he will suffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body.

Thorn. Yes, seeing God may do all things, he may do what he list, and be where he will: And doth not the Psalmist say, He is in Hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt of his being there?

New. Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prove that his Humanity is in all places.

Thorn. No? Do you not believe that God is Omnipotent, and may do all things?

New. I do believe that God is Almighty, and may do all that he will do.

The Omnipotency of Christ doth not prove him to be really in the Sacrament.

Thorn. Nay, but if he be Omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing impossible for him to do.

New. I know God is Almighty, and can do all that he will; but he cannot make his Son a liar, he cannot deny himself, nor can he restore Virginity once violated and defiled.

Thorn. What is that to your purpose? God doth not defile Virginity; we speak but of things that God doth.

New. Why? will ye have the Humanity of Christ in all places, as the Deity is?

Aburdity in the Popes Doctrine.

Thorn. Yea, he is in all places, as the Deity is, if it please him.

New. I will promise you that seemeth to me a very great Heresie; for Heaven and Earth are not able to contain the Divine Power of God: for it is in all places, as here and in every place; and yet ye will say, that where-soever the Deity is, there is also the Humanity; and so ye will make him no body, but a phantastical body, and not a body indeed.

Thorn. Nay, we do not say he is in all places, as the Deity is; but if it please him, he may be in all places with the Deity.

The Humanity of Christ may not be in all places.

New. I promise you that seemeth to me as great a Heresie as ever I heard of in my life, and I dare not grant it, lest I should deny Christ to be a very Man, and that were against all the Scriptures.

Thorn. Tush, what shall we stand reasoning with him? I dare say he doth not believe that Christ came out of his Mother, not opening the Matrice. Do you believe that Christ rose from death, and came thorow the stone?

New. I do believe that Christ rose from death, but I do not believe that he came thorow the stone, neither doth the Scripture so say.

Thorn. Lo, how say you? he doth not believe that Christ came thorow the stone: And if he doth not believe this, how shall he believe the other? If he could believe this, it were easie for him to believe the other.

Note the gross ignorance of this Subtlety.

New. The Scripture doth not say he went thorow the stone, but it saith the Angels of God came down, and rolled away the stone, and for fear of him the Keepers became even as dead men.

Thorn. Ah fool, ah fool! that was because the women should see that he was risen again from death.

New. Well, the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you, and more too.

Thorn. Well, let us not stand any longer about him. Back again to the Real Presence. How say ye? is the Body of Christ really in the Sacrament, or no?

New. I have answered you already.

Thorn. Well, do ye not believe that he is there really?

New. No, I believe it not.

Thorn. Well, will ye stand to it?

New. I must needs stand to it, till I be perswaded to a further truth.

Thorn. Nay, ye will not be perswaded, but stand to your own Opinion.

New. Nay, I stand not to mine own Opinion, God I take to witness, but only to the Scriptures of God, and that can all those that stand here witness with me, and nothing but the Scriptures: and I take God to witness, that I do nothing of presumption, but that which I do is only in regard of my Confidence; and if there be a further truth than I see, except it appear a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And seeing Faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man (for it is not you that can give me Faith, nor any man else) therefore

I trust ye will bear the more with me, seeing it must be wrought by God; and when it shall please God to open a further truth to me, I shall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it. Anno 1556.

Thorn. had many other questions, which I did not bear away; but as I do understand, these are the chiefest: as for taunts, foolish and unlearned, he lacked none. Praise God for his gifts, and God increase in us strength.

The Argument of John Newman.

If the Body of Christ were really and bodily in the Sacrament, then who-soever received the Sacrament, received also the Body.

The wicked, receiving the Sacrament, receive not the Body of Christ:

Ergo, The Body of Christ is not really in the Sacrament.

Argument.

Ca- They which eat the Flesh, and drink the Blood of Christ, dwell in him, and he in them.

mes- The wicked dwell not in Christ, nor he in them: tres. Ergo, The wicked eat not the Flesh, nor drink the Blood of Christ.

Argument.

Ca- They that have Christ dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit. *John 15. He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit, &c.*

mes- The wicked bringeth forth no fruit of goodness: tres. Ergo, They have not Christs Body dwelling in them

Argument.

De- Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the absence thereof.

ti- Remembrance of Christs Body is in the Sacrament; Do this in remembrance of me, &c.

fi. Ergo, Christs Body there is imported to be absent.

Marry they will say, We see him not with our outward eyes; but he is commended under the Forms of Bread and Wine: and that that we see, is nothing but a Quality or an Accident. But let them shew me a Quality or an Accident without a Substance, and I will believe them. And thus much concerning Newman's Examinations and Arguments, whose Martyrdom is before expressed.

The Martyrdom of Joan Wasse, a blind woman, in the Town of Derby.

The first day of August, in the year above specified, suffered likewise at the Town of Derby a certain poor honest godly woman, being blind from her birth, and unmarried, about the Age of 22. named Joan Wasse, of the Parish of Alballovi. Of them that fate upon this innocent woman blood, the chiefest was Ralph Baise Bishop of the Diocess, Dr. Draicot his Chancellor, Sir John Perre Knight, Henry Vernon Esquire, Peter Finch Official of Derby, with the assistance also of divers other, Richard Ward, and William Bembridge the same time being Bayliffs of the Town of Derby, &c. First, after the above-named Bishop and Doctor Draicot had caused the said Joan Wasse to be apprehended in the Town of Derby, suspecting her to be guilty of certain Heresies, she was divers times privily examined, as well in Prison as out of Prison, by Finch the Official aforesaid: After that, brought to publick Examination before the Bishop; at last, was there burnt in Derby, as is aforesaid. Touching whose life, bringing up, and conversation, somewhat more amply we mind to discourse, as by faithful relation hath come to my hands.

First, This Joan Wasse was the daughter of one William Wasse, an honest poor man, and by his Science a Barber, who sometimes also used to make Ropes. His Wife had the same Joan and one other at one birth, and the same was blind. And when the was about

August 17
Joan Wasse a
blind woman
and Martyr.

The life and
conversation
of Joan
Wasse.

Anno
1556.

12. or 14. years old, she learned to knit hosen and sleeves, and other things, which in time she could do very well. Furthermore, as time served, she would help her Father to turn ropes, and do such other things as she was able, and in no case would be idle. Thus continued she with her Father and Mother, during their lives. After whose departure, then kept she with one *Roger Waste* her Brother, who in the time of King *Edward* the sixth, of blessed memory, gave her self daily to go to the Church to hear Divine Service read in the vulgar Tongue. And thus by hearing Homilies and Sermons, she became marvelously well affected to the Religion then taught. So at length having by her labour gotten and saved so much money as would buy her a New Testament, she caused one to be provided for her. And though she was of her self unlearned, and by reason of her blindness unable to read, yet for the great desire she had to understand, and have printed in her memory the sayings of the Holy Scriptures contained in the New Testament, she acquainted her self chiefly with one *John Hurt*, then Prisoner in the Common Hall of *Derby* for debts.

The earnest desire of Joan Waste to learn the Scriptures. John Hurt and John Peremerton read to her the Scriptures.

The same *John Hurt* being a sober grave Man, of the Age of threescore and ten years, by her earnest entreaty, and being Prisoner, and many times idle and without company, did for his exercise daily read unto her some one Chapter of the New Testament. And if at any time he were otherwise occupied or letted through sickness, she would repair unto one *John Peremerton* Clerk of the Parish Church of *All-Saints* in the same Town of *Derby*, or to some other person which could read, and sometime she would give a penny or two (as she might spare) to such persons as would not freely read unto her, appointing unto them afterward how many Chapters of the New Testament they should read, or how often they should repeat one Chapter upon a price.

A notable gift of God in a blind Woman.

Moreover, in the said *Joan Waste* this was notorious, that she being utterly blind, could notwithstanding, without a guide, go to any Church within the said Town of *Derby*, or at any other place or person, with whom she had any such exercise. By the which exercise she profited, that she was able not only to recite many Chapters of the New Testament without Book, but also could aptly impugn, by divers places of Scriptures, as well sin, as such abuses in Religion, as then were too much in use in divers and sundry Persons.

Joan Waste both blind and unlearned, yet was perfect in the Scriptures.

As this Godly Woman thus daily increased in the knowledge of Gods Holy Word, and no less in her life expressed the virtuous fruits and exercise of the same: Not long after, through the fatal death of blessed King *Edward* followed the woful ruin of Religion in the Reign of Queen *Mary* his sister. In which alteration, notwithstanding the general backsliding of the greatest part and multitude of the whole Realm into the old Papism again, yet this poor blind Woman, continuing in a constant Conscience, proceeded still in her former exercise, both being zealous in that she had learned, and also refusing to communicate in Religion with those which taught contrary Doctrine to that she before had learned in King *Edward*'s time, as it is above declared.

For the which she was called and convented before the foresaid Bishop and Doctor *Draicot*, with divers other called in to bear witness.

Articles ministred unto her.

The Articles ministred unto her, and wherewith she was charged, were these: First, that she did hold the Sacrament of the Altar to be but only a memory or representation of Christs Body, and material Bread and Wine, but not his Natural Body, unless it were received. And that it ought not to be reserved from time to time over the Altar, but immediately to be received, &c.

Item, That she did hold, in receiving of the Sacrament of the Altar, she did not receive the same Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and suffered upon the Cross for our redemption, &c.

Item, She did hold, that Christ at his last Supper did not bless the Bread that he had then in his hands, but was blessed himself, and by the virtue of the words of Consecration, the substance of the Bread and Wine is not converted & turned into the substance of the Body & Blood of Christ.

Item, That she did grant that she was of the Parish of *All-Hallows* in *Derby*, &c.

Item, That all and singular the premises are true and notorious by public report and fame, &c.

Whereunto she answered, that she believed therein so much as the Holy Scripture taught her, and according to that she had heard Preached unto her by divers learned Men. Whereof some suffered Imprisonment, and other some suffered death for the same Doctrine. Amongst whom the named, beside other, Dr. *Taylor*, who she said, took it of his Conscience, that that Doctrine which he taught was true, and asked of them, if they would do so in like case for their Doctrine: which if they would not, she desired them for Gods sake not to trouble her, being a blind, poor, and unlearned Woman, with any further talk, saying (by Gods assistance) that she was ready to yield up her Life in that Faith, in such sort as they should appoint.

And yet notwithstanding being prest by the said Bishop and Doctor *Draicot*, with many Arguments of Christs omnipotency, as, why was not Christ able as well to make the Bread his Body, as to turn Water into Wine, raise *Lazarus* from the dead: and such other like Arguments; and many times being threatened with grievous imprisonments, torments, and death: The poor Woman thus being, as it were, half astonished through their terrors and threats, and desirous (as it seemed) to prolong her Life, offered unto the Bishop then present, that if he would before that company, take it upon his Conscience, that that Doctrine which he would have her to believe concerning the Sacrament was true, and that he would at the dreadful day of Judgment answer for her therein (as the said Doctor *Taylor* in divers of his Sermons did offer) he would then further answer them.

Whereunto the Bishop answered, he would. But the Bishop Doctor *Draicot* his Chancellor, hearing that, said, My Lord, you know not what you do, you may in no case answer for an Heretick. And immediately he asked the poor Woman whether she would recant or no, and said she should answer for her self. Unto whose saying, the Bishop also reformed himself.

The poor Woman perceiving this, answered again, that if they refused to take of their Conscience that it was true they would have her to believe, she would answer no further, but desired them to do their pleasure, and so after certain circumstances, they pronounced Sentence against her, and delivered her unto the Bailiffs of the said Town of *Derby* aforesaid. Who after they had kept her about a Month or five weeks, at length there came unto them a Writ *De heretico comburendo*; by virtue whereof they were appointed by the said Bishop to bring her to the Parish Church of *All-Saints* at a day appointed, where Doctor *Draicot* should make a Sermon.

When the day and time was come that this Innocent Martyr should suffer, first cometh to the Church Doctor *Draicot*, accompanied with divers Gentlemen, as *M. Thomas Powelbroad*, Master *Henry Vernon*, Master *De-thick of Newal*, and divers other. This done, and all things now in a readiness, at last the poor blind creature and Servant of God was brought and set before the Pulpit, where the said Doctor being entered into his Sermon, and there inveighing against many matters, which he called Heresies, declared unto the people that that Woman was condemned for denying the Sacraments of the Altar to be the very Body and Blood of Christ really and substantially, and was thereby cut off from the Body of the Catholick Church; and said, that she was not only blind of her bodily eyes, but also blind in the eyes of her Soul. And he said, that as her Body should be presently consumed with material fire, so her Soul should be burned in Hell with everlasting fire, as soon as it shall you for my Name sake.

And so with many terrible threats he made an end of his Sermon, and commanded the Bailiffs and those Gentlemen to see her executed. And the Sermon thus ended, effoons the Blessed Servant of God was carried away from the said Church, to a place called the Windmill pit, near unto the said Town, & holding the foresaid *Roger Waste* her Brother by the hand she prepared her self, and desired

The Answer of Joan Waste to this Articles.

Well argued. *Dr. Draicot's* Christs omnipotency. *Dr. Draicot's* no Bread in the Sacrament.

The Bishop and his Chancellor should not take, nor take confidence to answer for her.

Sentence pronounced against Joan Waste.

The Writ brought down for the burning of Joan Waste.

Dr. Draicot's Sermon against Joan Waste.

Blessed are you when Men shall revile you, and say all evil against you for my Name sake. *Matth. 5: 11*

Joan Waste brought to the place of Execution.

And

The Martyrdom of Joan Waste.

fired the people to pray with her, and said such Prayers as she before had learned, and cried upon Christ to have mercy upon her, as long as Life served. In this mean season, the said Doctor Draicot went to his Inn, for great sorrow of her death, and there laid him down, and slept, during all the time of her execution. And thus much of *Joan Waste*.

Now, forasmuch as I am not ignorant (Faithful Reader) that this, and other Stories more, set forth of the Martyrs, shall not lack carpers and markers enow, ready to seek all holes and corners how to defame the memory of Gods good Saints, and to condemn these Histories, of lies and untruths, especially Histories wherein they see their shameful acts and unchristian cruelty detected and brought to light, therefore for better confirmation of this History above written, and to stop the Mouths of such Monies, this shall be to admonish all and singular readers hereof, that the discourse of this poor blind womans life and death, in such sort as is above prefixed, hath been confessed to be very true, by divers persons of worthy credit, and yet living; and also hath been specially perused and examined by *W. Bainbridge*, before mentioned, Bayliff then of *Darby*; who as well of his own knowledge, as by special inquiry and conference by him made, with divers others, hath certified us the same to be undoubted, beside the testimonial of *John Cadman*, Curate of the said Town, and of other also, upon whose honesty well known, and their report herein nothing differing from such as were best acquainted with that matter, I have been here the more bold to commit this Story to posterity, for all good Men to consider, and judge upon.

Edward Sharp.

September 8.
The Martyrdom of Edward Sharp at Bristol.

About the beginning of the next Month following, which was September, a certain godly, aged, devout person, and zealous of the Lords glory, born in *Wiltshire*, named *Edward Sharp*, of the age of forty years or thereabout, was condemned at *Bristol* to the like Martyrdom, where he constantly and manfully persisting in the just quarrel of Christs Gospel, for milking and renouncing the Ordinances of the Romish Church, was tried as pure Gold, and made a lively Sacrifice in the Fire in whose death, as in the death of all his other Saints, the Lord be glorified and thanked for his great grace of constancy; to whom be praise for ever, Amen.

Four suffered at Mayfield.

September 24.
The Martyrdom of four at Mayfield in Suffex.

Next after the Martyrdom of *Edward Sharp*, above said, followed four, which suffered at *Mayfield*, in *Suffex*; the 24. day of September, Anno. 1556. of whose Names, two we find recorded, and the other two we yet know not, and therefore according to our Register, hereunder they be specified, as we find them.

John Hart.
Thomas Ravensdale.
A Shoemaker.
And a Currier.

Which said four, being at the place where they should suffer, after they had made their prayer, and were at the Stake ready to abide the force of the Fire, they constantly and joyfully yielded their Lives for the testimony of the Glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ, unto whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen.

September 25.
The Martyrdom of a field Carpenter at a young man.

The day after the Martyrdom of these forsaide at *Mayfield*, which was the 25. of September, Anno. 1556. was the Martyrdom of a young man (which by science was a Carpenter, whose Name we have not) put to death, for the like testimony of Jesus Christ, at *Bristol*, where he yielding himself to the torments of the Fire, gave up his Life into the hands of the Lord, with such joyful constancy and triumph, as all the Church of Christ have just cause to praise God for him.

The Martyrdom of John Horn and a Woman.

Anno 1556.

Now not long after the death of the said young man at *Bristol*, in the same Month were two more Godly Martyrs consumed by Fire at *Wotton Underledge*, in *Glocestershire*, whose Names are above specified, which died very gloriously in a constant Faith, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the Godly. So gloriously did they the Lord work in them, that death unto them was Life, and Life with a blotted Conscience was death.

A pitiful Story concerning the unmerciful handling of William Dangerfield, and Joan his Wife being in Child-Bed, taken out of her House, with her sucking Infant of fourteen days old, and laid in the common jail amongst thieves and murderers.

When I had written and finished the Story of the *Garnsey* Women, with the young Infant there with them burned, and also had passed the burning of the poor blind woman *Joan Waste* at *Darby*, I well hoped I should have found no more such Stories of unmerciful cruelty shewed upon silly Women with their Children and young Infants: but now coming to the persecution of *Glocestershire* about the parts of *Bristol*, I find another Story of such unmercifulness shewed against a Woman in Child-Bed, as far from all charity and humanity, as hath been any other Story yet hitherto rehearsed, as by the sequel hereof may appear.

In the Parish of *Wotton Underledge*, not far from *Bristol*, was dwelling one *W. Dangerfield*, a right honest and godly poor Man, who by *Joan Dangerfield* his Wife had nine Children, and the now lying in Child-Bed of the tenth. This *William* after he had been abroad from his house a certain space, for fear of persecution hearing that his Wife was brought to Bed, repaired home to visit her, as natural duty required, and to see his Children, the being now delivered four days before.

The return of this Man was not so soon known to some of his unkind and uncharitable Neighbours, but they incensed with the Spirit of Papistry, citizens beset the house about, and there took the same *William Dangerfield*, and carried him to prison, and so at length he was brought to the Bishop, being then *Brooke*, in whose cruel handling he remained a certain space, so long, till his Legs almost were fretted off with Irons.

After the apprehension of the Husband, the Wife likewise was taken, with her young born Child, being but fourteen days old (as is said) out of her Child-Bed, and carried into the Common Jail, and there placed amongst thieves and murderers, where both she and her poor innocent found so small charity amongst the Catholic Men, that she never could come to any Fire, but was driven to warm the clothes that she should put about the Child in her bosom.

In the mean season while they lay thus inclosed in several Prisons, the Husband and the Wife, the Bishop began to practise not with the Woman first, as the Serpent did with *Eve*, but with the Man, craftily deceiving his simplicity with fair glozing words, falsely persuading him that his Wife had recanted, and asking him, wherefore he should more stand in his own conceit, then she being as well learned as he, and so subtly drew out a form of recantation, wherewith he deceived the simple Soul. Whereunto after that he had once granted that he would consent, although he had not yet recanted they suffered him to go to his Wife, where she lay in the Common Jail.

Then they with melting hearts opening their minds one to another, when he saw his Wife not released, and perceiving that he had not done well, he declared unto her the whole matter, how falsely he was circumvented by the subtle flatterings of the Bishop, bearing him in hand, that certainly she had recanted: and thus deceiving me (said he) brought this unto me, and so plucked out of his bosom the Copy of the recantation, wherunto he had granted his promise. At the sight whereof the Wife hearing what her Husband had done, her heart clave a sunder, saying, Alack, thus long have we continued one, and hath Satan so prevailed, to cause you to break your first vow made

September 27.
The Martyrdom of John Horn, and a Woman at Wotton Underledge in Glocestershire.

The cruel handling of W. Dangerfield appeared in his own house.

W. Dangerfield appeared in his own house. No charity in Poverty to be used. The wife of W. Dangerfield taken with her young Infant out of Child-Bed, and had to prison.

Dangerfield made to believe falsely, that his Wife had recanted. Dangerfield upon hope of his Wifes recantation, consented to the Bishop.

Anno 1557. made to Christ in Baptism? And so departed the said William and Joan his wife, with what hearts the Lord knoweth. Then began he not a little to bewail his promise made to the Bishop, and to make his Prayer to Almighty God; desiring him that he might not live so long as to call evil good, and good evil; or light darkness, or darkness light; and so departed he home toward his house; where, by the way homeward (as it is affirmed) he took his death, and shortly after departed, according to his prayer, after he had endured in Prison twelve weeks.

After this, Joan his wife continued still in Prison with her tender Infant, till at last she was brought before that Bishop to be examined. Whereunto what her Answers were, it is not certainly known: Howbeit most like it is whatsoever they were, they pleased not the Bishop, as appeared by his ire increased against the poor woman, and her long continuance in the Prison, together with her tender Babe, which also remained with her in the Jail, partaker of her Martyrdom, so long as her milk would serve to give it suck, till at length the child, being starved for cold and famine, was sent away when it was past all remedy, and so shortly after died: And not long after the Mother also followed. Besides, the old woman, which was Mother of the Husband, of the age of eighty years and upward, who being left in the House after their apprehension, for lack of comfort there perished also.

And thus have ye in one Story the death of four together; first of the old Woman, then of the Husband, after that of the innocent Child, and lastly of the Mother. What became of the other nine Children, I am not perfectly sure, but that I partly understand, that they were all undone by the same.

This Story is reported and testified as well by others, as namely by Mrs. Bridges, dwelling in the same Town, and partaker then of the like Afflictions, and hardly escaped with her life.

A Shoemaker suffering in Northampton.

October. IN the Month of October following, was burned at the Town of Northampton a Shoemaker a true Witness and Disciple of the Lord, who according to the grace of God given unto him, cleaving fast to the found Doctrine and preaching of Gods Word, renounced the untrue and false coloured Religion of the Romish See, wherein many a good man hath been drowned.

After whom, not long after in the same Month of October, died also in the Castle of Chebester three godly Confessors, being there in Bonds for the like cause of Christs Gospel, who also should have suffered the like Martyrdom, had not their natural death, or rather (as it is to be suspected) the cruel handling of the Papists, made them away before, and afterward buried them in the field.

I read moreover that in this present year, to wit, Anno 1556. was burnt one called Hooke a true Witness of the Lords truth at Chebester.

Five famished in Canterbury Castle, by the unmerciful tyranny of the Papist, about the beginning of November.

As among all the Bishops, Boner Bishop of London, principally excelled in persecuting the poor Members and Saints of Christ; so of all Archdeacons, Nicholas Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury (as may by mans sight appear) was the foremost, and of least Compassion (only Dunning of Norwich excepted) by whose unmerciful Nature and agraft Disposition, very many were put to death in that Diocess of Canterbury, not only in the bloody time of that Queen, but some also in the blessed beginning of this our most renowned Queen that now is, as by the grace of Christ hereafter shall appear.

Of those that suffered in Queen Mariess time within the aforesaid Diocess of Canterbury, some be recited already, with the order and forme down of such Articles as then were most commonly ministered to the Examinates by Thornton, Suffragan of Dover, and the said Nicholas Harpsfield, and others, as before in the Volume of this History may appear.

Now to proceed in order, and course of time where we left, next followeth the Month of November.

In the beginning whereof were together in the Castle of Canterbury, fifteen godly and innocent Martyrs, of which number not one escaped with their life, but either were burned, or else famished in Prison. Of the which two sorts, which is the easier death, God knoweth, it is hard to judge. Notwithstanding, the truth is, that of these fifteen, ten were burned and suffered in the fire, of whom in the next Book more shall follow hereafter, the Lord willing. The other five were pined and famished most unmercifully in the dreight Prison, of whom we have here presently to intreat. Whose names were these:

1. John Clark.
 2. Dunston Chittenden.
 3. William Foster of Stane.
 4. Alice, Perkins wife of Staplehurst.
 5. John Archer of Crambroke, Weaver.
- These were condemned to be burnt.

Of these five Prisoners, the first two were uncondemned, the other three last were condemned, and should have been burned, but suffered no less torments then if they had abided the fire, being macerate and pined to death by Famine. What their Articles and Answers were, I need not here to recite, seeing all they, in the time of Queen Mary, commonly suffered for one manner and sort of cause, that is, for holding against the seven Sacraments, against the Reality of Christs being in his Supper, for speaking against the Church of Rome, and determinations of the same, against Images set up and worshipped in the Church, for not coming to Church, and other like, &c.

First, William Foster, answering to these and like Articles, said, That he believed well in all the Articles of the Creed; but to believe that there be more Sacraments in the Church, and to pray to Saints either to profit us, or to pray for Souls in Purgatory to profit them, that Faith and Works do justify, or to allow the Popish Ceremonies in the Church, that he denied. Moreover he said, to carry Candles upon Candlemas-day, were as good for him as to carry a Dung-fork, and that it is as necessary to carry the Gallows about, if his Father were hanged, as the Crofs. To come to the Church he cannot, said he, with a safe Conscience. Concerning Fifth-days and Flesh-days, he granted it good to put difference therein, except where necessity required the contrary.

This William Foster was a Labouring man, of the age of forty years. He was apprehended and imprisoned by Sir Thomas Moyle Kt.

Alice Perkins for the like Confession, was condemned to be burned, for that she was not, neither would be confessed to the Priest, for that she received not the Sacrament of the Altar, because she would not pray to Saints; nor creep to the Crofs, &c. Being demanded of her age, she said that she was 49 years old, according to her old age; and according to her young age, since she learned Christ, she was one years age, and was committed by Mr. Roberts to Prison.

The Answer and Confession of John Archer of Crambroke was much in like sort. And although certain of these upon ignorant simplicity swerved a little in the number of Sacraments, some granting one Sacrament; that is, the body of Christ hanging upon the Crofs, some more; some less, &c. yet in the principal matter touching the Doctrine of Salvation for Faith to stay upon, and in disagreeing from the dreaming determinations of the Popish Church, they most agreed. Concerning the not praying to Saints, and for the Dead in Purgatory, for not creeping to the Crofs, for Faith only to justify, for taking of an Oath, and other such like, he granted as the other had done. This Father Archer, by his Occupation a Weaver of the Town of Crambroke, of the age of fifty years, was attached and imprisoned by Sir John Gifford Kt. And thus have ye the Cause and Imprisonment of these five their godly Prisoners. Now as touching the cruelty of their death, that ye shall not surmise the suspicion or relation thereof to proceed of my self, you shall hear their own testimony and certification by their own Letter, thrown out of the Prison, concerning the unmerciful dealing of the Catholick Tyrants in famishing them, as is aforesaid. The Words and Copy of their Letter is this.

15. Martyrs and Confessors together prisoners in Canterbury.

Five Confessors and Martyrs sentenced to be burnt.

See Foster, Dunston, John Archer, and their Confession.

W. Foster Martyr. His Answer in the Articles.

Carrying a cross the Crofs. See fifty ways excommunicated.

W. Foster apprehended by Sir Thomas Moyle.

Mother Perkins, Martyr, troubled by W. Beatin.

Alice Perkins in Christ but one year old.

The Answer of John Archer, Martyr.

The young Infant famished in Prison. The martyrdom of the Mother.

The death of the old Woman.

October. The martyrdom of a Shoemaker of Northampton.

October 15. Three died in the Castle of Chebester, Confessors, John Hoke Martyr.

Bp. Boner, Bish. Harpsfield, Dunning, three Sore Persecutors.

Persecution in Kent.

The Copy of a Letter written and cast out of the Castle of Canterbury by the Prisoners there in Bonds for Gods Word, declaring how the Papists went about to furnish them to death; of which Company five were furnished among them already.

The Prisoners Letters, declaring how they were handled and imprisoned in Prison.

BE it known to all men that shall read, or hear read these our Letters, that we the poor Prisoners of the Castle of Canterbury for Gods Truth, are kept and lye in cold Irons, and our Keepers will not suffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheese, or any other food, the said Keeper will charge them that so bring us any thing, except money or rayment, to carry it them again; or else if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himself, and he and his servants do spend it, so that we have nothing thereof; and thus the Keeper keepeth away our vituals from us. Inasmuch that there are four of us Prisoners there for Gods Truth, furnished already, and thus it is his mind to furnish us all: and we think he is appointed therunto by the Bishops and Priests, and also of the Justices, so to furnish us, and not only us of the said Castle, but also all other Prisoners in other Prisons for the like cause: notwithstanding we write not these our Letters, to that intent we might not afford to be furnished for the Lord Jesus sake, but for this cause and intent, that they, having no law so to furnish us in Prison, should not do it privily, but that the Murthers hearts should be openly known to all the world; that all men may know of what Church they are, and who is their Father. Out of the Castle of Canterbury.

The trouble and vexation of good people in the Diocess of Lichfield.

Mr. Kaine, Dr. Dracot, his Chancellor in Lichfield, cruel Persecutors.

THESE forefaid Months of September, November, and December, as they were troublesome to divers other places, and especially to the Diocess of Canterbury, by reason of the Archdeacon above named; so likewise they brought no little business in the Country to Lichfield and Coventry, by a cruel Bishop there, called Ralph Baine, and a more cruel Chancellor named Doctor Dracot, through the fierce Inquisition of whom great stir was there among the People, being called to examination of their Faith, and many caused to bear Fagots. Who, although they were not put to the torment of death, yet because it may appear what a number there is in the Countreies of England abroad, which in their hearts have a milliking of the Popes Romish Laws and Religion, if for fear they durst utter their minds, I thought to make a rehearsal of their names, which in the forefaid Diocess of Coventry and Lichfield, were taken in suspicion, and examined for their Religion.

The names of them that bare Fagots in the Diocess of Lichfield and Coventry.

And first amongst them that were detected and enjoyned to the Popish Penance, that is, to bear a Fagot, Candle, and Bends about in Procession, were Agnes Barman, detected, examined, and by witnesses convicted, and bare a Fagot the 12th of September. Likewise Margery Kury, Thomas Norris, Tho. Stiffe, Will. Kaime, Robert Kaines, Tho. Smith, John Borley the younger. Item, John Waterhouse, against whom came in witnesses and accusers Richard Caterbanke, J. Edge, William Smith, Robert Cooke, laying against him for seldom coming to the Church, for giving no reverence at the elevation of the Sacrament, but looking upon his Book, for not kissing the Pax, &c. Robert Bissh, Leonard West, Richard Bailey of the Parish of Whiteacre.

These were deprived.

Nicholas Cartwright, Doctor.
Richard Jurdian, Priest.
Edmund Grelke, Priest.
Thomas Whitehead, Priest.
William Taylor, Priest.
Anselme Sele, Priest.
Richard Slavy, Priest married.
Edward Hawkes, Priest married.
Robert Aston, Priest deprived.
Henry Ticks, Priest deprived.
Robert Messy, Priest, married and deprived.

Beside these were divers other, which in like sort were detected, accused and examined, although they bare no Fagot, but were dismissed; as Richard Kempe, John Frankling, William Marler, Julius Dudley, Eustache Byssacre, William Shene, Antony Afterwiltie, Thomas Stille, Henry Birdlin, William Mosley, John Leach, John Richardson, Antony Jonec, alias Pulton, Thomas Wilson, Thomas Lynacres, and Hugh Lynacres his Son, Isabel Parker, Martin Newman, William Enderby, Cicely Preston, Tho. Saulter, John Stamford Shoemaker, Richard Woodburne, Thomas Arnal Shoemaker, John Robinson, Hugh Moore Shoemaker, John Adale, Thomas Arch, Frances Ward, John Avines, Richard Fozall, Thomas Underdone, Richard Weaver.

The next Month following, being October, came under examination Joyce Lewes Gentlewoman, of whom we defer to speak until the next year, at what time she was burned.

Joyce Lewes Martyr, read hereafter.

These forenamed persons, with many more following in the next year after, although they did subscribe and relent through fear of death; yet for this cause I do here recite them, that by them it might appear, what a number there were, not only in the Country of Lichfield, but also in other parts, in heart set against the Popes proceedings, if that Fear rather than Conscience had not compelled them to the contrary.

The Conclusion of this Eleventh Book, with a brief Story of Sir John Checke, &c.

AND thus have ye the whole Persecution of this year declared, which was the year of our Lord 1556, and the fourth of Queen Maries Reign, with the Names and Causes of all them which suffered Martyrdom within the compass of the said year: the number of all which, slain and martyred in divers places of England at sundry times this year, came to above 84. Persons, whereof many were Women, Wives, Widows, and Maidens; besides them which otherwise by secret practise were made away, or driven out of Goods and Houses, or out of the Realm, or else within the Realm were put to Penance and coacted by forcible violence to Recant, save only that I have omitted the Story of Sir John Checke, Kt. and Schoolmaster sometime of K. Edward. The worthiness of which man deserveth much to be faid of him; but his fall would rather be covered in silence and oblivion. Only to note a word or two of a few things to the present Story most principally appertaining, it shall suffice.

The Conclusion of the 11th Book.

84. Martyrs and above in this year 1556, perished in this Realm.

A brief declaration of Mr. Checke Recantation.

First Mr. Checke being in the Country of Germany, out of all danger of Persecution, with many more of his own Country-men and Acquaintance, was not only in Safety, but also with Reputation accordingly esteemed among the Germans, and also well placed in the City of Straubourge. Where if he had contented himself to have remained, rather giving place to time, then to presume upon Adventures, peradventure it had been better with him. But what fatal instigation wrought in his mind I know not. In the end so it fell, that he would needs take his Journey with Sir Peter Carew, from High Germany unto Brussels, and that (as I have credibly heard of them which knew somewhat) not without the forecasting of his adventured Journey by the constellation of the Stars, and disposition of the Heavens above. For as he was a man famously expert, and travelled in the knowledge of sundry Arts and Sciences; so was he a little too much addicted to the curious prafitting of this Star Divinity, which we call Astrology. But howsoever it was, or whatsoever it was that the Stars did promise him, truth was, that men here in earth kept little promise with him. For having (as it is faid) King Philips safe conduct to pass and repass, and that by the means (as I find) of the Lord Payer, and Sir John Mal, pledging for his safeguard King Philips fidelity, he came to Brussels to see the Queens Ambassadors: and having brought the Lord Payer on his way toward England, in the return between Brussels and Antwerp he was taken with Sir Peter Carew by the Provost Marshal, spoiled of their Horfes, and clapped into a Cart, their Legs, Arms and bodies tied with Halters to the body of the Cart, and so shipped being blindfold under the Hatches, and so brought to the Tower of London.

Astrology.

Mr. Carew and Sir Peter Carew apprehended in their Journey to Antwerp.

Thus

Anno 1557. Thus the good man being intrapped, and in the hands now of his Enemies, had but one of these two ways to take, either to change his Religion, or to change his life, other remedy with those holy Catholicks there was none. Neither could his Conscience excuse him, nor Truth defend him, nor Learning help him.

Albeit Mr. *Feknam*, whether by the Queen suborned, or upon his own Devotion or Friendship toward his old Acquaintance, toke upon him the Defence and Commendation of Mr. *Cheek*, speaking in his behalf: yet no Mercy could be had with the Queen, but he must needs Recant, and so did he. The Copy of whole Recantation

prescribed unto him, because it is known and in the hands of divers, it needeth not here to be exprest.

Then after this Recantation, he was through the crafty handling of the Catholicks, allured first to dine and company with them, at length drawn unawares to sit in place, whereas the poor Martyrs were brought before *Boner* and other Bishops to be condemned; the remorse whereof so mightily wrought in his heart, that not long after he left this mortal life. Whole fall, although it was full of Infirmity, yet his rising again by Repentance was great, and his end comfortable, the Lord be praised.

The death and repentance of Sir John Cheek

THE TWELFTH BOOK:

CONTAINING

The bloody Doings and Persecutions of the Adversaries; against the faithful and true Servants of Christ, with the particular Processes and Names of such as were put to slaughter from the beginning of January 1557. and the fifth year of Queen Mary.

The order and manner of the Cardinals Visitation in Cambridge, with the condemning, taking up, and burning of the Bones and Books of Bucer and Paulus Phagius, Anno 1557. January 9.

Visitation of Cambridge, with the burning of Martin Bucer's & Paulus Phagius's bones.

Cardinal Poole, three years after his return into England, having somewhat withdrawn his mind from other Affairs of the Realm, and having in all points established the Romish Religion, began to have an eye to the University of Cambridge, which place among others, specially feared to have need of Reformation out of hand. To perform this charge were chosen *Cuthbert Sent*, to perform that consecrated Bishop of *Chester*, *Nicholas Ormanet* an Italian, Arch-priest of the People of *Badalon*, in the Diocess of *Veinon*, professed in both the Laws, and bearing the name of the Popes *Datary*, *Thomas Watton*, elected Bishop of *Lincoln*, *John Christopherson*, elected Bishop of *Chichester*, and *Henry Cole* Provost of the Colledge of *Eaton*. There was good cause why the matter was especially committed to these persons. For as touching *Ormanet*, it is well known that he was a man of much estimation with *Julius* the third, at that time Bishop of *Rome*, and was appointed to come into England with Cardinal *Poole*, because without his knowledge (as in whom he put his chief trust and confidence) the Bishop would have nothing done that was of any importance or weight.

These persons thus appointed (in the mean while as the Visitors were addressing themselves to their Journey) sent their Letters with the Cardinals Citation before to Doctor *Andrew Pern*, Vice-Chancellor then of Cambridge, with the other Commissioners associate, commanding him to warn all the Graduates of the University, in their Name, to be in a readiness against the 11th day of January, betwixt eight and ten of the Clock, in the Church of *S. Mary* the Virgin: willing him especially to be there himself in Presence, and also to set forward all the residue, to whose charge it belonged, that they should search out all Statutes, Books, Priviledges, and Monuments appertaining to the University, or to any of the Colleges, or finally to any of themselves, and these to present the same before them at the day appointed, and every man to appear there personally: for they would not fail, but be there at the same time, to lay before them such things as should seem necessary to this charge of reforming the University, and further to give charge of all such things as should seem most for the profit and behoof of the same, together with such things as were to

be done on their part, according as should seem most agreeable to the Decrees of the Canon Law.

This Citation of the Cardinal, being brought to Cambridge by Mr. *Bullock*, was first exhibited in the Convocation House of Regents, and there openly read by the Orator of the University the 11. of December.

After this, upon the 24. of December, which was Christmas-Eve, the Vice-Chancellor with the Heads of the Houses, meeting together in the Schools, it was there concluded, that the Visitors charges should be born by the University and Colleges (which then cost the University an hundred pound thick) and also that no Master of any Colledge should suffer any of the Fellows, Scholars, or Ministers to go forth of the Town, but to return before the Visitation.

On Friday the eighth of January, the Queens Commissioners, videlicet, Dr. *Perne* Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Segewicke*, Dr. *Harvey*, Mr. *Franch*, *Kyff*, and another who is here nameless, and also Sir *Jamys Dyer*, the Recorder, Mr. *Chapman*, *Evered* sitting together in the Hall, certain were there called by the appointment of *L. Hawes*, and charge given what should be done. And first the Commission was read. Then were all the High-Constables called to bring in their Precepts, and sworn.

Also two of every Parish of ten or twelve hundreds, were sworn to inquire of Heresie, Lollardys, Conspiracy, Seditious Words, Tales, and Rumours against the King and Queen. Item, For Heretical and Seditious Books, for negligences and misdemeanors in the Church, for observation of Ceremonies, for Ornaments, and Stock of the Church.

We said at the first, that the Cardinal thought the University to have need of Reformation. The reason why he should think so, was this: either because the fame of long continuance since any man could remember, had cast off the yoke of the Bishop of *Rome*, and elevated to the wholesome Doctrine of the Gospel; or else by reason that both for the late Schisme, not yet worn out of memory, and for the Doctrine of *Martin Bucer*, who not long before openly in the said University interpreted holy Scripture, they saw many so fore corrupted and spotted with this infection, that (even as when fire is spread in a Town) unless a speedy remedy were adhibited out of hand, it were not possible to their thinking, to quench it many years after. Who also feared (if it were not looked to in time) lest this mischief should take root, and by little and little infect all the Members next unto it, which yet were whole and sound.

Preparation in Cambridge toward the Visitation.

The cause why the reformation was looked in kind.

This was the year of our Lord 1556. To the intent therefore to make a false for the Inquitors, of whom we spake before, came unto Cambridge the ninth day of January. And as they were yet in their Journey, and far from the Town, divers of the Masters and Presidents of the Colleges met them, and brought them courteously, first into the Town, and after to their Lodgings. They were entertained in Trinity College by Mr.

Mr. Christopher
John Christopher
son of Trinity
College, Bp. elect
of Chichester.

John Christopher son of Trinity College, Bp. elect of Chichester. Malter of the same House, and lately before elected Bishop of Chichester. Notwithstanding they were divided, some to one place, and some to another, as occasion served, either to do their duties, or to show their good will: Some to the Kings College, and Doctor Wat on to St. Johns. But whether it were for the acquaintance of Christopher, or for the largeness of the House, which seemed most convenient for their purpose, they all took up their Lodgings in the said College with Mr. Christopher.

An Oration
gratulatory
at their
coming
thither.

At their coming thither an Oration was made by a Fellow of the House, who in the name of all the rest, with long profection declared that they were most heartily welcome thither, and that He and his Fellows gave them great thanks, that it had pleased their Lordships to have so good opinion of them, as to chuse their house especially to lodge in, whereby they had both encouraged them to stand in hope of some further Benevolence towards them, and also done great worship to their College by their being there: wherefore they should look at their hand again for as much duty and reverence as lay in their power to perform.

To this Oration Mr. Stokes made answer, That this forward and earnest good wills and minds of theirs, in doing such courtesy, was right thankfully taken, both of him, and his, exhorting them to continue steadfastly in the same, and to proceed alow when need should require: for it was so far from any of their thoughts, to stop them in this their way, that they would rather halfe then forward to run through much hardship, being not without good cause persuaded to conceive good hope of their Benevolence towards them, in as much as they would do for them, whosoever might turn to their profit and commodity.

This day, for so much as it was toward Evening & ere they came, and the Sun was going down, was nothing else done. The next day, being the Tenth of January, they bestowed in recreating themselves after their Journey, and in setting other things at a stay. Nevertheless, to the intent the same should not escape altogether without doing somewhat, they interdicted the two Churches, namely St. Maries, where Mr. Bucer, and S. Michaels, where Paulus Phagius lay buried.

These men were dead a good while before, Paulus Phagius had scarce yet shewed the proof of his Wit and Learning, when he departed to God, 1549. Bucer lived but a little after. During which time somewhat by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly (wherein the old man, being painful in the Word of God, never spared his age, nor regarded his health, he brought all men into such admiration of him, that neither his Friends could sufficiently praise him, neither his Enemies in any point find fault with his singular Life and sincere Doctrine. A most certain Token whereof may be his sumptuous Burial, solemnized with so great attendance and gladness of all the Degrees of the University, that it was not possible to devise more to the feeding out and amplifying of the fame. The whole manner and order of the doing whereof being written by Mr. Nicholas Carre, a Larnconian, in a little Treatise to Sir John Cheeke Kt. with an Epistle full of Consolation, as concerning his departure added thereunto, was sent afterward unto Peter Martyr, then abiding at Oxford.

From the Burial of Bucer and Phagius, unto the coming of these Visitors, were passed about three or four years more or less. And from the time that that blessed King Edward the Sixth, deceased, unto that day, the Priests never ceased to celebrate their Masses, and other kind of Ceremonies in those places, and that without scruple of Conscience, as far as men could perceive. But after the time that these Commissioners came thither, those things that before were accounted for sacred and holy, began to be denounc'd for prophane and unholy. For they commanded that all those Assemblies that should hereafter be

made for the executing of holy Ceremonies, should be removed to the Kings Chappell, which is a place far more fitly than all the other.

Now was come the 11. day, in the which the Vice-Chancellor of the University, with the Masters and Presidents of Colleges, and all the other Graduates of every House, were commanded to appear before the said Commissioners in their Habits. It was commanded that the Scholars also should come in their Surplices, but that was not done. They assembled in great number to Trinity College, having the University Cross born before them, and in the Gatehouse a Fourn was let and covered, with Cushions and Carpet on the ground for the Visitors. Where the Vice-Chancellor, having on a Tithew Cope, sprinkled Holy-water on them, and purposed to cense them, but they refused it there, which notwithstanding afterward in the Queens College, and elsewhere, they refused not.

There Mr. John Stokes, common Orator of the University, made an Oration in the Name of all the rest. The Copy whereof I thought good here to exemplificate in Latin, as it was pronounced.

Mr. Stokes Oration to Queen Maries Visitors at Cambridge
An. 1557. January 11.

Academia, Reverendi Patres, in expectatione adventus vestri sollicita aliquandiu fuit: nunc presentia dominationum vestrarum valde recreata libentissime voluntate in vestros inuenit, & ad operam voluntatis sua vestram ece universa se suaque opera effudit. Convenit in hunc locum tota Cantabrigie frequentia, adiuncti omnes ordines, de quorum certa mihi & explorata ad hanc rem voluntate illud publica fide apud dominationes vestras affirmari, & separatim singulis, & conjunctim omnibus, optatissimum hunc adventum mirificis studiis, & consensientibus animis gratulari. Illud enim omnium animis habemus persuasum, & negotium hoc quod bodie no die, faciente Deo, excellentia vestra auspiciatur, ad Academia rationes fore accommodum, neque in re ad communem salutem tam necessaria opera aliquando vestram nobis defuturam. Per multa sunt ad hanc opinionem confirmanda, sed cetera non persequor: ea tantum oratione attingam, quae ita intime cum presenti negotio coherant, ut de illis ab o disjungi, nulla ratione possint. Alii sunt illa quidem numero certa & finita: verum re & virtute ita immensa, ut nulla dicendi facultate mea plene comprehendi possint: quoniam tamen antea sum professus summam esse Academiae laetitiam, canis, iussus de causis in adventu vestro suscepiam, quae o a vobis ut dicitur eas breviter recensere facies mihi aures prebeatis.

Reverendi in Christo Pater Cardinalis Polus, Legatus, qui religionem oppressam restituit, patrie ruinas suffulcit, Card. Pole. leges & decreta quae postliminio rediit, iste inquam, iste solus Anglus & vere noster Moyses, legationis vestrae auctor est, a cuius excellenti virtute in omnes sua patriae partes plurima commoda dimanant. Quo vinculo necessitudinis, affluens temporibus optima ab illo sperare licet, quod ex corpore finis ipsius Republicae est tamen & interior causa, quae nobis cum dominatione illius separatim intercedit. Superiore anno Academia procuratorem in se humanis accepit, quam liberari custodia non cepit tenere se velle literis significavit, ut non solum incommoda dimoveret, quibus studia nostra affigerentur, sed ut ornamenta adjuiceret ea, quorum splendore augeri dignitas Academiae aut maxime illustrari posset. Quae res & spem ante nostram confirmavit, et nunc in eam cogitavit, nem nos adducit, ut omnem illius humanitatem in hanc unam visitationem esse collectam putemus, in qua quidem ea a vobis expectamus omnia, quae unius Camellarii nostri insignis amor, praeter communem charitatem Academiae, quae pupillae suae propria p. licetur. Alii, unum quidem p. sine Republica dicitur. nunc h. c. m. p. re adesse posset, & Academiam suam tenebris & profunda nocte emer, am ipse suis radiis verae religionis splendore illustraret: verum optum nostrae publicae utilitas repugnat, quae valde impeditur sanctissima sedis Apostolice vos vicarios substituit, quorum naturas propter providentiam, personarum propter dignitatem, voluntates propter educationem aptissimas ad hanc rem esse judicavit. Itaque illud veri & ex animis istorum omnium affirmare possum, vos esse viros quorum religionem amamus, virtutem colimus, voluntatem, fidem, & consilium ad publicam salutem

Anno
1557.
January 11.

The Oration
of Mr. Stokes
publick
before the
Visitors of the
University.

The coming
of the Inqui-
sitors and of
the elect of
the universi-
ty.

Weston
answering
the Oration.

Jan. 9. 10.
S. Maries
and S. Mich-
aels inter-
dicted be-
cause at
Maries the
Bucer and
Paulus
Burial.

Commenda-
tion of Mar-
ies Bucer.

Anno salutem impendimus. Postquam enim singulari & præstantissima virtute Cardinalis Poli, Legati, & superiorum temporum caligine, & tenebris, lucem in republica respicere capimus, una certe gravissima etiam superioris ætatis mala sensimus, quibus profecto infiniti & miseris estantæa premeremur, tamen ad calamitatis nostræ magnitudinem accessit ejusdem ignorantia, ut (mea quidem opinione) eo magis simus miserabiles judicandi, quod tam turbulenta tempestate jactati ne moveri quidem nos, tam gravi & periculofo hæretis morbo oppressi, aut egrotare mentes nostras intelleximus. Valde enim periculofo est egrotatio illa, quæcunque sine doloris sensu naturam confici, & affectus sepe prius exinguit, quam egrotare se fateantur. Eiusmodi morbo Academia laborabat, quæ ad alias fortasse res facta ingeniofo & solers, in hac Religione causa, propter caput Ecclesiæ læsum, unde omnis sentiendi vis est, omnino hebes, stupida, & sine mente fuit, quoad tertio ante hunc anno divina antilissimi Patris Clementia Angliæ fere emortua miserata, iterum nos Ecclesiæ inseruit, corpus sensuq; recreat, cuius opæ convalescens Britannia, quam certa gehennæ pericula effugerit quivis facile intelligit. Idem Academia coram oculis, neq; quicquam mali a iam accidisse putat, quo nostra regio in hac religione vastitate & obscuritate miseris fuerit assistita. Non est opus recensere in hoc loco everfa Monasteria, spoliata Tempia, strages Sacerdotum, cædes Nobilium, motus & tumultus populi, totius regni egestatem, quæ et salunda accidere possent, tamen cum gravia sint ut opprimant, ultionis & vindictæ potius quam probandi causa in malos & nocentes insigne putamus. Sed sunt ista fortuna ludibria: Graviora sumus passi religionis & conscientie detrimenta. Pioras in Deum omni evanescit, virginis sacerdotum profectio ad libidinem soluta est, animus quasi conjunctus jacebat, quem nulle Ceremonie excitabant, ipsa mens opinionum veritate ita disticta, ita sibi ipsi dissonans, ut infinitis erroribus implicaretur. In hærent duo præcipue fontes, ex quorum rivulis & haussisse Academicam paulo liberalius, & illa potius ferme inebriatam consuevit.

Prior ortum habebat ex illa nostri violenta dissonantia à Catholice Ecclesiæ unitate, re non dissimili illius pugne, quam olim Menenius Agrippa, in intestina civium discordia, de corpore humano memorabat. Posterior ex immensa palude & ceno Wicleviano emanavit: quem celebris apud nos imo miserabilis de Sacramento Altaris pascet. De cuius rei veritate plerique suo sensu abundantes pro arbitrio quique suo statuerant. Nos Philosophos, nec illos quidem optimos, imitati ex Epicureorum schola ad scripturæ lumen aliquod attulimus. Quod enim Christus omnino, præcise, & sine exceptione, de vera & perpetua sui corporis presentia affirmavit (in cuius verbi veritate fundamentum fidei nostra collocatur) id nos ita sumus interpretati, ut maneamus & alienam Christi vocem judicarem, nisi illa Epicuri propria particula (quasi) adderetur, & quod Christiani corpus & sanguinem, id nos quasi corpus & sanguinem dicemus. Sed non est istius temporis præterita nimium meminisse, quæ utinam æterna oblivione obrui possent, neque ulla tanta labi memoria ad posteros nostros propagetur; tamen fuerunt attingenda generatim quidem, quod erranti consilio salutaris sit: membratim vero, quod Academia his vulneribus à Censoria potestate confecta, à Censoria medicina ad salutem reduci possulat. Ipsa vero pro se & suis spondet omnes in auctoritate vestra futuros, quos assiduis concionibus adeo ad penitentiam educit, ut & eos ad sanam religionem fidelissime transisse, & in eadem diligenti præsentis vite usu superioris ætatis damna sacrosancti pueri. Nam qui primi in hoc cursu sunt, acerrime contendunt in eo, quod tam voluntarie susceperunt: & qui pigrius egressi quasi pomeridiani horis ad hoc certamen accesserunt, ea certe præbent jam immutata voluntatis indicia, ut quomodo temere & juvenitè ad sana religione defecerant, ita non nisi maturi & cum iudicio ab hæresi deservisse videantur. Universis vero simul restituta & desiderata religio magis placere videtur, quam si assidue præcepta, neque ad tempus obscurata fuisset.

Quapropter Academia supplex & prostrata primum à Deo immortalis pacem & veniam petiit, precaturque ab eo, ut hodiernum diem ad suorum salutem conservandam & Rempublicam hanc constituendam illuxisse patiat. Deinde pro se, pro suis, pro universis, pro singulari, hanc petitionem ad celsitudines vestras affert, ut superiorum

temporum offensas ex errore & injustitia professas præsentis dominum industria condonetur. De reliquis vero pro summa prudentia vestra, & singulari in nos amore, eam sententiam feratis, ut suorum causas vel iustitia vestra bonas inveniat, vel clementia bonas esse faciat. In utroque par erit beneficium, sive Academiam pro causarum æquitate judicaveritis, sive pro amoris vestri abundantia innocentem eam esse volueritis. Nos pro reverenda gratia summam in sacris modestam, assiduam in litteris operam, perpetuum veræ religionis amorem, sempiternam vestri beneficii memoriam reprecipimus.

When he had made an end of speaking, the Bishop of Chester answered thereunto, that they took in right good part, that the Mother the University had made for her a declaration of her good will toward them: for the which he gave most hearty thanks, desiring her to perform in deed, and in her works, the things that she had so largely promised of her self in words and communication.

The Answer of Mr. Ser. Bp. of Chester, to the Oration of John Stokes.

AS concerning their good wills, there was no cause to mistrust. For their coming thither was not to deal any thing roughly with such as fell to the amendment: but both the Cardinal himself, and they also, were fully minded to shew favour, desiring how to bring all things to peace and tranquillity, desiring nothing more earnestly, than that they which have erred and gone astray, should return into the right path again. The right Reverend Father, the Lord Cardinal, whom he wished to have been present, wished the self same thing also, desiring nothing so much as he with his own hands to sustain and hold up, now ready to fall, or rather to raise up already fallen to the ground, the University of his Ward: for he gladly taketh upon him the name and duty of her Guardian, whom it greatly grieved, that the infections of the times past had spread abroad so grievous Diseases, that even the University it self was touched with the contagious Air thereof. For he would gladly have come hither to visit and salute it, then to correct it, if the weighty affairs of the Realm would have permitted it. But now seeing he could not so do, he had appointed this Commission, in the which he had assigned them to be his Deputies, which (because they knew him to set so much store by the University) should exceed the more favour to it, and (because they themselves had been there brought up) would the more earnestly embrace it. The chief matter that they came for, tended to this end, that such as had erred should confess their faults, and return into the way again. For they were in good forwardness of healing, that acknowledged themselves to have offended. And therefore it was wisely propounded on his part, that he would not altogether excuse the faults of the University, nor of other men, but confess and acknowledge the Crime, as that there were many things had need to be corrected and amended.

The Commission signed by the Cardinal, and why?

The Cause declared.

The cause why they were sent thither, was to raise up them that were fallen, and to receive into favour such as were sorry and would amend, wherein, if (contrary to their expectation) they should not be able to do so much with some men as they would: yet notwithstanding, according to their duty, they would shew themselves so diligent for their part, as that no lack might be found in them. For it was more openly known, than that it could be denied, that many men did divers things of a forward wilfulness, and took stoutly upon them: wherewith as they were greatly moved and grieved (as reason was) so they covered to remedy the mischief. Against whom, if any thing should seem hereafter to be freightly determined, it was to be imputed to their own defects, and not to the wills of them. Neither ought such as are whole and found to be moved at the Chastisement of others, for so much as it pertained not only to the wiping out of the foul blot which now stuck on the University, but also to the health of many others which had taken much hurt by the infection of them. For their own parts they were more inclined unto mercy than rigor. However, considering that so great diseases could not by gentle medicines be healed, they were driven of necessity to use stronger. And yet if they would be contented to be brought

Mercy more commended of all men, but rigor most commended in such as are most men expect.

again to their right minds, which thing they chiefly coveted (for they wished that all should amend and be led by wholesome counsel) and would yet at length wax weary of their Errors, and instead of them frequent again the ancient Customs of themselves, and of their Forefathers, they might boldly look for all kind of Humanity and Gentleness at their hands, in all this their business of Reformation, which they had now entered and begun, requesting no more of the University, but to do as became them: which being performed, he promised that their benevolence, neither in any publick nor in any private persons case, should in any wise be behind hand.

A Maf at
the Kings
Colledge.

These things being finished, they were brought processionally to the Kings Colledge, by all the Graduates of the University, where was sung a Maf of the Holy Ghost with great solemnity, nothing wanting in that behalf that might make to the setting forth of the same. In this place it was marked that *Nicholas Ormanet*, commonly named *Datary*, (who albeit he were inferior in estate unto *Chester* being a Bishop, yet was superiour to them all in Authority) while the Maf was celebrating, stood standing, sitting, and sometime kneeling on his knees, observed certain Ceremonies, which afterward were required of all others to be observed, as in process hereof was to be seen.

Peace
preached at
S. Maries.

From thence they attended all upon the Legates to St. Maries Church, which we declared before to have been interdicted. In the which place, for so much as it was suspended, although no Maf might be sung, yet there was a Sermon made in open Audience by Master *Peacock* in the Latin Tongue, preaching against Heresies and Hereticks, as *Bilney*, *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, &c. The which being ended, they proceeded effusions to the Visitation: Where, first Dr. *Harvey* did in the Cardinals name exhibit the Commission to the Bishop of *Chester* with a few words in Latin. Which being accepted, and by Master Clerk openly read to the end, then the Vice-Chancellor with an Oration did exhibit the Certificate under his Seal of Office with the Cardinals

The Citation
of the
Masters of
the Col-
ledge.

Citation annexed, containing every mans name in the University and Colledges, with the Officers and all the Masters of Houses. Among whom was also *Robert Brassey* Master of *Kings Colledge*, a worthy old man, both for his Wisdom and his Hoar-hairs: Who hearing his own name recited next after the Vice-chancellors, said, He was there present as all the other were: nevertheless, forasmuch as the Reformation of his House was wholly referred to the discretion of the Bishop of *Lincoln*, not only by the Kings Letters Patents, but also by grant of Confirmation from the Bishop of *Rome* himself, under a Penalty, if he should suffer any Strangers to intermeddle, he openly protested in discharge of his duty, that unless their Commission gave them Authority and Jurisdiction upon the Colledge, either by express words or manifest sense, he utterly exempted himself from being present. This his Exception they took all in great displeasure; alleging that they were fully authorized for the order of the matter by the Cardinal, out of whose Jurisdiction, no place nor persons was exempted: wherefore he had done evil to call into question their Authority, so well known to all men. *Chester* seemed to be more moved with the matter than all the other; and that was because *Brassey* had a little before obtained the worship of that room, even utterly against his will, and maugre his head, he doing the worst he could against him.

Altercation
between Dr.
Brassey and
Dr. Sear.

After the formal Solemnity of these things thus accomplished, the Commission being read, and the Citation exhibited, all the Masters of Houses being openly cited, every man for a while departed home to his own House, with commandment to be at the Common Schools of the said University at one of the Clock the same day. When the Degrees of the University, commonly called Regents and Non-Regents, were assembled thither, they spent the rest of the day in reading over of Charters, granted to the University by Kings and Princes, in searching out of Bulls and Pardons from the Pope, and in perusing of other Monuments pertaining to the University.

January 12.
The citation
at the Kings
Colledge.

The next day following, being the 12. of January, they resorted to the Kings Colledge to make Inquisition, either because the same for the worthiness thereof

was chief and sovereign of all the residue, or else because that that House specially before all others had been counted, time out of mind, never to be without an Heretick (as they termed them) or twain. And at that present time, albeit that many now of late had withdrawn themselves from thence, yet they judged there were some remaining still. The order and manner how they would be entertained of every Colledge, when they should come to make inquisition, they themselves appointed, which was in this sort.

They commanded the Master of every House, together with the residue, as well Fellows as Scholars, apparelled in Priest-like Garments (which they call Habits) to meet them at the uttermost gate of their House towards the Town. The Master himself to be dressed in like fashion. Apparel as the Priest when he harroweth himself to Mass, saving that he should put on uppermost his Habit, as the rest did. The order of their going they appointed to be in this wise: The Master of the House to go foremost; next unto him, every man in his order as he was of degree, signiority, or of years. Before the Master there should be carried a Cross and Holy-water to sprinkle the Commissioners withal, and then after that the said Commissioners to be censured. And so after this meeting, and mumbled of a few Devotions, they determined with this Pomp and Solemnity to be brought to the Chappel.

Many thought they took more honour upon them than belonged to the state of man. Other some (forasmuch as at that time they not only pretended the Jurisdiction of the Cardinal; but also represented the Power and Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* himself, who was accounted to be more than a mortal man) said; it was far less then of duty appertained to his Holiness, in that the honour that was done to his Legates, was not done to them but to his Holiness. Now was the hour come, at which they appointed to meet: and being entered the Kings Colledge Gate, where they looked for the Master and Fellows of the House, seeing no man came to meet them, they proceeded forth to the Church door, where they stayed. There perceiving how the Master and the rest of the House were dressing themselves as fast as they could, in such order as was appointed before, they came in suddenly upon them, before they had set out any foot out of their places.

Then the Master first excused himself, that he was ready no sooner, acknowledging that it had been his duty to have been in a readines. Secondly, he said he was very glad of their coming, promising first in his own name, and after in the name of all the rest, as much reverence as might be, in all matters concerning their common utility, the which he doubted not but should be performed at their hands, according to his expectation. But like as he had done the other day in S. Maries Church, the same exception he made to them now also; the which his doing he befought them not to be offended withal. For seeing he did it only for the discharge of his duty, he had just cause to be held excused.

He had scarcely yet finished his Tale, but the Bishop of *Chester* with a frowning look and an angry countenance interrupting him of his talk, said, he needed not to repeat the things he had protested before, nor they to make answer any more to those things wherein they had sufficiently informed him before. He rather feared that their quarrel was not good, that they made such ado about it, and fought such starting holes. For so were defeated persons oftentimes wont to do, when for the pain and grief they are not able to abide a strong Medicine. As though that any man were able to grant so strong a privilege, as to withstand the Popes Authority. As for the Popes Letters, he said, must needs make on his side, and with such as were with him, and could not in any wise be alleged against him. Therefore he admonished him to desist from his unprofitable altercation, and to conform himself and his to such things as then were in doing.

After this they went to Mass. Which finished, with great solemnity, first they went to the high Altar of the Church, and having there fluted their gods, and searching whether all were well about him or no, they walked thorough all the inner Chappels of the Church. The Church Goods, the Crosses, the Chalcices, the Mass-Books, the Vestments,

Anno
1556.

The manner
of receiving
the Inqui-
sitors when
they went to
make Inqui-
sition.

Note the
voluntuous
pomps of
the Priests.

The Com-
missioners
rejoice
the Pope.

Here was
a foul
fault com-
mitted, that
came in
without
Provision.

Dr. Brassey
excused
himself for
the slackness
of this Pro-
cession.

Mr. Brassey
makes ex-
ception as-
gain.

Dr. Sear
answer to
Mr. Brassey.

The Popes
Authority
swalloweth
up all other
privileges.

The Le-
gates blas-
phemy
tongue
their god.

Anno 1556. ments, and whatsoever Ornaments were besides, were commanded to be brought out unto them. When they had sufficiently viewed all things, and had called forth by Name every Fellow and Scholar of the House, they went to the Masters Lodging, where first and foremost swearing them upon a Book to answer to all such Interrogatories as should be propounded unto them (as far as they knew) they examined first the Master himself, and afterward all the refused, every Man in his turn. But there were some that refused to take this Oath, because they had given their Faith to the College before, and also because they thought it against all right and reason to swear against themselves: For it was contrary to all Law, that a Man should be compelled to bewray himself, and not to be suffered to keep his Confidence free; when there is no manifest proof to be laid to his charge, but much more unjust it is, that a Man should be constrained to accuse himself. Nevertheless these persons also, after such altercation, at length (conditionally, that their Faith given before to the College were not impeached thereby) were contented to be sworn.

Three days long lasted the Inquisition there. This was now the third day of their coming, and it was thought that the case of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, was delayed longer then needed. For they looked to have had much altercation and business about the matter. Now, forasmuch as the present state of the case required good deliberation and advisement, the Vicechancellor and the Masters of the Colleges assembled at the common Schools, where every Man gave his verdict what he thought meet to be done in this matter of *Bucer*. After much debating, they agreed all together in this Determination; that forasmuch as *Martin Bucer*, while he lived, had not only sowed pernicious and erroneous Doctrine among them, but also had himself been a Sectary and famous Heretick, erring from the Catholick Church, and giving others occasion to fall from the same likewise: a Supplication should be made to the Lord Commissioners, in the Name of the whole University, that his dead Carcase might forthwith be digged up (for so it was needful to be done) to the intent that Inquisition might be made as touching his Doctrine, the which being brought in Examination, if it were not found to be good and wholesome, the Law might proceed against him: For it was against the rule of the Holy Canons, that his Body should be buried in Christian Burial. Yea, and besides that it was to the open derogation of Gods Honor, and the violating of his Holy Laws, with the great peril of many Mens Souls, and the offence of the Faithful, especially in so difficult and contagious a time as that was. Wherefore it was not to be suffered, that they, which utterly disflented from all other Men in the trade of their living, Laws, and Customs, should have any part with them in the honor of Burial. And therefore the Glory of God first and before all things ought to be defended, the infamy (which through this thing riseth on them) with all speed put away, no room at all left unto those Persons to rest in, who even in the same places where they lay, were injurious and noyfull to the very Elements, but the place ought to be purged, and all things so ordered as might be to the satisfying of the Consciences of the weak. In executing whereof so notable an example ought to be given to all Men, that no Man hereafter should be so bold to attempt the like.

They gave the same Verdict by common assent upon *Phagius* also. Unto this Writing they annexed another, by the which they lawfully Authorized *Andrew Perne* the Vicechancellor, to be the common Factor for the University. He was a Man meetest for the purpose, both for the Office that he bare, and also because that by the testimony of *Christopher* he was deemed to be the most Catholick of all others. This Supplication, confirmed by the consent of all the Degrees of the University and signed with their Common Seal the next day, which was the 13. of *January*, the Vicechancellor put up to the Commissioners. Note here, good Reader, what a feat of conveyance this was, to suborn the University under a colourable pretence to defile this thing of them by way of Petition. As who should say, if they had not done so, the other would never have gone about it of themselves.

But this glofe was soon found out. For the Commissioners had given the Vicechancellor Instructions in this behalf before. But now peradventure they thought by this mean to remove the envy of this Act from themselves.

Thus the Vicechancellor came unto the Commissioners, according to the appointment made the day before, at seven of the clock in the morning. He had scarce delivered the cause of his coming, but that he had not only obtained his fute, but also even at the very same time received the Sentence of Condemnation, for taking up *Bucer* and *Phagius*, fair copied out by *Ornaments Dairy* himself. This was to be confirmed by the consent of the Degrees of the University. Whereupon a Solemn Convocation, called *Congregatio Regensium & non Regensium*, for the same purpose was appointed to be at nine of the Clock; where the Graduates being assembled together, the demand was propounded concerning the Condemnation of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, and the Grace asked, which was this: Pleaseth it you that *Martin Bucer*, for the Heresies now recited, and many other by him written, preached, and taught, wherein he died without repentance, and was buried in Christian Burial, may be exhumed and taken up again? &c. After this Grace effions being granted, then was the Sentence of Condemnation, drawn by the Dairy openly read, and immediately another Grace asked, that the same might be Signed with the Common Seal. The which request was very lightly and easily obtained. And it was no marvel.

For now after the death of King *Edward*, since the time that the Government of the Realm came to the hand of Queen *Mary*, such persons being driven away as had rejected the Romish Religion (in whom well nigh alone rested whatsoever Wit and Learning was in the whole University besides) such a sort of Rascals were put in their room, that all places now swarmed with unlearned and unskilled Chaplains: To whom nothing was greater pleasure, then to cause all Men to speak flander and reproach of *Bucer*. There were divers yet left among them to speak against their demands. But they (because, as it commonly cometh to pass, that Might overcome Right) could nothing avail. For this is a common custom in all such matters and Ordinances, that look what the greater number decreeth, is published in the name of all: and that which the better part disalloweth, seemeth as though no Man at all disallowed it.

The next day being the 14. of *January*, all the Visitors (only *Christopher* Son clef of *Chichester*, excepted) came to the Kings College. Where, first going into the Church, and there making their Prayers at the Greefings, they so proceeded into the Stalls, there fitting all the Mass time, the company standing in their Copes, and singing a Solemn Respond in honor of the Visitors. After the Respond done, the Provost in the best Cope made to them his protestation, unto whom the Bishop of *Cheser* made Answer also in Latin, declaring that he could not perceive to what purpose his protestation was, notwithstanding they would accept it and bear with him. Then went they to Mass, which ended the Catholick Visitors approached up to the Altar, and took down the Sacrament, and searched the Pix, but first the two Bishops censured the Sacrament.

Then they went unto the *Recessory*, and opened the Chalice, Corporas Cases, and Charynatory, and viewed all those things. And so returning into the Provosts Chamber, divided themselves in Examination of the Provost, Viceprovost, and the rest of the company. The same day Doctor *Baton* Master of *Gowen-Hall*, bade the Vicechancellor, D. *Young*, D. *Harvey*, *Swineborne*, *Massey*, with others, hometo dinner. These Men immediately after dinner, caused the Common Seal of the University to be put to the foresaid Instrument of Condemnation, according as was determined the day before by the general consent of the Graduates of the University. And by and after, they carried the same to the Commissioners to their Lodging. The which when they had received, forasmuch as after more diligent perusing thereof, it liked them not in all points, some things they rased out, some they entierlined, other some they changed; so that in fine, they were faine to take the pain to ingross it new again.

Anno 1556.

The Oath refused of some in the Kings College, and why.

The excommunication of Matters upon the taking up of M. Bucer.

Inquisition to be made of M. Bucer's Doctrine.

Martin Bucer's burial against the Holy Canon Laws.

Causes why M. Bucer and Paulus Phagius Bodies ought to be taken up.

Andrew Perne Vice-Chancellor, made labour for the University in the case of M. Bucer and Phagius. M. Christopher's protestation contrary to the Supplication put up to the Commissioners by the University. Note this feat of conveyance.

The Sentence is signed with the Common Seal of the University.

Grace asked in the Congregation for the taking up of M. Bucer.

January 14.

The Sentence is signed with the Common Seal of the University.

The Sentence controlled new again.

January 15.

To the signing whereof, a Congregation was effoons called of all the Graduates of the University against the next day, which there being read over, a new Grace again was asked and granted for setting the Seal. Then were the Graduates dismissed, with commandment to resort forthwith to S. Maries Church, whither the Commissioners also repaired. When they had taken their places, Doctor *Harvey* presented to them before all the company, a new Commission to make inquest upon Heresie then newly sent from the Cardinal, which was read immediately by *Vincent* of *Noally*, *Ormanet*s Clerk. This done, Doctor *Perne*, who, as ye heard, was Factor for the University, exhibited to the Commissioners in the Name of the University the Sentence of the forefaid Condemnation. The Copy and Tenour whereof, hereafter (God willing) shall follow. This Condemnation, being openly read, then Doctor *Perne* aforefaid desired to send out process to cite *Bucer* and *Phagius* to appear, or any other that would take upon them to plead their cause, and to stand to the order of the Court against the next *Monday*: to the intent that when they had exhibited themselves, the Court might the better determine what ought to be done to them by Order of Law.

D. Harvey
presents th
a mandate
from the
Cardinal.

D. Perne ma-
kes petition
that Bucer
and Phagius
may be ci-
ted to the
Court.

M. Bucer
and Phagius
called out of
their graves
to appear,
or any other
that would
answer for
them.

January 17.
Vicechancellor
sworn a-
gainst M.
Bucer.

The Commissioners condescended to his request, and the next day process went out to cite the offenders. This Citation *Vincent* of *Noally* their Common Notary, having first read it over before certain witnesses appointed for the same purpose, caused to be fixed up in places convenient, to wit, upon S. Maries Church door, the door of the Common Schools, and the Cross in the Market stead of the same Town. In this was specified, that whosoever would maintain *Bucer* and *Phagius*, or stand in defence of their Doctrine, should at the eighth day of the same Month, stand forth before the L. Commissioners in Saint Maries Church, which was appointed the place of Judgment, and there every Man should be sufficiently heard what he could say. This commandment was set out with many words.

Shortly after, the matter drew toward Judgment. Therefore the next day before the day limited, which was the xvij. of January, the Vicechancellor called to him to *Peterbouse* (whereof he was Master) D. *Young*, D. *Segiswike*, and with them *Bullock*, *Taylor*, *Parker*, and *Redman*, *Whitlock*, *Mitch*, and certain others. These Men cast their Heads together how they might bear witness against *Bucer* and *Phagius*, to convince them of Heresie. For seeing the matter was brought in face of open Court, and because it might so come to pass, that some Patrons of their cause would come out, they thought it needful to have witnesses to dispose to depose of their Doctrine. What came of this their consultation, it is not perfectly known.

January 18.

The eighteenth day, the Vicechancellor, going to the Inquitors sitting at the *Kings Colledge*, did put them in remembrance, that the same was the day, in the which, by their Process sent forth the xvj. day before, they had commanded to appear in S. Maries Church, such as would take upon them to defend *Bucer* and *Phagius* by the Law. He desired therefore that they would vouchsafe to sit there, if perchance any Man would try the adventure of the Law. They lightly condescended thereunto. When the Vicechancellor had brought them thither, he exhibited unto them the Process of the Citation which he had received of them to publish a little before, saying, that he had diligently executed whatsoever the contents of the same required. After that they had taken their places, and that no Man put forth himself to answer for the Offenders, the Judges call aside Doctor *Young*, Doctor *Segiswike*, *Bullock*, *Taylor*, *Maptide*, *Hunter*, *Parker*, *Redman*, above mentioned. Also *Brown*, *Gogman*, *Rud*, *Johnson*, *Mitch*, *Raven*, and *Carre*, who had before written out the Burial of *Bucer*, with a singular commendation of him, and sent it to Sir *John Cheek* Knight. These Men taking first their Oath upon a Book, were commanded to bear witness against the Heresie and Doctrine of *Bucer* and *Phagius*. The 22. day of the same Month was limited to this jury to bring in their Verdict.

Other wit-
nesses sworn
against M.
Bucer.

In the mean while, *Ormanet* and Doctor *Watson* abode at home in their lodging to take the deposition of them whom we shewed you before to have been called to *Peterbouse* and to have communicated with the Vicechancellor as concerning that matter, whose Depositions (as I told you) never came to light. The Bishop of *Chester*, and Doctor *Cole* this day visited them of *Katherine Hall*, where, as fast as could be learned, nothing was done worthy of rehearsal.

As *Ormanet* the Popes Datary was sitting at *Trinity Colledge*, *John Dale* one of the *Queens Colledge* came to him, whom he had commanded before to bring with him the Pix, wherein the Bishop of *Romes* God of Bread is wont to be enclosed. For *Ormanet* told them he had a precious Jewel; the same was a linen clout that the Pope had consecrated with his own hands, which he promised to bestow upon them for a gift. But *Dale* misunderstanding *Ormanet*, in stead of the Pix brought a Chalice and a singing cake called the *Hoft*, the which he had wrapped up and put in his Bosom. When he was come, *Ormanet* demanded if he had brought him the thing he sent him for. To whom he answered, he had brought it. Then give it me, quoth he. *Dale* pulled out the Chalice, and the singing Cake. When *Ormanet* saw that, he stepped somewhat back as it had been in a wonder, calling him block-head, and little better then a mad man, demanding what he meant by those things, saying; that he would him to bring none of that gear, and that he was unworthy to enjoy so high a benefit: yet notwithstanding, forasmuch as he had promised before to give it them, he would perform his promise. Whereupon with great reverence and ceremony, he pulled out the linen cloth and laid it in the Chalice, and the Bread with it, commanding them both for the Holiness of the thing, and also for the Author of it, to keep it among them with such due reverence as belonged to so holy a Relique.

About the same time the Commissioners had given commandment to the Masters of the Colledges, that every Man should put in writing what Books he had, with the Authors Names. And to the intent that every Man should execute it without deceit, they took a corporal Oath of them. This commandment some executed exactly and diligently; other some, forasmuch as they deemed it wrongfully, executed it slack enough.

We declare before that the xvij. day was limited for the day of Judgment. When the day came, and that neither *Bucer* nor *Phagius* would appear at their call in the Court, nor that any put forth himself to defend them; yet the courteous Commissioners would not proceed to Judgment, which nevertheless, for their condescency, in abetting themselves, they might have done, considering how that day was peremptory. But these Men, being bent altogether to equity and mercy, had rather shew some favour, then to do the uttermost they might by the Law. Whereupon *Vincent* published the second Process, and set it up in the same places, as in manner before. The meaning thereof varied not much from the first, but that it put off the Judgment day unto the 26. of the same Month. Upon the which day the Vicechancellor was sent for to their lodging, with whom they agreed concerning the order of publishing the Sentence. And because there should want no Solemnity in the matter, they commanded him further to warn the Major of the Town to be there at the day appointed with all his Burgeesses, which the Vicechancellor did speed with all readiness.

This day (as I said) was the twenty sixth of January 16. *ary*, which being now come, first all Degrees of the Mother University were assembled. And to fill up this Pageant, thither came also the Major and his Townsmen, and all met together in Saint Maries Church, to behold what there should be determined upon these Men. After long attendance, at length the Commissioners came forth, and went up to a Scaffold that was somewhat higher then the residue, prepared for the same purpose. When they had taken their places, Doctor *Perne* the Vicechancellor, the Player of this Enterlude fashioning his countenance with great gravity, reached to them the process that was lately published, to cite them, saying

Anno
1556.

Relick giv-
en by Orma-
net to Trinity
Colledge.

Ormanet in a
petting
cloak with
M. Dale.

Accommod-
ments for
bringing in
of Heretical
Books.

Graciously
considered.

as high as
man in a
low House.

ANNO 1557. saying these words; I bring forth again (quoth he) to you right reverend Father, and Commissioners of the most reverend my Lord Cardinal *Poole* (painting out the rest of his stile) this Citation executed according to the purport and effect of the same; omitting nothing for his part that might make to the commendation of this matter. When he had thus finished his tale, by and by the Bishop of *Chesster*, after he had a little viewed the people, began in manner as followeth.

The Oration of Doctor Scot Bishop of Chesster, before the Condemnation of Bucer and Phagius.

THE Oration of D. Scot Bishop of Chesster, before the Condemnation of Bucer and Phagius.

Whardest-femelling is here in these Pope Holy Catholicks.

Tyranny covered with the vilor of misery.

Susan transformed himself into an Angel of light.

O Lord God as though this were the doing of the Univerfity, and not your own!

The Wolf preceeded to be a Lamb.

As though the Cardinal first came hither; but partly induced at the intreaty of the Univerfity, and partly moved with the unworthiness of the cause it self: but especially for the care and regard we have of your health and salvation, which we covet by all means to preserve.

For you your selves are the cause of this business: you gave occasion of this confession, among whom this day ought to be a notable example, to remain as a memorial to them that shall come after, as in that which ye may learn not only to shake off the filth which ye have taken of these persons; but also to beware hereafter that ye fall no more so shameful as ye have done. But I trust, God will defend you, and give you minds to keep your selves from it.

But as concerning the parties themselves, whose case now hangeth in Law, they bear about the Name of the Gospel, whereas indeed they wrought nothing else then they and deceit. And so much the wicked were they, in that they sought to cover so shameful acts, with the cloak of fair and holy a Name. Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that God will punish this despite, of it self wicked, to you pernicious, but the Authors thereof shameful and abominable.

But if God, as he is slow to wrath and vengeance, will wink at it for a time, yet notwithstanding if we,

upon whom the charge of the Lords Flock leaneth, should permit so execrable crimes to escape unpunished, we shuld not live in quiet one hour.

When he had thus spoken, he recited the Sentence out of a scroll, and Condemned *Bucer* and *Phagius* of Heresie; the form and Tenor of which Sentence, framed after the barbarous rude stile of that Church, thus followeth.

The Sentence of Condemnation against Martin Bucer; and Paulus Phagius.

NO: *Curbertus Dei & Apostolica sedis gratia Episcopus Cestrensis, Nicolaus Ormanus archiepiscopus, plebs Bodolini Veronen. diocesis infra scripti, Reverendissimi Domini Cardinalis & Legati auctoritate, Thomas Watson Decanus Dunelmensis. & Henricus Celsus, Praepositus Collegii Etonensis ad Universitatem studij generalis oppidi Cantabrigie. Elin. diocesis. visitand. nec non ad in quovisunque con-* *The Sen- tence of Condemnation against Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius.*

Martinum quidem Bucerum contra regulas et dogmata sanctorum patrum, nec non Apostolicis Romanae Ecclesiae, et sacrorum conciliorum traditionibus, Christi, atque religionis, haereticus in Ecclesia convinctus rursus ac processus (qui singulis annis die canna Domini per Romanos Pontifices celebrari et legi consueverunt, in quibus, inter alia, Wickliffite, & Lutherani, & omnes alii heretici damnati, & anathematizati fuerunt) de Sacramentis Ecclesiae, praesertim circa illorum numerum, aliter quam sancta mater Ecclesia praeedicat & observat, sentiend. & docend. ac sanctae sedis Apostolicae, & summi Pontificis primatum, & auctoritatem negando, & publicè damnando, & praesertim hunc articulum:

Quod Ecclesia erret in fide & moribus.

Hunc in publicis comitiis expresse defendendo, & illum verum esse definiendo, & determinando, ac multa alia tara per damnatae memoriae Johannem Wickliffe, & id maxime.

Omnia fidei & absoluta necessitate fieri.

Et per Martinum Lutherum & alios haereticos proposita & damnata, quam a se etiam inventa & fabricata, falsa & haeretica dogmata credendo, & sequendo, ac desuper etiam libros scribendo & imprimis faciendo, impressosque publicando, in illisque scriptis etiam hic publicè legend. & in publicis disputationibus defendendo, ac in pertinacia & obstinatione hujusmodi permanendo, & docendo, notorium non solum haereticum, sed haereticum.

Paulum vero Phagium, qui praeter alia, quae haereticis Agnathas sapient, ab eo in suis scriptis prolata, supra memoratae Johannis Wickliffi, & id maxime, non solum Phagium, sed etiam Martinum Bucerum praedictum, qui in comitiis non solum Melancthonem, & Johannem Brentium, notorios & infames haereticos, & eorum doctrinam, & in suis, Bucer, & Phagii scriptis impressis & vulgo editis, non solum probando, sed etiam laudibus attollendo, se non solum defendendo, sed etiam

hereticis fovere, sed eorum falsis dogmatibus assensire, & ea credere, & probare, ad eaque credenda alios inducere, nisi manifestè se ostendat, & hic pro heretico communiter & notorie habitus & reputatus in huiusmodi errore impetenti decessit, non solum hereticorum fautorem, sed hereticum fuisse, nec non eisdem Martinum Bucerum, & Paulum Phagium excommunicationis & anathematis, ac alias

quacunque contra huiusmodi personas, tam de iure communis, quam per literas, processum, prædictorum statutus sententias, censuras et penas damnabiliter incurrere, et incurrisse; et eorum memoriam condemnandum esse, et condemnari, ac eorum corpora et ossa quæ hoc tempore perniciosissimi

Anno

1557.

Now Bucers bones, and Paulus Phagius bones were put into two new Coffins, and so bound to a stake and burnt with their books.



schismaticis, et aliarum hæresum, in hoc regno vigentium, Ecclesiastica fuerunt temere tradita sepultura, quatenus ab aliis fidelium corporibus, et ossibus discerni possunt iuxta canonicas sanctiones, exhumanda, et procul ab Ecclesia projicienda, et exhumari et projici mandamus, et eorum libros ac Scripturas, si qua hic reperiuntur, publicè comburendos, et comburi præcipimus: ac eosdem libros et Scripturas quibuscumque, tam huius Universitatis, quam oppidi, et locorum eius adjacentium personis sub penis, tam ex iure communi, quam literis processuum prædictorum, seu quomodolibet alias contra habenda, et legendi, libros hæreticos Statuti, meritis imus.

After the Sentence thus read, the Bishop commanded their Bodies to be digged out of their graves, and being degraded from holy Orders, delivered them into the hands of the Secular Power. For it was not lawful for such innocent persons as they were, abhorring from all Bloodshed, and detesting all desire of Murder, to put any Man to death.

The effect of Doctor Pernes Sermon against Martin Bucer.

Over and besides this Oration and Sentence of Dr. Scot, came in also Pernes Vicechancellor, with his Sermon tending to the same effect, to the depraving of Master Bucer, taking for his theme the place of the 132. Psalm, Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is, &c.

Where beginning first with the commendation of concord, and of the mutual knitting together of the minds, he alleged, that it was not possible to hold together, unless the concord were derived out of the head, the which he made to be the Bishop of Rome, and that it also rested in the same.

After he had made a long protestation hereof he passed forth to Bucer, upon whom he made a shameful railing, saying, that his Doctrine gave occasion of division in the Common-Wealth, and that there was not so grievous a mischief, which by his means had not been brought into the Realm.

Although all Men might perceive by the Books he had compiled, what manner of Doctrine it was; yet notwithstanding (he said) he knew it more perfectly himself, then any did, and that he had learned it apart at the Authors hand himself.

For at such time as they had communication secretly ^{in Perns} among themselves, Bucer (said he) would oftentimes with he might be called by some other Name, then by the Name he had; for this purpose, as though knowing himself guilty of so grievous a Crime, he might by this means escape unknown to the world, and avoid the talk that went among Men of him.

Moreover, among other things he told how Bucer held opinion (which thing he should confess to him his own self) that God was the Author and wellspring, not only of good, but also of evil; and that whatsoever was of that sort flowed from him as from the head-spring and maker thereof. The which Doctrine he upheld to be sincere, howbeit, for offending divers Mens Consciences, he durst not put it into Mens heads.

Many other things he patched together of like purport and effect, as of the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, of the marriage of Priests, of divorcements and of shameful usury also, as though he had deemed the same lawful to be used among Christian people, with divers other of the like sort.

In all which his allegations, considering how lowly, without all shame, he lied upon Bucer (as his writings evidently declare) he did not so much hinder his Name with railing upon him, as win unto himself an inexpressible infamy, by forging so shameful leavings upon so worthy a Man.

But what needeth witness to prove him a liar? his own Conscience shall make as much against him, as a number of Men.

It was reported for a truth, and that by his own familiar friends testified, that the said Doctor Pernes himself, either immediately after his Sermon, or else somewhat before he went to it, striking himself one the breast, and

Shameful railing of Dr. Pern against Martin Bucer.

A foretelling of Dr. Pern.

Perns Sermon against Bucer

Anno
1557.

D. Perns speckles against his own Conscience in railing against *M. Bucer*. Verles against *M. Bucer* and *Phagius*.

in manner weeping, wished at home at his house with all his heart, that God would grant his Soul might even then presently depart and remain with *Bucers*. For he knew well enough that his Life was such; that if any Man's Soul were worthy of Heaven, he thought his in especial to be most worthy.

Whiles he was thus talking to the people, in the mean time the leaves of the Church doors were covered over with Verles, in the which the young Men to flew their folly, which scarce knew him by sight, blazed *Bucers* Name with most reproachful Poetry.

These things being dispatched, *Perns* (as though he had sped his matter marvelously well) was for his labour; of courtesy bidden to dinner to *Trinity Colledge* by the Commissioners. Where, after the Table was taken up, they caused the Sentence of Condemnation to be copied out with all respect: which being signed with the Bishop of *Cheshers* Seal, the next day following was for a triumph sent to *London*, with divers of those Verles and slanderous Libels.

Besides this, they sent also their own Letters, wherein they both advertised the Cardinal how far they had proceeded in that matter, and also desired his Grace, that he would cause to be sent out of hand to *Smith* the Major of the Town, the Commandment, commonly called a Writ, for the burning of *Hereticks*. For unless he had the Queens Warrant to save him harmless, he would not have to do in the matter: and that which remained to be done in that case, could not be dispatched till that Warrant came.

M. Bucer writes for the Commissioners.

Whiles this Purfivant went on his journey, they wished to be brought unto them the Books that they commanded before to be searched out. For they determined to throw them into the Fire with *Bucer* and *Phagius*.

About the same time *Doctor Watson* taking occasion upon the day, because it was a high feast, in the which was wont to be celebrated the memorial of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, made a Sermon to the people upon that Psalm, *We have received thy mercy (O Lord) in the midst of thy Temple, &c.* In the which Sermon he spake much reproach of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, and of their Doctrine.

He said, that these men, and all the Hereticks of our time that were of the same opinion (the which for the most part, he said, we budded out of *Germany*) among other things which they had perniciously put into mens heads, taught to cast away all Ceremonies. Whereas notwithstanding the Apostle himself commanded all things to be done in due order.

And upon that deed of the Blessed Virgin and *Joseph*, which was done by them as upon that day, it was manifestly apparent, that they with our Saviour, being then a little Babe, observed these Rites and Ceremonies for Catholic Men to teach. For he said, that they came to the Temple the same time with wax candles in their hands, after the manner of Procession (as they term it) in good order with much reverence and devotion, and yet we were not ashamed to laugh and mock at these things with the Hereticks and Schismatics.

As he was telling his tale of Christ, *Mary*, and *Joseph*, one of them that heard him, a pleasant and merry conceited fellow, turning himself to him that stood next him; And if it be true (quoth he) that this Man Preacheth, which of them I pray you (if a Man might spur him a question) bare the Cross before them? for that might not be missing in such Solemn Ceremonies. Not only this Man jested at the Preachers folly, but divers other also laughed at his manifest unthriftfulness, in Preaching these to vain and foolish Superstitions.

Mary and Joseph went a procession with wax candles, or else *D. Watson* said false.

A question to be spured so *D. Watson*.

The sudden swoon of *Christopher*.

While he was thus talking to his Audience, *John Christopher* (an elected Bishop of *Cheshers*, being stricken with a sudden sickness, fell down in a swoon among the pews: and with much ado, being scarce able a good while to come to himself again, in the mean time babbled man things unadvisedly, and as though he had been out of his wits. Some thought it came upon this occasion, because he had been greatly accused before the Commissioners for mispending and mis-ordering the goods of the Colledge; and therefore was grieved with the matter, knowing that they had been offended with him, by that that *Orman* had cancelled before his face a Lease of

his, by the which he had let to farm to his Brother in Law a certain Minor of that Colledge, because the covenants seemed unreasonable.

By this time was returned again the Purfivant, who (as we before told) was sent to *London* with the Commissioners Letters, and brought with him a Warrant for the burning of these Men.

Upon the receipt whereof, they appointed the sixth day of February for the accomplishment of the matter. For it had hanged already a great while in hand.

Therefore when the said day was come, the Commissioners sent for the Vicechancellor, demanding of him in what case things stood, whether all things were in a readiness for the accomplishment of this business, or no. Understanding by him that all things were ready, they commanded the matter to be broached out of hand.

The Vicechancellor therefore taking with him *Marshall* the Common Notary, went first to *St. Michaels* Church, where *Phagius* was buried. There he called forth *Andrew Smith*, *Henry Sawyer*, and *Henry Adams*, Men of the same Parish, and bound them with an Oath, to dig up *Phagius* Bones, and to bring them to the place of execution. *Marshall* took their Oaths, receiving the like of *Roger Smith* and *William Haffell* the Town Sergeants, and of *John Caper*, Warden of the same Church, for doing the like with *Bucer*. *Smith* the Major of the Town, which should be their executioner (for it was not lawful for them to intermeddle in cases of Blood) commanded certain of his Town-Men to wait upon him in harness, by whom the dead Bodies were guarded; and being bound with Ropes, and laid upon Mens Shoulders (for they were inclosed in Chests, *Bucer* in the same that he was buried, and *Phagius* in a new) they were born into the midst of the Market street; with a great train of people following them.

This place was prepared before; and a great post was set fast in the ground to bind the Carcaffs to, and a great heap of Wood was laid ready to burn them withal.

When they came thither, the Chests were set upon end with the dead Bodies in them, and fastened on both sides with Stakes, and bound to the post with a long Iron Chain, as if they had been alive. First being forthwith put to, as soon as it began to flame round about, a great sort of Books that were condemned with them, were cast into the same.

There was that day gathered into the Town a great multitude of country folk (for it was Market day) who seeing Men born to execution, and learning by inquiry that they were dead before, partly detested and abhorred the extreme cruelty of the Commissioners toward the rotten Carcaffs, and partly laughed at their folly in making such preparative. For what needeth any weapon, said they? As though they were afraid that the dead Bodies, which felt them not, would do them some harm: Or to what purpose serveth that Chain wherewith they are tied, since they might be burnt loose without peril? for it was not to be feared that they would run away.

Thus, every Body that stood by found fault with the cruelties of the deed, either sharply or else lightly, as every Mans mind gave him. There were very few that liked their doing therein.

The purpose of *D. Watsons* Sermon against *Martin Bucer*.

IN the mean time that they were a roasting in the Fire, *Watson* went into the Pulpit in *Saint Maries* Church, and there before his Audience railed upon their Doctrine, as wicked and erroneous, saying, that it was the ground of all mischief that had happened of a long time in the common-weal. For behold (said he) as well the prosperity as the adversity of these years that have ensued, and ye shall find that all things have chanced unlookily to them that have followed this new found faith; as contrarily all things have happened fortunately to them that have eschewed it. What robbing and polling in these days of *Queen Mary* had been raised no so suddenly as all.

The day assigned for burning *M. Bucer*, and *Phagius* bones.

The taking of the Common Notary, went first to *St. Michaels* Church, where *Phagius* was buried.

The burning of *M. Bucer* and *Phagius*.

The talk of the Country folk at the burning of *M. Bucer* and *Phagius*.

As though they had been raised no so suddenly as all.

to the solemnizing of Ceremonies neglected; and that more is, the places themselves beaten down, Fleth and other kind of prohibited sustenance eaten every where upon days forbidden, without remorse of Conscience, the Priests had in derision, the Mass rayed upon, no honour done to the Sacraments of the Church; all estates and degrees given to such a licentious liberty, without check, that all things may seem to draw to their utter ruin and decay.

Watson dangerously de-
paved the
doctrine of
the Pro-
testants.

And yet in the mean time, the Name of the Gospel was pretended outwardly, as though that for it Men ought of duty to give credit to their erroneous opinions; whereas indeed there is nothing more discrepant, or more to the slander of Gods word then the same. For what other thing taught they to remain in that most Blessed and Mystical Sacrament of the Body of our Lord, than bare unleavened Bread? And what else do the remnant of them teach unto this day? whereas Christ by express words doth assure it to be his very Body. How perilous a Doctrine is that which concerneth the fatal and absolute necessity of Predestination? And yet they fit it out in such wise, that they have left no choice at all in things. As who should say, it skilled not what a Man purposed of any matter, since he had not the power to determine otherwise then the matter should come to pass. The which was the peculiar opinion of them, that made God the Author of evil, bringing Men through this perdition into such a careless security of the everlasting eternity, that in the mean season it made no matter either toward Salvation, or Damnation, what a Man did in this Life. These errors (which were not even among the Heathen Men) were defended by them with great stoutness.

Watson and
Scot had
both subser-
vied to the
doctrine of
the Gospel
in the Reign
of King Ed-
ward the
first.

These and many such other things he slanderously and falsely alledged against Bucer, whose Doctrine (in such sort as he himself taught it) either he would not understand, or else he was minded to slander. And yet he was not ignorant, that Bucer taught none other things then the very same whereunto both he and Scot, in the Reign of King Edward the sixth, had willingly assented, by subscribing thereto with their own hands: While he talked in this wise before the people, many of them that had written Verses before, did set up other new, in the which, like a sort of Water Frogs, they spued out their venomous malice against Bucer and Phagius. This was the last Act of this Enterlude, and yet there remained a few things to be done, among the which was the reconciling of two Churches, of our Lady, and of St. Michael, which we declared to have been interdicted before.

The recon-
ciling of the
Churches
that were
interdicted.

This was done the next day following, by the afore-said Bishop of Chester, with as much Ceremonial Solemnity as the Law required. But that impanate God, whom Bucers Carcass had chafed from thence, was not yet turned thither again; neither was it lawful for him to come there any more, unless he were brought thither with great Solemnity: As I suppose, during all the time of his absence, he was entertained by the Commissioners at Trinity Colledge, and there continued as a sojourner. For thither came all the Graduates of the University, the 8. of February of gentleness and curtesie, to bring him home again. Amongst the which number, the Bishop of Chester (worthy for his estate to come nearest to him, because he was a Bishop) took and carried him clad in a long Rochet, and a large Tipper of Sarcenet about his neck, wherein he wrapped his Idol also. Ormanet Datary had given the same a little before to the University, for that and such like purposes.

A Solemn
Procession of
the Univer-
sity and of
the Towns-
men.

When this Idol should return home, he went out the straightest and nearest way as other folks are wont to go, but he fetched a compass about the most part of the Town, and romed through so many of the streets, that it was a large hour and more, ere he could find the way into this Church again. I believe the ancient Romans observed a custom not much unlike this in their Procession, when they made Supplications at the Shrines of all their Gods. The order of which Procession was this: The Masters Regents went before, singing with a loud voice; *Salve festa dies*, &c. Next then followed the Bishop of Chester, about him went Ormanet and his fellow Commissioners, with the Masters of the Col-

The order
of Procession
in Cam-
bridge.

leges, bearing every Man a long Taper light in his hand. After whom, a little space off, followed other Degrees of the University. Last behind came the Major and his Towns-men. Before them all went the Beadles, crying to such as they met, that they should bow themselves humbly before the Host. If any refused so to do, they threatened to send them forthwith to the Tolbooth. Their God being led with this pomp, and pacified with great sacrificed Hosts of Bucer and Phagius, at length sciled himself again in his accustomed room.

Scot of Chester Prayed with many words, that that day might be lucky and fortunate to himself, and to all that were present, and that from that day forward (now that Gods wrath was appeased, and all other things set in good order,) all Men should make themselves conformable to peace and quietness, namely, in matters appertaining to Religion. After this, they bestowed a few days in punishing and amercing such as they thought had deserved it. Some they suspended from giving voices either to their own preferment, or to the preferment of any other. Some they forbade to have the charge of Pupils, lest they should infect the tender youth (being pliable to take what print soever should be laid upon them) with corrupt Doctrine and Heresie, others they chastised wrongfully without any desert, and many a one they punished, contrary to all right and reason.

Last of all they set forth certain Statutes, by the which they would have the University hereafter ordered. Where in they enacted many things as concerning the election of their Officers of the University, of keeping and administering the Goods of the University, and of many other things. But especially they handled the matter very circumpectly for Religion. In the which they were so scrupulous, that they replenished all things either with open Blasphemy, or with ridiculous Superstition. For they prescribed at how many Masses every Man should be day by day; and how many Pater noster and Ave's every Man should say when he should enter into the Church, and in his entrance, after what sort he should bow himself to the Altar, and how to the Master of the house, what he should do there, and how long he should tarry, how many, and what Prayers he should say, what, and how he should sing, what meditations others should use while the Priest is in his Memento, mumbling secretly to himself, what time of the Mass a Man should stand, and when he should sit down, when he should make curtesie, when exclusively, when inclusively, and many other superstitious toys they decreed, that it was a sport then to behold their Superstitions, and were tedious now to recite them.

Moreover these Masters of good order, for fashions sake, ordained that every Man should put on a Surple's, not torn nor worn, but clean, forbidding them in any wise to wipe their Noses thereon.

These things thus set at a stay, when the Commissioners were now ready to go their ways, the University for so great benefits (which she should not suffer to fall out of remembrance many years after) coveting to shew some token of curtesie towards them again, dignified Ormanet and Cole with the degree of Doctorship for all the residue, saving Christopher, who now, by reason he was elected Bishop, preventing that degree, had received that order before. Thus at length were sent away these peace-makers, that came to pacify strifes and quarrels, who through provoking every Man to accuse one another, left such gaps and breaches in Mens hearts at their departure, that to this day they could never be closed nor joynted together again.

These Commissioners, before they departed out of the University, gave commandment, that the Masters of every House should copy out their Statutes, the which besides common Ordinances, contained in them certain rules of private order, for every House particularly Swinborn (who as I said, was Master of Clarehall) being demanded whether he would have those things ingrossed in Parchment or in Paper, answered, that it made no matter where in they were written: For the Paper, or lighter thing that were of less continuance, then Paper, would serve the turn well enough: For he said, a slenderer thing then that would last a great deal longer then those decrees should stand in force. Neither was the Man de-

Anna

1557.

Certain of
the Univer-
sity answered
of and possi-
ed.

The Degrees
of the Inqui-
sitors.

Ormanet and
Cole proceed-
ed Doctors.

The depar-
ting of the
Inquisitors.

Swinborn
saying as
concerning
the decrees
of the In-
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commencing
the defence
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ceived in his conjecture; for within two years after, God bestowing us with mercy, called Queen *Mary* out of this life the 17. of November, Anno 1558. After whom her Sister *ELIZABETH* succeeding in the Kingdom, raised to life again the True Religion. Whereupon, as the Church of Christ began by little and little to flourish; so the memory of *Bucer* and *Phagius* (although their bones were burnt by Cardinal *Poole*) was restored again by this goodly Qu. *ELIZABETH*, who gave then in Commission to *Matthew Parker* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and to *Edmund Grindal* then Bishop of *London*, and to *Master Gualter Haddon* and others: For the performance of which Commission, the said reverend Bishops addressed their Letters to the Vicechancellor, &c.

The Oration of Mr. Acworth, Orator of the University, at the restitution of Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius.

The Oration
of Mr. Acworth.

I Am in doubt, whether I may intreat of the praise and commendation of so great a Clerk (for the celebrating whereof, this assembly, and concourse of yours is made this day) or of the vices and calamities, out of the which we be newly delivered, or of them both, considering the one cannot be mentioned without the other. In the which times ye felt so much anguish and sorrow (my right dear Brethren) that if I should repeat them, and bring them to remembrance again, I fear me, I should not so much work a just hatred in us towards them, for the injuries received in them, as renew our old sorrow and heaviness. Again, men must needs account me unadvised and foolish in my doing, if I should think myself able to make him which hath lived before our eyes in praise and estimation, more famous and notable by my Oration which he by his living and conversation hath oftentimes polished. But the wickedness of the times, which endeavored to wipe clean out of Remembrance of Men the name that was so famous and renowned in every mans mouth, did much profit him. Inasmuch, that both in his life time all things redounded to his continual renown, and in especial after his decease, nothing could be devised more honorable, then with so solemn furniture and ceremonies, to have gone about to have hurt the memorial of such a worthy Man, and yet could not bring to pass the thing that was so fore coveted; but rather brought that thing to pass, which was chiefly sought to be avoided. For the desire that men have of the dead hath purchased to many men everlasting fame, and hath not taken away immortality, but rather amplified and increased the fame. By means whereof it cometh to pass, that he that will intreat of those things that pertain to the praise of *Bucer* after his death, cannot chafe but speak of the crabbedness of the times past, upon the which riseth a great increase and augmentation of his praise. But his life so excellently set forth, not only by the writings of the Clerks, *Checke* and *Carre*, and by the lively voice of the right famous Doctor *Haddon*, uttered in this place to the great admiration of all the Hearers, when his Body should be laid into his grave to be buried; and after his burial, by the goodly and most holy Preachings of the right reverend Father in Christ the Archbishop of *Canterbury* that now is, and of Dr. *Redman*, the which for the worthiness and excellency of them, ought to stick longer in our minds unwritten, then many things that are penned and put in print; but also by the great assembly of all the degrees of the University the same day, in bringing him to his grave and the next day after by the industry of every man that was endued with any knowledge in the Greek or Latin tongues; of the which, there was no man but let up some Verses, as witnesses of his just and unfeigned sorrow upon the walls of the Church: that neither at that time any reverence or duty which is due to the dead departing out of this life, was then overslipped, or now remaineth undone, that may seem to pertain either to the celebrating of the memorial of so holy or famous a Person, or to the consecrating of him to everlasting memory. Wear that time saw with our eyes this University flourishing by his institutions, the love of sincere Religion not only ingendred, but also confirmed and strengthened through his continual and daily preaching. Into-

much that at such time as he was suddenly taken from us, there was scarce any man that for sorrow could find in his heart to bear with the present state of this life; but that either he wished with all his heart to depart out of this life with *Bucer* into another, and by dying to follow him into immortality, or else endeavored himself with weeping and sighing to call him again, being dispatched of all troubles, into the prison of this Body, out of the which he is escaped, lest he should leave us as it were standing in battel without a Captain, and he himself as one cashiered, depart with his wages, or as one discharged out of the Camp, withdraw himself to the everlasting quietness and tranquillity of the Soul. Therefore all men evidently declared at that time, both how sore they took his death to heart, and also how hardly they could away with the mixture of such a man. As long as the ardent love of his Religion (wherewith we were inflamed) flourished, it wrought in our Hearts an incredible desire of his presence among us. But after the time that the goodly man ceased to be any more in our sight, and in our eyes, that ardent and burning love of Religion by little and little waxed cold in our minds, and according to the times that came after (which were both miserable, and to our utter undoing) it began not by little and little to be darkened, but it altogether vanished away, and turned into nothing. For we fell again into the troublesomeness of the Popish Doctrine; the old Rites and Customs of the Romish Church were restored again, not to the garnishment and beautifying of the Christian Religion (as they furnished) but to the utter defacing, violating, and defiling of the same. Death was set before the eyes of such as persevered in the Christian Doctrine that they had learned before. They were banished the Realm that would not apply themselves to the time, and do as other men did: such as remained, were enforced either to dissemble, or to hide themselves, and creep into corners, or else as it were by drinking of the charmed cup of *Circes*, to be turned and altered, not only from the nature of Man into the nature of brute Beasts, but (that far worse and much more monstrous is) from the likeness of God and his Angels, into the likeness of Devils. And all *England* was infected with this malady. But I would to God the corruption of those times, which overwhelmed all the whole Realm, had not at least wise yet pierced every part and member thereof. Of the which there was not one, but that besides the grief that it felt, with the residue of the Body, by reason of the sickness and contagion spread into the whole) had some sorrow and calamity peculiarly by it self. And to omit the rest (of the which to intreat, this place is not appointed, nor the time requireth ought to be spoken) this dwelling place of the *Muses* (which we call the University) may be a sufficient witness what we may judge of all the rest of the Body. For certainly, my Brethren, the thing is not to be dissembled, that cannot be hidden. We, applying our selves to those most filthy times, have most shamefully yielded, like faint-hearted cowards, which had not the stomachs to sustain the Adversities of poverty, Banishment, and Death. Which in our living and conversation kept neither the constancy taught us by Philosophy, nor yet the patience taught us by Holy Scripture, which have done all things at the commandment of others. And therefore that which the Poet (although in another sense) hath trimly spoken, may well be thought to have been truly prophesied upon us:

*The times and seasons changed be:
And changed in the same are we.*

Divers of them that were of a pure and sincere judgment as concerning Religion, being driven from hence and distressed, the rest that remained taunted and felt of the inhumanity of them in whose hands the Authority of doing things here consisted; although to say the truth, I have used a gentler term then behoved. For it is not to be accounted inhumanity, but rather inhumanity and beastly cruelty: the which when they had spent all kinds of Torments and Punishments upon the quick, when they had cruelly taken from such as constantly persevered, life, from others riches, honours, and all hope of promotion, yet they could not be so satisfied; but that incensed and stirred with a greater fury, it began to

outrage even against the dead. Therefore whereas in every singular place was executed a singular kind of cruelty, in sum, that there was no kind of cruelty that could be devised, but it was put in use in one place or other, this was proper or peculiar to Cambridge, to exercise the cruelty upon the dead, which in other places was extended but to the quick. Oxford burnt up the right reverend Fathers, *Cranner, Ridley, and Laiimer* the noble witnesses of the clear light of the Gospel. Moreover, at London perished these two Lanterns of light, *Rogers and Bradford*: In whom it is hard to say, whether there were more force of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holiness of life and conversation. Many other without number, both here and in other places were consumed to ashes for bearing record to the Truth. For what City is there that hath not flamed? I say not with burning of houses and buildings, but with burning of holy Bodies? But Cambridge, after there were no more left alive upon whom they might spue their bitter poison, played the mad *Beelzebub* against the dead. The dead men, whose living no man was able to find fault with, whose Doctrine no man was able to reprove, were by false slanderous Accusers indicted, contrary to the Laws of God and man, sued in the Law, condemned, their Sepulchres violated and broken up, their Carcasses pulled out and burnt with fire. A thing truly incredible, if we had not seen it with our eyes, and a thing that hath not lightly been heard of. But the hatredness of this wicked act was spread abroad as a common talk in every mans mouth, and was blown and dispersed through all *Christendom*. Bucer by the excellency of his wit and Doctrine known to all men, of our Country-men in manner craved, of many others intreated and sent for, to the intent he might instruct our Cambridge men in the sincere Doctrine of the Christian Religion, being spent with age, and his strength utterly decayed, forsook his own Country, refused not the tediousness of that long journey, was not afraid to adventure himself upon the Sea, but had more regard of the dilating and amplifying of the Church of Christ, than of all other things. So in conclusion he came, every man received and welcomed him: afterward he lived in such wife, as it might appear he came not hither for his own sake, but for ours. For he fought not to drive away the sickness that he had taken by troublesome travel of his long journey: and albeit his strength were weakened and appalled, yet he regarded not the recovery of his health, but put himself to immoderate labour and intolerable pain, only to teach and instruct us. And yet toward this so noble and worthy person, while he lived, were shewed all the tokens of humanity and gentleness, reverence and courtesy that could be; and when he was dead, the most horrible cruelty and spite that might be imagined. For what can be so commendable, as to grant unto the living, house and abiding place, and to the dead, burial? Or what is he that will find in his heart to give entertainment, and to cherish that person in his house with all kind of gentleness that he can devise, upon whom he could not vouchsafe to bestow burial when he is dead? Again, what an inconstancy is it, with great solemnity, and with much advancement and commendation of his virtues to bury a man honourably, and anon after to break up his Tomb, and pull him out spitefully, and wrongfully to slander him being dead, who during his life time always deserved praise? All these things have happened unto *Bucer*, who whilst he lived had free access into the most gorgeous buildings and stately palaces of the greatest Princes, and when he was dead, could not be suffered to enjoy so much as his poor grave. Who being laid in the ground nobly to his eternal fame, was afterward, to his utter defacing, spitefully taken up and burned. The which things albeit they did no harm to the dead (for the dead carcases feel not pain, neither doth the fame of godly persons depend upon the report of vulgar People, and the light rumours of men, but upon the rightful censure and just judgement of God) yet it reproveth and extremeth cruelty and unfeeling desire of revenge in them which offer such utter wrong to the dead. These persons therefore whom they have pulled out of their graves and burned, I believe (if they had been alive) they would have cast out of

house and home, they would have driven out of all mens Company, and in the end with most cruel torments have torn them in pieces, being nevertheless Aliens, being strangers, and being also fetched hither by us out of such a Country, where they not only needed not to fear any punishment, but contrarywise were always had in much reputation, as well among the noble and honorable, as also among the Vulgar and common People. But yet how much more gentle then these men was *Bishop Gardiner*, otherwise an earnest defender of the Popish Doctrine? who against his own Country-men, let pass no cruelty whereby he might extinguish with fire and sword the light of the Gospel: and yet he spared foreigners, because the right of them is so holy, that there was never Nation so barbarous, that would violate the same. For when he had in his power the renowned Clerk *Peter Martyr*, then teaching at Oxford, he would not keep him to punish him, but (as I have heard reported) when he should go his way, he gave him wherewith to bear his charges. So that the thing which he thought he might of right do to his Country-men, he judged unlawful to do to strangers. And whom the Law of God could not withhold from the wicked murdering of his own Country-men, him did the Law of man bridle from killing of strangers, the which hath ever appealed all barbarous beastliness, and mitigated all cruelty. For it is a point of humanity for man and man to meet together, and one to come to another, though they be never so far separated and set asunder, both by Sea and by Land, without the which access there can be no intercourse of merchandise; there can be no conference of wits, which first of all ingendred learning, nor any commodity of society long to continue. To repulse them that come to us, and to prohibit them our Countries, is a point of inhumanity. Now to entertain them evil, that by our sufferance dwell among us, and have increase of household and household-stuff, it is a point of wickedness. Wherefore this cruelty hath far surmounted the cruelty of all others, the which, to satisfy the insatiable greediness thereof, drew to execution not only strangers, brought hither at our intreatance and sending for, but even the withered and rotten Carcasses digged out of their graves; to the intent that the immeasurable thirst which could not be quenched with shedding the Blood of them that were alive, might at the least be satisfied in burning of dead mens Bones. These (my Brethren) these, I say, are the just causes which have so fore provoked the wrath of God against us, because that in doing extrem injury to the dead we have been prone and ready; but in putting the same away we have been slow and slack. For verily I believe (if I may have liberty to say freely what I think) (ye shall bear with me, if I chance to cast forth any thing unadvisedly in the heat and hasty discourse of my Oration) that even this place, in the which we have so oftentimes assembled, being defiled with that new kind of wickedness, such as man never heard of before, is a let and hinderance unto us, when we call for the help of God, by means whereof our prayers are not accepted, which we make to appease the Godhead, and to win him to be favourable unto us again.

The Blood of *Abel* shed by *Cain*, calleth and crieth from the earth that sucked it up: likewise, the undeserved burning of these Bodies, calleth upon Almighty God to punish us, and crieth, that not only the Authors of so great a wickedness, but also the ministers thereof are unpure, the places defiled, in which these things were perpetrated, the Air infected which we take into our Bodies, to the intent that by sundry diseases and sicknesses we may receive punishment for so execrable wickedness. Look well about ye (my dear Brethren) and consider with your selves the evils that are past? and ye shall see how they took their beginning at *Bucers* death, following one in anothers neck even unto this day. First and foremost, when we were even in the chiefest of our mourning, and scarcely yet comforted of our loss for his death, the sweating sickness lighted upon us, the which passed swiftly thorow all *England*, and as it were in haste dispatched an innumerable company of men. Secondly, the untimely death of our most noble King *Edward the sixth* (whose life in virtue far more than the opinion of all men, and seemed worthy of immortality) Lapsed contrary

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contrary to mens expectation in that age, in which unless violence be used, few do die. The conversion of Religion, or rather the conversion and turning thereof into Paucity: The incursion and domination of strangers, under whose yoke our necks were almost subdued: The importunate cruelty of the Bishops against the Christians, which executed that wickedness, for making satisfaction whereof we are gathered together this day. These are the things that ensued after his death; but after his burning ensued yet grievous things: Namely, new kinds of plagues, and contagious diseases, unknown to the very Physicians, whereby either every mans health was impaired, or else they were brought to their graves, or else very hardly recovered. Bloody battels without victory, whereof the profit redounded to the enemy, and to us the slaughter with great loss. The which things do evidently declare, that God is turned from us, and angry with us, and that he giveth no ear to our prayers, and that he is not moved with our cries and sighs, but that he looketh that this our meeting and assembly should be to this end, that forasmuch as we have violated their Corps, we should do them right again; so that the memorial of these most holy men may be commended unto posterity unhurt and undefamed. Wherefore, amend yet at length (my Brethren) which hitherto, by reason of the variableness and unconformity of the times, have been wavering and unfixed in your hearts; shew your selves cheerful and forward in making satisfaction for the injury you have done to the dead, whom with so great wickedness of late ye indamaged and defiled; not censuring them with the perfumes of those odours and spices now worn out of use, and put to flight, but with a true and unfained repentance of the heart, and with prayer, to the intent that the heavenly Godhead, provoked by our doings to be our enemy, may by our humble submission be intreated to be favourable and agreeable to all our other requests.

When *Acworth* had made an end of his Oration, Mr. *James Pilkington* the Queens Reader of the Divinity Lecture, going up into the Pulpit made a Sermon upon the 112. Psalm. the beginning whereof is, *Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord.*

The Sermon
of Dr. James
Pilkington.

Where intending to prove, that the remembrance of the just man shall not perish, and that *Bucer* is blessed, and that the ungodly shall fret at the sight thereof, but yet that all their attempts shall be to no purpose, to the intent this saying may be verified, (I will curse your blessings, and bless your cursings,) he took his beginning of his own person; That albeit he were both ready and willing to take that matter in hand, partly for the worthiness of the matter itself, and especially for certain singular virtues of those Persons, for whom that Congregation was called, yet notwithstanding, he said, he was nothing meet to take that charge upon him.

For it were more reason, that he which before had done *Bucer* wrong, should now make him amends for the displeasure. As for his own part, he was so far from working any evil against *Bucer*, either in word or deed; that for their singular knowledge almost in all kind of learning, he embraced both him and *Phagius* with all his heart. But yet he somewhat more favoured *Bucer*, as with whom he had more familiarity and acquaintance. In consideration whereof, although that it was scarce convenient, that he at that time should speak, yet notwithstanding he was contented for friendship and courteous sake, not to fail them in their business. Having made this Preface, he entered into the pith of the matter, wherein he blamed greatly the barbarous cruelty of the Court of *Rome*, so fiercely extended against the dead. He said it was a more heinous matter then was to be born with, to have shed such extreme cruelty to them that were alive; but for any man to misbehave himself in such wise toward the dead, was such a thing as had not lightly been heard of: Saving that he affirmed this custom of excommunicating and cursing of dead folk, to have come first from *Rome*. For *Eusebius* reported in his writings, that *Eutychius* was of the same opinion, induced by the example of *Josias*, who slew the Priests of *Baal*, and burnt up the Bones of them that were dead, even upon the Altars. Whereas, before the

time of *Eutychius* this kind of punishment was well near unknown, neither afterward usurped of any man (that ever he heard of) until nine hundred years after Christ. In the latter times (the which how much the further they were from the Golden-age of the Apostles, so much the more they were corrupted) this kind of cruelty began to creep further. For it is manifestly known, that *Stephen* the sixth Pope of *Rome* digged up *Formosus*, his last Predecessor in that See, and spoiling him of his apparel, buried him again in a lay-mans apparel (as they call it) having first cut off and thrown into *Tyber* his two fingers, with which according to their accustomed manner, he was wont to bless and consecrate. The which his unspeakable tyranny used against *Formosus*, within six years after, *Sergius* the third increased also against the same *Formosus*. For taking up his dead Body, and setting it in a Popes Chair, he caused his Head to be smitten off, and his other three fingers to be cut from his hand, and his Body to be cast into the River of *Tyber*, abrogating and annulling all his Decrees, which thing was never done by any man before that day. The cause why so great cruelty was exercised (by the report of *Naucerius*) was this; Because that *Formosus* had been an adversary to *Stephen* and *Sergius* when they lived to be made Bishops.

This kind of cruelty (unheard of before) the Popes awhile exercised one against another. But now, ere ever they had sufficiently felt the smart thereof themselves, they had turned the same upon their necks. Wherefore it was to be wished, that seeing it began among them, it might have remained still with the Authors thereof, and not have been spread over thence unto us. But such is the nature of all evil, that it quickly passeth into example, for others to do the like. For about the year of the Lord 1400. *John Wickliffe* was in like manner digged up, and burnt into ashes, and thrown into a Brook that runneth by the Town where he was buried. Of the which self-same sawce tasted also *William Tracy* of *Gloucester*, a man of a worshipful house, because he had written in his last will, that he should be saved only by Faith in Jesus Christ, and that there needed not the help of any man thereto, whether he were in Heaven or in Earth; and therefore bequeathed no Legacy to that purpose, as all other men were accustomed to do. This deed was done since we may remember, about the 22. year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, in the year of our Lord, 1530.

Now seeing they extended such cruelty to the dead, he said it was an easie matter to conjecture what they would do to the living. Whereof we have had sufficient trial by the examples of our own men, these few years past. And if we would take the pains to peruse things done somewhat longer ago, we might find notable matters out of our own Chronicles. Howbeit, it was sufficient for the manifest demonstration of that matter, to declare the beastly butchery of of the French King, executed upon the *Waldenses* at *Cabrier*, and the places near therabout, by his Captain *Aimer*, about the year of our Lord, 1545. than the which there was never thing read of more cruelty done, no not even of the barbarous Pagans. And yet for all that, when divers had shewed their uttermost cruelty both against these and many others, they were so far from their purpose, in extinguishing the light of the Gospel, which they endeavoured to suppress, that it increased daily more and more. The which thing *Charles* the fifth (then whom all Christendom had not a more prudent Prince, nor the Church of Christ almost a fiercer Enemy) easily perceived; and therefore when he had in his hand *Luther* dead, and *Melancthon* and *Pomercen* with certain other Preachers of the Gospel alive, he not only determined not any thing extremely against them, nor violated their graves, but also intreating them gently, sent them away, not so much as once forbidding them to publish openly the Doctrine that they professed. For it is the nature of Christs Church, that the more that Tyrants spurn against it, the more it increaseth and flourisheth. A notable proof assuredly of the providence and pleasure of God in sowing the Gospel, was that coming of the *Bohemians* unto us, to the intent to hear *Wickliffe*, of whom we spake before, who at that time read openly at *Oxford*.

and also the going of our men to the said *Bohemians* when persecution was raised against us. But much more notable was it, that we have seen come to pass in these our days; that the *Spaniards*, sent for into the Realm of purpose to suppress the Gospel, as soon as they were returned home replenished many parts of their Country with the same Truth of Religion, to the which before they were utter enemies. By the which examples it might evidently be perceived, that the Princes of this World labour in vain to overthrow it, considering how the mercy of God hath sown it abroad, not only in those Countries that we spake of, but also in *France, Pole, Scotland*, and almost all the rest of *Europe*. For it is said, that some parts of *Italy* (although it be under the Popes nose) yet do they of late incline to the knowledge of the heavenly Truth: Wherefore sufficient argument and proof might be taken by the success and increase thereof, to make us believe that this Doctrine is sent us from Heaven, unless we will wilfully be blinded. And if there were any that desired to be perverted more at large in the matter, he might advantageously consider the voyage that the Emperour and the Pope with both their powers together, made joyntly against the *Bohemians*. In the which the Emperour took such an unworthy repulse of so small a handful of his enemies, that he never almost in all his life took the like dishonour in any place. Hereof also might be an especial example of the death of *Henry*, King of *France*, who the same day that he had purposed to persecute the Church of Christ, and to have burned certain of his Guard whom he had imprisoned for Religion, at whose execution he had promised to have been himself in proper person, in the midst of his triumph at a Tourney, was wounded so sore in the head with a Spear by one of his own Subjects, that ere it was long after he died. In the which behalf, the dreadful judgments of God were no less approved in our own Country-men. For one that was a notable laughter-man of Christs Saints rotted alive, and ere ever he died, such a rank favour steamed from all his Body, that none of his Friends were able to come at him, but they were ready to vomit. Another, being in utter despair well nigh of all health, howled out miserably. The third ran out of his wits. And divers other that were enemies to the Church perished miserably in the end. All the which things were most certain tokens of the favour and defence of the divine Majesty towards his Church, and of his wrath and vengeance towards the Tyrants. And forasmuch as he had made mention of the *Bohemians*, he said it was a most apt example that was reported of their Captain *Zisca*; who, when he should die, willed his Body to be flayed, and of his skin to make a parchment to cover the head of a Drum. For it should come to pass, that when his enemies heard the found of it, they should not be able to stand against them. The like counsel (he said) he himself now gave them as concerning *Bucer*. That like as the *Bohemians* did with the Skin of *Zisca*, the same should they do with the Arguments and Doctrine of *Bucer*. For as soon as the Papists should hear the noise of him, their gewgaws would forthwith decay. For saving that they used violence to such as withstood them, their Doctrine contained nothing that might seem to any man (having but mean understanding in holy Scripture) to be grounded upon any reason. As for those things that were done by them against such as could not play the mad-men as well as they, some of them favoured of open force, and some of ridiculous foolishness. For what was this first of all? Was it not frivolous, that by the space of three years together, Mass should be sung in those places where *Bucer* and *Phagius* rested in the Lord, without any offence at all and as soon as they took it to be an offence, straightway to be an offence, if any were heard thereof that it should not be as good then as it was before as if that then upon the sudden it had been a heinous matter to celebrate it in that place, and that the fault that was past should be counted the grievous, because it was done of longer time before. Moreover, this was a matter of none effect, that *Bucer* and *Phagius* only should be digged up, as who should say, that he only had embraced the Religion which they call Heretic. It was well known how one of the Burgeses of the Town had been minded toward the Popish Religion.

Stephen Gardiner
died at
Winchester.

Who when he should die, willed neither ringing of Bells, Diriges, nor any other such kind of trifles to be done for him in his Anniversary, as they term it, but rather that they should go with instruments of musick before the Mayor and Council of the City, to celebrate his memorial, and also that yearly a Sermon should be made to the People bequeathing a piece of money to the Preacher for his labour. Neither might he omit in that place to speak of *Ward* the Painter, who albeit he were a man of no reputation, yet was he not to be despised for the Religion sake which he diligently followed. Neither were divers other more to be passed over with silence, who were known of a certainty to have continued in the same Sect and to rest in other Church-yards in *Cambridge*, and rather through the whole Realm, and yet defiled not their Masses at all. All the which persons (forasmuch as they were all of one Opinion) ought all to have been taken up, or else all to have been let lie with the same Religion; unless a man would grant, that it lieth in their power to make what they list lawful and unlawful at their own pleasure. In the condemnation of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, to say the truth, they used too much cruelty, and too much violence. For howsoever it went with the Doctrine of *Bucer*, certainly they could find nothing whereof to accuse *Phagius*, inasmuch as he wrote nothing that came abroad, saving a few things that he had translated out of the *Hebrew* and *Caldee* Tongues into Latin. After his coming into the Realm he never read, he never disputed, he never preached, he never taught; for he deceased soon after, so that he could in that time give no occasion for his Adversaries to take hold on, whereby to accuse him whom they never heard speak. In that they hated *Bucer* so deadly, for the allowable marriage of the Clergy, it wasth their own malice conceived against him, and a very slander raised by themselves. For he had for his defence in that matter (over and besides other helps) the testimony of Pope *Pius* the second, who in a certain place saith, that upon weighty considerations Priests Wives were taken from them, but for more weighty causes were to be restored again. And also the Statute of the Emperour, they call it the *Interim*, by the which it is enacted, that such of the Clergy as were married, should not be divorced from their Wives.

Thus turning his stile from this matter to the University, he reproved in few words their unfaithfulness towards these men. For if the Lord suffered not the Bones of the King of *Edom*, being a wicked man, to be taken up and burnt without revengement (as saith *Amos*) let us assure our selves he will not suffer so notable a wrong done to his godly Preachers unrevenge. Afterward, when he came to the condemnation (which we told you in the former action was pronounced by *Pernes* the Vicechancellor, in the name of them all) being somewhat more moved at the matter, he admonished them how much it stood them in hand, to use great circumspectness, what they decreed upon any man by their voices, in admitting or rejecting any man to the promotions and degrees of the University. For that he which should take his Authority from them, should be a great prejudice to all the other multitude, which (for the Opinion that he had of their Doctrine, judgment, allowance, and knowledge) did think nothing but well of them. For it would come to pass, that if they would bestow their promotions upon none but meet persons, and let the unmeet go as they come, both the Common-wealth should receive much commodity and profit by them, and besides that, they should highly please God. But if they persisted to be negligent in doing thereof, they should grievously endamage the common-wealth, and worthily work their own shame and reproach. Over and besides that, they should greatly offend the Majesty of God, whose commandment (not to bear false witness) they should in so doing break and violate. In the mean while that he was speaking these and many other things before his audience, many of the University, to set out and defend *Bucer* withal, beset the walls of the Church and Church-porch on both sides with Verbes; some in Latin, some in Greek, and some in English, in the which they made a manifest declaration how they were minded both toward *Bucer* and *Phagius*. Finally, when his Sermon was ended, they made common supplica-

Anno

1557.

Falls some-
time May of
of the
Tona.

Anno
1556.

supplication and prayers. After thanks rendred to God for many other things, but in especial for restoring of the true and sincere Religion, every man departed his way.

Forasmuch as mention hath been made of the death of the worthy and famous Clerk, *Martin Bucer*, and of the burning of his Bones after his death, it shall not be unfruitful, as the place here serveth, to induce the Testimony or Epitaph of *Dr. Redman*, which came not yet in print, upon the decease of that man.

The Epitaph or Funeral Verse of *Dr. Redman*, upon the death of *Mr. Bucer*.

E tu livor edax procul hinc abscede, maligna
fasciis irindencia,
Et procul hinc Nemesis, procul hinc & Momus abesto,
labe lueque mentium,
Damonibus similes homines que redditis, almam
fideatias adque imaginem
Quem nostro impressit generi pater ille supremus,
similes sui dum nos creai.
Contemptrix odii & mendacii nescia fuci
Adesto sancta Veritas,
Dicito quis qualisque, elatum funere nuper
quem vidimus tam flebilis?
Est inquam misera hac defunctus luce Bucerus,
lux Literati & dux Chori,
Doctrinae radio: qui totum solus ad instar
misit per orbem splendidos.
Hanc duxa nuper sublatum vulnere mortis
logabore flet Gymnasium.
Et pullata gemis merens schola Cantabrigienfis
orbata cloro lydere,
Ergo, quasi obstricto doctrinae fonte querelas
precesque nunc fundit.
Agnoscit nunquam se talem habuisse magistrum
ex quo sit olim coacta.
Non unquam Cathedrae gavisus est praeside tanto,
tam nobilis & cloro dux.
Cujus & ingenii & doctrinae munera, summum
virtutis ornauerat decus,
Integritas morum, gravitas, prudentia, sermo
semper Dei laudem sonans,
Et sale conditus, qualem vult esse piorum
Apostoli sententia.
Accessit zelus fervens & praesule dignus,
peccata semper arguens.
Nunquam desidia, aut languori deditus, ullum
indulgit otium sibi.
Credibile est nimio satum accelerasse labore,
prodesse cunctis dum sudet.
Sed frustra laudes angusto carmine nitior
tam copiosas claudere.
Ergo Bucer, schola & suggestus gloria sacri,
valet etiam vel mortuus.
Aeternum in superis felix jam vivito regnis,
exultis est corporis
Terrenis solum, huius miseri atque caduci:
Quod est sepulchro conditum
Christus depositum reddit cum sanore magno,
Judex brevis quam veneris.

The despicable handling and madness of the Papiſts toward Peter Martyrs Wife at Oxford, taken up from her grave at the commandment of Cardinal Pool, and after buried in a dung-hill.

ANd because the one University should not mock the other, like cruelty was also declared upon the dead Body of *Peter Martyrs Wife* at *Oxford*, an honest, grave and sober Matron, while the lived, and of poor People always a great helper, as many that be dwelling there can right well testify. In the year of our Lord

1552. she departed this life, with great sorrow of all those needy persons, whose necessities many times and often she had liberally eased, and relieved. Now when *Brooks* Bishop of *Glocester*, *Nicholas Ormanet* Datary, *Robert Morwen* President of *Corpus Christi* Colledge, *Cole* and *Wright* Doctors of the Civil Law, came thither as the Cardinals Visitors, they among other things had in Commission to take up this good Woman again out of her grave, and to consume her Carcase with fire, not doubting but that she was of the same Religion that her Husband had professed before, when he read the Kings Lecture there. And to make a shew that they would do nothing disorderly, they called all those before them that had any acquaintance with her or her Husband. They ministrated an Oath unto them, that they should not conceal whatsoever was demanded. In fine, their answer was, that they knew not what Religion she was of, by reason they understood not her language.

To be short, after these Visitors had spent their business they came forth, they gate them to the Cardinal again, certifying him that upon due inquisition made, they could learn nothing upon which by the Law they might burn her. Notwithstanding, the Cardinal did not leave the matter so, but wrote down his Letters a good while after to *Marshall*, then Dean of *Frideſwides*, that he should dig her up, and lay her out of Christian burial, because she was interred nigh unto *St. Frideſwides* Relicks, sometime had in great reverence in that Colledge. Doctor *Marshall* like a pretty man, calling his Spades and Mattocks together in the Evening, when he was well whetted, caused her to be taken up and buried in a Dung-hill.

Howbeit, when it pleased God under good Queen *Elizabeth* to give quietness to his Church, long time persecuted with prison and death, then *Dr. Parker*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Edmund Grindall* Bishop of *London*, *Richard Goodrich*, with divers others her Majesties high Commissioners in matters of Religion (nothing ignorant how far the Adversaries of the Truth had transgressed the bounds of all humanity, in violating the Sepulchre or Grave of that good and virtuous Woman) willed certain of that Colledge, in which this uncounteous touch was attempted or done, to take her out of that unclean and dishonest place where she lay, and solemnly in the face of the whole Town, to bury her again in a more decent and honest Monument. For though the Body being once dead, no great estimation were to be had, how or where the Bones were laid; yet was some reverence to be used toward her for Sex and Womanhood sake. Besides, to say the truth, it was great shame, that he which had travelled so far at King *Edwards* request, from the place wherein he dwelt quietly and had taken so earnest pains, being an Old man, in reading and setting forth the Truth all he could, with learning to teach and instruct, and so well deserved of that University; should with so ungentle a recompence of ingratitude be rewarded again, as to have his Wife that was a godly woman, a stranger, good to many, especially to the poor, and hurtful to none, either in word or deed, without just deserving, and beside their own Law, not proceeding against her according to the order thereof, spitefully to be laid in a stinking Dung-hill.

To all good natures the fact seemed odious, and of such as be indued with humanity, utterly to be abhorred. Wherefore *Mr. Calsfield*, then Sub-dean of the Colledge, diligently provided, that from *Marshall* Dung-hill she was restored and translated to her proper place again, the Bones of Peter Martyrs, which were laid in a cave any Cardinal will be so mad hereafter to remove, this Womans Bones again, it shall be hard for them to discern the Bones of her from the other. And to the intent the same might be notified to the minds of men the better, the next day after, which was Sunday, *Mr. Rogers* preached unto the People, in which Sermon by the way he declared the rough dealing of the Adversaries, which were contented to practice their cruelty against the living, but that they must also rage against one that was dead, and had lain two years in her grave. God grant them once to see their own wickedness, Amen.

Comman-
dation of Peter
Martyrs
Wife.

Justus
vires 2...
ghost Peter
Martyrs
Wife.

Cardinal
Pool earnest
in burning
dead mens
Bodies.

Dr. Marshall
Dean of
Frideſwides

From Mar-
tyrs wives
Bones again
restored out
of the
Dung-hill,
and laid in
a decent
Monument.

Great Ingra-
titude shew-
ed to Peter
Martyrs.

Mr. James
Calsfield.

The Bones
of Peter
Martyrs
Wife cou-
pled with
the Bones of
St. Frideſwides.

The taking
up of Peter
Martyrs
Wives Bones

And thus much touching the noble acts and strangeness of this worthy Cardinal in both the Universities; whereunto it shall not be impertinent, here also consequently to adjoyn and set forth to the eyes of the world the blind and bloody Articles set out by Cardinal Pool, to be inquired upon, within his Diocess of *Canterbury* whereby it may the better appear what yokes and snares of fond and fruitless traditions were laid upon the poor flock of Christ, to intangle and oppress them with loss of life and liberty. By the which, wise men have to see what godly fruits proceeded from that Catholick Church and See of *Rome*. In which, albeit thou fellest (good Reader) some good Articles imparfed withal, let that nothing move thee; for else how could such Poyson be ministred, but it must have some honey to relish the Readers tast.

Here follow the Articles set forth by Cardinal Pool, to be enquired in his ordinary visitation, within his Diocess of *Canterbury*.

Touching the Clergy.

Articles of the Cardinal to be inquired in his visitation of *K^{ts}*.

- 1 *Item*, whether the Divine Service in the Church at times, days, hours, be observed and kept duly, or no.
- 2 *Item*, whether the Parsons, Vicars, and Curates do comely and decently in their manners and doings behave themselves, or no.
- 3 *Item*, whether they do reverently and duely minister the Sacraments or Sacramentals, or no.
- 4 *Item*, whether any of their Paritioners do die without ministrat[i]on of the Sacraments, through the negligence of their Curates, or no.
- 5 *Item*, whether the said Parsons, Vicars, or Curates, do haunt Taverns or Alehouses, increasing thereby infamy and slander, or no.
- 6 *Item*, whether they be diligent in teaching the Midwives how to Christen Children in time of necessity, according to the Canons of the Church, or no.
- 7 *Item*, whether they see that the Font be comely kept and have Holy Water always ready for Children to be Christened.
- 8 *Item*, if they do keep a Book of all the names of them that be reconciled to the duty of the Church.
- 9 *Item*, whether there be any Priests, that late unlawfully had Women under pretended Marriage, and hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwelling places.
- 10 *Item*, whether they do diligently teach their Paritioners the Articles of the Faith, and the ten Commandments.
- 11 *Item*, whether they do decently observe those things that do concern the Service of the Church, and all those things that tend to a good and Christian Life, according to the Canons of the Church.
- 12 *Item*, whether they do devoutly in their prayers pray for the prosperous estate of the King and Queens Majesties.
- 13 *Item*, whether the said Parsons and Vicars do sufficiently repair their Chancels, Rectories, and Vicarages, and do keep and maintain them sufficiently repaired and amended.
- 14 *Item*, whether any of them do preach or teach any erroneous Doctrine, contrary to the Catholick Faith and Unity of the Church.
- 15 *Item*, whether any of them do say the Divine Service, or do minister the Sacraments in the English tongue, contrary to the usual order of the Church.
- 16 *Item*, whether any of them do suspiciously keep any Women in their houses, or do keep company with Men suspected of Heresies, or of evil Opinion.
- 17 *Item*, whether any of them that were under pretence of lawful Marri[m]ony married, and now reconciled, do privily resort to their pretended Wives, or that the said Women do privily resort unto them.
- 18 *Item*, whether they do go decently apparelled, as it becometh sad, sober, and discreet Ministers, and whether they have their crowns and beards shaven.
- 19 *Item*, whether any of them do use any unlawful games, as dice, cards, and other like, whereby they grow to slander and evil report.

20 *Item*, whether they do keep residence and hospitality upon their Benefices, and do make charitable contributions according to all the Laws Ecclesiastical.

21 *Item*, whether they do keep the Book of Registers of Christenings, Burings, and Marriages, with the names of the Godfathers and Godmothers.

Touching the Lay-people.

1 *Item*, whether any manner of person, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he be, do hold, maintain, or affirm any Heresies, Errors, or erroneous Opinions, contrary to the Laws Ecclesiastical, and the Unity of the Catholick Church.

2 *Item*, whether any person do hold, affirm, or say that in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar there is not contained the real and substantial presence of Christ; or that by any manner of means do contemn and despise the said blessed Sacrament, or do refuse to do reverence or worship thereunto.

3 *Item*, whether they do contemn or despise by any manner of means any other of the Sacraments, Rites, or Ceremonies of the Church, or do refuse or deny Auricular Confession.

4 *Item*, whether any do absent or refrain, without urgent and lawful impediment, to come to the Church, and reverently to hear the Divine Service upon Sundays and Holy days.

5 *Item*, whether being in the Church, they do not apply themselves to hear the Divine Service, and to be contemplative in Holy Prayer, and not to walk, jangle, or talk, in the time of the Divine Service.

6 *Item*, whether any be Fornicators, Adulterers, or do commit Incest, or be Bawds, and receivers of evil persons, or be vehemently suspected of any of them.

7 *Item*, whether any do blaspheme and take the Name of God in vain, or be common swearers.

8 *Item*, whether any be perjured, or have committed Simony or Usury, or do still remain in the same.

9 *Item*, whether the Churches and Church Yards be well and honestly repaired and inclosed.

10 *Item*, whether the Churches be sufficiently garnished and adorned with all Ornaments and Books necessary, and whether they have a Rood in their Church of a decent stature, with *Mary* and *John*, and an Image of the Patron of the same Church.

11 *Item*, whether any do withhold, or doth draw from the Church any manner of money or goods, or that do withhold their due and accustomed Tithes from their Parsons and Vicars.

12 *Item*, whether any be common Drunkards, Ribalds, or men of evil living, or do exercise any lewd pastimes, especially in the time of Divine Service.

13 *Item*, if there be any to do practise or exercise any arts of Magick, or Necromancy, or do use or practise any Incantations, Sorceries, or Witchcraft, or be vehemently suspected thereof.

14 *Item*, whether any be married within the degrees of Affinity, or Consanguinity, prohibited by the Laws of holy Church, or that do marry, the Banes not asked, or do make any privy Contracts.

15 *Item*, whether in the time of *Easter* last, any were not confessed, or did not receive the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, or did irreverently behave themselves in the receiving thereof.

16 *Item*, whether any do keep any secret Conventicles, preachings, lectures, or readings, in matter of Religion, contrary to the Laws.

17 *Item*, whether any do now not duly keep the fasting and emburyng days.

18 *Item*, whether the Altars in the Churches be consecrated, or no.

19 *Item*, whether the Sacrament be carried devoutly to them that fall sick, with light, and with a little Sacring bell.

20 *Item*, whether the common Schools be well kept, and that the Schoolmasters be diligent in teaching, and be also Catholick, and men of good and upright judgment, and that they be examined and approved by the Ordinary.

21 *Item*,

Anno
1557.

Anno 1557. 21. Item, whether any do take upon them to administer the goods of those that be dead, without authority from the Ordinary.

22. Item, whether the poor People in every Parish be charitably provided for.

23. Item, whether there do burn a Lamp or a Candle before the Sacrament. And if there do not, that then it be provided for with expedition.

24. Item, whether Infants and Children be brought to be confirmed in convenient time.

25. Item, whether any do keep, or have in their custody any erroneous or unlawful Books.

26. Item, whether any do withhold any money or goods bequeathed to the amending of the highways, or any other charitable deed.

27. Item, whether any have put away their wives or any wives do withdraw themselves from their husbands, being not lawfully divorced.

28. Item, whether any do violate or break the Sundays and Holy-days, doing their daily labours and exercises upon the same.

29. Item, whether the Taverns or Alehouses, upon the Sundays and Holy-days, in the time of Mass, Matins, and Evensong, do keep open their doors, and receive People into their houses to drink and eat, and thereby neglect their duties in coming to the Church.

30. Item, whether, any have or do deprave or contempt the authority or jurisdiction of the Popes Holiness, or the See of Rome.

31. Item, whether any Minstrels, or any other persons do use to sing any Songs against the holy Sacraments, or any other rites and ceremonies of the Church.

32. Item, whether there be any Hospitals within your Parishes, and whether the foundations of them be duly and truly observed and kept: and whether the charitable contributions of the same be done accordingly.

33. Item, whether any goods, plate, jewels, or possessions be taken away, or withholden from the said Hospitals, and by whom.

A History of ten Martyrs condemned and burned within the Diocese of Canterbury, for the Testimony of Jesus Christ, and Truth of his Gospel.

Mention was made a little before of the persecution in Kent. Wherefore we declared, that 15. were in the Castle of Canterbury imprisoned and condemned for Gods Word. Of the which 15. moreover we shewed and declared 5. to be sanctified unto death within the said Castle, and buried by the high-way, about the beginning of November. The other ten, in the first month of the next year following, which was the year of our Lord, 1557. were committed unto the fire, and there consumed to ashes, by *Thornon*, called Bishop or Suffragan of *Dover*, otherwise called *Duke of Dover*, and by *Nicholas Harpfield* the Archdeacon of the said Province.

The names of these ten godly and Christian Martyrs be these:

*John Philpot of Tenterden.
William Waterer of Reddingen.
Stephen Kempe of Norgate.
William Hay of Hulse.
Thomas Hudson of Salenge.
Matt. Bradbridge of Tenterden.
Thomas Stephens of Beddingden.
Nich. Final of Tenterden.
William Lowick of Cranbrooke.
William Prewing of Thornham.*

January 15.
The martyrdom of ten
burned in
the Diocese
of Canterbury.

The Names
of the Martyrs.



The martyrdom of
Waterer,
Hay, Hudson,
Kempe,
W. Lowick,
W. Prewing,
at Canterbury,
Anno 1557.
January 15.
The other
four were
burned at
the same
time. Two
at Wye, and
two at Ashford.

Of these ten godly Martyrs of Christ, six were burned at Canterbury, about the 15. of January, that is, *Kemp, Waterer, Prewing, Lowick, Hudson, and Haie*. Other two, that is, *Stephens and Philpot*, at *Wye*, about the same month. Other two, which were *Final and Bradbridge*, were burned both together at *Ashford*, the 16th of the same.

Concerning
their Articles read
before.

What the ordinary Articles were, commonly objected to them of Canterbury Diocese, is before rehearsed, save only that to some of these, as to them that follow after, as the time of their persecution did grow, so their Articles withal did increase to the number of two and twenty,

containing such like matter as seemed to the maintenance of the Romish See.

To these Articles what their answers were likewise, needeth here no great rehearsal, seeing they all agreed together, though not in the same form of words, yet in much like effect of purposes: first granting the Church of Christ, and denying the Church of Rome, denying the seven Sacraments, refusing the Mass, and the hearing of Latin Service, praying to Saints, justification of Works, &c. And though they did all answer uniformly in some smaller things, as their learning served them, yet in the most principal and chiefest matters they did not greatly discord, &c.

The cause
of their martyrdom;

The

Examples
how Kings
and Princes,
and the
power of
the world
bind them-
selves against
Christ and
his word,
and yet
could never
prevail.

The next Month following, which was *February*, came out another bloody Commission from the King and Queen, to kindle up the fire of persecution, as though it were not hot enough already; the contents of which Commission I thought here not to pretermite: not for lack of matter, whereof I have too much; but that the Reader may understand how Kings and Princes of this world, like as in the first persecutions of the Primitive Church under *Valerianus, Decius, Maximian, Dioclesian, Licinius, &c.* so now also in these latter perilous days, have set out all their main force and power, with Laws, Policy, and Authority to the uttermost they could devise against Christ and his blessed Gospel. And yet notwithstanding all these Laws, Constitutions, Injunctions, and terrible Proclamations provided against Christ and his Gospel, Christ yet still continueth, his Gospel flourisheth, and Truth prevaileth; Kings and Emperors in their own purposes overthrown, their devices dissolved, their Councils confounded; as examples both of this and of all times and ages do make manifest. But now let us hear the intent of this Commission, in Tenor as followeth.

A Bloody Commission given forth by King Philip and Queen Mary, to persecute the poor Members of Christ.

A terrible
Proclamation
of K.
Philip and
Q. Mary,
against the
poor servants
& members
of Christ.

Persecutors.

Philip and Mary by the Grace of God King and Queen of England, &c. To the right reverend Father in God our right trusty and welbeloved Counsellor *Thomas Bishop of Ely*, and to our right trusty and welbeloved *William Windsor Knight, Lord Windsor, Edw. North Knight, Lord North*, and to our trusty and welbeloved Counsellor, *J. Bourn Knight*, one of our chief Secretaries, *J. Mordaunt Knight, Francis Englefield Knight*, Mr. of our Wards and Liveries, *Edw. Walgrave Knight*, Master of our great Wardrobe, *Nicholas Hare Knight*, Master of the Rolls, and our high Court of Chancery, and to our trusty and welbeloved *Thomas Pope Knight, Roger Cholmley Knight, Richard Rede Knight, Rowland Hill Knight, William Rastall Sergeant at Law, Henry Cole Clerk, Dean of Pauls, William Roper and Ralph Cholmley, Esquires, William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan*, Doctors of the Law, greeting.

The mean-
ing of the
Gospelers
silly re-
proed and
slandered.

Forasmuch as divers devilish and slanderous persons have not only invented, bruted and set forth divers false Rumors, Tales, and seditious Slanders against Us, but also have fown divers Heresies, and Heretical Opinions, and set forth divers seditious Books within this our Realm of England meaning thereby to stir up division, strife, contention, and sedition, not only amongst our loving Subjects, but also betwixt Us and our said Subjects, with divers other outrageous misdemeanors, enormities, contempts, and offences, daily committed and done, to the disquieting of Us and our People, We, minding the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours from henceforth, having special trust and confidence in your fidelities, wisdoms and discretions, have authorized, appointed and assigned you to be our Commissioners, and by these presents do give full Power and Authority unto you, and three of you, to enquire as well by the Oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses and all other means and politick ways you can devise, of all and singular Heretical Opinions, Lollardies, Heretical and Seditious Books, Concealments, Contempts, Conspiracies, and all false Rumors, Tales, Seditious and Slanderous words or sayings, raised, published, bruted, invented, or set forth against Us, or either of Us, or against the quiet governance and rule of our People and Subjects, by Books, Lies, Tales, or otherwise, in any County, Key, Bowing, or other place or places, within this our Realm of England or elsewhere, in any place or places beyond the Seas, and of the Bringers in, Utterers, Buyers, Sellers, Readers, Keepers, or Conveyers of any such Letter, Books, Rumor and Tale, and of all and every their Coadjutors, Counsellors, Comforters, Procurers, Abettors, and Maintainers, giving unto you and three of you full Power and Authority by virtue hereof, to search out and take into your lands and possessions, all manner of Heretical, and Seditious Books, Letters, and Writings, whereforever they or any of them shall be found, as well in Printers Houses and Shops, as elsewhere, willing you,

What watch
is there to
keep down
Christ-but
ye he will
rise.

and every of you to search for the same in all places according to your directions.

And also to enquire, hear and determine all and singular Enormities, Disturbances, Misbehaviours, and Negligencies committed in any Church, Chappel, or other hallowed place within this Realm, and also for and concerning the taking away or withholding any Lands, Tenements, Goods, Ornaments, Stocks of Money, or other things belonging to every of the fame Churches and Chappels, and all Accounts and Reckonings concerning the same.

And also to enquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, to hear Mass, or to come to their Parish Churches, or other convenient places appointed for Divine Service, and all such as refuse to go on Procession, to take Holy Bread, or Holy Water, or otherwise do misuse themselves in any Church or other hallowed place, whereforever any of the fame offences have been, or hereafter shall be committed within this our said Realm.

Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is, that when, and as often as any person or persons, hereafter being called or convened before you, do obstinately persist, or stand in any manner of Heresy, or Heretical Opinion, that then ye, or three of you do immediately take order, that the same person or persons, so standing or persisting, be delivered and committed to their Ordinary, there to be used according to the Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Laws.

And also we give unto you, or three of you, full Power and Authority, to enquire and search out all Vagabonds, and Masterless Men, Baretters, Quarrellors, and suspect Persons, abiding within our City of London, and ten miles compass of the same, and all assaults and affraies done and committed within the same City and compass.

And further to search out all walls, decays, and ruins of Churches, Chancels, Chappels, Parsonages and Vicarages in the Diocess of the same, being within this Realm, giving you and every of you full Power and Authority by virtue hereof to hear and determine the same, and all other offences and matters above specified and rehearsed, according to your Wisdoms, Consciences, and Discretions, willing and commanding you or three of you, from time to time, to use and devise all such politick ways and means, for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you or three of you shall be thought most expedient and necessary: and upon enquiry and due proof had, known, perceived and tried out, by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses before you, or three of you, concerning the premises or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment or otherwise, and to take such order for redress and reformation of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you shall be thought meet and convenient.

Further willing and commanding you and every three of you, in case you shall find any person or persons obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you at your calling or assignment, or else in not accomplishing, or not obeying your Decrees, Orders and Commandments in any thing or things, touching the premises or any part thereof, to commit the same person or persons so offending to Ward, there to remain, till by you or three of you he be discharged or delivered, &c. And so forth with other such like matter, as followeth, see in our first edition, pag. 1563.

The apprehension of two and twenty Prisoners sent up together for Gods Word, to London, from Colchester.

After this bloody Proclamation or Commission thus given out at London, which was *February 8.* the third and fourth years of the King and Queens Reign, these new Inquisitors, especially some of them began to ruffle, and to take upon them not a little; so that all quarters were full of persecution, and Prisons almost full of Prisoners, namely, in the Diocess of *Canterbury*, whereof (by the leave of Christ) we will say more anon.

In the mean time, about the Town of *Colchester*, the wind of persecution began fiercely to rise; inasmuch that three and twenty together, Men and Women, were apprehended

ANNO

1556.

Enormities
or misbe-
haviours.

Not coming
of to the
Church-Str-
vice.

Herein to
be commit-
ed to their
Ordinary.

Vagabond,
or Masterless
Men.

Decay of
Churches and Chap-
pels.

Prisoning of
theobscure.

Persecution
about Colche-
ster.

Anno 1557. apprehended at one clasp; of the which twenty three, one escaped: the other twenty two were driven up like a flock of Christian Lambs to London, with two or three Leaders with them at most ready to give their skins to be plucked off for the Gospels sake. Notwithstanding the Bishops, afraid be like of the number, to put so many at once to Death, sought means to deliver them, and so they did, drawing out a very easie submission for them, or rather suffering them to draw it out themselves; Notwithstanding divers of them afterward were taken again and suffered, as hereafter ye shall hear (God willing) declared. Such as met them by the way coming up, saw them in the Fields scattering in such sort, as that they might easily have escaped away. And when they entered into the Towns, their Keepers called them again into array, to go two and two together, having a band or line going between them, they holding the same in their hands, having another cord every one about his Arm, as though they were tied. And so were these fourteen Men and eight Women carried up to London, the People by the way praying to God for them, to give them strength. At their entering into London, they were pinioned, and so came into the City, as the picture here shortly after following with their Names also subscribed; doth describe. But first let us declare concerning their taking and their Attaches, contained in the Commissaries Letter written to *Boner*; then, the Indenture made between the Commissioners and the Popish Commissary. The Letter of the Commissary is this.

The Letter of the Commissary called Jo. Kingston Written to Bishop Boner.

After my duty done in receiving and accomplishing your Honourable and most loving Letters, dated the 7. of *August*: Be it known unto your Lordship, that the 28. of *August*, the Lord of *Oxford*, Lord *Darcy*, *H. Tyrel*, *A. Brown*, *W. Bendlow*, *E. Tyrel*, *Rich. Weston*, *Roger Appleton*, published their Commission, to seize the Lands, Tenements and Goods of the Fugitives, so that the owners should have neither use nor commodity thereof, but by Inventory remain in safe keeping, until the cause were determined.

And also there was likewise proclaimed the Queens Graces Warrant for the restitution of the Church Goods within *Colchester* and the hundreds thereof, to the use of Gods Service. And then were called the Parishes particularly, and the Heretics partly committed to my examination. And that divers persons should certify me of the Ornaments of their Churches, betwixt this and the Justices next appearance, which shall be on *Michaelmas* even next. And the Parishes which had presented at several times, to have all Ornaments with other things in good order, were exonerated for ever, till they were warned again, and others to make their appearance from time to time. And those names blotted in the Indenture, were indicted for Treason, Fugitives, or Disobedients, and were put forth by Mr. *Brown*s Commandment. And before the sealing, my Lord *Darcy* said unto me apart and Master *Bendlow*s, that I should have sufficient time to send unto your Lordship, yea, if need were the Heretics to remain in durance till I had an answer from you, yea till the Lord Legates Graces Commissioners come into the Country.

And Mr. *Brown* came unto my Lord *Darcies* House and Parlour belonging unto Mr. *Barnaby*, before my said Lord and all the Justices, and laid his hand on my Shoulder, with a smiling Countenance, and desired me to make his hearty Commendations to your good Lordship, and asked me if I would: and I said, Yea, with a good will. Wherefore I was glad, and thought that I should not have been charged with so sudden carriage.

But after dinner, the Justices counselled with the Bayliffs, and with the Jaylers, and then after took me unto them, and made collation of the Indentures, and sealed them; and then Mr. *Brown* commanded me this afternoon, being the 30. of *August*, to go and receive my Prisoners by and by. And then I said, it is an unreasonable commandment, for that I have attended on you here these three days, and this *Sunday* early I have

sent home my men. Wherefore I desire you to have a convenient time appointed, wherein I may know whether it will please my Lord my Master to send his Commissioners hither, or that I shall make carriage of them unto his Lordship. Then Mr. *Brown*: We are certified, that the Council have written to your Master, to make speed, and to rid these prisoners out of hand: therefore go receive your prisoners in half. Then I: Sir, I shall receive them within these ten days. Then Mr. *Brown*: The limitation lieth in us, and not in you, wherefore get you hence.

Sirs ye have indicted and delivered me by this Indenture, whose Faith or Opinions I knew not, trusting that ye will grant me a time to examine them, lest I should punish the Catholics: Well, said Mr. *Brown*, for that cause ye shall have time betwixt this and *Wednesday*. And I say unto you Mr. Bailiffs, if he do not receive them at your Hands on *Wednesday*, set open your Door, and let them go.

Then I: My Lord, and Masters all, I Promise to discharge the Town and Countrey of these Heretics, within ten days. Then my Lord *Darcy* said; Commissary, we do and must all agree in one. Wherefore do ye receive them on or before *Wednesday*.

Then I: My Lord, the last I carried, I was going betwixt the Chappell and Saint *Katherines* Chappell, two hours and a half, and in great prease and danger: Wherefore this may be to desire your Lordship, to give in commandment unto my Mr. *Sayer*, Bailiff, here present, to aid me thorow his liberties, not only with Men and Weapons, but that the Town-clerk may be ready there with his Book to write the Names of the most busy Persons, and this upon three hours warning, all which both my Lord and Mr. *Brown* commanded.

The 31. of *August*, *William Goodwin* of *Muchbirch* Husbandman, this bringer, and *Tho. Alley* of *Copford* your Lordships apparator of your Confraternity in *Colchester*, covenanted with me, that they should hire two other Men at the least, whereof one should be a Bow-man, to come to me the next day about two of the clock at afternoon, so that I might recite this bargain before Mr. Archdeacon, and pay the Money, that is 46. Shillings 8 pence. Wherefore they should then go forth with me unto *Colchester*, and on *Wednesday* before three of the clock in the morning receive there at my hand within the Castle and Mote-hall, fourteen Men and eight Women, ready bound with gyves and hamp, and drive, carry, or lead and feed with meat and drink, as Heretics ought to be found continually, unto such time that the said *William* and *Thomas*, shall cause the said two and twenty Persons to be delivered unto my Lord of *London*s Officers, and within the safe keeping of my said Lord, and then to bring unto me again the said gyves, with a perfect token of or from my said Lord, and then this covenant is void, or else, &c.

Master *Bendlow*s said unto me in my Lord of *Oxford*s Chamber at the Kings Head, after I had said Mass before the Lords, that on the morrow after Holy Rood day, when we shall meet at *Chelmsford* for the Division of these Lands, I think Mr. Archdeacon, you, and Mr. *Smith*, shall be fain to ride with certain of the jury to those portions and manors in your part of Essex, and in like case divide your selves, to tread and view the ground with the Quest or else I think they will not labour the matter, and so do you say unto Mr. Archdeacon.

Alice the Wife of *William Walley* of *Colchester*, hath submitted here self, abjured her Erroneous Opinions, asked absolution, promised to do her solemn penance in her Parish Church at *S. Peters* on *Sunday* next, and to continue a Catholic and a faithful Woman, as long as God shall send her life. And for these Covenants, her Husband standeth bound in five pounds. Which *Alice* is one of the nine Women of this your Indenture; and she is big with Child. Wherefore she remaineth at home, and this done in the presence of the Bailiffs, Aldermen, and Town-clerk. And for that Mr. *Brown* was critised, there was no Curate at *Lexdon*, he enquired who was the former. The answer was made, *Sir Francis Jobson*. Who is the Parson? They of the Quest-men answered, *Sir Roger Gheslew*. When was he with you? Not these fourteen years. How is your Cure served? Now and then.

Mr. Brown e
box and hat-
ty Justice in
porting.
Gods people.

What ads h
here with
the Butchers
to bring the
poor Lambs
to the
Shambles?

Thomas Alley
of Copford
Apparator
to B. Boner:

Twenty two
poor pri-
soners in
bonds for
Christ and
his word.

Alice Wal-
ley, big with
Child, one
of the nine
Women
promiseth to
recede

A Crew of
heretic

Who

Lord of
Oxford L.
Darcy, H.
Tyrel, Aske-
by Brown, W.
Bendlow,
Edm. Tyrel,
Rich. Weston,
Roger Apple-
ton, Jo. King-
ston Commissary,
persecutors.

The cry
and order
of these 22
prisoners
coming up
to London.

Mr. Tullen
said for.

Who is the Patron? My Lord of Arundel. And within short time after, Sir Francis Jebson came with great courtie unto my Lord Darcies place. And of all Gentlemen about us, I saw no more come in: Sir Robert Smith Priest, sometime Canon of Bridlington, now Curate of Appledore in the Wild of Kent, came to Colchester the 23. day of August, with his wife big with Child, of late divorced, taken on suspicion, examined of the Lords, and Mr. Brown told me that they have received Letters from the Council for the attachment of certain persons, and especially of one Priest, whose name is Pullen (but his right name is Smith) doubting this Priest to be the said Pullen, although neither he nor his wife would confess the same.

Wherefore he lieth still in Prison, but surely this is not Pullen. If it please your Lordship to have in remembrance, that the houlholders might be compelled to bring every man his own wife to her own seat in the Church in time of Divine Service, it would profit much. And also there be yet standing Hospitals, and other of like foundation about Colchester, which I have not known to appear at any visitation, as the Masters and Lazars of Mary Magdalen in Colchester, the Proctor of St. Katherines Chap-

pel in Colchester, the Hospital or Breadhouse of the foundation of the Lord H. Harney in Laremaryn, the Hospital and Beadman of little Horksey. Thus presuming of your Lordships goodness, I am more than bold ever to trouble you with this worldly business, beseeching Almighty God to send your honourable Lordship a con-dign reward.

From Eastthorp this present 30. day of August.

We found a Letter touching the marriage of Priests in the hands of the foresaid Sir Robert Smith. Also I desired Mr. Brown, the doer of all things, to require the Audience to bring in their unlawful Writings and Books; Who asked me, if I had proclaimed the Proclamation. I said, Yea. Then he said openly upon the Bench, that they should be proclaimed every quarter once. And then take the Constables and Officers, and they alone take and punish the offenders accordingly.

By your poor Beadman,

John Kingston, Priest.

The Picture of 22 Godly and faithfull Christians, apprehended about 20. years ago, together in one band, and so with three leaders at the most brought up to London.



An Indenture made between the Lords and the Justices within specified, and Bona Commissary, concerning the delivery of the Prisoners above-named.

Indenture
between the
Justices and
Bona Commissary,
for
receiving of
Prisoners.

THIS Indenture made the 19. day of August, in the third and fourth years of the Reigns of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, Philip and Mary, by the grace of God King and Queen of England, Spain, France, both Sicils, Jerusalem and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Burgundy, Millain and Brabant, Counties of Hainburg, Flanders and Tired, between the right honourable Lord John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Lord high Chamberlain of England, Thomas Lord Darcy of Chich, Henry Tired Kt. Anthony Brown the King and Queen Majesties Sergeant at Law, William Bendelow Sergeant at Law, Edmund Tired, Richard Weston, Roger Appleton Esquires, Justices of Oyer and Determiner, and of the Peace within the said County of Essex, to be kept of the one party, and John Kingston Clerk, Batchelor at Law, Commissary to the Bishop of London, of the other party, witnesseth, that Re. Calman of Walton in the County of Essex Labourer, Joan Winsley of Horksey Magna in the said County Spinster, Stephen Glover of

Rayly, in the County aforesaid, Glover, Rich. Clerke of Much Holland in the said County, Mariner, Wil. Munt of Much Bentley in the said County, Husbandman, Thomas Winsley of Much Horksey in the said County, Sawyer, Margaret Field of Ramsey in the said County, Spinster, Agnes Whitlack of Dovercourt in the said County, Spinster, Alice Munt of Much Bentley in the said County, Spinster, Rose Allin of the same Town and County, Spinster, Richard Bonger of Colchester in the said County, Corrier, Richard Atkin of Halfhead in the said County, Weaver, Robert Barcock of Wistow in the County of Suffolk, Carpenter, Richard George of Westharboults in the County of Essex, Labourer, Richard Jolly of Colchester in the said County Mariner, Tho. Feresjanne of the same Town and County, Mercer, Robert Debnam late of Dedham in the said County, Weaver, Cicely Warren of Cockfall in the said County, Spinster, Christian Pepper Widow, of the same Town and County, Allin Simpson, Ellen Ewing, Alice the wife of Wil. Wallis of Colchester, Spinster, and William Bonger of Colchester in the said County, Glafter, being indicted of Herefie, are delivered to the said John Kingston Clerk, Ordinary to the Bishop of London, according to the Statute in that case provided.

Anno 1556. In winells whereof to the one part of this Indenture remaining with the said Earl, Lord, and other the Justices, the said Ordinary hath set to his hand and seal, and to the other part remaining with the said Ordinary, the said Earl, Lord, and other the Justices have set to their several hands and seals, the day and year above written.

The names
of the per-
secutors.

Oxford.
Thomas Darcy.
Henry Tyrel.
Anthony Brown.

William Bendelous.
Edmund Tyrell.
Richard Weston.
Roger Appleton.

The xxii. aforesaid prisoners thus sent from Colchester to London, were brought at length to Bishop Boner. As touching the order and manner of their coming and bringing, the said Boner himself writeth to Cardinal Pool, as you shall hear.

A Letter of Bp. Boner to Cardinal Pool.

B. Boner
Letter to
Cardinal
Pool, con-
cerning the
prisoners a-
foresaid.

May it please your good Grace with my most humble obedience, reverence, and duty, to understand, that going to London upon Thursday last, and thinking to be troubled with Mr. Germaines matter only, and such other common matters as are accustomed, enough to weary a right strong Body, I had the day following to comfort my stomach withal, Letters from Colchester, that either that day or the day following, I should have sent thence 22. Hereticks, indicted before the Commissioners, and indeed I had, and compelled to bear their charges as I did of the other, which both stood me above twenty Nobles, a sum of money that I thought full evil bestowed. And these Hereticks notwithstanding they had honest Catholick Keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, and in all the way from Colchester to Stratford of the Bowe did go quietly, and obediently, yet coming to Stratford they began to take heart of grace, and to do as pleased themselves, for they began to have their guard, which generally increased till they came to Algate, where they were lodged Friday night.

And albeit I took order that the said Hereticks should be with me very early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me, yet it was between ten and eleven of the clock before they would come, and no way would they take, but thorow Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with about a thousand persons. Which thing I took very strange, and spake to Sir John Gresham then being with me, to tell the Mayor and the Sheriffs that this thing was not well suffered in the City. These naughty Hereticks all the way they came thorow Cheapside, both exhorted the People to their part, and had much comfort & promise given, and being entred into my house, and talked withal, they shewed themselves desperate, and very obstinate; yet I used all the honest means I could, both of my self and others, to have won them, causing divers learned men to talk with them, and finding nothing in them but pride and wilfulness, I thought to have had them all hither to Fulham, and here to give Sentence against them. Nevertheless, perceiving by my last doing that your Grace was offended, I thought it my duty before I any thing further proceeded herein, to advertise first your Grace hereof, and know your good pleasure, which I beseech your Grace I may do by this trusty bearer. And thus most humbly I take my leave of your good Grace, beseeching Almighty God always to preserve the same. At Fulham, this 15th day of November. 1556.

Your Graces most bounden Bedesman
and Servant, Edmund Boner.

B. Boner
exactly con-
tains what
was sayd by the Car-
dinal.

By this Letter of Bishop Boner to the Cardinal, is to be understood, what good will was in this Bishop to have the Blood of these men, and to have past with sentence of condemnation against them, had not the Cardinal somewhat (as it seemed) stayed his fervent headiness. Concerning the which Cardinal, although it cannot be denied by his Acts and writings, but that he was a professed enemy, and no otherwise to be reputed but for a Papist: yet again it is to be supposed, that he was none of the Bloody and cruel sort of Papists, as may appear, not only by

slaying the rage of this Bishop, but also by the solicitous writing, and long Letters written to Cranmer, also by the complaints of certain Papists accusing him to the Pope, to be a bearer with the Hereticks, and by the Popes Letters sent to him upon the same, calling him up to Rome, and setting Frier Pero in his place, had not Queen Mary by special intreaty, kept him out of the Popes danger. All which Letters I have (if need be) to shew: and besides also, that it is thought of him that toward his latter end a little before his coming from Rome to England, he began somewhat to favour the doctrine of Luther, and was Card. Pool no less suspected at Rome: Yea, and furthermore, did there at Rome convert a certain learned Spaniard from Papiism to Luthers side: notwithstanding the pomp and glory of the world afterward carried him away to play the Papist thus as he did. But of this Cardinal enough.

Card. Pool
half believ-
ed for a
Lutheran at
Rome.

To return now to this godly company again, first how they were brought up in bands to London, ye have heard: Also how Boner was about to have read the sentence of death upon them, and how he was stayed by the Cardinal, ye understand. As touching their confession, which they articulated up in writing, it was too tedious to recite the whole at length. Briefly touching the Article of the Lords Supper (for the which they were chiefly troubled) thus they wrote, as here followeth.

The Supper of the Lord.

Whereas Christ at his last Supper, took Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my Body. And likewise took the cup and thanked, &c. We do understand it to be a figurative speech, as the most manner of his language was in parables and dark sentences that they which are carnally minded, should see with their eyes, and not perceive, and hear with their ears, and not understand, signifying this, that as he did break the Bread among them, being but one loaf, and they all were partakers thereof, so we through his Body, in that it was broken, and offered upon the Cross for us, are all partakers thereof, and his Blood cleanseth us from all sins, and hath pacified Gods wrath towards us, and made the atonement between God and us, if we walk henceforth in the light, even as he is the true light.

Their opin-
ion & judg-
ment of the
Lords Sup-
per. Christe
saith to
parables.

And in that he said further, Do this in remembrance of me, it is a memorial and token of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ: and he commanded it for this cause, that the Congregation of Christ should come together to shew his death, and to thank and laud him for all his benefits, and magnifie his Holy Name, and so to break the Bread, and drink the Wine, in Remembrance that Christ had given his Body, and shed his Blood for us.

The cause
why the
bread and
cup was gi-
ven in this
Supper.

Thus you may well perceive, though Christ called the Bread his Body, and the Wine his Blood, yet it followeth not, that the substance of his Body should be in the Bread and Wine; as divers places in Scripture are spoken by Christ and the Apostles in like phrase of speech as in John 15. I am the true vine. Also in John 10. I am the Door. And as it is written in the 9: to the Hebr. and in Exod. 24. how Moses took the Blood of the calves, and sprinkled both the book and all the People, saying, This is the Blood of the covenant or Testament. And also in the 5. Chapter of Ezek. how the Lord said unto him concerning the third part of his hair, saying, This is Jerusalem &c.

How the
figures, and
ought to be
spiritually
examined, and
not as
Superstices
ought to be
examined.

Thus we see the Scriptures how they are spoken in figures, and ought to be spiritually examined, and not as Superstices ought to be examined. And as it is written in the 9: to the Hebr. and in Exod. 24. how Moses took the Blood of the calves, and sprinkled both the book and all the People, saying, This is the Blood of the covenant or Testament. And also in the 5. Chapter of Ezek. how the Lord said unto him concerning the third part of his hair, saying, This is Jerusalem &c.

Idolatry in
worshipping
the Sacra-
mental
bread and
wine.

After this confession of their faith and doctrine being written and exhibited, they also devised a Letter withal, in manner of a short supplication, or rather an admonition to the Judges and Commissioners, requiring that justice

justice and Judgment, after the rule of Gods word, might be ministred unto them. The Copy of which their Letter I thought here also to shew unto the Reader in form as followeth.

A Letter or Supplication of the Prisoners to the Judges.

A Letter of request of the Prisoners to the Judges.

TO the right honorable audience, before whom these our simple Writings, and the Confession of our Faith shall come to be heard or seen, we poor Prisoners being fast in bonds upon the trial of our Faith, which we offer to be tried by the Scriptures, pray most heartily, that so far as God hath given you power and strength over us as concerning our Bodies, under whom we submit our selves as obedient subjects in all things due, ye being Officers and Rulers of the People, may execute true Judgment, keep the Laws of Righteousness, govern the People according to right, and hear the poor and helpless in Truth, and defend their cause.

God for his Son Jesus Christs sake, give you the wisdom and understanding of Solomon, David, Ezekias, Moses, with divers other most virtuous Rulers, by whose wisdom and most godly understanding, the People were justly ruled and governed in the fear of God, all wickedness was by them overthrown and beaten down and all godliness and virtue did flourish and spring. O God which art the most highest, the Creator and maker of all things, and of all men both great and small, and carest for all alike, which dost try all mens works and imaginations, before whose judgment seat shall come both high and low, rich and poor; we most humbly beseech thee to put into our Rulers hearts the pure love and fear of thy Name, that even as they themselves would be judged, and as they shall make answer before thee, so they may hear our causes, judge with mercy, and read over these our requests and confessions of our Faith, with deliberation and a godly judgment.

And if any thing here seemeth to your honourable audience to be erroneous or disagreeing to the Scripture, if it shall please your Lordships to hear us patiently, which do offer our selves to the Scriptures, thereby to make answer, and to be tried, in so doing we poor subjects being in much captivity and bondage are most bound to pray for your noble estate and long preservation.

The request of these men being so just, and their Doctrine so found, yet all this could not prevail with the Bishop and other Judges, but that Sentence should have proceeded against them incontinent, had not the goodness of the Lord better provided for his Servants, then the Bishop had intended. For as they were now under the edge of the Axe, ready to be condemned by Sentence, it was thought otherwise by the Cardinal, and some other wiser heads; fearing belike, lest by the death of so many together, some disturbance might rise peradventure among the People; and so it was decreed among themselves, that rather they should make some submission or confession, such as they would themselves, and so be sent home again, as they were indeed; howbeit divers of them afterward were apprehended and put to death. But in the mean space as touching their submission which they made, this it was, as in form here followeth.

The Submission or Confession of these aforesaid Prisoners.

An esse submission of the Prisoners.

BEcause our Saviour Christ at his last Supper took Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto his Disciples, and said, *Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me*, Therefore according to the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ, we do believe in the Sacrament to be Christs Body. And likewise he took the Cup, gave thanks, and gave it to his Disciples, and said, *This is my Blood of the New Testament which is shed for many*.

Therefore likewise we do believe that it is the Blood of Christ, according as Christs Church doth minister the same. Unto the which Catholick Church of Christ we do in this like as in all other matters submit ourselves, promising therein to live as it becometh good Christian men, and here in this Realm to use our selves, as it becometh faithful Subjects unto our most gracious King and Queen,

and to all other Superiours both spiritual and temporal, Anno according to our bounden duties.

The names of them which subscribed to this submission, were these, *John Atkin, Alyn Symfon, Richard George, Thomas Fireanne, William Munt, Richard Toly, Richard Gratzwicke, Thomas Winsley, Richard Rotbe, Richard Clark, Stephen Glover, Robert Colman, Thomas Merle, William Bonger, Robert Bercock, Margaret Hide, Elyn Euring, Christian Pepper, Margaret Feld, Alice Munt, Joan Winsly, Cysly Warren, Rose Alyn, Ann Whitelocke, George Barker, John Saxby, Thomas Locker, Alice Locker.*

A Story of five other godly Martyrs, burned at one Fire in Smithfield, the Twelfth day of April.

TO proceed further in this Story of persecuted Martyrs, next in order follow five other burned at London in Smithfield in the foresaid year of the Lord 1557. April 12. whose names were these:

*Thomas Lashby,
Henry Ramsey,
Thomas Thiriel.*

*Margaret Hide,
and
Agnes Stanley.*

Five Martyrs.

Who being, some by the Lord Rich, some by other Justices of Peace, and Constables (their own Neighbours) at the first accused, and apprehended for not coming to their Parish Churches, were in the end sent unto Boner Bishop of London, and by his commandment the 27. day of January were examined before Dr. Darbishire, then Chancellor to the said Bishop, upon the former general Articles mentioned.

Answers to the Articles

WHose Answers thereunto were, that as they confessed there was one true and Catholick Church, whereof they steadfastly believed, and thought the Church of Rome to be no part or member: so in the same Church they believed there were but two Sacraments, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord. Howbeit some of them attributed the title and honour of a Sacrament, to the holy estate of Matrimony, which undoubtedly was done rather of simple ignorance then of any wilful opinion, and are thereof to be adjudged as before is admonished.

Moreover, they acknowledged themselves to be baptized into the Faith of that true Church, as in the third Article is specified. And herein reading as well of these Articles, as also of the rest, mark I beseech you the crafty subtilty of these Catholick Companions, who intermixing certain points of Faith, and of the true Church with the idolatrous and superstitious manumery of their Romish Synagogue, cause the poor and simple People, for lack of knowledge, oftentimes to fall into their crafty nets.

For after they have made them grant a true Church with the Sacraments of the same, though not in such number as they would have them, and also that they were christened into the Faith thereof, that is, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, they craftily now in the other their objections, defending as it were from the Faith of the Trinity, unto their idolatrous Mass and other superstitious Ceremonies, would make them grant that now in denying thereof they have severed themselves from the Faith of the true Church, whereunto they were baptized; which is most false. For though the true light of Gods Gospel and holy Word, was marvellously darkened, and in a manner utterly extinguished: yet the true Faith of the Trinity, by the merciful providence of God, was still preserved, and into the Faith thereof were we baptized, and not into the belief and profession of their horrible Idolatry and vain Ceremonies.

These things not thoroughly weighed by these poor, yet faithful, and true members of Christ, caused some of them ignorantly to grant, that when they came to the years of discretion, and understood the light of the Gospel, they did separate themselves from the Faith of the Church, meaning none other but only to separate themselves

1557.

Touching these Articles, read before.

Two Sacraments only.

Crafty dealing of the simple ignorance deceived.

1556. Anno themselves from the admitting or allowing of such their Popish and Erroneous Trash as they now had defiled the Church of Christ withal, and in not from their Faith received in Baptism, which in express words in their Answers to the other Articles they constantly affirmed, declaring the Mass and Sacrament of the Altar, to be most wicked Blasphemy against Christ Jesus, and contrary to the Truth of his Gospel, and therefore utterly they refused to assent unto and to be reconciled again thereunto.

These answers in effect of them thus taken by the said Chancellor, they were for that time dismissed; but the Bishop, taking the matter into his own Hands, the sixth day of March, propounded unto them certain other new Articles: the copy whereof followeth.

Other Articles objected by Boner, Bishop of London, against Thomas Lofely, Henry Ramsey, Thomas Thirrell, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley, the sixth day of March, being the second time of the Examination.

1 Item, that thou hast thought, believed, and spoken, within some part of the City and Diocess of London, that the Faith, Religion, and Ecclesiastical Service here observed and kept, as it is in the Realm of England, is not a true and a laudable Faith, Religion, and Service, especially concerning the Mass, and the seven Sacraments, nor is agreeable to Gods Word and Testament, and that thou canst not find in thy Heart without murmuring, grudging, or scruple to receive and use it, and to conform thy self unto it, and as other Subjects of this Realm customably have done and do.

2 Item, that thou hast thought, &c. that the English Service set forth in the time of K. Edward the sixth, here in this Realm of England, was and is good and godly, and Catholic in all points, and that it alone ought here in this Realm to be received, used, and practised, and none other.

3 Item, likewise thou hast thought, &c. that thou art not bound to come to thy Parish Church, and there to be present, and hear Mass, Evensong, and other Divine Service, sung or said there.

4 Item, thou hast thought, &c. that thou art not bound to come to Procession to the Church, upon days and times appointed, and to go in the same with others of the Parish singing or saying then the accustomed Prayers used in the Church, nor to bear a Taper or Candle on Candlemas day, nor take Alms upon Asswades days, nor bear Palmes upon Palmes Sunday, nor to creep to the Crofs upon days accustomed, nor to receive and kiss the pax at Mass time, nor to receive Holy Water or Holy Bread, nor to accept and allow the Ceremonies and Usages of the Church, after the Manner and Fashion, as they are used in this Realm.

5 Item, thou hast thought, &c. that thou art not bound at any time to confess thy Sins to any Priest, and to receive Absolution at his Hands, as Gods Minister, nor to receive at any time the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, especially as it is used in this Church of England.

6 Item, thou hast thought, &c. that in matters of Religion and Faith, thou must follow and believe thine own Conscience only and not give credit to the Determination and common Order of the Catholic Church, and the See of Rome, nor to any member thereof.

7 Item, thou hast thought, &c. that all things do chance of an absolute and precise necessity, so that whether Man do well or evil, he could not chuse but do so, and that therefore no Man hath any free will at all.

8 Item, thou hast thought, &c. that the Fashion and Manner of Christening of Infants, is not agreeable to Gods Word, and that none can be Effectually Baptized, and thereby saved, except he have years of Discretion to believe himself, and so willingly accept or refuse Baptism at his Pleasure.

9 Item, thou hast thought, &c. that Prayers to Saints, or Prayers for the Dead, are not available, and not allowable by Gods Word, or profitable in any wise, and that the Souls departed do straightways go to Heaven or Hell, or else do sleep till the day of doom, so that there is no place of Purgation at all.

10 Item, thou hast thought, &c. that all such as in the time of King Henry the 8. or in the time of Queen

Mary in England, have been burned as Hereticks were no Hereticks at all, but faithful and good Christian People; especially Barnes, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, Crammer, Ridley, and such like, and that thou didst and dost allow, like, and approve all their Opinions, and dost mislike their Condemnations and Burnings.

11 Item, thou hast thought, &c. that fasting, and prayers used in this Church of England, and the appointing of days for fasting, and the abstaining from flesh upon fasting days, and especially in the time of Lent, is not laudable or allowable by Gods Word, but is Hypocritie and Foolishness; and that Men ought to have liberty to eat at all times all kinds of meat.

12 Item, thou hast thought, &c. that the Sacrament of the Altar is an Idol, and to reserve and keep it, or to honor it, is plain Idolatry and Superstition: and likewise of the Mass and Elevation of the Sacrament.

13 Item, thou hast thought, &c. that thou or any else, convented before an Ecclesiastical Judge concerning matters of Belief and Faith, are not, nor is bound to make answer at all, especially under an Oath upon a Book.

Their Answers to the Articles before objected

Their Answers to these Objections were, that as touching the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth, they generally granted unto, saying that they denied the Souls of the departed to sleep till the day of Judgment, as is mentioned in the ninth Article.

And as concerning the sixth Objection, they thought themselves bound to believe the True Catholic Church, so far forth as the same doth instruct them according to Gods Holy Word, but not to follow the Determinations of the Erroneous and Babylonical Church of Rome.

As for the seventh, eighth, and thirteenth, they utterly denied, that ever they were of any such absurd Opinions as are contained therein, but they granted that Man of himself without the help and assistance of Gods Holy Spirit, hath no power to do any good thing acceptably in Gods sight.

To the eleventh they said, that true fasting and prayer, used according to Gods Word, are allowable and available in his sight, and that by the same word every faithful Man may eat all meats at all times, with thanksgiving to God for the same.

After this, the first day of April, they were again convented before the Bishop in his Palace at London, where little appeared to be done, except it were to know whether they would stand to their Answers, and whether they would recant or no. But when they refused to recant and deny the received and Infallible Truth, the Bishop caused them to be brought into the open Confessory, the third day of the same Month of April, in the forenoon, where first understanding by them their immutable constancy and steadfastness, he demanded particularly of every one what they had to say, why he should not pronounce the Sentence of Condemnation.

To whom Thomas Lofely first answered, God give me Grace and Strength to stand against you, and your Sentence, and also against your Law, which is a devouring Law, for it devoureth the flock of Christ. And I perceive there is no way with me but Death, except I would consent to your devouring Law, and believe that Idol the Mass.

Next unto him answered Thomas Thirrell, saying, My Lord, I say thus, if you make me an Heretic, then you make Christ and all the twelve Apostles Hereticks: for I am in the true Faith and right Belief, and I will stand in it, for I know full well I shall have eternal Life therefore.

The Bishop then asked the like question of Henry Ramsey: who said again, My Lord, will you have me to go from the Truth that I am in? I say unto you, that my Opinions be the very Truth, which I will stand unto, and not go from them: and I say unto you further, that there are two Churches upon the Earth, and we (meaning himself and other True Martyrs and Professors of Christ) be of the True Church, and ye be not.

Margaret
Hides words
to Anne.

Unto this question next answered *Margaret Hide*, saying, My Lord, you have no cause to give Sentence against me. for I am in the True Faith and Opinion, and will never forsake it; and I do with that I were more strong in it then I am.

Agnes Stanley
words to Anne.

Last of all answered *Agnes Stanley*, and said, I had rather every hair of my head were burned, if it were never to much worth, then that I will forsake my Faith and Opinion, which is the True Faith.

Lofely words
to Anne.

The time being now spent, they were commanded to appear again at afternoon in the same place: which Commandment being obeyed, the Bishop first called for *Lofely*, and after his accustomed manner willed his Articles and Answers to be read: in reading thereof, when mention was made of the Sacrament of the Altar, the Bishop with his Colleagues put off their Caps. Whereat *Lofely* said, My Lord, seeing you put off your Cap, I will put on my Cap, and therewithal did put on his Cap. And after, the Bishop continuing in his accustomed Periwations, *Lofely* again said unto him, My Lord, I trust I have the Spirit of Truth, which you detest and abhor, for the Wisdom of God is Foolishness unto

Sentence
given against
Lofely.

you. Whereupon the Bishop pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation against him. And delivering him unto the Sheriff, called for *Margaret Hide*, with whom he used the like order of Exhortations.

The words
of Margaret
Hides to the
Bishop.

To whom notwithstanding the said, I will not depart from my sayings till I be burned: and my Lord (quoth she) I would see you instruct me with some part of Gods

Word, and not to give me Instructions of the Holy Bread and Holy Water, for it is no part of the Scripture. But he, being neither himself, nor any of his, able rightly to accomplish her requests, to make short work, used his final Reason of Convincement, which was the Sentence of Condemnation. And therefore leaving her off, called for another, viz. *Agnes Stanley*, who upon the Bishops like periwations made this Answer.

My Lord, where you say I am an Heretick, I am none: neither yet will I believe you, nor any Man that is wile will believe as you do. And as for these that ye say be burnt for Heresie, I believe are True Martyrs before God: therefore I will not goe from my Opinion and Faith as long as I live.

Her talk thus ended, she received the like reward that the other had. And the Bishop then turning his tale and manner of enticement unto *Thomas Thirlst*, received of him likewise this final answer, My Lord, I will not hold with your Idolatrous ways, as you do: for I say, the Mass is Idolatry, and will stick to my Faith and Belief, so long as the Breath is in my Body. Upon which words he was also Condemned as an Heretick.

Last of all, was *Henry Ramsey* demanded if he would (as the rest) stand unto his answers, or else recanting the same, come home again, and be a member of their Church. Whereunto he answered, I will not go from my Religion and Belief as long as I live; and my Lord (quoth he) your Doctrine is naught, for it is not agreeable to Gods Word.

Anno
1557.

The words
of Agnes
Stanley to
the Bishop.

The words
of Thomas
Thirlst to
the Bishop.

The Thirlst
Condemned.

The answer
& Condem-
nation of
Henry Ramsey.

The burning of five Martyrs in Smithfield.



The Martyr-
dom of
Thomas Lofely,
Henry Ramsey,
Thomas Thirlst,
Margaret Hide,
Agnes Stanley
in Smithfield,
Anno 1557,
April 12.

After these words, the Bishop (to conclude) pronouncing the Sentence of Condemnation against him and the rest (as ye have heard) charged the Sheriffs of London with them: who being thereunto commanded, the twelfth day of the same month of April, brought them into Smithfield, where all together in one fire, most joyfully and constantly they ended their temporal Lives, receiving therefore the Life eternal.

Three burned in Saint Georges-fields in Southwark.

May,
W. More,
Sir Edmund
More King
Martyrs.
The strange
dealing of
the Bishops
with Stephen
Gyrowick
Martyr.

After these moreover in the Month of May followed three other that suffered in St. Georges-field in Southwark, *William More*, *Stephen Gyrowick*, with one *King*. Among other Histories of the persecuted and condemned Saints of God, I find the Condemnation of none more strange nor unlawfull then of this *Stephen Gyrowick*:

who first was condemned by the Bishop of Winchester and the Bishop of Rochester, which were not his Ordinaries.

Secondly, when he did appeal from these incompetent Judges to his right Ordinary, his appeal could not be admitted.

Thirdly, when they had no other shift to colour their inordinate Proceedings withal, they suborned one of the Priests to come in for a counterfeit and a false Ordinary, and fit upon him.

Fourthly, being openly convinced and overturned in his own Arguments, yet the said Bishop of Winchester *Dr. White*, neither would yield to the force of truth, nor suffer any of the Audience assistant once to say, God strengthen him.

Fifthly, as they brought in a false Ordinary to fit upon him; so they pretended false Articles against him which were no part of his Examinations, but of their devising, to have his Blood.

Sixthly

Anno Sixtily and lastly, having no other ground nor just matters against him, but only for saying these words; *That which I said, I have said*, they read the sentence of death upon him.

And this was the dealing of these men, which needs will be reputed for Catholick Fathers of the Spirituality, Successors of the Apostles, Disciples of Christ, pillars of the holy Church, and leaders of the People. Of whose doings and proceedings, how agreeable they are to the example of Christ and his Apostles, I leave to discuss, referring the judgment hereof to them; which know the Institution of Christs Religion and Doctrine.

Now least peradventure the disordered misrule of these Christmas Lords, will not be credited upon the simple narration of the story, ye shall hear the whole discourse of this process registered by the hand of the Martyr himself, who as he could tell best what was done; so I am sure would not testifie otherwise then the Truth was, according as you shall hear by his own declaration here following.

The last-named handling of St. Gratwick, written and testified by his own record.

The declaration of Stephen Gratwick concerning his own Story and Condemnation.

Upon the 25. day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1557. I Stephen Gratwick came before the Bishop of Winchester, Dr. White, into St. Georges Church in Southwark at 8. of the Clock in the morning, and then he called me before him, and said unto me.

B. Winch. Stephen Gratwick, how standeth the matter with thee now? Art thou contented to revoke thy Heresies, the which thou hast maintained and defended here within my Diocess, oftentimes before me; and also upon Sunday last ye stood up in the face of the whole Church maintaining your Heresies, so that you have offended within the liberty of my Diocess; and now I being your Ordinary you must answer to me directly, whether you will revoke them or not; the which I have here in writing, and if so be that you will not revoke them, then I will excommunicate you, and therefore note well what you do, for now I read here the Articles against you.

And so when he had ended, he bad me answer unto them.

Grat. My Lord, these Articles which you have here objected against me, are not mine, but of your own making. For I never had any of mine Examinations written at any time, and therefore these be the Objections that you lay against me as I have to get my Blood.

Wherefore I desire your lawful favour, to allow my lawful appeal unto mine Ordinary: for I have nothing to do with you. And whereas you do burden me, that I have offended within your Diocess, it is nothing so: for I have not entered either to preach or teach within your Diocess, but was apprehended by mine own Bishop and sent Prisoner into your Diocess, by the consent of the Council and mine own Ordinary, and therefore I so being in your Diocess, you have no cause to let my lawful appeal.

And with that there came the Bishop of Rochester, and was received at the Bishop of Winchester's hands with much gladness, according to their determinate purpose before invented. And so followed the Archdeacon of Canterbury. And then the Bishop again start up as a man half ravished of his wits for joy, embracing him with many gentle words, and said, that he was very glad of his coming, making ignorant thereof, as he thought it should appear to me. Then said Winchester.

B. Winch. Sir, I am very glad of your coming. For here I have one before me, who hath appealed unto you being his Ordinary. Then said the Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Arch. Can. I know this man very well. He hath been divers times before me. And then I answered and said:

Grat. My Lord, I am not of his Diocess, not by five miles: for his Diocess reacheth on that part but to the Cliffs of Lewes, and I dwelled at Bright Hempston, five miles beyond, in the Diocess of the Bishop of Chichester; and therefore I am not of his Diocess.

The B. of Rochester.

Catholick conveyance among these Bishops.

St. Gratwick, not of Roch. Diocess.

Then the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Archdeacon of Canterbury, cast their heads together, and laughed: and then they said, my Ordinary would be here by and by; and so they sent forth for a counterfeit instead of mine Ordinary; and then I saw them laugh, and spake unto them and said:

Grat. Why do ye laugh? are ye confederate together for my Blood, and therein triumph? you have more cause to look weightily upon the matter: for I stand here before you upon life and death. But you declare your selves what you are: for you are lapped in Lamb's apparel, but I would to God ye had Coats according to your assembly here, which is Scarlet Gowns; for I do here perceive you are bent to have my Blood.

And then came rushing in that counterfeit Bishop, who was the hired Servant to deliver me into the hands of the High Priest; and the Bishop hearing him come, with hast inquired of his man, who was there: and he said, My Lord of Chichester. Then the Bishop with hast rose up and said.

Winch. Ye are most heartily welcom, and required him to sit down; and then said the Bishop of Winchester to me, Lo here is your Ordinary; What have you now to say unto him?

Grat. I have nothing to say unto him. If he have nothing to say unto me, I pray you let me depart. Then answered my Counterfeit Ordinary and said.

Counterf. Here you stand before my Lords and me in trial of your Faith, and if you bring the Truth, we shall by compulsion give place unto you, as it is to be proved by the Word, And your Doctrine to be heard and embraced for a Truth.

Grat. Then I demanded of him whether he meant by Authority, or by the judgment of the Spirit of God in his members.

And he answered me, by Authority as well as by the Spirit.

Grat. Then I said. Now will I turn your own argument upon you: for Christ came before the High Priests, Scribes, and Pharisees, bringing the Truth with him, being the very Truth himself, which Truth cannot lie, yet both he and his Truth was condemned, and took no place with them: And also the Apostles, and all the Martyrs that died since Christ: therefore I turn your own Argument upon you, answer it if you can.

Counterf. Then he with a great heat of choler, said unto the Bishop of Winchester, Object some Articles against him, for he is obstinate, and would fain get out of our hands, therefore hold him to some particular: so that other answer could I not have of his Argument.

Winch. Then the Bishop of Winchester began to read his Objections of his own making against me, and bade me answer unto them. And I said:

Grat. No, except you would set the Law apart, because I see you are mindful of my Blood.

Winch. Now you may see he will not answer to these, but as he hath afore said. Then spake the Counterfeit Ordinary again, and said.

Counterf. My Lord, ask him what he saith to the Sacrament of the Altar. Then the Bishop asked me, as my Counterfeit Ordinary required him.

Grat. My Lord, I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord truly ministered in both kinds, according to the institution of Christ, unto the worthy Receiver, he eateth mystically by faith the Body and Blood of Christ. Then I asked him if it were not the Truth. And he said, Yes. Then said I, Bear witness of the Truth.

Winch. Then the Bishop of Winchester, whose head being subtillest to gather upon my words, said, my Lord, see you not how he creepeth away with his Heresies, and covereth them privily? Note how he here separateth the Sacrament of the Altar from the Supper of the Lord, meaning it not to be the true Sacrament, and also how he condemneth our ministrations in one kind, and alloweth that the unworthy receiver doth not Eat and Drink the Body and Blood of Christ; which be fore matters truly weighed, being covered very craftily with his subtilty. Lord. he depart.

The Bishop of Winchester, counsellor of a state Ordinary against St. Gratwick.

See what men have of poor mans blood.

Here cometh in the vice to play.

Christ bringing the Truth could not be heard of the Scribes and Pharisees.

Objections of the Bishops own making.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

The Sacrament of the Altar, no Sacrament.

The wicked man not the Body of the Lord.

Grat. My Lord, that is but your gathering of my words, for you before confelled the same sayings to be the Truth, and this you catch at me, and fain would have a vantage for my Blood; but seeing you judge me not to mean the Sacrament of the Altar, now come to the probation of the same Sacrament, and prove it to be the true Sacrament, and I am with you; or else if you can prove your Church to be the true Church, I am also with you.

But then he called to memory the last probation of the Church and Sacraments, how he before was driven to forsake the Scriptures, and to shew me by good reason how they might minister the Sacrament in one kind: and his reason was this, Like as a man or woman dyeth on a sudden, and so when we have given him the Body of Christ, in the mean time the party dieth, and so he eateth the Body of Christ, and not drinketh his Blood. And this was his simple shift in the proving of their Sacraments: so that he was now half abashed to begin that matter again.

But yet a little shift he brought in, and said:

Winch. What sayst thou by the administration of the Priests every day for themselves, and they minister in both kinds?

To that I answered, you have two administrations, for I am sure at Easter you minister but in one kind, and therefore it is not according to the Institution of Christ, but after your own imaginations.

Winch. Why then what shift thou to these words, *Take, Eat, this is my Body*. These are the words of Christ. Wilt thou deny them?

Grat. My Lord, they are the words of Scripture, I affirm them, and not deny them.

Rochefer. Why, then thou dost confesse in the Sacrament of the Altar to be a Real presence, the self same Body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and is ascended up into Heaven.

Grat. My Lord, what do you now mean? do you not also mean a visible Body? for it cannot be, but of necessity, if it be a Real presence, and a Material Body, it must be a visible Body also.

Winch. Nay, I say unto thee, it is a Real presence, and a Material Body, and an Invisible Body too.

Grat. My Lord, then it must needs be a Fantastical Body, for if it should be a Material and Invisible as you affirm, then it must needs be a Fantastical Body; for it is apparent, that Christ's humane Body was visible and seen.

Winch. Then the Bishop brake out and said, when didst thou see him? I pray thee tell me.

Grat. To that I answered and said, a simple argument it is; Because our corporal eyes cannot comprehend Christ, doth it prove or follow, that he is invisible, because we cannot see him?

Winch. And with that the Bishop began to wax weary of his Argument, and removed his talk to Judas in eating the Sacrament, and said, He eat him wholly, as the Apostles did.

Grat. And then I asked him, if he meant Christ's flesh and Blood, the which he speaketh of in the sixth of *John* and faith, *He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal life in me*.

Winch. To that he answered and said, Yea.

Grat. Then said I, of necessity Judas must needs be saved, because he did eat the flesh, and drink the Blood of Christ, as you have affirmed, and also all the ungodly that die without repentance, because they have eaten your Sacrament, which you say is the flesh and Blood of Christ: therefore of necessity they shall receive the benefit thereof, that is, eternal life. Which is a great absurdity to grant, and then of necessity it must follow, that all that eat not, and drink not of your Sacrament, shall finally perish and be damned; for Christ faith, *Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my Blood, you can have no life in you*. And you have aforesaid that of your Sacrament, which you say is the same flesh and Blood that Christ, speaketh of: and here I prove, that all Children then that die under age to receive the Sacrament, by your own Argument must be damned, which is horrible blasphemy to speak. Now here I turn your own Argument upon you, answer it if you can.

Winch. My Lord, do you notice what deceitful Arguments he bringeth in here against us, mingled with sophistry, and keepeth himself in vantage, so that we can get no hold upon him? But I say unto thee, thou perverse Heretic, I see now, thou art a perverse Fellow. I had a better Opinion of thee, but now I see we lose our time about thee, yet I answer thee, St. Paul doth open the sixth of *John* plainly, if thou wilt see: for he faith, *They eat Christ's Body, and drink his Blood unworthily*, and that was the cause of their damnation.

Grat. My Lord, take heed ye do not add unto the Text, for he that addeth unto the Text, is accused of the God, and I am sure here you have brought more than Paul hath spoken: for he faith not, because they have eaten his Body and drank his Blood unworthily; but St. Paul faith, *Whoever shall eat of this Bread, and drink of the Cup unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ*. Note my Lord, he faith not as you have affirmed, but clean contrary. And with that they were all in a great rage.

Winch. And the Bishop of Winchester said, I belied the Text.

Grat. And then I called for the Text.

Winch. And he said, I asked thee even now if thou understoodst Latin, and thou saidst, whether I can or no, the People shall bear witness in English.

Grat. And so I called again for the Testament, whether it were Latin or English for the trial of the Text.

Winch. And then when the Bishop of Winchester saw that I cared not whether the translations I had, he stood up, thinking to beguile some simple man that had

a Book there, and bade him that had an English Testament to bring it in, that he might get some hold at him that should bring a Testament: but God disappointed him thereof, and so he flew away from his matter, and began to rail upon me, and said my subtle Arguments should not serve: for if I would not answer directly, I should nevertheless be excommunicated. For (said he) I

see a mad Toy in thine head; thou gloriest much in thy talk, and thinkest now the People are come about thee, that thou shalt encourage them with thy constant Heretical Opinion. For the last day when thou wast before me upon Sunday in St. Mary Overie Church, thou there

reproved my Sermon, and hadst a thousand by thee at the least, to bid God strengthen thee: but now let me see him here that dare open his mouth to bid God strengthen thee; he shall die the death that thou shalt die.

Grat. To that I answered, My Lord, I know your cruelty doth extend more largely than your pity. Good experience so I have to say, for you keep men in Prison a year or two, taking their Books from them, permitting them not so much as a Testament to look upon for their Souls comfort, the which all men ought to have: and so you intreat them more like brute Beasts than Christian men.

Winch. No Sir, we will use you as we will use the Child: for if the Child will hurt himself with the knife, we will keep the knife from him. So because you will damn your Souls with the word, therefore you shall not have it.

Grat. My Lord, a simple Argument you bring to maintain and cover your fault. Are you not ashamed to make the word the cause of our damnation? I never knew any man but only you that did not affirm our sins to be the cause of our damnation, and not the word as you say: and therefore if your Argument be good, then this is good also; Because that some men do abuse drink; therefore the benefit of drink should be taken from all men, or any other such like good gift.

Winch. My Lords, here we lose much time, for this Fellow is perverse, speaking nothing but sophistry and perverse Questions: so that we can get no advantage upon him.

Then spake my Counterfeit Ordinary, as one half asleep all this while; yet somewhat with haste when he was awaked he began to tell his tale, and said:

Counterf. Read these Articles against him once more, and if he will not answer them, take him upon his first words; That which I said, that I have said.

Winch. Then the Bishop of Winchester began to read them again.

Grat.

The Bishop of Winchester's reason to prove the Sacrament in one kind.

The Catholics make a fantastical Body in the Sacrament.

If the wicked do eat the Body of Christ, they must needs be saved: and if infants eat him not, they must be condemned by the Popes Doctrine.

Anno 1557.

Falsheid in alledgeing the Scripture.

The Bishop failed of their purpose, and was in a rage.

No English Testament darst he bring.

The Bishop of Winchester proved of Gratwick in his Sermon, The Bishop of Winchester threatened them that pray to God to strengthen them.

The cruelty of Catholics upon Christian Prisoners.

A popish Similitude well applied.

Winch. overthrown in his own Similitude.

ANNO 1557. Grat. But I said unto him, I would not answer them, because they were none of mine Examinations, but Objections of their own making, because they would have my Blood. But yet I said, if they would let the Law apart, I would talk my Confidence freely to them.

Counterf. Then my Counterfeit Ordinary began to speak again, charging me with the saying of St. Peter, that I should render account of such hope as was in me.

Grat. So can I do, and, yet I shall not please you; for here I now render my hope as St. Peter willeth me: I believe only in Jesus Christ to have my salvation in him, by him, and through him; but I perceive you would have me render my Faith in such sort, as you may have my Blood and therefore you bring good Scriptures and evil apply them.

Winch. Why, this Fellow is perverted, and we shall get no more at his hands then we have already; therefore let us pronounce Sentence against him, for we do but lose our time.

Grat. Nay good my Lord; seeing you will needs have my Blood, let me say a little more for my self.

Upon Sunday last, when I was before you, you preached this which was a truth, and agreeable to the Doctrine of the Apostle St. James, and said, If any man think himself a religious man, and in the mean time seduce his Tongue or his heart, the same man's Religion is a vain Religion; and so for my Lord; you standing there in the Pulpit, in the mean time seduced your Tongue to slander us poor Prisoners being there present in Iron bonds, burdening us with the Sect of Arians, and with the Sect of Heretians, and with the Sect of Anabaptists, and with the Sect of Sacramentaries, and with the Sect of Pelagians.

And when we stood up to purge our selves thereof, you said you would cut out our Tongues, and cause us to be pulled out of the Church by violence. But there you gave your self a throw blow, for your Tongue in the mean time slandered your neighbour. For I, my Lord, will give my life against all these Heresies, the which you there burdened us withal, even as I will give my life against that wherein I now stand before you. And with that he was raging angry, and caught my Condemnation, and said.

Winch. Thou wilt grant here no more, but this word, that I have said, I have said: and here I gather matter enough to condemn thee, for this is a confirmation of all that thou hast heretofore said.

Grat. Then I answered, If you can prove that ever any of mine Examinations were written, it were enough: but you have nothing against me, but Objections of your own making.

Winch. Have at thee now. If thou wilt not yield, I will pronounce Sentence against thee, and so he proceeded forth onward space, cursing and bawling in Latin; so that I told him, If the People might hear it in English, they would think you an uncharitable Bishop.

Grat. And then I said, I say my Lord, and note what you do: for you have neither temporal Law nor spiritual here against me in any cause.

Then stepped forth a Gentleman, and said unto my Lord, Take heed what ye do: for he doth here say, that you have no title nor cause why you should condemn him.

Then the Bishop looked about him again, and asked me if I would recant.

I asked him, whereof I should recant.

Then said the Bishop. Are you there? Nay then I know what I have to do: and so he proceeded forth in reading my Condemnation. And there was another Gentleman which began to snip and snatch at me: and then said I, I would God I had known this ere ever I had come from home, I would surely have put on breeches, and not had my Skin thus torn. And all this while the Bishop read forth still.

At last his Chaplains cried, Stop, stop, my Lord: for now he will recant. And then the Bishop asked me again.

And I answered and said, My Lord, my Faith is grounded more steadfastly, then to change in a moment, it is no process of time can alter me, unless my Faith were as the waves of the Sea: and so the Bishop made

an end, and delivered me into the hands of the Sheriff, to be carried Prisoner to the Marshalsey again. And when I was condemned, I desired God with a loud voyce, that he would not lay my Blood to their charge, if it were his good will; and so then they refused my prayer; and sent me away. Then I began to talk as I went, and they cried, Cut out his Tongue, or stop his mouth: and so I was brought to the Marshalsey, and lapped in Iron bands. Therefore I pray unto God that they unto whom this present writing shall come, may take example by my death and souldier-fare. So be it.

By me Stephen Gratwick, condemned for Gods everlasting Truth.

Here for want of time, I have left out many matters, because the Lord hath hastened the time, so that I have written but the briefest of the matter in probation of Faith, and the reward of Faith, the which the Bishop of Rochester, and I debated upon; the which matter I would have been very glad to have set down in writing.

Also much more talk there was, that the Bishop of Winchester and I had concerning my worldly Friends and personal Estate: for he played Satan with me, he carried me up to the mountains, and there told me, my learning was good, and my eloquence, and also my knowledge; save that I did abuse it, said he; and then he fell to praising of my person, that it was comely, and worthy to serve a Prince. Thus Satan flattered with me, so make me answer unto such Objections as he would lay against me, that I might fall into his Diocess.

Thus Stephen Gratwick this Christian Martyr, being wrongfully condemned by the Bishop of Winchester (as ye have heard) was burned with W. Moreau, and one King, in St. Georges-field, about the latter end of May.

Seven godly Martyrs, five Women and two Men burned at Maidstone for the Word of Truth, and professing the sincere Religion of Christ.

I Shewed a little before, how after the universal Proclamation was sent and set forth by the King and Queen in the month of February last, the storm of Persecution began in all places to rise (whereof some part also is declared before): but yet in no place more then in the Country and Diocess of Canterbury, by reason of certain the aforesaid Inquisitors, being now armed with Authority, but especially by reason of Richard Thornton Suffragan of Dover, and the Archdeacon of Cant. who of their own nature were so furious and cruel against the harmless flock of Christ, that there was no need of any Proclamation to stir up the Coals of their burning cruelty, by reason whereof many a godly Saint lyeth slain under the Altar; as in divers places of this Book well may appear.

And now to return to the said Diocess of Canterbury again, in the next month following, being the month of June, 18. day of the same, were seven Christian and true faithful Martyrs of Christ burned at Maidstone, whose names here follow:

Joan Bradbridge of Staplehurst.

Walter Appleby of Maidstone.

Petronil his Wife.

Edmund Allen of Frytenden.

Katherine his Wife.

John Mannings Wife of Maidstone.

Elizabeth a blind Maiden.

The names of the Martyrs.

As concerning the general Articles commonly objected to them in the publick Confistory, and the order of their Condemnation, it differeth not much from the usual manner exprest before, neither did their answers in effect much differ from the other that suffered under the same Ordinary in the foresaid Diocess of Canterbury.

Now as touching their Answers and manner of apprehension, and their private conflicts with the Adversaries, I find no great matter coming to my hands, save only of Edmund Allen some intimation is given

K k 3 me,

me, how his troubles came, what was his cause and answers before the Justices, as here consequently ye shall understand.

The Examination of Edmund Allin.

The story of
Edmund
Allin, with
his trouble
and exami-
nation be-
fore Sir John
Baker.

This Allin was a Milner, of the Parish of Frytenden in Kent, and in a dear year, when as many poor People were like to Starve; he fed them, and sold his Corn better cheap by half then others did; and did not that once, but also fed them with the Food of Life, reading to them the Scriptures, and Interpreting them. This being known to the Popish Priests thereabout dwelling, by the procurement of them, namely, of John Taylor Parson of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden Parson of Stapleherst, he was maliciously complained of to the Justices, and brought before Sir John Baker Knight; who first sending for them, committed both him and his Wife to Ward, but not long after they were let out, I know not how, and so went over unto Calice. Where after that he had continued a certain space, he began to be troubled in Conscience, and there meeting with one John Webb, of the same Parish of Frytenden (who was likewise fled from the Tyranny of Sir John Baker, and Parson Taylor) said unto him, that he could not be in quiet there, whatsoever the cause was; for God (said he) had something to do for him in England: and thus shortly he returned home again to the Parish of Frytenden, where was a cruel Priest, there Parson, called John Taylor.

Edmund
Allin return-
eth again
from Calice,
and is ap-
prehended.

This Parson Taylor, being informed by his Brother Sexton, that Edmund Allin the Milner and his Wife were returned, and were not at Mass time in the Church; as he was the same time in the midst of his Mass, upon a Sunday, a little before the elevation (as they term it) even almost at the lifting up of his Romish God, he turned him to the People in a great Rage, and commanded them with all speed to go unto their House, and apprehend them, and he would come to them with as much haste as might be possible. Which promise he well performed. For he had not so soon made an end of his missa, and the Vestments off his Back, but by he was at the House, and there laying hand of the said Allin, caused him again to be brought to Sir John Baker, with a grievous complaint of his exhorting and reading the Scriptures to the People, and so was he and his Wife sent to Maidstone Prison. Winned by Richard Fletcher Vicar of Crambrooke, and John Webb of Frytenden.

Mark what
a holy Mass
saying was
here, and
what a cha-
ritable Reli-
gion is this.

They were not so soon in Prison, but Mr. Baker immediately sent unto their House certain of his Men, John Dove, Thomas Best, Thomas Linley, Percivall Barber, with the aforesaid John Taylor Parson of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden Parson of Stapleherst, to take an Inventory of all the Goods that were in the house. Where they found in the bedstraw a casket locked with a padlock and so cutting the wist thereof, opened it, and found therein a sackcloth bag of money, containing the sum of thirteen or fourteen pound, partly in gold, and partly in silver. Which money after they had told, and put in the bag again, like good carvers for themselves, they carried it away with them.

The House
Priest per-
secutor.

Besides also they found there certain Books, as Psalters, Bibles, and other writings. All which Books with the money, were delivered to the aforesaid Priest Thomas Henden, Parson of Stapleherst, and after in the Reign of this Queen, Anno 5. Reg. Elizabeth. was by right Law recovered from him again, as in records remaineth to be seen.

Thus good Edmund Allin and his Wife, being maliciously accused, wrongfully imprisoned, and cruelly spoiled and robbed of all their goods, were brought (as is aforesaid) before Sir John Baker the Justice, to be examined, who taunting and reviling him without all mercy and pity, asked him if those were the Fruits of his Gospel, to have Conventicles to gather People together, to make Conspiracies to sow Sedition and Rebellion; and thus he began with him to reason.

The talk or reasoning between Sir John Baker, Collins his Chaplain, and Edmund Allin.

The exami-
nation of
Edmund
Allin before
Sir John
Baker.

Baker. Who gave thee Authority to Preach and inter-pret? Art thou a Priest? Art thou admitted thereunto? Let me see thy Licence.

Mart. Collins. Sir John Baker Schoolmaster said, Anno surely he is an arrant Heretick, and worthy to be burn- 1557.

Allin. And it may please your honour to give me leave to answer in the cause of my Faith, I am persuaded that God hath given me this Authority, as he hath given to all other Christians. Why are we called Christians, if we do not follow Christ, if we do not read his Law, if we do not Interpret it to others that have not so much understanding? Is not Christ our Father? Shall not the Son follow the Fathers Steps? Is not Christ our Master? and shall the Scholar be inhibited to learn and Preach his Precepts? Is not Christ our Redeemer? and shall not we praise his name, and serve him that hath redeemed us from Sin and Damnation? Did not Christ being but twelve years of age dispute with the Doctors, and interpret the Prophet *Isaiah*? and yet notwithstanding he was neither of the Tribe of *Levi*, which were Priests, but of the Royal Tribe of *Juda*, neither had taken any outward Priesthood; wherefore if we be Christians, we must do the same.

Take 4

Collins. And it shall like your Honour, what a Knave is this, that compareth himself with Christ?

Baker. Let him alone, he will pump out anon an infinite heap of Heresies. Hast thou any more to say for thy self?

Allin. Yea that I have. Adam was Licenced of God, and Abraham was Commanded to Teach his Children and posterity, and so David Teacheth in divers Psalms; and Solomon also Preached to the People, as the Book of the Preacher proveth very well, where he Teacheth that there is no immortal felicity in this life, but in the next. And *Noah* taught them that were disobedient in his days, and therefore is called the eighth Preacher of Righteousness, in the second Epistle of Peter. Also in the 11 of Numbers, where *Moses* had chosen seventy Elders to help him to Teach and Rule the rest, *Eldad* and *Medad* Preached in the tents, wherefore *Jehua* being offended, complained to *Moses*, that *Eldad* and *Medad* did Preach without Licence. To whom *Moses* answered, and willed that all the People could do the like. What should I be long? most of the Priests were not of the Tribe of *Levi* and *Aaron*.

Preaching
without li-
cence in the
Old Testa-
ment.

Col. These are Authorities of the Old Testament, and therefore abrogated; but thou art a fool, and knowest no School points. Is not the Law divided into the Law Ceremonial, Moral, and Judicial?

Colad. 1.

Allin. I grant that the Ceremonies ceased when Christ came, as St. Paul proveth to the Hebrews, and to the Galatians, where he saith, Let no man judge you in any part of the Sabbath day, new Moon, or other Ceremonies, which are figures of things to come: for Christ is the Body.

Col. And are not the Judicials abrogated by Christ? Allin. They are confirmed both by Christ in the fifth of Matthew, and by Paul in the 1. Epistle to Timothy. 4. The Law, saith he, is not set forth for the virtuous and godly, but for Men-killers, perjured, Adulterers, and such like.

Col. Thou art an Heretick. Wilt thou call the Judicials of Moses again? wilt thou have Adultery punished with Death? Disobedient Children to their Parents to be stoned? Wilt thou have *Legem talionis*? But thou art an Ass. Why should I speak Latine to thee thou Erroneous Rebel? Shall we now smite our eye for eye, tooth for tooth? thou art worthy to have thy teeth and tongue plucked out.

* Albeit the
positive law
of Moses
Judicials do
not bind
the Gentiles
with the
same necessi-
ty to every
condition
it did the
Jews,
to whom it
was pecu-
liarly given;
yet may the
Gentiles
borrow out
of the same
law such
things that
shall be ex-
pedient for
their regu-
ment, nei-
ther can
they borrow
any laws
better than
out of
Moses.

Allin. If we had that Law, we should neither have Disobedient Children, neither Adulterers, neither false witness bearers, neither ruffians.

Baker. Master Collins, let us return to our first matter. Why didst thou Teach the People, whom thou didst didst feed both bodily and spiritually, being no Priest?

Allin. Because that we are all Kings to Rule our affections, Priests to Preach out the virtues and Word of God, as Peter writeth, and lively stones to give light to other. For as out of Flint stones cometh forth that, that is able to set all the world on fire; so out of Christians should spring the beams of the Gospel, which should inflame all the world. If we must give a reckoning of our Faith to every Man, and now to you demanding it, then must we study

Anno 1587.
 In trace of public correction, and to shew the true chere as is a true-brother to teach.

study the Scriptures, and practise them. What avail-eth it a man to have meat; and will eat none; and apparel, and will wear, none; or to have an occupation, and to teach none; or to be a Lawyer, and utter none? Shall every Artificer be suffered, yea and commended to practise his faculty and science, and the Christian forbidden to exercise his? Doth not every Lawyer practise his Law? Is not every Christian a follower of Christ? Shall Ignorance, which is condemned in all Sciences, be practised of Christians? Doth not Saint Paul forbid any mans Spirit to be quenched? Doth he prohibit any man that hath any of these gifts, which he repeateth, 1. Cor. 14. to practise the same? Only he forbiddeth Women, but no Man. The Jews never forbade any. Read the Acts of the Apostles. And the restraint was made by Gregory the ninth Pope of that name, as I heard one, a learned Man, preach in King Edwards days.

Pope Gregory the ninth first restrained all lay men to read and instruct themselves in Scriptures.

Shs bindeth, repentance lootheth, God forgiveth, man exhorteth. How man repenteth sin, or retaineth.

The Popes Keyes be the Keyes of Error.

Allin brought gain before Sir John Baker. Talk of the Sacrament.

This Popish practice that Christ had a glorified body at his Supper.

Collins. This villaine (and it like you Honour) is mad. My my Priesthood, I believe that he will say, that a Priest hath no more Authority then another man. Doth not a Priest bind and loose?

Allin. No, my sin bindeth me, and my repentance lootheth. God forgiveth sin onely, and no Priest. For every Christian, when he sinneth, bindeth himself, and when he repenteth, lootheth himself. And if any other be loosed from his sin by my Exhortation, I am said to loose him; and if he persevere in sin, notwithstanding my Exhortation, I am said to bind him, although it is God that bindeth and lootheth, and giveth the increase. Therefore faith Christ, *Matth. 18.* Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them. & whosesoever sins they forgive they are forgiven; & they retain, they are retained. Neither hath the Pope any Keyes save the Keyes of Error; for the Key that openeth the lock to Gods Mysteries and to Salvation, is the Key of Faith and Repentance. And as I have heard learned men reason, Saint *Austine* and *Origen*, with other are of this opinion. Then they reviled him, and laid him in the Stocks all the night. Wherewith certain that were better minded, being offended with such Extremity, willed *Allin* to keep his Confidence to himself, and to follow *Baruck* Counsel in the sixth chapter. Wherefore when ye see the multitude of people worshipping them, bebind and before say ye in your hearts: O Lord, it is thou that ought onely to be worshipped.

Wherewith he was perswaded to go to hear *Mas* the next day, and suddenly before the facing went out, and considered in the Church-yard with himself, that such a little cake between the Priests fingers could not be Christ, nor a material Body, neither to have Soul, Life, Sinews, Bones, Flesh, Legs, Head, Arms, nor Breast, and lamented that he was seduced by the Place of *Baruck*, which his Confidence gave him to be no Scripture, or else to have another meaning: and after this he was brought again before Sir *John Baker*, who asked why he did refuse to worship the blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

Allin. It is an Idol.

Col. It is Gods Body.

Allin. It is not.

Col. By the *Mas* iris.

Allin. It is Bread.

Col. How provest thou that?

Allin. When Christ sat at his supper, and gave them Bread to Eat.

Col. Bread, knave?

Allin. Yea Bread; which you call Christs Body. Sate he still at the table, or was he both in their Mouths, and at the table? If he were in their Mouths, and at the table, then had he two Bodies, or else had a Fantastical Body; which is an absurdity to say it.

Baker. Christs Body was glorified, and might be in more places then one.

Allin. Then he had more Bodys then one; by your own placing of him.

Col. Thou Ignorant Ass, the Schoolmen say; that a glorified Body may be every where.

Allin. If his Body was not glorified til it rose again, then was it not glorified at his last supper; and therefore was not at the table, and in their Mouths by your own reason.

Col. A glorified Body occupieth no place.

Allin. That which occupieth no place, is neither God; nor any thing else: but Christs Body, say you, occupieth no place; therefore it is neither God, nor any thing else. If it be nothing, then is your Religion nothing. If it be God, then have we four in one *Trinity*, which is the person of the Father, the person of the Son, the person of the Holy Ghost, the humane nature of Christ. If Christ be nothing, which you must needs confess; if he occupieth no place, then is our study in vain, our Faith frustrate, and our hope without reward.

Col. This Rebel will believe nothing but Scripture. How knowest thou that it is the Scripture but by the Church? and so saith St. *Austin*.

Allin. I cannot tell what St. *Austin* saith, but I am perswaded, that it is Scripture by divers Arguments: First, that the Law worketh in me my condemnation. The Law telleth me that of my self I am damned; and this damnation, Mr. *Collins*, you must find in your self, or else you shall never come to repentance. For as this grief and sorrow of Conscience, without Faith, is desperation; so is a glorious and Romish Faith, without the amendment of a mans Sins, Presumption.

The second is the Gospel, which is the Power and Spirit of God. This Spirit (saith S. Paul) certified my Spirit, that I am the Son of God, and that these are the Scriptures.

The third are the wonderful Works of God, which cause me to believe that there is a God, though we glorifie him not as God, *Rom. 1.* The Sun, the Moon, the Stars and other his works (as *David* discourseth in *Psal. 19.*) declare that there is a God, and that these are the Scriptures because that they teach nothing else but God and his Power, Majesty, and Might; and because the Scripture teacheth nothing different from this prescription of nature. And fourthly, because that the Word of God gave Authority to the Church in Paradise, saying, that the seed of the Woman should break down the Serpents Head. This seed is the Gospel; this is all the Scriptures, and by this we are assured of eternal life; and these words, *The seed of the Woman shall break the Serpents Head*, gave Authority to the Church, and not the Church to the Word.

Baker. I heard say, that you spake against Priests and Bishops.

Allin. I spake for them; for now they have so much living, and especially Bishops, Archdeacons, and Deans, that they neither can nor will teach Gods Word. If they had a hundred pounds a piece, then would they apply their study; now they cannot for their affairs.

Col. Who will then set his Children to school?

Allin. Where there is now one set to school for that end, there would be forty, because that one Bishop dividing divided into thirty, or forty parts, would find so many as well learned men as the Bishops be now, who have all this living, neither had *Peter* or *Paul* any such revenue.

Baker. Let us dispatch him; he will marr all.

Col. If every man had a hundred pounds, as he saith, it would make more learned Men.

Baker. But our Bishops would be angry, if that they knew it.

Allin. It were for a Common-wealth to have such Bishoppicks divided, for the further increase of learning.

Baker. What sayst thou to the Sacrament?

Allin. As I said before.

Baker. Away with him. And thus was he carried to Prison, and afterward burned. And thus much touching the particular story of *Edmund Allin* and his Wife. Who with the five other Martyrs above named, being seven, to wit, five Women and two Men, were altogether burned at *Maidstone*, the year and Month aforementioned, and the 18. day of the same Month.

Another story of like cruelty, shewed upon other seven Martyrs, burnt at Canterbury, three Men, and four Women.

A Mong such infinite seas of Troubles in these most dangerous days, who can withhold himself from bitter tears, to see the madding rage of these pretended Catholics, who being never satisfied with Blood to maintain their

The Popish make out persons in one Trinity.

How the Scripture is knowne to be Scripture.

The reveled nos of Bishops and Prelates in England.

The Martyrdom of five Women and two Men at Maidstone. Anno 1557. June 18.

June 19. The story of 7 other Martyrs.

Unmerciful
creaky of the
catholicks
against poor
Women.

their carnal Kingdom, presume so highly to violate the precise Law of Gods Commandments, in slaying the lumple poor Lambs of the glorious Congregation of Jesus Christ, and that for the true Testimony of a good Conscience, in confessing the immaculate Gospel of their Salvation? What Heart will not lament the murdering mischief of these Men? who for want of work do so wrack their time on silly poor Women, whose weak imbecility the more strength it lacketh by natural imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at least pitied, and not oppressed of Men that be stronger, and especially of Priests that should be charitable.

But blessed be the Lord Omnipotent, who supernaturally hath induced from above such weak Creatures with such manly stomach and fortitude, so constantly to withstand the uttermost extremity of these pitiless persecutors: as he did before strengthen the Mother of the seven Sons in the *Maccabees*, and as he hath done since with divers and sundry other godly Women in these our later days, partly before mentioned, and partly to be mentioned hereafter, as here presently may appear by the Martyrdom of seven herunder following, of the which were four Women and three Men, burnt together at *Canterbury* the 30. of the said Month of *June*: in the year aforesaid, whose Names are these:

This Brad-
bridge Wife
was thought
to be with
Child.

John Fishcock.
Nicholas White.
Nicholas Pardue.

Bradbridges Widow.
Wisons Wife.
Bendens Wife.

Barbara Final, Widow.

As it were too tedious exactly and particularly to prosecute the several story of every one of these godly Martyrs; so I cannot pass over untouched the cruel and unchristian handling of *Alice Benden* during her Imprisonment, according as I have received by the faithful Relation of them which best were acquainted with her, and partly also some doers in the matter, being her own natural Brethren. The story is thus.

The order of the Imprisonment and tragical handling of Alice Benden, Wife of Edward Benden of the Parish of Staplehurst, in the County of Kent, for the Testimony of Christs Gospel.

The Impri-
sonment of
Alice Benden,
and manner
of her hand-
ling.
Mr Roberts
of Cranbrook
persecutor.

First *Alice Benden* was brought before one Mr. Roberts of *Cranbrook*, in said County, the 14. day of *October*, in the year of our Lord, 1556. of whom she was demanded why she would not go to the Church. And she answered, that she could not so do with a good and clear Conscience, because there was much Idolatry committed against the glory of God. For the which with many mocks and taunts she was sent to Prison, where she lay fourteen days. For on the 20. day of *October* her Husband required his neighbours, the wealthy Men of *Staplehurst*, to write to the Bishop of *Dover*, who had the Chief Government of the tyrannical sword in *Kent* for those days, which they did, desiring him to send her home.

Alice Benden
delivered
by force of
her neigh-
bours.

Wherefore the Bishop called her before him, and asked her if she would go home, and go to the Church. Whereunto she answered; If I would have so done, I need not to have come hither. Then wilt thou go home, and be thriven of thy Parish Priest? And she said, No, that would she not.

Well, said he, go thy ways home, and go to the Church when thou wilt. Whereunto she answered nothing. But a Priest that stood by, said; She saith, she will my Lord. Wherefore he let her go, and she came forth with home.

The Hus-
band proce-
deth the
trouble and
imprison-
ment of his
Wife.
Sir J. Gifford
commandeth
Alice
Benden to
the Castle of
Canterbury.

On the *Saturday* following, her Husband willed her to go to the Church; which she both then and else when refused to do. Wherefore on the *Sunday* fourteen days after, he going to the Church, came into the company of divers Inhabitants of the same Parish; among whom, through his fond talk and behaviour, he procured her to be sent to Sir *John Gifford*, who commanded her to Prison again: yea, and the more to utter his own flame, they said her Husband took money of the Constable to carry her to prison, the price of his Wives Blood, meaning indeed to carry her to Prison himself. But she having much more care of his honesty and good report, then he had regard (as it is easie to see) of his own life, and now left ashamed of his foake and unnatural request, chose

rather to commit her self willingly into the hands of her enemies, then that the world should witness against her Husband of so fainorous a fact. Wherefore she went to the Constable, desiring him to go with her. But he answered that he could not so do, but granted her his Boy to go with her, with whom she went to Prison, namely, the Castle of *Canterbury*, according to the Commandment given.

Where this one thing is worthy to be noted, that while she was in this Prison, she practised with a Prison-fellow of hers, the Wife of one *Petkin*, to live both of them with two pence half-penny a day, to try thereby how well they could sustain penury and hunger, before they were put to it. For they had heard, that when they should be removed from thence to the *Bishops Prison*, there livings should be but three farthings a piece a day, and did indeed both so live for fourteen days ere she was from thence removed.

The 22. day of *January* following, her Husband went again to the Bishop, desiring him to deliver his Wife out of Prison: but he said she was an obstinate Hereticke, and would not be reformed; and therefore said that he could not deliver her.

Then said he; My Lord, she hath a Brother, whose Name is *Roger Hall*, that resorteth unto her. If your Lordship could keep him from her, she would turn; for he comforteth her, giveth her money, and perswadeth her not to return or relent.

This occasion was not so soon given, but it was as quickly taken, and as cruelly put in execution. For the Bishop commanding her upon the same to a Prison called *Monday* hole, there also he gave a strait charge, that if at any time her Brother came, he should be taken and apprehended.

This prison was within a Court where the Prebend Chambers were, being a vault beneath the ground, and being before the Window inclosed with a pale, of height, by estimation, four foot and a half, and distant from the same three foot, so that the looking from beneath, might only see such as stood at the pale. After this, her Brother sought often for her, with no less danger of life then diligence. But for the unknown situation of the place, it being also but rarely used for a Prison, and the matter as clofly kept, as it was secretly done, he could never come to understand of her being there, until through Gods merciful will and unfeared providence, he coming thither very rathe in the morning, her Keeper being then gone to the Church to ring (for he was a Bellringer) chanced to hear her voice, as she poured out unto God her sorrowful complaints, saying the *Psalms of David*: and there could he no otherwise relieve her, but by putting money in a Loaf of Bread, and sticking the same on a Pole, and so reached it unto her; for neither with Meat nor Drink he could sustain her. And this was five weeks after her coming thither. All the which time no creature was known to come at her, more then her Keeper.

Her lying in that Prison was only upon a little short straw between a pair of Stocks and a stone wall; being allowed three farthings a day, that is, half penny Bread, and a farthing Drink, neither could she get any more for her Money. Wherefore she desired to have her whole allowance in Bread, and used water for her Drink. Thus did she lie nine weeks. During all which time she never changed her apparel; whereby she became at the last a most pitious and loathsome Creature to behold.

At her first coming into this place, she did grievously bewail with a great sorrow and lamentation, and reasoned with her self; why her Lord God did with his so heavy justice suffer her to be sequestered from her loving fellows into so extreme misery.

In these dolorous mournings did she continue, till on a night as she was in her sorrowful supplications, rehearsing this verse of the *Psalms*; *Why art thou so heavy O my Soul?* And again, *The Right Hand of the most high can change all*: she received comfort in the midst of her miseries, and after that continued very joyfull until her delivery from the same.

About the 25. day of *March*, in the year of our Lord, 1557. she was called before the Bishop, who demanded of her, whether she would now go home, and to the Church or no, promising her great favour, if she would be reformed and do as they did.

Anno
1557.

The space
dict at Alice
Benden and
Petkin
wife to Can-
terbury Castle

The Husband
complained
of his wives
Brother
Roger Hall.

Alice Benden
removed
from the
Bishops pri-
son.

The Bishops
prison des-
cribed.

Example of
Gods mer-
ciful provi-
dence in re-
lieving his
Saints.

Alice Benden
kept in the
Bishops pri-
son nine
weeks with
Bread and
water.

The affliction
of Alice Ben-
den at her
first coming
to prison.
Alice Benden
receiveth
comfort of
the Lord in
the midst of
her miseries.

Alice Benden
called before
the Bishop.

Anno 1557. To whom she answered, I am thoroughly persuaded by the great extremity, that you have already shewed me, that you are not of God, neither can your doings be goodly; and I see, faith she, that you seek my utter destruction, shewing how lame she then was of cold taken, and for lack of food, while she lay in that painful Prison; whereby she was not able to move her self without great pain.

Then did the Bishop deliver her from that filthy hole, and sent her to *Wolgate*, where after she had been changed, and for a while been clean kept, her Skin did wholly so pill and scale off, as if she had been with some mortal venom poisoned. Here she continued till the latter end of April. At which time they called her before them, and with others condemned her, committing her then to the Prison called the *Castle*. Where she continued till the slaughter-day, which was the nineteenth day of June, when by terrible fire they took away her life.

When she was at the Stake, she cast her Handkerchief unto one *John Banks*, requiring him to keep the same in memory of her, and from about her middle she took a white Lince, which she gave to the Keeper, desiring him to give the same to her Brother *Roger Hall*, and to tell

him that it was the last band that she was bound with, except the Chain. A shilling also of *Philip and Mary* she took forth, which her Father had bowed and sent her when she was first sent to Prison, desiring that her said Brother should with obedient salutations render the same to her Father again, and shew him that it was the first piece of money that he sent her after her troubles began, which (as she protested) she had kept, and now sent him to do him to understand, that she never lacked money while she was in Prison.

With this *Alice Benden* were burned also the residue of the other blessed Martyrs above named, being seven in number. Who being brought to the place where they should suffer for the Lords cause at *Canterbury*, undressed themselves joyfully to the fire; and being ready thereto, they all (like the communion of Saints) kneeled down, and made their humble prayers unto the Lord, with such zeal and affection; as even the enemies of the Cross of Christ could not but like it. When they had made Invocation together, they rose and went to the Stake, where being compassed with horrible flames of fire, they yielded their Souls and lives gloriously into the hand of the Lord.

The burning of seven Martyrs at Canterbury.



The Martyrdom of three Men and four women at Canterbury. Anno 1557. June 19.

This *Braddridges Wife*, when she was condemned of the Bishop to be burned, had two Children named *Patience* and *Charity*. Who then said to the Bishop, that if he would needs burn her, yet he trusted, that he would take and keep *Patience* and *Charity*, meaning her two Children. Nay, quoth the Bishop, by the Faith of my Body, I will meddle with neither of them both.

The Troubles and Examinations of Matthew Plaisie.

Matthew Plaisie.

Unto these holy Martyrs of *Kent* above specified, whereof seven suffered at *Maidstone*, and seven at *Canterbury*, I thought not unmet here also to be adjoined the Examination of *Matthew Plaisie*, a Weaver of the same County of *Kent*, and a faithful Christian. Who being apprehended and imprisoned likewise for the testimony of a good Conscience, in the Castle of *Canterbury*, was brought to Examination before the Bishop of *Dover*, and *Harsfield* the Archdeacon, as here is to be read and seen.

The Examination and Answers of Matthew Plaisie, Weaver, of the Parish of *Stone*, in the County of *Kent*, before *Thornton Bishop* of *Dover*, *Harsfield Arch-*

deacon, *Collins Commissary*, and other Inquisitors

Anno 1557.

First, when I came before the Bishop, he asked me whether I were not of that Diocese, and where I dwelt; for that was my first Article.

Ans. I answered, I was of the Parish of *Stone* in *Kent*, and subject unto the King and Queen of *England*.

Bishop. Then he said, I was indicted by twelve men at *Ashford*, at the Sessions, for Heresy.

Ans. I said, that was sooner said then proved.

Bish. Then he said, it was the Truth that he had spoken to me, for he had whereby to prove.

Ans. Then I desired him to let me hear it, and I would answer to it.

Bish. But he said he would not do so, but I should answer to my Article, yea or nay.

Ans. I said, he could not; for I was not at *Ashford*, and therefore he had nothing to lay to my charge. But now I perceive you go about to lay a net to have my Blood.

Arch. After many words betwixt the Bishop and me, the Archdeacon said; Peace, peace, we do not desire thy Blood, but we are glad to hear that thou art no Heretic, with many flattering words, and said; yet I was suspected

Examination of Matthew Plaisie before the Bishop of Dover, at Ashford, at the Sessions, for Heresy, Anno 1557.

suspected of Heresie; and if I would be content to confesse how I did believe as concerning those Articles, they would gladly teach me.

Ans. But I said, I do not think so, for I talked with one of your Doctors, and after long talk, he would needs know how I did believe in the Sacrament, and I recited unto him the Text, and because I would not make unto him an exposition, he would teach me nothing: yet I prayed him for my learning to write his mind; and if it were the truth, I would believe him; and this I did desire him for the love of God, but it would not be.

Arch. Then said he, it was not so, he durst swear upon a Book.

Ans. I said, it would be so proved.

Arch. Then he stood up with a long process, and said, he would tell me the truth, and was sure that the same Doctor did believe as he did.

Ans. I asked him how he knew that, seeing St. Paul doth say, that no man knoweth what is in man, but the spirit which dwelleth in him: but if you wilt what Christ meant by these words, I require mercy and not sacrifice, *Matth. 12.* you would not kill Innocents.

Bishp. The Bishop began with me again, and charged me in the King and Queens Name, and the Lord Cardinals, to answer yea or nay to the Articles that followed.

Ans. Then I commanded in his Name that should come in flaming fire with his mighty Angels to render vengeance to the disobedient, and to all those that believed not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which should be punished with everlasting damnation, that he should speak nothing but the truth grounded upon Christ and his Apostles, and then I would answer him, or else not.

Bishp. Then he was very angry, and said, If I would not answer, he would condemn me indeed, unless I would answer every Article.

Ans. Well, said I, if you do, you shall be guilty of my Blood, and prove your self a Murderer.

Archd. Then the Archdeacon took the Articles in his hand, and read the second Article, which was, that I was a Christian man, and did believe in their Mother the Catholick Church, and the determination thereof.

Ans. I said, I was a Christian man indeed, and therefore they had nothing against me.

Archd. Then said he, what saist thou to the Catholick Church, which hath so long continued, except it were nine or ten years, that this Heresie hath sprung up here in this Realm?

Ans. I said, no man can accuse me of any thing spoken against the Catholick Church of Christ.

Bishp. Then said the Bishop, dost thou not believe the Creed?

Ans. Yes verily, I believe my Creed, and all that is written in the Testament of Christ, with therof the Scriptures.

Bishp. Then, saith he, thou dost confesse that there is a Catholick Church, I am glad of that; but tell me, is the King and Queen of that Church, or no?

Ans. Well, said I, now I perceive, you go about to be both mine Accuser and also my Judge, contrary to all right. I confesse Christ hath a Church upon Earth, which is built upon the Apostles and Prophets, Christ being the Head thereof, and as touching the King and Queen, I answer, I have nothing to do with any mans Faith but mine own: neither came I hither to judge; for I judge not my self, but the Lord must judge me.

Bishp. Then said he: Is there no part of that Church here in England?

Ans. Well, I perceive you would faine have something to lay to my charge. I will tell you where. Christ saith, Where two or three be gathered together in his name, there is he in the midst among them.

Then the Arch-deacon stood up with his mocks, to put me out of countenance, and said to the People, that I had no wit, but that I thought all they were deceived for long time, and that half a dozen of us should have the Truth in a corner, and that all they should be deceived, with such like taunts and mocks; but would not suffer me to speak one word.

Arch. Then he read the Article of the Sacrament, and

said, I did deny the Real presence to be in the Sacrament after it was once consecrated, and that I said, Christs Body was in Heaven, and no where else, and that the Bread was nothing but a sign, token, or remembrance.

Ans. Then I said, you have to shew where and what my words were, and herof we talked a great while.

Bishp. At the last the Bishop was so angry, that he charged me in the Kings, Queens, and Cardinals name before the Mayor and his Brethren, taking them to witness, if I did not say yea or nay, he would condemn me.

Ans. Then I said, seeing you have nothing to accuse me of, wherefore should I so answer?

Archd. Then the Archdeacon said, I was guilty; and said I was like a thief at the Bar, which would not confesse his fault, because his Accusers were not present; with a great many words, and would not let me open my mouth against him.

Ans. Then I saw whereabouts they went, granting to answer them by the word, or else I think they would have condemned me for holding of my peace; and this was my beginning, I believe that Christ took Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, and said, *Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me.*

Arch. Dost thou believe that Christ meant even as he said?

Ans. I said, Christ was no dissembler, but he spake the very truth.

Archd. Thou hast very well said, we will make the best of thy words. Then he praised me with many words, going about to prove it his Body real and substantial, and said, Christ called himself Bread: and this to prove, when Christ said, *This is my Body*, the Bread was his Body, said he, indeed, real and substantial, not so long and so big as it hung on the Crose, as the Capernautes did think; but we eat it, as mans weak nature can eat Christ. Therefore when he had said, *This is my Body*, the Bread was his Body in very deed.

Ans. Then I asked him, what Christ meant by these words, *Which is given for you?*

Arch. He said, Christ spake that by the Bread also; but it was not written in *Matthew*, but *Luke* had those words.

Ans. Then I asked him, if Christs Body were made of Bread, whether that was given for our redemption, or whether the Bread was crucified for us, or not?

Arch. Then he said, No, by St. Mary, I say not so.

Ans. You have said the truth indeed, and even as I believe.

Arch. Then he stood up with a great many of words, Christ called and said, that I did think it but bare Bread still, as other is his Body; Bread is; but he was sure Christ called it his Body, and made it his Body, and then it was his Body indeed; for he would believe Christ.

Ans. When he had spoken his pleasure by me, thinking to have condemned me by their Law, I said, he had not judged right of me, for I had not so spoken, but did believe the words of Christ as well as he, and as much as he could prove by the Word.

Arch. Then he would hear what I did say it was.

Ans. I said, I did believe it was that he gave them.

Arch. Then he asked me, what was that he gave them.

Ans. I said, that which he brake.

Arch. Then he asked me, what was that he brake?

Ans. I said, that he took.

Arch. What was it that he did take?

Ans. I said, the Text saith, he took Bread.

Arch. Well then, thou saist it was but Bread that his Disciples did eat, by thy reason.

Ans. Thus much, I say, Look what he gave them, they did eat it indeed.

Arch. Why, then was not that his Body that they did eat?

Ans. It was that which he brake.

Arch. Well, said he, I perceive thy meaning well enough; for thou dost think it is but Bread still, and that he was not able to make it his Body.

Ans. That is your exposition upon my mind.

Arch. Then said he, what didst thou receive when thou didst receive last?

Ans.

Anno
1557.

Mat. 23
Christ
his mind
of the
sacra-
ment.

Caperna-
ites
did
think.

The Article
of the King
and Queen
is no Article
of his Ca-
tholick
Church.

And yet he
said before
this he
went not
about to
seek his
Blood.

Judgment
without
words.

Ann. 1557. *Answ.* I said, I do believe, that I did eat Christs flesh, and drink his blood. For he saith. *My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.*

Arch. Then he said, I had well answered, thinking to have had some advantage at my hand, and prayed me to tell him, how I did eat his flesh and drink his blood.

Ans. Then he said, I must answer you by the word which Christ saith; *He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.*

Arch. Then he faced out the matter with Sophistry, and said I did eat Christ, as that Church was in his eye, with many such mocks, but would not let me answer one word.

Commis. Then the Commissary did ask me, if I did not remember St. Paul, which did rebuke the *Corinthians* for their evil behaviour, and because they made no difference of the Lords Body, and brought in to prove his matter, how he called himself Bread in the sixth of *John*. So Paul saith, *So oft as ye eat of this Bread* (meaning Christs Body) *unworthily, ye eat and drink your own damnation, because ye make no difference of the Lords Body.* For thus saith Christ, *The bread that I will give you is my flesh.* Now it is no Bread, but it is his flesh. And thus he alledged every Scripture false, to make up the matter.

Ans. Then I said, I did believe the words of St. Paul very well, even as he had spoken them. For thus he saith, *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lords Body.*

Commis. What is the cause that he eateth his own damnation?

Ans. I said, St. Paul declareth it plainly with these words, *If ye had judged your selves, ye should not have been judged of the Lord.*

Arch. Then the Archdeacon said, he marvelled why I would not say, that he called the Bread his Body, seeing *Crammer, Ridley and Latimer*, with many others, said he, called it his Body.

Ans. I said, you have condemned them as Hereticks, and you would have me say with them, because you would kill me.

Arch. Then he said, In that they said it was his Body, they did say the truth.

Ans. I asked wherefore they were killed, seeing they said the Truth.

Bish. Then said the Bishop, that he had all their Answers, and that they did not believe as they said. For they said, Christ called it his Body, but it was not his natural Body: but thou shalt answer me by and by, whether it be his Body or not, or else I will anger thee.

Ans. Then I said, I had answered him by the Word already, and did believe it also; therefore if he did condemn me for that, my Life was not dear unto me, and I was sure he should not scape unpunished: for God will be revenged upon such Murderers.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon intreated me to be ruled by him, and take mercy while it was offered; for if I were condemned, I must needs be burned. Yet he would not say but my Soul might be saved; with many more words, and desired me that I would believe him, for he would speak the truth: beginning how Christ fed five thousand People with four Loaves, and how he turned the Water into Wine, even so Christ took Bread and blest it, and when he had done, he brake it and said, *This is my Body*, and then he commanded them to eat it: and therefore it must needs be his Body.

Ans. Then I desired him to speak the Text right, or else I would not believe him.

Arch. Then he stood up, and put off his Cap, and thanked me for teaching of him, and said, I was a stubborn Fellow, and took scorn to be taught.

Ans. I said, I ought to hold him accursed, if he taught Doctrine contrary to Christ and his Apostles.

Arch. Then he asked me, whether I did believe that Christ did give that he took, or not?

Ans. I said, I do believe as much as can be proved by the Scriptures, and more I will not believe.

Arch. Then he began with *Moses* Rod, how God commanded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a Serpent. Seeing that this was by *Moses* being but a

man, how much more Christ being both God and Man took one thing, and gave to his Disciples another?

Ans. I said, his comparison was nothing like, for *Moses* Rod when it was laid down, he saw that it was turned into a very Serpent indeed; but in this Sacrament no man can see either quality or yet quantity to be changed.

Bish. Then said the Bishop, that mine Opinion and Faith was like unto the *Capernautes*.

Ans. I said, theirs was more like their Opinion than mine.

Arch. The Archdeacon asked me, whether Christ took not one thing, and gave another?

Ans. I said, look what he brake he gave unto them, and bade them eat; and other answer I will make none, contrary to the Word.

Arch. Then he said, he marvelled why I would not believe them, seeing this learning had continued this fifteen hundred years; neither yet did I say, as other had before, how Christ did call it his Body.

Ans. Then I said, when *Crammer*, which was here Bishop, was in authority, he said, that he did hold the truth, and commanded us to believe him, and he hath given his life for his Opinion, and would you have me to believe you, because you say, that you hold the Truth? and that which makes me believe chiefly, is the Scripture, which I am sure is the Truth indeed.

Bish. The Bishop said, he had spoken the truth, and that I would not believe.

Ans. I said, if he did not now speak the truth, I was sure he had spoken the truth; for he had preached before Doctrine clean contrary unto this.

Then were the rest of my Articles read; which I answered, and in every Article he had up this Breaden God. And they sent for a Candle-light, and I thought they would have condemned me, but God would not suffer their cruel hearts to have their pleasure that time: blessed be his Name for evermore, *Amen*.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon was angry, and began to chide with me, because I would not desire a day of the Bishop, and said, I was a naughty stubborn Fellow, and said, it had been my duty to have desired him to have been good to me, that I might have a day.

Ans. Then I said, I have spoken the truth; and therefore I would ask him no day, except he would give me a day of his own mind.

Commis. Then said the Commissary, Dost thou not think that thou maist be deceived, seeing he may be deceived that hath gone to study all the days of his life?

Ans. I said, Yea, I might be deceived in that I was a man; but I was sure Gods Word could not be deceived.

Commis. Then he prayed me to be content, and confessed that I might learn, and said, they would be glad to teach me.

Ans. And I said, I would be as glad to learn as any man. And thus they rose up and went away, saying nothing.

What became of this *Matthew Plaife* after, whether he died in Prison, or was executed, or delivered, I have as yet no certain knowledge.

The History of Ten true godly Disciples and Martyrs of Christ, burnt together in one Fire at Lewes, Anno 1557. June 22.

IN the Town of *Lewes* were Ten faithful Servants of June 22: God put in one fire, the 22. day of June, whose Names follow:

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Richard Woodman. | 6. Margery Moris. | |
| 2. George Stevens. | 7. James Moris, her Son. | Ten godly Martyrs. |
| 3. W. Mainard. | 8. Denis Burgis. | |
| 4. Alexander Hofman, his Servant. | 9. Almonds Wife. | |
| 5. Thomasin a Wood, Mainard's Maid. | 10. Groves Wife. | |

Of the which number *Richard Woodman* was the first. Concerning whose apprehension, first by his Enemies, and of his deliverance out of Bishop *Boners* hands, then of his second taking again by the procurement of his

Falsely al-
leging of
Scriptures.

They said,
that Christ
called it his
Body, but
they said,
that it was
his Body.

Commotion
between
turning
Moses Rod
and the
Bread, into
Christs Body,
etc.
like.

The Opin-
on of the
Papists
much like
to the Ca-
pernautes.

Ten godly
Martyrs.

his Father, Brother, Kinsfolks, and Friends, also of his sundry Examinations and courageous Answers before the Bishops: and lastly of his Condemnation, and of his Letters sent to his faithful Friends, here followeth to be declared by his own words, and relation reported. Which *Richard Woodman*, by his occupation was an *Iron-maker* dwelling in the Parish of *Warbleton*, in the County of *Suffex*; and Diocess of *Chichester* of the age of thirty years and somewhat more. The occasion of his first apprehension was this:

*Faithfully
preaching
contrary to
himself.*

There was one *Fairebanke*, who sometimes had been a married Priest, and served the Cure of *Warebleton*, where he had often perwaded the People not to credit any other Doctrine, but that which he then preached, taught and set forth in King *Edwards* days. And afterward in the beginning of *Queen Maries* Reign, the said *Fairebanke*, turning head to tail, preached clean contrary to that which he had before taught.

*Justices of
Suffex, crui-
sitors of R.
Woodman, and what
were their
names.*

Whereupon *Richard Woodman*, hearing him in the Church of *Warbleton* so to preach contrary to himself, admonished him of his inconstancy, how before time he had taught them one thing, and now another, and desired him to teach them the Truth. For the which words he was apprehended, and brought before Master *John Albornham*, Master *Tenison*, and Master *Culpepper*, and Master *Roberts*, Justices of Peace in the County of *Suffex*, and by them committed to the Kings Bench, where he continued from *June*, the space almost of a year and half; and from thence was transferred by Doctor *Story* into *Boners* Colehouse, where he remained the space of a month before he came to Examination.

*R. Wood-
man deliv-
ered out of
his first trou-
ble.
Q. Wood-
man again
apprehen-
ded, and by
whole
means.*

At length, the same day when Master *Philpot* was burned, which was the 18. of *December*, he with four other Prisoners was delivered and set at liberty by *Bener* himself. Notwithstanding, shortly after he was sought for again, and at last found out and taken by means of his Father, Brother, and certain other his acquainted Friends, and so was sent up again to *London* to Bishop *Boner*, where he remained in the *Colehouse* eight weeks. He was there six times examined, and twenty six times before, so that his Examinations were in all thirty two, from his first apprehension to his condemnation. Touching the whole discourse whereof, so far as the matter is something strange, and will peradventure scarce find credit upon my narration, with them which deny all things that like them not to believe, ye shall hear himself speak and testify both of the manner of his Troubles, and also his own Examinations by himself recorded, in order as followeth.

*32. Exami-
nations of
R. Woodman.*

A true Certificate written by Richard Woodman, of his taking, and how he was brought to the Sheriffs the 15. of March. 1556. and how long he was in Prison and how he was there used, till he was brought before the Bishop of Chichester at Black-Friers in London, with the order of his Examinations following after the same.

*The Cer-
tificate of R.
Woodman
concerning
the truth of
his own sto-
ry and trou-
ble.*

Gentle Reader, here you shall perceive how the Scriptures be partly fulfilled on me being one of the least of his poor Lambs. First, you shall understand, that since I was delivered out of the Bishop of *London*'s hands, which was in the year of our Lord 1555, and the same day that *Mr. Philpot* was burned, which was the 18. of *December*, I lay in his *Colehouse* eight Weeks lacking but one day: and before that I was a year and a half almost in the Kings Bench after my first apprehension, for reproving a Preacher in the Pulpit, in the parish of *Warbleton*, where I dwelt. Wherefore I was at two Sessions before I was sent to Prison, and carried to two more Sessions while I was in Prison, twice before the Bishop of *Chichester*, and five times before the Commissioners; and then sent to *London*'s *Colehouse*, and many times called before him, as it appeareth by my Examinations which I have wrote, the which Examinations the Bishop of *Chichester* now hath, for they were found in my house when I was taken, wherein is contained all the talk which I had before them asforesaid. Also there be in *London* that had Copies of the same of me, when I was in the *Colehouse*.

*The first ap-
prehension
of R. Wood-
man.*

And it pleased God to deliver me with 4. more out of the Butchers hands, requiring nothing else of us but

that we should be honest men, and members of the true Catholick Church that was builded upon the Prophets and Apostles, Christ being the head of the true Church, the which all we affirmed that we were members of the true Church, and purposed by Gods help therein to die. And hereupon we were delivered; but he willed us many times to speak good of him. And no doubt he was worthy to be praised, because he had been so faithful an aid in his Masters Devils business. For he had burnt good Master *Philpot* the same morning, in whose Blood his heart was so drunken (as I supposed) that he could not tell what he did, as it appeared to us both before and after. For but two days before, he promised us that we should be condemned that same day that we were delivered, yea, and the morrow after that he had delivered us, he sought for some of us again, yea, and that earnestly. He waxed dry after his great drunkenness, wherefore he is like to have Blood to drink in Hell as he is worthy, if he repent it not with speed. The Lord turn all their hearts, if it be his will.

This have I written, chiefly to certifye all People how we were delivered, because many carnal Gospellers and Papists have said, that it was prescribed that we should be so delivered, because they think that God is subject to man, and not man to God. For if they did, they would not blaspheme him as they do, or if they thought they should give account for it. Have not many of them read how God delivered *Israel* out of *Egypt*? *Daniel* out of the Lions Den? *Sydach*, *Misach*, and *Abednego*, out of the burning Oven? with divers other such like examples; yea, God is the same God that he was then. He is no older, nor less in power, as some count him in wondering at his works. Now to the matter.

After I was delivered, the Papists said that I had consented to them, whereof they made themselves glad; the which was the least part of my thought (I praise God therefore) as they well perceived and knew the contrary within a while. For I went from *Parish* to *Parish*, and talked with them, to the number of 13. or 14. and that of the chiefest in all the Country; and I angered them so, that they with the Commissioners complained on me to my Lord Chamberlain, that was then to the Queen. Sir *John Gage*, shewing him that I baptized Children, and married Folks, with many such lies, to bring me into their hands again. Then the Commissioners sent out certain Citations to bring me to the Court. My Lord Chamberlain had directed out four or five Warrants for me, that if I had come there, I should have been attached and sent to Prison straight-way. Which was not Gods will; for I had warning of their laying await for me, and came not there, but sent my deputy and he brought me word that the Bayliffs waited for me there, but they mist of their prey for that time, whereupon they were displeased.

Then within three days after, my Lord sent three of his men to take me, whose names were *Deane*, *Jessrey*, and *Frances*. I being at plough with my Folks, right in the way as they were coming to my house, least mistrusting them of all other, came to them and spake to them, asking them how they did. And they said, they arrested me in the King and Queens Name, and that I must go with them to their Master the Lord Chamberlain. Which words made my flesh to tremble and quake, because of that sudden. But I answered them, that I would go with them. Yet I desired them, that they would go to my House with me, that I might break my Fast, and put on some other gear, and they said, I should. Then I remembered my self, saying in my heart; Why am I thus afraid? they can lay no evil to my charge. If they kill me for well doing, I may think my self happy. I remembered how I was contented gladly before to die in that quarrel, and so had continued ever since; and should I now fear to die? God forbid, that I should; for then were all my labour in vain.

So by and by I was perwaded, I praise God, considering it was but the frailty of my flesh, which was loth to forgo my Wife and Children, and goods: for I saw nothing but present death before mine eyes. And as soon as I was perwaded in my mind to die, I had regard of nothing in this world, but was as merry and glad, and joyfull, I praise God, as ever I was. This battle

Anno
1556.

*R. Woodman
delivered
out of Boners
hands with
four more.
What the
Bishop re-
quired at
their deliv-
rance.*

*Bishop Boner
shood chir-
dy.*

*Woodman
singeth
himself of
false stander.*

*False formi-
ses against
R. Wood-
man.*

*Woodman
complained
of to Sir
John Gage,
Lord Cham-
berlain.*

*Warrants
sent out to
attach Wood-
man.*

*L. Cham-
berlain sen-
deth to take
Woodman at
his Plough.*

*Woodman
arrested.*

*Fear coming
upon Wood-
man at his
first taking.*

*Woodman
contented in
his Spirit al-
tho his fear.*

luffed

Anno 1557. lasted not a quarter of an hour; but it was sharper than death it self for the time, I dare say.

Woodman seeks for their Warrant. So when I had my breakfast, I desired them to shew me their Warrant, thinking thereby I should have seen wherefore I was arrested, to the intent I might the better answer for my self, when I came before their Master. And one of them answered, they had not their Warrant there. Which words made me astonished,

How God worketh for his Servants. and it was put in my mind by God, that I need not go with them, unless they had their Warrant. Then said I to them, That is marvel that you will come to take a man without a Warrant. It seemeth to me, that you come of your own mind to get thank of your Master; for indeed I heard say (said I) that there was four or five Warrants out for me, but they were called in again, because I had certified my Lord the Commillary, by a Letter that I had sent to them, that I was not faulty in that they laid to my charge, of Follies: the which I never did; for I was never Minister appointed to do any such thing: wherefore set your hearts at rest, I will not go with you (said I) unless you will carry me by force, and if you will do so, at your own adventures. And so I rose from the board, and stepped into my Chamber, meaning to do from them if I could possible, feeling God had made the way so open for me. I meant to play Peters part with them, but God would not it should be so, but sent a fear amongst them, that as soon as I was gone into my Chamber, ere ever I could come out again, they were gone out of my House.

The unorderly doings of the Papists in attaching men and their Warrant. When I saw that, I knew it was Gods doing, to set me at liberty once again. Yet I was compelled to speak to them, and said, If you have a Warrant, I desire you for Gods sake to shew it me, and I will go with you with all my heart; if not, I desire you to depart in Gods Peace and the Kings: for surely I will not go with you without the order of the Law; for I have been too simple in such things already. For before I was sent to Prison first, I went to the Justices to two Sessions, without any Warrant or Commandment, but had word by one of their men, and I went justly to them, and they sent me to Prison, and kept me there almost a year and three quarters, without all right or equity, as it is openly known, nor hearing my cause gently, debated. And (he seemeth strange to me, that I should be thus evil handled; and therefore I will go to none of them all henceforth, without the extremity of the Law.

Woodman refreshes to go with them, unless they shew their Warrant. Then one of them answered me, and said, We have not the Warrant here, but it is at home at my House; the worst is, you can but make us fetch it. Then I said, Fetch it if you will; but if you come in my House before you have it at your own adventure be it. So I shut my door, and went my way out at the other door. So they got help to watch my House, whilst one of them fetcht the Constable and many more, thinking to have had me in my House, and to have taken me in my House, and carried me away with a licence; but I was gone before, as God would have it. Notwithstanding they sought every corner of my House, but could not prevail. I mistrusted they would search it again that night, and kept me abroad; and indeed there came seven of his men and the Constable, and searched my House.

Gods great work, how the persecutors which came to take Woodman went away without him. And when they saw that they could not meet with me, they were ready to rent their Coats, that I had escaped them so, knowing they should have such a check of their Master. When I heard that they had sought so for me again, I perceiving that they were greedy of their prey, came home, and my Wife told me all things.

Woodman escaped the hands of his officers. Then I supposed that they would lay all the Country for me, and the Sea-coast, because I should not go over, and then I thought that they would not mistrust that I would dare be night home. So I told my Wife, that I would make my lodging in a Wood not past a flight thot from my House, as I did indeed, even under a Tree, and there had my Bible, my Pen, and mine Ink, and other necessities, and there continued six or seven weeks, my Wife bringing me meat daily as I had need. Yea, I thought my self blessed of God, that I was counted worthy to lye in the Woods for the Name of Christ. Then there came word into the Country, that I was seen and spoken to in Flan-

Woodman sought for his Warrant. ders; whereupon they left laying in wait for me: for they had laid all the Country for me, and the Sea-coast from Portsmouth to Dover, even as God put in my mind they would. So when all was hush, I went abroad among our Friends and Brethren, and at length I went beyond the Sea both into Flanders and in France; but I thought every day seven year or ever I were at home again. So I came home again as soon as it was possible. I was there but three weeks, but as soon as I was come home, and it was once known among Baal's Priests, they could not abide it, but procured out Warrants against me, causing my House to be searched sometimes twice in a week. This continued from S. James tide to the first Sunday in Lent. Otherwhile I went privily, otherwhile openly, otherwhile I went from home a fortnight or three weeks, otherwhiles I was at home a month or five weeks together, living there most commonly and openly, doing such works as I had to do; and yet all mine enemies could lay no hands on me, till the hour was full come: and then by the voice of the Country, and by manifest proofs, mine one Brother, as concerning the flesh, delivered me into their hands, by that he knew that I was at home.

Woodman sought for his Warrant. For my Father and he had as much of my goods in their hands, as I might have 50 l. for by the year clear, and thereunto prayed. It was a Lordship and an Honor, and half an Honor that I had delivered into their hands to pay my debts, and the rest to remain to my Wife and Children. But they had reported that it would not pay my debts; which grieved me sore. For it was 200 l. better than the debts came to. Which caused me to speak to some of my Friends, that they would speak to them to come to some reckoning with me, and to take all such money again of me as they were charged with, and to deliver me such Writings and Writs as they had of mine again, or to whom I would appoint them.

Woodman sought for his Warrant. So it was agreed betwixt my Father and me, that I should have it again, and the day was appointed that the reckoning should be made and sent to me that same day that I was taken; my Brother supposing that I should have put him out of most of all his occupancies, that he was in: for it was all mine in a manner that he occupied, as all the Country can, and do well know. Whereon (as it is reported) he told one Cardillar, my next Neighbour, and he told some of Mr. Gages men, or to Mr. Gage himself; and so he sent to his Brother, and his Brother sent twelve of his men (he being Sheriff) in the night before I was taken, and lay in the Busses not far from my House, till about 9. of the clock, even the hour that was appointed amongst themselves; for about the same time they thought to have had me within my House.

Woodman sought for his Warrant. They had taken a Man of mine, and two of my Children that were abroad in the Land, and kept them with them till their hour was appointed to come in; and then a little Girl, one of my Children, saw them come together, and came running in, and cried, Mother, Mother, yonder cometh twenty men. I sitting in my Bed, and making of Shoo-thongs, heard the words, and suspected straightway that I was betrayed, I stir'd out of my Bed and whipt on my Hofe, thinking to have gone out of the doors or ever they had been come. My Wife being amazed at the Childs words, looked out at the door, and they were hard by. Then she clapped to the door, and barred it fast, even as I came out of my Chamber into the Hall, and so barred the other: So the House was beset round straightway, and they bade open the doors, or else they would break them in pieces. Then I had no shift, but either I must shew my self openly, or make some other remedy.

Woodman sought for his Warrant. So there was a place in my House that was never found, which was at the least, I dare say, twenty times, and sometimes almost of twenty men searched at once, both by night and by day. Into which place I went: And as soon as I was in, my Wife opened the door, whereby incontinent they came, and asked for me; and the said I was not at home. Then they asked her wherefore she shut the door, if I were not at home. She said, because she had been made afraid divers times with such as came to search us; and therefore she shut the door. For it is reported (faith she) that whosoever can take my Husband, shall hang him or burn him straightway; and therefore I doubt they will serve me or my Children so; for I think they may do so

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unto us as well as to him, the said. Well, said they, we know he is in the House, and we must search it, for we be the Sheriffs men; let us have a Candle. It is told us, there be many secret places in your House. So she lighted a Candle, and they fought up and down in every corner that they could find, and had given over, and many of them were gone out of my House into the Church-yard, and there talking with my Father, and with some that he had brought with him.

This betake
was his bro-
ther.

Now when they could not find me, one of them went to him that gave them word that I was at home, and said, we cannot find him. Then he asked them whether they had fought over a window that was in the Hall (as it was known afterward) for that same place I had told him of my self. For many times when I came home, I would fend for him to bear me company; yet as it chanced, I had not told him the way into it. Then they began to search anew. One looked up over the window, and spied a little Loft, with three or four Chests, and the way went in betwixt two of the Chests, but there could no man perceive it. Then he asked my wife which was the way into it. Here is a place that we have not fought yet. When she thought they would see it by one means or other, she said, the way was into it out of a Chamber they were in even now. So she sent them up, and cried, Away, away. Then I knew there was no remedy, but made the best shift for my self that I could. The place was boarded over, and fast nailed, and if I had come out that way that I went in, I must needs come amongst them all in the Hall. Then I had no shift, but set my shoulders to the boards that were nailed to the Rafter to keep out the rain, and braked them in pieces, which made a great noise, and they that were in the other Chamber, seeking for the way into it, heard the noise, and looked out of a window, and spied me, and made an out-cry. But yet I got out, and leaped down, having no shoes on.

Woodman at
length, after
long seek-
ing, found
out.

So I took down a Lane that was full of sharp finders, and they came running after, with a great cry, with their Swords drawn, crying, Strike him, strike him. Which words made me look back, and there was never a one nigh me by an hundred foot: and that was but one, for all the rest were a great way behind. And I turned about hastily to go my way, and stepped upon a sharp finder with one foot, and saving of it, I stepped into a great miry hole, and fell down withal, and ere ever I could arise and get away, he was come in with me. His name is Parker the wild, as he is counted in all Suffolk. But if I had had on my shoes, they had been like to have gone away errandless, if there had been five hundred more, if I had caught the plain ground once, to the which I had not a stone cast: But it was not Gods will; for if it had, I should have escaped from them all, if there had been ten thousand of them.

Parker in
Suffolk
a bloody fer-
ocious of
Woodman.

Then they took me and led me home again to put on my shoes, and such gear as I had need of. Then said John Fauconer, Now your Master hath deceived you. You said, you were an Angel, and if you had been an Angel, why did you not flee away from us? Then said I, what be they that ever heard me say that I was an Angel? It is not the first lye by a thousand that they have made of me. Angels were never begotten of men, nor born of women; but if they had said, they had heard me say, that I do trust I am a Saint, they had not said amiss. What, do you think to be a Saint? Yea that I do, and am already in Gods fight, I trust in God; for he that is not a Saint in Gods fight already, is a Devil. Therefore he that thinketh scorn to be a Saint, let him be a Devil. And with that word they had brought me to mine own door; where met with me my Father, and willed me to remember my self.

Every true
Christian
man is a
Saint in
Gods sight.

To whom I answered, I praise God, I am well remembered whereabouts I go. This way was appointed of God for me to be delivered into the hands of mine enemies, but you unto him by whom I am betrayed. It had been good for that man, that he had never been born, if he repent not with speed. The Scriptures are now fulfilled on me: For the Father shall be against the son, and the brother shall deliver the brother to death, as it is this day come to pass. Then said one, He doth accuse his father; a good child indeed. I accuse him not, but say my mind; for there was no man knew me at home, but my father, my brother,

Woodman
betrayed ei-
ther by his
own father,
or by his
own bro-
ther.

and one more, the which I dare say would not hurt me for all the good in this Town.

There was one George Beching that married one of my sisters, and he thought that I had meant him, that he had betrayed me; and he said, Brother, I would you should not think that I was the cause of your taking. To whom I answered, that I meant him not; I meant one that was nearer of my blood than he was. Then said one of Laufs, that I had been a Gosseller, and stood from them when I was brought to a Sessions to Laufe, and he said, I thought you would have been an honest man when you were at Laufe, and I offered Halfpenny the Sheriff to be bound for you, that you should go home to your wife, and come to him again. Then I remembered what he was, and said, Be you the Pewterer? And he said, Yea. Then said I; It is happened to you according to the true Proverb, as A Pewterer saith S. Peter, The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the sow that is washed, to wallow in the mire, and the end of all such will be worse than the beginning. Then his mouth was stopped, so that he had nothing to say.

1557.
George Be-
ching brother
in law to
Woodman.

As A Pewterer
saith S. Peter,
The dog is
turned to his
vomit again,
and the sow
that is washed,
to wallow in
the mire, and
the end of all
such will be
worse than the
beginning.

All this while I stood at my door without; for they would not let me go in. So I put on my shoes and my cloaths, then they put on an harness about my arms made of a dogs flip, which rejoiced my heart, that I was counted worthy to be bound for the Name of God. So I took my leave of my wife and children, my father, and other of my friends, never thinking to see them more in this world. For it was so thought of all the Country, that I should not live six days after my taking; for they had so unles God would grant it, I know what God can do; but what he will do, I know not: but I am sure he will work all things for the best for them that love and fear him. So we drank and went our way, and came to Fittle about three of the clock. And thus much touching the cause, and effect of the troubles of Richard Woodman. Now let us see his Examinations, which follow in this order.

Woodman re-
joiceth to be
bound for the
name of
Christ.
Woodman ta-
keeth his
leave of his
wife and
children.

The name of
this place to
be as we
could gather
by the copy
was Fittle.

The first Examination of Richard Woodman, before Dr. Christopheron Bishop of Chichester, Dr. Story, Dr. Cooke, and others.

I first, you shall understand, that I was sent from the Sheriff to London, the 12. day of April, in the year of our Lord 1557 and afterward upon the 14. day of the same Month I was brought before the Bishop of Chichester, and Dr. Story, and Dr. Cooke. So the Sheriffs men delivered my Warrant and me to the Bishop. Then the Bishop asked me what my name was. My name (quoth I) is Richard Woodman.

Richard Wood-
man brought
before the
Bishop, Dr.
Story, Dr.
Cooke.

Chick. I am sorry for you, and so are all the worshipful men of your Country. For it hath been reported to me, that you have been a man of good estimation of all the Country, amongst the poor and rich, till now of late. Wherefore look well upon your self, your wife and children, your father, and other of your friends, and be ruled. Think not your self wiser than all the Realm. Be informed, and you shall have their favours all, as much as ever you had.

Wood. You have charged me with many things wherein I have never offended: as, if you will give me leave, I will shew you.

Chick. Yes, I pray you say your mind.

Wood. If it please you, you have charged me as though I made my self wiser than all the Realm; God doth know, I stand to learn of every man that will or can teach me the truth. And whereas you say, I have been well esteemed both of the poor and rich, God doth know, I know not that I have given any just offence, either to rich or poor. And as for my wife and children, God doth know how I love them in him, and my life self. My life, my wife, and my children are all in Gods hands, and I have them all as I had them not, I trust according to S. Pauls words. But if I had ten thousand pounds of gold, I had rather forego it the King, all then them, if I might be in choice, and not displease God. Chick. The Sheriff took pains to come to me of love, he said, which he bare to you, as to himself; and said you were desirous to speak with me.

Richard Woodman
picturesh
all the King-
dom of
Christ be-
fore him, he
fore love, he
wife, and all
worldly re-
spect.

Wood. I thought it meet to appeal to mine Ordinary. For they go about to shed my blood unrighteously. For they have laid many unjust things to my charge.

Where-

Anno 1557. **Dr. Story** a great pillar of blood by his own confession. Wherefore I thought it meet to appeal to you; that if you can find any fault in me meet to be reformed by Gods Word, I stand to be reformed; and likewise if my blood shall be shed unrighteously, that it might be required at your hands, because you have taken upon you to be the Physician of our Country.

Story. Is not this a perverse Fellow, to lay to your charge, that his blood shall be required at your hands? Thinkest thou that thou shalt be put to death unjustly, that thy blood should be required? No, if he should condemn an hundred such Hereticks as thou art: I helped to rid a good foot of you. And I promise thee, I will help to rid thee too, the best that I can.

Wood. Then I would have answered him, but the Bishop desired us both to give him place.

Chib. Well, Neighbour Woodman, I call you Neighbour, because ye be one of my Diocess; and you are sent to me, that I should give you spiritual counsel: for I am your spiritual Pastour. Therefore hear what I shall say to you.

Wood. First, I desire you to hear me a few words. You have said, you will give me spiritual counsel. Be you sure that you have the Spirit of God?

Chib. No, I am not sure of that.

Wood. No? be you not sure of that?

Chib. No, by S. Mary, I dare not be so bold to say so; I doubt of that.

Wood. Then you be like the Waves of the Seas, faith S. James, that be tossed about with the wind, and be unstable in all your ways, and can look for no good thing at the Lords hand: Yea, ye are neither hot nor cold, and therefore God will spue you out of his mouth, as faith S. John. Then they were in a great fury, especially Dr. Story, saying:

Story. What a perverse Fellow is this? He hath the Devil within him, and is mad. He is worse than the Devil. Now I perceive that it is true that is reported by thee, and it is the pride of all such Hereticks to boast themselves.

Chib. Yea surely, he is sent to me to learn, and taketh upon him to teach me.

Wood. I seeing their blindness and blasphemy, it made my heart melt, and mine eyes gush out with tears, saying: The Jews said to Christ, he had the Devil, and was mad, as you have said here by me. But I know the Servant is not above his Master. And God forbid, that I should learn of him that confesseth that he hath not the Spirit of God.

Chib. Why, do you think that you have the Spirit of God?

Wood. I believe verily that I have the Spirit of God.

Chib. You boast more than ever Paul did, or any of the Apostles, the which is great presumption.

Wood. I boast not in my self, but in the gift of God, as Paul did; for he said, he believed verily that he had the Spirit of God, making thereof no doubts, in 1 Cor. 7.

Chib. It is not so, you belie the Text.

Wood. If it be not so, let me be burned to morrow.

Story. Thou shalt not be burned to morrow, but thou shalt be burned within these six days, I promise thee.

Chib. If it be so, it is wrong translated, as it is in a thousand places more.

Wood. Then one looked in a Latin Testament, and another in a Greek Testament, and they said it was in them both that Paul supposed that he had the Spirit of God, but he was not sure.

Chib. Even so I hope and suppose that I have the Spirit of God, but I am not sure.

Wood. If that place be wrong translated, and so many places of the Bible as you say, then I may say with Christ; it cannot be avoided, but offences must be given; but woe unto them by whom they come. I may say, woe unto false Translators: For cursed are they that add or take away. But take you heed that you belie not the Translators. I believe they had the fear of God more before their eyes than you report of them. And yet if that place be wrong translated, I can prove by places enough, that Paul had the Spirit of God, as I my self, and all Gods Elect have.

Chib. How prove you that?

Wood. No man can believe that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost, first to the Corinthians the fifth Chapter. I do believe that Jesus Christ is my Redeemer, and that I shall be saved from all my sins by his death and bloodshedding, as Paul and all the Apostles did, and as all faithful people ought to do, which no man can do without the Spirit of God. And as there is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus; so is there no salvation to them that are not in Christ Jesus. For he that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his, but is a Cast-away, as he faith in the same Text. And again, We have not received the spirit of bondage, to fear any more, but we have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba Father. The same Spirit certifieth our spirits, that we are the Sons of God. Here are proofs enough, that Paul was sure that he had the Spirit of God. Also S. John faith, He that believeth that Christ is come in the flesh, is an Antichrist, and denieth both the Father and the Son: which is sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall never be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come. Beside all this, He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him. So it is impossible to believe in God, unless God dwell in us. Oh good God! what more injury can be done unto thee, then to mistrust that we have received thy holy Spirit by thy gift? Thus may all men see their blindness, and whose Servants they be, as they do declare themselves, both by their words and deeds.

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Anno 1557.

Dr. Story a great pillar of blood by his own confession.

The Papists in doubt whether they have the Spirit of God.

Dr. Story is a fury.

He is no wiser Christian than the heathen not the Spirit of God.

Whether Paul was sure to receive the Spirit of Christ.

Rom. 8.

Rom. 8.

Gal. 4.

Tim. 3. 2.

The Papists bewray their own blindness.

Rid. Wood man glad to go to the Marshalsey.

The living God is a point of Hereticks among the Catholics.

Story conceiveth at the holy Bible.

Dr. Story see to School in the Scripture.

If the living God in heaven do make an heretick, what maketh then the dead god on the Altar?

Stevens rule to know an heretick.

There is a true Christ.

as.

of the Sun, unto the going down of the same. Also, as many as fear the Lord, say always, the Lord be praised.

When Dr. Story cannot confute them by learning, he confute them by imprisonment.

Story. My Lord, send him to Prison, you shall do no good with him. I will go to Church, and leave you here. This is an old Heretick. Wait thou never before me ere now?

Wood. Yes forsooth, that I have.

Story. Yea, I trow so; and I sent thee to the Bishop of London, and he released thee, and thou promisedst him to be an honest man, and that thou wouldst be of the true Catholick Church, which thou hast not fulfilled.

Wood. I promised him nothing but I have fulfilled it. No man shall be able to prove the contrary.

Story. Well, it will be tried well enough. My Lord, I will take my leave, I fear me you shall do this man no good.

Chib. I would not have you to use such speeches as you do, as the Lord be praised, and the living God, with such like words. Can you not say as well, Our Lord, or our God, as otherwise?

Wood. I marvel why you should reprove me therefore, seeing they be the words of God. I do not refuse to say our God, or our Lord, when I talk of the Scripture where it is written. If I should, it must follow, that I denied the words of God, and must needs be an Heretick; but I do not. Wherefore, I marvel what you mean to find fault therein. It seemeth to me, that you mistrust that I believe not as you do.

Chib. Yea, that is my meaning indeed.

Wood. I believe in the living God, if you do not so, then our beliefs be not alike indeed. But if it please you to examine me upon any particular matter, now, or at any other time, I will make you answer thereto by Gods help.

Chib. Though you believe in God, I can prove you believe not as you ought to do, as I can shew you by your hand writing. You have denied the Catholick Church. Wherefore he that crutch from the Church, it cannot be said that his Faith is good. Wherefore be ruled by the Church, from the which ye have erred. I can shew you perilous things of your writing, if it should be known, but ye shall not be hurt for me, if you will come to any good order. But I promise you I would not for three thousand pounds some had so much against me, as I can shew against you of your own hand writing, which you cannot deny.

Wood. I will not deny my hand by Gods help. For I know well, I have written nothing at any time but the truth. There may be things written against me, reporting it to be mine, and yet be not: but my hand cannot well be counterfeited, there be enough that know my hand.

Chib. Do you know it your self if you see it?

Wood. Yea, that I do. Then he arose and fetcht a great bundle of Writings, and opened them, and bade me come see. I looked on them, and it was my hand indeed.

Chib. How say you, is it not your own writing?

Wood. Yes surely it is.

Chib. How say you to this, is not this your hand also?

Wood. I looked, and it was. And I said, Yes verily is it.

Chib. Well, you know what it meaneth I dare say.

Wood. Yea, I know it very well; here is a great deal, the which I had thought had been in my House, but I thank God that it is here: for in this you shall try whether it be true or not. For in this is contained all the talk that was betwixt the Commissioners and me, when I was before them five times, and also before the Bishop of London divers times: and I am sure, neither you nor they shall find any words false therein written: and I think the Sheriffs men, when they searched my House for me, when I was taken, found this, and carried it with them, but I never knew it before now. But I am not sorry for it, but am rather glad: For herein you may see all the wrong that I received at their hands, and how long I was in Prison, and how I was tossed up and down, and how I was delivered at length, and by this you may try whether it be so or not. I dare say they that found it, and they that brought it to you, had thought it would

Rich. Woodman five times before the Commissioners.

Woodman charged with his own writings.

Ballade acquired. He that crutch from the Church, which Church crutch me in the right Faith, his Faith cannot be good landed.

have turned me to displeasure, but in very deed all things work for the best to them that fear God.

Chib. Indeed, I find no great fault in this; but here is perilous gear, here is sedition. This was set up upon the Church door, you know it well enough.

Wood. Indeed I wrote it to the Priest, and to others that took upon them to fetch my Child out of my House without my leave, and used it at their pleasure, when they knew it was baptized already, as they were well certified before. Wherefore my Conscience compelled me to shew them my mind in writing, wherein is contained nothing but the Scriptures of God, rebuking them for their folly.

Chib. Yea, but it is terribly meant, and uncharitably. It is such gear coupled together I promise you, as I never saw the like. But I promise you, I will make the best of it. And I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own soul and body. Be contented to be reformed. God hath done his part on you. Cast not your self away. Remember your Wife and Children, and the Poor that lack your occupying. Mean to follow your Vocation. Remember you are not called to be a Teacher nor a Preacher. S. Paul saith, Let every man walk wherein he is called, and therein abide. Remember you are called to another Vocation, for Gods sake walk therein. It is not your Office to do as you have done. You might do as much good by the report of worshipful men, as any man might do in all the Country by your example, and if you would follow the Laws of the Catholick Church, it would be an occasion to bring a great many into the true Church, that are out, as you are.

Wood. I would not that you should say, that I am out of the Church of God, for I am not, but do allow the Church of God according to his Word. Yea, if I were abroad, if I could win any into the true Church, that be out, by any means that I could use, I would be very glad. For God knoweth I love all people as my self. And where you say I have been a Preacher, it is not so. I never took any such thing upon me, as it is well known. But as for teaching I cannot deny: for it becometh every man to teach and instruct his Household in the fear of God, and all other (as far as he can) that desire it of him. And whereas you have blamed me for reading the Scripture, and leaving my Vocation (as you say) I left not my Vocation in reading the Scripture. For I trust I followed my Vocation the better therefore. And the greatest cause that I was compelled to read the Scriptures, was, because the Preachers and Teachers were so changeable.

Chib. No? did you not preach at a Fair?

Wood. No surely, but it was so reported. I was at a Fair indeed. Whiles I was in Prison, I had leave of the Council to go home to pay my Debts, and then I went to a Fair to sell Cattle, and there met with me divers poor men that I had set a work, and of love asked me how I did, and how I could away with Imprisonment. And I shewed them how God had dealt with me, and how he would deal with all them that put their trust in him; and this they called preaching. And since that it hath been reported that I have baptized Children, and married Folke, the which I never did; for I was never Minister. Wherefore if I had so done, I had done contrary to the order of the Apostles, as God forbid I should.

Chib. I am well apaid, if you be faultless in those things: for I have heard say the contrary.

Wood. I have shewed you the truth, and that no man living shall be able to prove the contrary.

Chib. You said you do not disallow the true Catholick Church.

Wood. No, that I do not.

Chib. Why do you not then go to the Church? You come not there, it is informed me.

Wood. I trust I am in the true Church every day. But to tell you the truth, I come not at the Church where the most do resort. For if I should, I should offend, and be offended. For at the last time that I was there, I offended many, and was offended my self. Wherefore for Conscience sake I would not come there. For I was sent to Prison for my coming there, and now I am sent to you for biding thence. So they will not be pleased any way with me, for they seek my life. Wherefore look you to it, for I am now in your hands, and you ought to be an house

Anno 1557.

Rich. Woodman's child, being baptized by the Midwife, was brought to the house by the Papists, and confirmed in the Church.

Dr. Christopher Bp. of Chichester beginneth with fair words to persuade Woodman from his doctrine.

Woodman not out of the Church.

A man may teach, though he be no Priest. Reading the Scripture leteeth no man to walk in his vocation, but rather doth further him.

Lies and flanders.

Woodman disalloweth not the Catholick Church.

Anno 1557. The Bishop charged with his office.

of defence against mine Enemies. For if you suffer them to kill me, my blood shall be required at your hands. If you can find any just cause in me worthy of death by Gods Word, you may condemn me your self, and not offend God: wherefore look to it, the matter is weighty, deliver me not into their hands, and think so to be discharged.

Chich. I tell you truth, I can do little in the matter. For I have not full Authority as yet of mine Office: but I will fend for you and talk with you, if I wist I should do you any good.

Wood. I would be glad to talk with you, and to shew you my mind in any thing that you shall demand of me, now, or at any other time.

Chich. So then he desired the Sheriffs men to carry dinner with him; that this man (said he) may dine with me also: for it is possible that he may have no great store of meat whither he shall go.

Wood. So we tarried dinner with him, and had no further talk, neither how to prove where the true Church of God is, nor of the Sacraments, nor of any other thing pertaining to me-ward, nor for the space of two hours or more: but he entered in talk with me, how I understood many Scriptures, and for Bishops and Priests marriages, and whether Paul had a Wife or not. To whom I answered; It is a thing that I have little to do with, as concerning marriages: but I am very well content to talk with you in the matter, as far as my poor learning will serve. So when he had talked with me of divers Scriptures, he liked my talk well. He asked me how I said by *S. Paul*, whether he were married or not? To whom I answered, I can prove by the Scriptures that he was never married.

Chich. How prove you that?

Wood. I will prove it well enough by Gods help. But yet I will prove that Paul might have had a Wife, as well as the other Apostles had.

Chich. Why, had the Apostles Wives?

Wood. Yes, all, saving Paul and Barnabas, as I understand it. For these are Pauls words in the first to the Corinthians, the ninth Chapter. *Am I not an Apostle? am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ? Are not ye my work in the Lord? And if I be not an Apostle to others, yet to you I am an Apostle: For you are the seal of my Apostleship in the Lord. Mine answer to them that ask me, is this; Have we not power to eat and to drink? either have we not power to lead about a sister to wife, as well as the other Apostles have, and as the Brethren of the Lord? Either have not Barnabas and I power thus to do so? This Text proveth, that Paul and Barnabas were unmarried. But Paul declareth that the rest had wives, and that they had power likewise to have, but they found no need thereof. But Paul declareth in the seventh Chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, that he that hath no power over his own flesh, may marry: For it is better to marry then to burn. Wherefore to avoid Fornication (saith he) let every man have his wife. He saith, Let every man have his wife, and every woman her husband. By this place of Scripture I understand, that Bishops and Priests may have wives, because they are men, rather than burn, or commit Fornication. But I think verily, he that can abstain, having power of his own will, doth best; but if he be married, he sinneth not.*

So then he debated the Scriptures with me divers ways, that a Bishop or a Priest ought not to have a wife: but I proved by divers Scriptures both in the old Law and in the new, that women were at first made for the help of men, the which was spoken generally to all men. Wherefore (said I) every man may have a woman, and sin not, in honest Matrimony, as well Bishops and Deacons, as other men, which you call Priests, if they be true Ministers of Jesus Christ, and of that Order that Bishops and Deacons were in Pauls time. For Paul declareth to Timothy, first and the third, That a Bishop should be the husband of one wife, and how they should be honestly apparelled, and how they should bring up their Children, and likewise the Deacons. This (said I) proveth more plainly, that both Bishops and Deacons had wives in the Apostles time, the which he could not deny.

But then he alleged, that no Bishop nor Priest might take a wife, after he had taken upon him that office,

but if he had a wife before he took the office, tried meet for the purpose for his life and for his learning, he might keep his wife, and bring up his Children according to *S. Pauls* meaning to Timothy, or else might they have no wives.

Then said I, I think Pauls meaning in that place, was, that a man that hath had two wives might not be made a Bishop nor a Deacon, if he had never so much learning. But that place maketh not that a Bishop or a Deacon may not marry after they be made Bishops and Deacons. For I am sure that Paul was in the State of a Bishop, when he said, He had power to lead about a sister to wife, as well as the other Apostles had. Here Paul declareth, that it was in his power to have a wife, after he had the office of a Bishop, which was not in his power, if he had been forbidden of God.

Thus have I shewed you my mind in this behalf, both of Paul, and also for the Marriages of Bishops and Priests, as I understand the Scriptures. Howbeit, it is a thing the which I have little to do withal: but as you required me to say my mind in that matter, so I have done.

Chich. Marry, I am glad that you have said as you have done. Many do affirm boldly, that Paul had a wife, and yet cannot prove whether he had or had not, by the Scriptures: but you have said very well. I am glad that ye are contented to be ruled by Gods Word. And if you will be contented likewise in other matters, no doubt you shall do well: therefore gentle Goodman Woodman be ruled. God hath given you a good wit. I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own soul and my body, and so would I dare say all the worshipful men in the Country, as they have reported to me.

Wood. Why, my Lord, I take God to record (whom I trust to serve) that I would be as glad to live in rest and peace, as any man in all the World, if I might. And I stand to learn, and am contented to be reformed of any thing that I hold, if it can be proved that it be not agreeable to Gods Word. And the truth is so, I have talked with a dozen Priests at the least, since I was delivered out of Prison, of certain matters, and they have not been able to certify me in any thing that I have asked them: and therefore they have complained on me to the Sheriff, and justices, making tales and lies on me, to turn me to displeasure, as much as in them lieth. I promise you, there be as many unlearned Priests in your Diocess, as in any one Diocess in England I think; the more it is to be lamented.

Chich. I promise you, I do much lament it my self: for I hear say no less, but it is true that you say. I would I could remedy it, but I cannot: but I will do the best that I can, when I come into the Country, and I will be glad to talk with you some other time, when I am somewhat better at ease. You see I am very tender now, as I have been this half year and more. Come to dinner; our dinner is ready. I caused you not to tarry for any great cheer that you shall have, nor would I you should think that I go about to win you with my meat. But you be welcome with all my heart. Come sit down.

Wood. I thanked him, and went to dinner; and there dined with him, a Merchant man, one of the Sheriffs men, and I, and no more, and we had good cheer, God be praised therefore. We had no talk of the Scriptures all the dinner while: but when dinner was done, the Bishop said,

Chich. Now call Mr. Storres man. For the Commissioners have committed you to Prison: but I will fend for you or ever it be long, and I pray God I may do you good. I would be very glad of it.

Wood. If it please you to fend for me, I would be very glad to talk with you, for I like your talk well. And then if it please your Lordship to examine me upon any particular matter, I will then show you my mind therein, by Gods grace, without dissimulation. But I pray you let me have nothing to do with Mr. Storres, for he is a man without reason, methinks.

Chich. Well, or ever you go, how say you to the seven Sacraments? Let me hear what you say to them, that I may be the willingest to fend for you again.

Wood. I know not seven Sacraments.

Lil 3

Chich.

The Bishop biddeth Woodman to dinner.

Talk between Rich. Woodman and the Bishop about Priests marriages.

Paul, if he were not married, yet he had power to marry as well as the other had.

1 Cor. 9.

1 Cor. 7.

Priests ought to have wives rather then to burn, by S. Pauls doctrine.

Gen. 2. Tim. 3. Bishops and Deacons were married in the Apostles time.

Pauls household, that Bishops and Deacons having wives becom, might keep them that love not having wives, might not offend and marry.

Paul confesseth himself after his Apostleship to have power to marry.

The Bishop said words to Rich. Woodman.

Rich. Woodman complained of by unlearned Priests which could not certify him in matters of Religion.

As Bishop he dined without any talk of Scriptures.

Dr. Storres man wrote out reason.

Seven Sacraments denied.

Two only
Sacraments.

Chib. Then what shall I talk with you? How many do you know?

Wood. I know but two; one the Sacrament of Baptism, and the other the Supper of the Lord. But if you can justly prove by Gods Word, that there be more then two. I stand to be reformed.

Chib. If I prove not seven by Gods Word, then believe me not: and so he bade me farewell.

Then the Sheriffs two men, and one of Dr. *Stories* men, carried me to Dr. *Cooks* House, which Dr. *Cook* commanded them to carry me to the Sheriffs Prison in *Southwark*, saying, he shall be called before us again shortly and all his fellows, and we shall dispatch them for troubling the Country any more.

Rich. Woodman carried to the *Marshalsey*.

And so I was brought to the *Marshalsey*, where I now am merry (God be praised therefore) looking for judgment of my flesh: for they intend to dispatch me shortly, if God will give them leave: but God hath their hearts in his hands, and they can do nothing to me, but as God will give them leave.

Luke 12. The Devils members persecutors of the Christians.

Wherefore I commit my cause to God only, and I am sure there shall not one hair of my head perish without my heavenly Fathers will, although I bide never so much trouble. *Job* perished not for all his trouble, although God gave the Devil leave to trouble and try him divers and many ways, as God hath suffered his Members to trouble and try me divers and many ways, I praise God. They shall as little prevail against my Faith (I have no mistrust) as the Devil prevailed against *Job*, whatsoever they do with my Goods, Life, or Body. For he that kept *Job* in all his trouble, neither slumbereth nor sleepeth, but keepeth me, and all his elect, that whether we live or dye, it shall be to the praise and glory of God. For if we live, we live at the Lords will, and if we dye, we dye to the Lords will: so, whether we live or dye, we are the Lords, blessed be his Name therefore.

Rich. Woodman to the faithful brethren.

Wherefore, dear Brethren and Sisters, to whom this my writing shall come, be of good cheer, and fear not what man can do unto you. For they can but kill the body: but fear him that hath power to kill both body and soul. And yet once again I bid you be of good cheer. For the Sheriff, with divers other Gentlemen and Priests, whilst I was at the Sheriffs House, said to me, that all the Heretics in the Country hung on me, as the People did in times past upon *S. Augustine* or *S. Ambrose*, or such like. Wherefore said they, look well on it, you have a greatching to answer for. To the which I answered; I pray God lay nothing more to my charge, than he will do for Heretics, as I am sure he will not. For he hath for my sins as far from me, as it is from the East to the West: so that I am sure they shall never come near to me any more. Yea, and that they call Heretic, we serve God withal. And I am sure there is no man nor woman that hangeth on me, but on God. But yet that is their imaginations and thoughts, that if they might win me to them, they should win a great many likewise: and thinking to kill me, if they cannot win me, as I trust in God, and am sure they shall never by Gods grace, if it were possible for them to kill me ten times. For I am so linked to Christ in a chain by Faith, that it is impossible for men to loose us asunder, neither for life nor death, I praise my Lord God therefore. And no doubt their full intent and purpose is to kill me, thinking thereby to make other afraid. Which death of my Body were best of all for me, if God were so pleased. But if I may live for the comfort of other, his name be praised therefore. I know what he can do; but what he will do I know not. But if death be offered me, so that I cannot refuse it without displeasing of God, I trust in God I shall not offend my Brethren in receiving of death, but shall be rather an occasion of the strengthening of their Faith, by choosing and receiving of it, and that with joy. For as Christ hath given his life for us, so ought we to give our lives for the defence of the Gospel, and comfort of our Brethren. And whereas the Bishop saith, he will prove seven Sacraments, be you out of doubt he shall never be able to do it, no more than he hath proved other Arguments with me already.

Psal. 103.

Those that fear God hang not on man.

The inseparable bond of love between Christ and his Members.

Christians ought to give their lives for defence of the Gospel, if they be thereto called.

Thus fare ye well, from the *Marshalsey*, where I now am, as a Sheep appointed to be slain, God be praised therefore.

The second Examination of Richard Woodman before the Bishop of Chichester, two of his Chaplains; and Dr. Story as the last came to us, the twenty seventh day of April.

Anno

1557

First, I was sent for to the *Marshalsey* by Dr. *Story*, and was carried to his House besides *S. Nicholas Shambles*; and when I had spoken to him, he sent me to the Bishop of *Chichester*, and said he would come to him his self straightway: and when we were in the Bishops Hall, we had not tarried long, but the Bishop sent for me: and when I came before him, I did my duty to him as much as I could.

The second Examination of Rich. Woodman, before Dr. Chichester, Dr. Story, Sec.

Chib. Then said the Bishop, You be welcome; how do you now?

Wood. Well, I praise God, thanking your Lordship for the gentle talk that you had with me at my last departing from you.

Chib. Well, Goodman *Woodman*, I have sent for you of love and good will, that I bear to you, to talk with you, and I would have you to tell me your mind in few words. For indeed the last time that I talked with you, our talk was so long, that I fell into a great drought thereby, and have been the worse in my body ever since. Wherefore I pray you shew me your mind briefly in those particular matters that I shall demand of you, according to your promise that you made when you were with me the last time! How say you, will you?

Wood. Yea forsooth, I will answer to any thing that you shall demand of me (by Gods help) as well as I can.

Chib. How say you to the seven Sacraments? for there we left off, and there we will begin again. You said then there were but two. How say you now to it? will you deny all saving two?

Wood. I say now, as I said then. You said, there be seven Sacraments; and I said, I knew but two: but if you could approve seven by Gods Word, when I came before you again, I must needs grant them. And you said, if you could not prove them by Gods Word, I should not believe them: and now I am come to see how well you can prove them. Herewith he was moved and all his Chaplains.

Chib. By God and my troth, I wene he thinketh I cannot prove them. How say you to the Sacrament of Matrimony?

Wood. Why, my Lord, *S. Paul* saith to *Timothy*, A Bishop should be faultless, and you use much swearing, which is a great fault in a Bishop, of all other, that should be an example to the Flock. Then he and his Prelats were in a great rage with me, because I reproved him for his swearing.

Dr. Chichester, who was at Chichester, reproved for swearing.

Chib. What, I perceive this man is worse then he was the last day: what, he taketh upon him to reach me to speak, as though I could not tell what I had to do?

Priest. So me thinketh, my Lord, he is a stout fellow indeed, as we have seen.

Wood. Yea, I am stout, because I do that I am commanded I dare not for my life hold my peace: for I should bear your sin, which I will not do for any of you all, I tell you plainly.

Swearing not to be born with.

Chib. Where find you that you are commanded to reprove me?

Wood. If thou see thy Brother sin, reprove him: if he repent, thou hast won thy Brother. But you repent it not, methinketh, but rather go about to maintain the same. Christ saith, He that breaketh one of the least of my Commandments, and teacheth men so, shall be called least in the Kingdom of Heaven; and you go about to teach men so, so far as I see.

Priest. Why my Lord, this man is past cure. I see no hope in him.

Chib. No, so me thinketh. I will never talk with him more. Go call Mr. *Story*; let him do with him what he will. He hath been with his Fellows in the *Marshalsey*, and now he is worse than he was before. I had some hope in him the other day, but now I see none.

Chichester, for he said he was reprov'd for swearing, given him over to Dr. Story.

Wood. No, I praise God, my Faith hangeth upon no men, but upon God.

Priest.

Anno 1557. *Priest.* Nay, my Lord, I think he is not the worke for them: but I fear me they be the worke for him: I know this Man of old, before mine old Lord.

Wood. Well my Lord, look well to it: will you deliver me to other Men to shed my Blood, and so think to wash your hands of me, as *Pilate* did by Christ? Nay, you cannot be so discharged.

Chib. I have nothing to do with you: but of my gentleness I have sent for you, because you said, you would declare your mind in any particular matter I would demand of you.

Wood. Why, I do not deny but I will do so, if you do demand it of me. But you go about to deliver me to other to kill me: and I know that there is none that hath to do with me but you.

Chib. I am not confuted yet: wherefore my Lord Cardinal may examine you, and condemn you, or my Lord of London: for you are now in his Diocese.

Wood. Yea my Lord, is the matter even so? Then I perceive whereabout you go. Nay, I will talk no more with you then, if you be at that point. Ask me what you will: but I will shew you nothing of my mind. I promise you I will not answer in particular matters, and so you to accuse me to other, and they to kill me.

Chib. I go not about to kill you, but would be glad to hear your mind in the Sacraments, and if you understand them not aright, I would be glad with all my heart to shew you my mind how I understand them. For I would you should do as well as mine own self.

Wood. If you would talk with me to do me good, I would be content to hear you, and shew you my mind; otherwise I would be loath.

Chib. Nay, I will promise you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harm: for if I meant to do you harm, I would lay your own hand-writing against you, but I will not: wherefore be in no doubt of me. How say you to the Sacrament of Matrimony? is it a Sacrament or no? How think you by it?

Wood. I think it is an Holy Institution ordained of God in Paradise, and so to continue to the Worlds end.

Chib. Lo, now you shall see how you be deceived in that, as you be in all the rest. Come hither. You can read Latin I am sure.

Wood. Yea I can read Latin, but I understand very little.

Chib. Come to me, you shall see that *Paul* calleth it a Holy Sacrament. For these be the words, *For this cause shall a Man leave Father and Mother, and shall be joined to his Wife: and the two shall be made one Flesh:* This is a great Sacrament.

Wood. I remember such a saying, but *Saint Paul* calleth it not a Sacrament. But he saith, *It is a great mystery.*

Chib. Where faith he so?

Wood. I am not sure in what Text it is, but I am sure these be *St. Paul's* words, and that he calleth it not a Sacrament in all his writings.

Chib. What, the last day ye were full of Scriptures; here it is written, and there it is written? What, we can rehearse the Scriptures as well as you. Wherefore, if we be sure it is written, it is no great matter for the place. Come hither, I will shew you the place, I think, that you mean.

Wood. I looked, and it was written *Sacramentum*. I know it is a great Mystery, in the English Translation.

Chib. I permit it to be a Mystery. What it is a Mystery?

Wood. A Mystery is (I take it) unseen: for he saith, he speaketh betwixt Christ and the Congregation: So the great Mystery that he speaketh of, I take to be the Faith of them that be married, which is hid in Christ, the which we see not, but Christ. But the deed which is in the Congregation, which is the outward marriage we see, but the inward marriage of the heart we see not. Wherefore *Paul* calleth it a Mystery. And therefore if it be a Sacrament, it is invisible to us: it is not seen, as other Sacraments be.

Chib. Nay, I tell you it is a visible Sacrament, seen as the other be: for is not the marriage seen? is not the Man and Woman seen?

Wood. My Lord, I pray? you what is a Sacrament?

Chib. It is the sign of a Holy thing.

Wood. Me thinks you have certified me very well. There need not be a sign of a holy thing, where the holy thing is itself. Then his Chaplains would have interrupted me, but I desired my Lord I might say out my mind in the matter. So with much ado he bade me say what I could.

There need not to be a sign of a thing, where the thing is itself. Matrimony is an holy thing itself, and is ended outwardly, and need no more signs but themselves: Wherefore it cannot be a Sacrament as other be.

Chib. Lo, how much you speak against your self. And for an example, I come by an Host, and there hangeth a pair of Hosts, the which be Hosts, and be a sign of Hosts that be to sell within.

Priest. How say you to this? Now my Lord hath hit you home indeed.

Wood. He hath hit me perilously, I tell you, with Sophistry to blind mine eyes wical. I marvel you be not all ashamed of it. I can answer that to all your shames, if I might be justly heard, I tell you plainly.

Priest. What, you be angry me thinks.

Wood. I am not angry, but I am earnest, I tell you, to see your blindness and folly. I talked of the Scriptures that be written, and it is Gods word, to prove my matter true by, and you will prove your matter true by a pair of Hosts. And as well can you prove it by that, as I can prove it by Gods Word.

Priest. Why, is there nothing true, but that is written in the Bible?

Wood. *Saint Paul* saith to the *Galathians* the first Chapter, *If an Angel come from Heaven and preach any other Doctrine then may be proved by Gods Word, bold him accursed:* and so do I, I tell you plainly.

Priest. Here is a Testament in my hand, if I hurl him in the Fire and burn him, have I burned Gods Word, or not? I will buy a new one for x-pence.

Wood. I say, you have burned Gods Word, and believe, he that will burn a Testament willingly, would burn God himself, if he were here, if he could: for he and his word are all one.

Then they made a great laughing at it.

Wood. Laugh on, quoth I. Your laughing will be turned to weeping, and all such joy will be turned to mourning, if you repent it not with speed.

Chib. Then the Bishop began to cloak the Priests folly, saying, Why, if my Counting house were full of Books, and if my house should be on Fire by chance, and so burned, were Gods Word burned?

Wood. No, my Lord, because they were burned against your will: but yet if you should burn them willingly, or think it well, and not be sorry for it, you burn Gods Word as well as he. For he that is not sorry for a firewood turn, doth allow it to be good.

Chib. Follow your Vocation; you have a little learning. *We have an Altar, whereof you may not eat.* What meaneth *Saint Paul* thereby?

Wood. There is no Man so foolish to eat Stones I trow.

Chib. What Mockers and Scorners be you, to say no Man will be so foolish to eat Stones? it is a plain mock.

Wood. Why, my Lord, you said I had no learning, nor knowledge, nor understanding. Wherefore it becometh you to make things more plain to me, and not to ask me such dark questions, and yet blame me too; me think it is too much.

Chib. I dare say, you know what it meaneth well enough. The most fool in my house will understand my meaning better than you do.

Wood. There stood some of his Men not far off, talking together beside a Window. He called one of them by his Name.

Argumentum.

A thing signified and a thing signifying cannot be at one time, in respect of itself, in one Subject.

Matrimony is an holy thing in itself signified.

Ergo, Matrimony cannot be a Sacrament signifying an holy thing.

The Host in an Hostess shall may be a sign, signifying more Hosts to be within, but it is not signifying sign of itself. Neither again is every sign of another thing to be called a Sacrament.

Whether Matrimony be a Sacrament.

Whether Matrimony be a Sacrament.

Ephes. 5.

St. Pauls words be these: This Mystery is great.

In the Greek Text St. Paul calleth it a Mystery. What is a Mystery, and what difference there is between a Mystery and a Sacrament.

Chib.

Chib. Come hither. I say to thee, thou shalt not eat of this Table. What do I mean thereby?

The Man. Forsooth, my Lord, you would not have me eat of this Table, laying his hand thereupon. With this answer he made all them in the house to fall on laughing, and I could not hold it in, but burst out with laughter, and said.

Wood. He hath expounded the matter almost as well as I.

Chib. He meaneth well enough, if you would understand him.

Answer me again, to make it more plain. I say to thee, thou shalt not eat of this Table. What mean I thereby?

The Man. Forsooth you would not have me eat this Table.

Wood. These words made them all laugh. Wherewith the Bishop was almost angry, because the answer proved no better, and said.

Chib. He meaneth that I would not have him eat any of the meat that is set upon this Table. How saist thou, dost thou not mean so?

The Man. Yes forsooth my Lord, that was my meaning indeed.

Wood. Yea, my Lord, now you have told him what you mean, he can say so too: and so could I have done (as little wit as I have) if you had said, *Paul* meant that no Man might eat of that which was offered upon the Altar, but the Priests.

Chib. Yea, I perceive you understand the meaning of *Paul* well enough, but that you list to cavil with me.

Wood. Why my Lord, do you thing I understand such dark places of the Scripture, without learning? you said even now, I had no knowledge nor learning, wherefore I answered you, as you judged of me.

Chib. Well, let this matter pass, and let us turn to the principal again. How say you by the Sacrament of the Altar?

Wood. You mean the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

Chib. I mean the Sacrament of the Altar, and so I say.

Wood. You mean Christ to be the Altar, do you not?

Chib. I mean the Sacrament of the Altar in the Church. What, is it so strange to you?

Wood. It is strange to me indeed, if you mean the Altar of stone.

Chib. It is that Altar that I mean.

Wood. I understand not the Altar so.

Chib. No, I think so indeed: and that is the cause that you be deceived. I pray you, how do you understand the Altar then?

Wood. If you will give me leave till I have done, I will shew you how I understand the Altar, and where it is.

Chib. Yes, you shall have leave to say your mind, as much as you will.

Wood. It is written, *Matth. 18. That whosoever two or three be gathered together in Christ's Name, there is he in the midst among them: and whatsoever they ask the Father upon Earth, it shall be granted them in Heaven.* Agreeing to the fifth of *Matth.* saying, *When thou comest to offer thy gift at the Altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy offering, and go first and be reconciled to thy brother, and then offer thy gift.* The Priests would have interrupted me, but the Bishop bade them let me alone.

Chib. You shall hear a pretty conclusion anon.

Wood. I pray yet let me make an end, and then find fault with me if you can. Now to the matter. In these two places of Scripture, I prove that Christ is the true Altar, whercon every Christian Man and Woman ought to come and offer their gifts. First, whersoever the people are gathered together in Christ's Name, there is he in the midst; and where he is, there is the Altar, so that we may be bold to come and offer our gift, if we be in love and charity: if we be not, we must leave there our offering, and go first and be reconciled to our Brother, and agree with him quickly, and so forth, and then come and

offer the gift. Some will say, how shall I agree with my adversary, when he is not nigh by a hundred miles? may I not pray till I have spoken with him? To all such I answered; if thou presume to pray among the Faithful, wishing any evil to any Man, Woman, or Child, thou askest vengeance upon thy self. For no such askest any thing else of the Lord in his Prayer. Wherefore agree with thy adversary, that is, make thy Life agreeable to Gods Word. Say in thy heart without dissimulation, that thou askest God and all the World forgiveness from the bottom of thy heart, intending never to offend them any more. Then all such may be bold to come and offer their gift, their Prayer on the Altar, where the people of God be gathered together. Thus have I shewed you my mind, both of the Altar, and of the offering, as I understand it.

Chib. Do you understand the offering and the Altar so? I never heard any Man understand it so, no not *Luther* the great Heretic, that was condemned by a General Council, and his picture burned.

Wood. If he were an Heretic, I think he understood it not so indeed: but I am sure all Christians ought to understand it so.

Chib. Oh what vain glory is in you, as though you understood all things, and other Men nothing? Hear me; I will shew you the true understanding, both of the Altar, and the offering on the Altar. We have an Altar (saith *Paul*, *Heb. 13. that ye may not eat of.* Meaning thereby, that no Man might eat of that which was offered on the Altar, but the Priest. For in *Paul's* time all the living that the Priest had, the people came and offered it on the Altar, Money or other things: and when the people came to offer it, and then remembered that they had any thing against their Brother, then they left their offering upon the Altar, and went and were reconciled to their Brother; and they came again and offered their gift, and the Priest had it. This is the true understanding of the place that you have rehearsed: wherefore you be deceived.

Wood. My Lord, that was the use in the Old Law. Christ was the end of that. But indeed I perceive by *Paul's* words, the Sacrifice was offered in *Paul's* time: yet that maketh not that was well done, but he rebuked it. Wherefore, it seemeth to me that you be deceived.

Chib. Who shall be Judges betwixt us in this matter?

Wood. The 12. of *John* declareth who shall be Judge in the last day.

Chib. You mean the Word shall judge the Word. How can that be?

Wood. Saint *Peter* saith, *The Scripture hath no private interpretation:* But one Scripture must be understood by other.

Chib. You will understand it one way, and I will understand it another way: and who shall be Judges betwixt us then?

Wood. The true Church of God is able to discuss all doubts: to whom I refer it.

Chib. I am glad you say so, if you will say so indeed.

Wood. My Lord, I never meant otherwise.

Chib. The Church of God doth allow the Sacrament of the Altar.

Wood. What do you offer now upon the Altar?

Chib. We offer up in the Blessed Sacrament of the Doctrine Altar, the Body of Christ to pacify the Wrath of God the Father; and therewith they put off their caps all to the abominable Idol.

Wood. Saint *Paul* saith to the *Hebrews*, in the tenth Chapter, *We are sanctified by offering of the Body of Jesus Christ upon the Cross once for all:* and every Priest is daily ministering, and oftentimes offereth one manner of offering, which can never take away Sins; and that is the offering that you use to offer. As far as I can see, you be Priests after the order of *Aaron*, that offered up Sacrifice for their own Sins, and the Sins of the people.

Chib. Nay, *Aaron's* Sacrifice was with Blood which signifieth the death of Christ, the which was ended upon the Cross by his Blood-shedding: but we are Priests

Anno

557.

The Bishop of Cusseter rightly answered of his Man according to his question.

Sacrament of the Altar.

The Altar how it is to be taken and where it is.

Matth. 5.

Christ the true and only Altar.

The place of March 5. expounded.

The Catholics will not have the word to judge.

Woodman referreth himself to the true Church.

The Doctrine prejudicial to Christs passion to say, that the Sacrament of the Altar doth pacify the Wrath of God.

The Catholics make themselves Priests, not after the order of Aaron, but of Melchisedek.

Anno 1557. Priests after the order of *Melchisedech*, the which offereth Bread to the King in remembrance, and signifieth the giving of Christs Body in Bread and Wine at the last Supper, the which he gave to his Disciples, and commanded it to be used to the end of the World. This is the Sacrifice that we offer, according to his word.

Wood. Me think you have made the matter very plain to me, that as Christ was the end of all Sacrifices, so was he the beginning of the Sacraments, willing them to be used in the remembrance of him, to the Worlds end.

Chib. What in remembrance of him, and not himself, as his word saith, *Take, eat, this is my Body?* It is not the sign only, but the thing it self. How say you? It is not his Body, after the words be spoken by the Priest? How say you? go briefly to work, for I cannot long tarry with you.

Wood. My Lord, if you will answer me to one Sacrament, I will answer you to another.

Chib. Yes I am very well content with that.

Wood. If you say the words of Baptism over the Water, and there be no Child there, is there true Baptism?

Chib. No, there must be the Water, the Word and the Child, and then it is Baptism.

Wood. Very well. Then if a Child be Baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, it is not truly Baptized.

Chib. No: the Child must be Baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and the Holy Ghost, or else it is not truly Baptized.

Wood. Then there may be nothing added, nor taken away from the Sacraments: may there?

Chib. No, said the Bishop.

Wood. Now my Lord, I will answer to you, if it please you.

Chib. Well, how say you, *Take, eat, this is my Body*: is it not Christs Body, as soon as the words be said?

Wood. My Lord, I will answer you by your own words, that you answered me, which is true: the Water, the Word, and the Child, all these together make Baptism; the Bread, Wine, and the Word make the Sacrament; and the Eater, eating in true Faith, maketh it his Body. Here I prove it is not Christs Body, but to the faithful receiver. For he said, *Take, eat, this is my Body.*

He called it not his Body before eating, but after eating. And *St. Augustine* saith, *Credo & manducasti, Believe and thou hast eaten.* And *Saint John* saith, *He that believeth on God, dwelleth in God, and God in him*: Wherefore it is impossible to dwell in God, and to eat his Body, without a true Faith.

Priest. Then the Faith of the receiver maketh it his Body, and not his word, by your saying. I pray you what did *Judas* eat?

Wood. *Judas* did eat the Sacrament of Christ, and the Devil with all.

Priest. He eat the Body of Christ unworthily, as *St. Paul* saith.

Wood. Nay, *St. Paul* saith no such thing. He speaketh not of eating of his Body unworthily, but of the Sacrament unworthily. For he saith, *Whoever eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of the cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own Damnation, because he receiveth the Lords Body*: and not because he eateth the Lords Body. If *Judas* had eat Christs Body, it must needs follow, that *Judas* is saved. For Christ saith in the sixth of *John*, *Whoever eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up again at the last day.*

Priest. My Lord, this Man is an interpreter after his own mind.

Chib. I see it is but folly to talk with you: it is but lost labor. How say you? Do you not believe that after the words be said, there remaineth neither Bread nor Wine, but the very Body of Christ really? make me a plain answer, for I will talk no more with you.

Wood. I will make you a direct answer, how I believe of the true Sacrament. I do believe, that if I

come to receive the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ truly ministered, believing that Christ was born for me, and that he suffered death for me, and that I shall be saved from my Sins by his Blood-shedding, and so receive the Sacrament in that remembrance, then I believe I do receive wholly Christ, God and Man, mystically by Faith: this is my belief.

Chib. Why, then is no Body without Faith Gods word is of no force as you count it?

Wood. My Lord, I have told you my mind without dissimulation, and more you get not of me, without you will talk with me by the Scriptures: and if you will do so, I will begin a new with you, and prove it more plainly three or four manner of ways, that you shall not say nay to that I have said, your self.

Then they made a great laughing, and said, This is an Heretick indeed, it is time he were burned. Which words moved my Spirit, and I said to them, Judge not, lest you be judged. For as you judge me, you shall be judged your selves. For that you call Heresie, I serve God truly with, as you all shall well know, when you shall be in Hell, and have Blood to drink, and shall be compelled to say for pain, This was the Man that we jested on, and whose talk we thought foolishness, and his end to be without honor: but now we may see how he is counted among the Saints of God, and we are punished. These words shall you say, being in Hell, if you repent not with speed, if you consent to the shedding of my Blood: wherefore look to it, I give you Counsel.

Priest. What? you be angry, me thinks. Now I will say more to you, then I thought to have done. You were at *Basill* a twelvemonth ago, and sent for the Parson and talked with him in the Churchyard, and would not go into the Church: for you said; it was the Idols Temple. Yea I was with mine old Lord, when he came to the Kings Bench to you, and you said many stout words to him.

Woodman. That I said, I said: and where you said I was angry, I take God to my Record, I am not, but I am zealous in the truth, and speak out of the Spirit of God with cheerfulness.

Priest. The Spirit of God? hough, hough, hough: think you that you have the Spirit of God?

Woodman. I believe surely that I have the Spirit of God, I praise God therefore: and you be deceivers, mockers, and scorners before God, and be the Children of Hell, all the sort of you, as far as I can see. And therewith came in Doctor *Story*, pointing at me with his finger, speaking to the Bishop in Latin, saying at the length,

Story. I can say nothing to him, but he is an Heretick. I have heard you talk this hour and a half, and can hear no reasonableness in him.

Wood. Judge not, lest you be judged: for as you judge, you shall be judged your self.

Story. What, be you a Preaching? you shall Preach at a Stake shortly with your fellows. My Lord, trouble your self no more with him.

With these words, one brought word that the Abbot of *Westminster* was come to dine with the Bishop, and many other Gentlemen and Women. Then there was rushing away with speed to meet him. Then said Doctor *Story* to my Keeper.

Story. Carry him to the *Marshalsee* again, and let him keep close, and let no Body come to speak with him.

Wood. And so they departed. Then one of the Priests began to flatter with me, and said, For Gods sake remember your self. God hath given you a good wit: You have read the Scriptures well, and have born them well in memory. It were great pity you should do amiss.

Wood. What a flatterer be you, to say my wit is good, and that I have read the Scriptures well: and but even now you said I was an Heretick and despised me. If I be an Heretick, I can have no good wit as you have confessed. But I think your own Conscience doth accuse you. God give you Grace to repent, if it be his will.

Priest. I call it a good wit, because you are expert in all questions.

Wood.

The Cuthberts make the Sacrament both a sign signifying, and the thing it self signified.

Whether the words only make the Sacrament of Baptism, without the Child there to be Baptized.

The word, Water and Child make Baptism: So the word, Bread, and the Receiver, make the Sacrament of the Lords Body.

The Faith of the Receiver maketh it the Body.

If Judas did eat the Body of Christ, then must he be saved.

The true confession of Christs Word, man touching the Sacrament.

The seal of Gods Spirit in Christs man.

Doctor Story, 17 months in.

Doctor Story commanded that Woodman again to the Marshalsee.

Wood. You may call it a wicked wit, if it agree not with Gods Word: then one cried, Away, away, here come strangers. So we departed, and I came again to the *Marshallsey* with my Keeper.

The third Examination of Richard Woodman (copied with his own hand) before Doctor Langdale, Parson of Buxted in Suffex, and Chaplain to my Lord Mountague, and M. James Gage, at my Lord Mountagues House, besides S. Mary Overies in Southwark, the 12. day of May Anno 1557.

The third examination of R. Woodman, before D. Langdale, and M. James Gage, May 12.

The twelfth day of May the Marshall came to the *Marshallsey*, and sent for me to speak with him. When I came before him, and had done my duty, he asked my Name, and what Countryman I was; I shewed him both. Then he asked me when I was abroad in the City. To whom I answered, if it shall please your Master ship I was abroad in the City on Monday was seven night.

Marshall. What made you abroad?

Wood. The Bishop of *Chichester* sent for me to talk with me at home at his house beside St. Nicholas *Shambles*.

Marshall. Were you abroad no otherwise then so?

Wood. No forsooth: I was never abroad since I was sent hither, but then. For I have nothing to do abroad, unless they send for me.

Falle lies and lewd reports.

Marshall. This is a marvellous matter. I promise you I was not so rebuked these seven years, as I was for you within these three days. It is reported that you were abroad in the City at certain Taverns, and spake seditious words both in the Taverns and Streets as you went.

Wood. Sir, the truth is, I was in never a House or Tavern, while I was abroad, but in the Bishops House, as my Keeper can, and will (I am sure) testify: nor did I ever talk with any Man in the Streets as I came, but with my Keeper, saving with one Man indeed, of the Parish of *Framfield* in *Suffex*, where Mr. *James Gage* dwelleth. His Name is *Robert Smith*, being one of my most enemies; who stood in a wain as we came by, and was unlading of Cheefe (me thought) but a little way from the *Marshallsey*. Indeed I bade him God speed, and asked him how he did: and he said, well he thanked me: and he asked me, how I did: and I said, well, I praise God; and that was all the talk that we had: and these words were spoken as I came by him. I promise you, Sir, I stood not still while I spake them, as my Keeper can tell: and I think these words were not seditious words, but might be spoken well enough (I think) or else it were very trait.

Woodman warned to appear.

Marshall. Then is it to be thought, that that Man reported otherwise then it was. I am glad it is as you say. Well, make you ready: for you must go forth straightway, where you shall be examined of that and of other things, where you shall answer for your self. Go make haste, for I will tarry till you be ready.

Woodman: Keth his leave of his fellows.

Wood. So I departed from him, and went to my Prison fellows, and took my leave of them, desiring them to pray for me, for I thought verily to come no more to them. For I supposed I should have gone before the Council, because the Marshall said, he would tarry for me himself: and especially because he said, it was reported that I had spoken seditious words, it made me think it is possible that there may be some false things imagined upon me, to bring me to my end. I remember what Christ said, *The Servants are not above his Lord*. Seeing the Jews brought false witness against Christ, I thought they would do much more, or at the least do so to me, if God would suffer them, which made me cast the worst. But I was, and am sure (I praise my Lord God) that all the World is not able to accuse me justly of any such thing. Which thing considered, made me merry and joyful: and I was surely certified, that they could do no more against me, then God would give them leave. And so I bade my Prison Fellows farewell, and went into the *Porters Lodge* to the Marshall, and he delivered me to one of his own Men, and to one of my Lord *Mountagues* Men, and bade me go with them: and they carried me to my Lord *Mountagues* place in *Southwark*, not far from *S. Mary Overies*, and brought me into a

Woodman delivered to one of the Lord Mountagues Men.

Chamber in my Lord *Mountagues* House; and there was one D. *Langdale*, Chaplain to my Lord. My Keepers said to the Doctor, This is the Man that we went for.

Long. Is your Name *Woodman*?

Wood. Yea forsooth, that is my Name.

Lang. Then he began with a great circumstance, and said, I am sorry for you, that you will not be ruled, but stand so much in your own conceit, displeasing your Father and other, judging that all the Realm doth evil, save a few that do as you do with many such words, which be too long to rehearse; but I will declare the substance of them.

Lang. What think you of them that died long ago, your Grandfather, with their Fathers before them? You judge them to be damned, and all other that use the same that they did throughout all Christendom, unless it be in *Germany* and here in *England* a few years, and in *Denmark*, and yet they are returned again. Thus we are sure this is the truth, and I would you should do well. Your Father is an honest Man, and one of my Parish, and hath wept to me divers times, because you would not be ruled: and he loveth you well, and so doth all the Country, both rich and poor, if it were not for those evil opinions that you hold, with many such like tales of *Robin Hood*.

Wood. I pray you give me leave to speak a few words to you.

Lang. Yes, say your mind.

Wood. You have told a great tale and a long, as it were against me (as you think) saying, I hold this and that; I judge my Father and my Grandfather, and almost all the World, without it be a few that be of our Sect. But I judge no Man. But the 12. of *John* declareth, who it is that judgeth, and shall judge in the last day. The Father shall not bear the Sons offences, nor the Son the Fathers offences: but *that Soul that sinneth shall dye*, as saith the Prophet. And again, we may not follow a multitude to do evil, as saith the Prophet: for they must go the wrong way. And Christ saith in the 12. of *Luke*, that his flock is a little flock. Here be places enow to discharge me, although I do not as the most do. But can any Man say that I do not as I ought to do: where be my accusers?

Lang. What, you be full of Scriptures me think, and call your accusers, as though you were afraid to utter your mind to me. But I would have you not be afraid to talk with me. For I mean no more hurt to you, then I do to my self, I take God to be my record.

Wood. I cannot tell, it is hard trusting of fair words. When a Man cannot trust his Father nor Brother, nor other that have been his familiar friends, but they deceive him, a Man may lawfully follow the example of Christ towards them that never saw before, saying, *Be as wise as Serpents, and as innocent as Doves. Beware of Men, for they go about to betray you*. And it maketh me to suspect you much, because you blame me for answering with the Scriptures. It maketh me to doubt that you would take vantage of me, if I should speak mine own words. Wherefore I will take as good heed as I can, because I have been deceived already by them I trusted most. Wherefore blame me not though I answer circumpectly. It shall not be said, by Gods help, that I will run wilfully into mine enemies hands, and yet I praise God, my Life is not dear to my self, but it is dear with God: Wherefore I will do the uttermost that I can to keep it.

Lang. You be afraid where no fear is, for I was desired of Master Sheriff and his Brother, and of other of your friends, to talk with you, and they told me that you were desirous to talk with me, and now ye make the matter as though you had nothing to do with me, and as though you were sent to Prison for nothing: for you call for your accusers, as though there were no Man to accuse you. But if there were no Man to accuse you, your own hand writing did accuse you enough, that you set upon the Church door (if you be remembered) and other Letters that you let fall abroad, some at one place and some at another. Wherefore you need not to call for your accusers. Your own hand will accuse you enough, I warrant you; it is kept safe enough. I would not for two hundred pounds there were so much against me.

Wood.

Anno 1557.

Religion esteemed by A. B. C. and D. E. F. G. H. I. J. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. U. V. W. X. Y. Z.

Multitude were not believed in doing evil.

Hard trusting of any man is this World.

Woodman blamed for answering with Scriptures.

D. Langdale said to R. Woodman, upon what occasion and by whose procurement, for you charged with his own hand writing.

Anno 1557. Wood. I will not deny mine own hand, by Gods help. For it cannot be lightly counterfeited. I do not deny but I wrote a Letter to the Priest and other of the Parish, declaring to them their folly and presumption, to come into my House without my love or leave, and set out my Child, and use it at their pleasures. Which moved me to write my mind to them: and because I could not tell how to convey it to them, I set it on the Church door. Which Letter my Lord of Chichester hath: for he shewed it me when I was before him: wherein is contained nothing but the very Scriptures, to their reproach. Let it be laid before me when you or he will, I will answer to it by the help of God, to all their blames that I wrote it to. And as for any other Letters, I wrote none, as you said I did, neither had I wrote that, if they had done like honest neighbours. Wherefore if they be offended with me for that, I will answer them with Christs words, in the 18. of *Matthew*, Woe unto themselves, And whereas they gave me the occasion.

And whereas you said, I was desirous to speak with you, and that Master Sheriff and his Brother, and other of my friends willed you to talk with me, and that I fare now as though I had nothing to do with you, and as though I were sent to prison for nothing: the truth is, I know no more wherefore I am sent to Prison, then the least Child in this Town knoweth. And as for me, I desired not Master Sheriff to speak with you: but indeed he desired me that I would speak with you, and utter my Faith to you. For he supposed that I did not believe well, and he reported you to be learned. But I refused to talk with you at the first. For I remembered not that you were the Parson at *Buxted*: wherefore I said to him, I would not utter my Faith to any but to the Bishop. I said, he is mine Ordinary: wherefore I appeal unto him. I am commanded by Saint Peter in the first Epistle, the third Chapter, to render account of my hope that I have in God, to him that hath Authority: wherefore I will talk with none in that matter, but with him. Wherefore send me to him, if you will, or else there shall no Man know my Faith I tell you plainly.

These words then made the Sheriff angry, and he went his way: and when he was gone from me, I remembered that it was you that he would have me to talk with, and then I remembered that I had made a promise to my Father and Goodman Day of *Vespeld*, not pass a fortnight before I was taken, that whensoever you came into the Country, I would speak with you by Gods help, because they praised you so much, that ye were learned, and they would hear him us talk.

So all these things called to remembrance, I desired my Keeper, which was the Sheriffs Man, to shew his Master, that I would speak with him: for I had remembered things that were not in my mind before, when I spoke to him. So he went to his Master, and shewed him the matter, and he came to me; and then I told him my mind, and what promise I had made: and he said, he would fend for you on the morrow, as he did, and the messenger brought word you could not come; you Preached before the Queen, he said. Whereupon the Sheriff came up himself, and spoke to the Bishop that he should come down, but he was sick. So when he came home again, he sent me to the Bishop, and I have talked with him twice already, and I am sure he can find no fault in me, if he say justly: and yet I know not wherefore I was sent to Prison, For I was not guilty of that which was laid to my charge, that I had Baptized Children, the which I never did, as God knoweth: wherefore I had wrong to be thus handled.

D. Lang. Indeed it hath been reported, that you have Christened Children; and that you Christened your own Child: but since I heard say, you would not have the Child Christened, which is a damnable way, if you deny Baptism: and they said, your Child was not Christened in a fortnight or three weeks after it was born, and the chiefest of the Parish were fained to fetch it out of your House against your will. Wherefore you wrote railing words against the Priest and them for their good will: the which declareth that you allow not Baptizing of Children. And if the Child had died, it had been damned, because it was not Christened, and you should have been damned, because you were the let thereof.

Wood. What abominable lies have you told? Be you not ashamed to speak such words as you have done? First you say, I Christened mine own Child; and by and by you said, I denied Baptizing of Children, and that my Child was a fortnight or three weeks old ere it was Baptized. What abominable lies be these? I neither Baptized my Child my self, neither held against the Baptizing of it, but did most gladly allow it: for it was Baptized as soon as it was born, and I was glad thereof; therefore you be to blame to report so of me.

Lang. I pray you, who Baptized it? some unthrif of your providing.

Wood. Nay surely, the Midwife Baptized it.

Lang. But it was your mind that it should be so.

Wood. Nay sure, I was not nigh home by almost 20. miles, nor heard that my Wife was brought to bed four days after the Child was Christened. But it was not like to live: and therefore the Midwife Baptized it.

Lang. Would you have had it to Church to have been Christened, if it had not been Christened?

Wood. That is no matter what I would have done. I am sure you cannot deny but it is sufficiently done, if the Midwife do it, and I hold not against the doing of it, neither did I it my self, as you said I did.

Lang. Wherefore were you displeased with them that set it to Church?

Wood. First tell me whether the Child were not truly Baptized by the Midwife?

Lang. Yes, it was truly Baptized, if he Baptized it in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Wood. Yes, that I am sure he did, and you grant that was sufficient: and the cause that I blamed them for, was because they did more to it then need was, by your own saying. Yea, they set it out of my House without my leave: the which was not well done.

Lang. They had it to Church to confirm that was done.

Wood. Yea, but that was more then needs. But God forgive them, if it be his will. But let that matter pass. But I would you should not say, that I hold against Baptizing of Children: For I do not, I take God to record; but do allow it to be most necessary, if it be truly used. But me thought you spoke words even now that were uncomely to be spoken of a Child dyed, and be not Baptized, it is damned. How think you? be he damned that receive not the outward sign of Baptism?

Lang. Yea, that they be.

Wood. How prove you that?

Lang. Go faith Christ, and Baptize in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and he that believeth, and is Baptized, shall be saved: and he that believeth not shall be damned. These be the words of Christ, which are my warrant.

Wood. Then by your saying, Baptism bringeth Faith, and all that be Baptized in the Water shall be saved: shall they? how say you?

Lang. Yea, that they shall: if they dye before they come to discretion, they shall be saved every one of them; and all that be not Baptized shall be damned every one of them.

Wood. Then my Spirit was moved with him to reprove him sharply, because I had manifest Scriptures fresh ved.

O Lord God! how dare you speak such Blasphemy against God and his Word, as you do? how dare you for your life take upon you to Preach, and teach the people, and understand not what you say? For I protest before God you understand not the Scriptures, but as charged D.

Lang. Wherein have I spoken amiss; take heed; you have a toy in your head will make you despair: I dare say you cannot tell what you say. Wherefore reprove you me as you do?

Wood. Because you Blaspheme God: and as for despairing, take heed to your self. For I cannot see but you be out of your wit already: and as for me, I praise God, I can tell what I say, and what you have said: the which shall turn to your shame, if you will talk by the Scriptures with me.

Woodman
Child Rep-
tized by the
Midwife.
Woodman
silly belied.
D. Langdale
too curious
an Inquisi-
tor.

Woodman
troubled
without just
cause.

All Children
be damned
by D. Lang-
dale, which
dye without
Baptism.

All Children
being Bap-
tized by D.
Langdale
shall be sa-
ved.

R. Woodman
charged D.
Langdale
with igno-
rance in the
Scriptures.

So, when he perceived that I spoke earnestly and challenged him to talk by the Word, his colour began to change, and his Flesh began to tremble and quake. And I said :

Prove your sayings true, if you can : for I will prove them false by Gods help. You said, All Children, or other that be not Baptized with Water, shall be damned. I dare not say so for all the good in the World. And you brought in the saying of Christ for your Warrant. In the 16 of Mark it is written, *Who so believeth, and is Baptized, shall be saved* : which words be very true : and *who so believeth not, shall be damned*. Which words be very true also. He saith, *He that believeth not, shall be damned*. Yea, Saint John saith, *He that believeth not, is condemned already, because he believeth not*. But neither of these two Scriptures, nor any other Scripture in all the New Testament saith, That he that is not Baptized shall be damned, or is damned already. But if he believeth not, he shall be damned, and is damned already, as is aforesaid. Then he would have interrupted me, and would have laid to my charge, that I was an Anabaptist. But I would give him no place to speak, but said :

Let me make an end, and then say what you can. You shall have as much to do, by Gods help, with this matter, as ever you had to answer thing in your life. You know (I am sure) it is no manners to pluck a tale out of a Mans Mouth, nor is it the order of reasoning, as you know that better then I can tell you. Then D.

Faith, not
Baptism
saveth. Not
lack of Baptism
but
lack of Faith
condemns.

Langdale bade me say on.
Woodman. My saying was, that they that believe not shall be damned, and be damned already. But I dare not say for all the goods under Heaven, that all they that receive no material Baptism by the Water shall be damned, as you have said : yet I would you should not gather of these words, that I deny Baptism, as you were about to lay to my charge, ere ever I had half told out my tale. But I would not have you, nor any Man so rash in Judgment, to condemn the thing that they are not able to prove by the word, and to make it seem to the simple, that the outward washing of the water were the cause of Faith.

Lang. Why, is it not so? will you deny it? How say you? Will you deny it? I say, the Child hath no Faith before it is Baptized; and therefore the Baptizing bringeth the Faith. How say you to it? Make me a plain answer to this question.

Repeating of
Water is not
the cause of
Faith. The
Catholicks
do hold the
contrary.

Woodman. Now I perceive you go about nothing else, but to take vantage of my words. But by Gods help, I will answer you so, that you shall well see your sayings untrue. And yet I will not speak mine own words, but the words of the Holy Ghost, out of the Mouth of the Prophets and Apostles : and then ask them whether they will deny it.

A Catholic
paradox.

You said, that Faith cometh by Baptism, had by the use of material water. I must be so bold to ask you where Jacob was Baptized before he had Faith. Saint Paul saith in the ninth Chapter to the Romans, *Ere ever the Children were born, ere ever they had done either good or bad, that the purpose of God, which is by election, might stand, not by the reason of works, but by the Grace of the caller, the elder shall serve the younger. Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated*. How think you, had this Child Faith or ever he were born, or no? answer to this if you can.

The purpose
of Gods e-
lection
stands by
Grace, and
not by rea-
son of
works.

Lang. What : you speak of the old Law. Jacob was not Christened, but circumcised. I speak of Baptism, and you are gone from Baptizing to the time of circumcision : answer me to the Baptizing. And me think by your talks, you deny Original sin, and free will, by the words that you brought in of Saint Paul.

D. Langdale
Argues, that
Children
dying with-
out Baptism
may be sa-
ved.
Ergo Chi-
dren have
no original
sin.

For if Children can be saved without Baptism, then it must needs follow, that Children have no Original sin, the which is put away in the Baptizing. But I think you know not what Original sin is, nor free will neither. Me think by your talk.

Wood. Yes, I praise God (I think) I can tell them all better then you can, me think even by your words. First I pray you what Free will hath Man to do good of himself? tell me this first, and then I will answer to all other your questions that you have objected against me.

Lang. I say, that all Men have as much Free will now, as Adam had before his fall.

Wood. I pray you how prove you that?

Lang. Thus I prove it, that as sin entered into the World, and by the means of one that sinned all Men became sinners, the which was by Adam : so by the obedience of one Man, righteousness came upon all Men that had sinned, and set them as free as they were before their fall, the which was by Jesus Christ, Rom. 5.

Woodman. Oh Lord, what an overthrow have you given your self here in Original sin, and yet cannot see it? For in proving that we have Free will, you have denied quite Original sin. For here you have declared that we be set as free by the death of Christ, as Adam was before his fall, and I am sure that Adam had no Original sin before his fall. If we be as free now as he was then, I marvel wherefore Paul complained thrice to God, to take away the sting of it, God making him answer, and saying, *My Grace is sufficient for thee*.

These words with divers other, prove Original sin in us; but not that it shall hurt Gods elect people, but that his Grace is sufficient for all his. But you say in one place, it is not without Baptism; and in another place, you put it away quite by the death of Christ; and in very deed you have spoken truer in the matter then you are aware of. For all that believe in Christ are Baptized in the Blood of Christ that he shed on the Cross, and in the water that he swet for pain, and putting away of our sins at his death. And yet I lay with David in the 51. Psalm, *In sin was I born, and in sin hath my Mother conceived me* : but in no such sin that shall be imputed, because I am born of God by Faith, as Saint John saith, John 3. Therefore I am blessed, as saith the Prophet, Psalm 23. *Because the Lord imparteth not my sin, and not because I have no sin; but because God hath not imputed my sins*. Not of our own deserving, but of his free mercy he hath saved us. Where is now your Free will become that you speak of? If we have free will, then our Salvation cometh of our own selves, and not of God; the which is a great Blasphemy against God and his word.

For S. James saith, James 1. *Every good gift and every perfect gift cometh from above, from the Father of light, with whom is no variableness; neither is he changed into darkness. Of his own will he begat us. For the wind bloweth where it listeth, and we hear the sound thereof, as saith Saint John, Chap. 3, but we cannot tell from whence it cometh, neither whither it goeth : Even so is it with every one that is born of God*. For Saint Paul saith, Phil. 2. *It is God that worketh in us the will, and also the deed, even of good will*. Seeing then that every good and perfect gift cometh from above, and lightneth upon whom it pleaseth God, and that he worketh in us both the will and the deed, methinks all the rest of our own will is little worth, or nought at all, unless it be wickedness. So me think here be places enow to prove that a Man hath no free will to do good of himself, with a hundred places more that I could recite, if time did serve. And as for Original sin, I think I have declared my mind therein, how it remaineth in Man; which you cannot deny, unless you deny the word of God.

Now, if you will suffer me, I will prove my saying of Jacob and Esau, that I brought in to prove that Faith was before Baptism, and you refused it, because (you said) Jacob was not Baptized. If you will give me leave, you shall see what I can say therein : for me think you think me talk long, this I said, because I saw he was fore offended at my sayings.

Lang. Say what you can. For it availeth me to say nothing to you. For I was desired to fend for you, to teach you; and there will no words of mine take place in you but silence. You go about to reprove me. Say what you will, for me.

Wood. I take not upon me to teach you, but to answer to such things as you lay to my charge : and I speak not mine own mind, but the mind of the Holy Ghost, written by the Prophets and Apostles. Will you give me leave to answer briefly in that matter, that you may report to other what I hold? And he said he was contented. But I think it was for nothing but to have caught vantage of my words.

Wood.

Anno

1557.

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Baptism.

D. Langdale

cometh to

be put to

silence.

Anno 1557. Wood. First, If you be remembered, you said, that if my Child had died without Baptism, if I had been the cause that it had not been baptized, the Child should have been damned, and I too. How say you?

Lang. Yes that you should.
Wood. That is most untrue. For the Prophet saith, *The Father shall not bear the Childs offences, nor the Child the Fathers offences: but the Soul that sinneth shall dye.* What could the Child have done wial, if it had died without Baptism? the Child could not do wial. How say you unto this? And I am sure, that which I brought in, in the old Law, to prove that Faith is before Circumcision, is not disgraceable unto the word. For Circumcision was a Figure of Baptism. And that I may bring to prove Baptism by, as well as S. Peter did: for he brought in *Noahs Flood*, which was a long time before *Jacob and Esau*, to prove Baptism, saying, *While the Ark was a preparing, wherein few (that is to say) eight Souls were saved by water, like as Baptism also now saveth us, not in putting away of the filth of the flesh, but there is a good Conscience consenting to God.*

1 Pet. 3.

Gen. 6.

Here Peter proveth, that Water had not saved *Noah* and the other seven, no more than it saved all the rest, if it had not been for their Faith, which Faith now saveth us; not in putting away of the filthy soil of the flesh, by the washing of the water, but by a good Conscience consenting unto God.

But you said, if they be baptized with the water, if they dye before they come to the years of discretion, they be all saved: the which S. Peter is clean against, unless you grant that Children have Faith before they be baptized.

Now I ask you what content of Conscience the Children have, being Infants. For you say, they believe not before they be baptized: Ergo, then they consent not to be baptized, because they believe not. And by this it followeth, that none shall be saved, although they be baptized. I would fain see how you can answer this.

Lang. You are the most perverse man that ever I knew. You wot not what you say. The Children are baptized in their Godfathers and Godmothers Faith, and that is the good Conscience that S. Peter speaketh of: and the Christning is the keeping of the Law, that S. Paul speaketh of, saying, Neither is Circumcision, any thing worth, nor Uncircumcision any thing worth, but keeping of the Law is all together. Like as the Circumcision was the keeping of the old Law, so is Baptism the keeping of the new Law.

Wood. Ah, me-thought if you would talk with me, you should be fain to bring in the old Law to maintain your sayings by (for all that you refused it) when I brought it in. But yet it serveth not for your purpose, so much as you think for. For here you have confessed, that neither Circumcision availeth, nor Uncircumcision; the which you your self have coupled with Baptism, proving that none of them both prevaileth, but keeping of the Law is all together: the which Law is kept (you say) by the outward signs; the which is nothing to: for *Abraham* believed God, and that was counted to him for righteousness, and this was before he was circumcised. So the Children believe before they be either circumcised or baptized, according to my first saying of *Jacob and Esau*, *Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated.* These words declare, that *Jacob* had faith in his Mothers Womb. And *John Baptist* was sanctified in his Mothers Womb, and therefore it was counted to them for righteousness: and I am sure, if they had died before they had either received Circumcision or Baptism as concerning the outward deed, they should have been saved. For Gods gifts and callings are such, that he cannot repent him of them. But by your saying he doth both repent and change. For you say, keeping of the outward Law is all together. But a bad excuse is as good as none at all. And where you said, the Children be baptized in their Godfathers and Godmothers Faith, they being all unbelievers, in what Faith is that Child baptized then? in none at all, by your own saying. Which words made him stamp and stare.

Lang. What? then you would count that there were very few Believers, if there be not one of three that believeth. You enter into judgment against the People: Belike you think there be none that believe well, unless they be of your mind: Indeed then Christs Flock were a very little Flock.

Wood. Indeed these be Christs words in the twelfth of *Luke*, the which we may see to be very true. Yea, you said, if there were not one amongst three, that were very few. But there is not one amongst three hundred, for any thing that I can see. For if there were, there would not be so many that would seek their Neighbours Goods and Lives as there be.

Lang. Is the Flock of Christ such a little Flock as you speak of? You may call it a great Flock. How many be there of them, can you tell me?

Wood. A pretty question, I promise you, it is that you ask me: as though I did make my self equal with God.

No, no, you shall catch no such vantage of my words; nor do I know how many there be. But I will tell you as nigh as I can. For therefore you look. I am sure that I should enter into judgment.

Lang. Yea, I pray you tell me as much as you can, seeing you be so cunning.

Wood. You shall see my judgment in it by and by. First the Prophet saith, *Follow not a multitude to do evil, for they must go the wrong way.* For the most go the wrong way. There is one point to know them.

Then Christ saith in the seventh of *Matthew*, *Broad is the way, and wide is the gate that leadeth into destruction, and many there be that go in thereto: and strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.* And in the twelfth of *Luke*, it is written (which words were spoken of Christ) *Come ye little Flock, it is my Fathers will to give you a Kingdom.* The third point is this, in the third of *Mark* and second of *Matthew*, *Ye (saith Christ) shall know the Tree by the fruits. A good Tree bringeth forth good fruits, and a bad Tree bringeth forth bad fruits:* So by Fruits I know them: For every Tree that bringeth not forth good Fruits, must be hewen down, and cast into the fire (into Hell I think Christ meant) and your fruits declare that you be one of them. Thus have I proved four ways, that the People that shall be saved is but a small Company in comparison of the rest. But if that be not enough, for the proof thereof, I have twenty ways more to prove it by, and you were never the nearer of your purpose.

Lang. What a naughty man are you? you would make the patientest man in the World angry with you. I think your talk is nothing but pride and vain-glory, with frumps, and mocks, and despising and judging of men. It was time such a Fellow were taken indeed. Such a one is enough to trouble a whole Country. I think he is blest of God that took you: for you are not meet to be in a Commonwealth.

Wood. With divers other such like words that I cannot recite, they came out so thick, with stamping and staring and chafing, as though he had been out of his wit. I held my peace, until he had made an end of his Tormentors talk, and then I spake.

Wherein have I said amiss? or have I not answered you unto every question that you have demanded of me? What fault can you find in one word that I have said? I dare say you can find none. I marvel why you take on thus against me, having no cause so to do.

Lang. No, no, you have not answered me to Original sin, you deny Original sin.

Wood. With these words came in at the door Mr. *James Gage*: and I think he stood at the door a good while before he came in, and that Dr. *Langdels* saw him: for his face was to the door-ward, and my face was from it.

Gage. Ah *Woodman*, me-think Mr. Doctor and you cannot agree.

Wood. Yes Sir, me-think we agree very well.

Lang. Without doubt, Sir, he is the naughtiest man that ever I talked with in all my life: for he will have his own way in all things.

Gage. *Woodman* leave that pride. Do not trust too much

Gods election standeth not by the multitude, but by the fewest.

Four Arguments proving Christs flock to be a small number.

Dr. Langdels railing against *Woodman* without a cause.

Mr. James Gage enters with *Woodman*.

• May rather in the faith of their Parents. Neither is it the faith of the Godfathers and Godmothers that justifyeth the Child, but their diligence may help him in feeling him Circumcised.

much to your own wit. Harken to this man, this is a Learned man, I tell you. He is known to be learned. For else he should not be allowed to preach before the Queens Majesty: and I dare say, he will tell thee nothing, nor will thee to do anything, but that he will do himself: and I dare say, he will not go to the Devil to bring thee thither. How say you Mr. Doctor? Thou mightest think us mad, if we would hurt our selves to hurt thee. No I promise thee, my Brother, neither I, nor any Gentleman in the Country, I think of my Conscience, but would thou shouldst do as well as their own Bodies and Souls, as a great many of them have said to thy face whilst thou wait at my Brothers, and which thou canst not deny.

Wood. Sir, I can say none otherwise but I was gently intreated at your Brothers, both with meat and drink and gentle words, both of you and him, and divers other Gentlemen: and I am sure neither you nor they can say, that you found me unreasonable at any time. For I said, I was contented to learn of them that were able to teach me, and so I am, as God knoweth: and here Mr. Doctor (I think) can say no otherwise; for I dare say he can find no fault in the talk that we have had.

Lang. No marry, I can find nothing else in you. I promise you, Mr. Gage, if you had been here, you would have said so for your self. He took me up indeed, and said, he marvelled how I durst preach. For he said, I understood not the Scripture, but as far as Natural Reason comprehended: as though he understood all, and I nothing. With divers other such like words he made a great complaint to him on me, and said to Mr. James Gage, he would make you believe that I could find no fault in him. Yes, I wis: he denieth Original sin.

Gage. Yea; doth he so? by S. Mary that is a great matter: Woodman, leave that pride. That pride will come to naught. Can ye live without sin?

Wood. Sir, now I perceive he will soon lye on me behind my back, when he will not stick to lye before my face.

He said, I denied Original sin; and it was he himself, as I will let you be judge in the matter. For as he went about to prove, that man hath Free-will, he said, we were set as free by the Death of Christ, as Adam was before his fall: which words prove plainly, that we have no Original sin: And I took him withal, and said, Had Adam Original sin before his fall? and then he could not tell what to say, but cavilled with words, and said he meant not so: and therefore I marvel he is not ashamed to make such lies to my face. These words made them both astonished.

Gage. Mr. Doctor, he said even now you could find no fault in all his talk. I will bid you ask him a question, and I will warrant you, you will find fault enough. I pray you ask him, how he believeth in the Sacrament of the Altar. I think he will make but a bad account thereof.

Wood. Yes, I will make account good enough of that, by Gods help.

Lang. Well, how say you to the Sacrament of the Altar?

Wood. I say, I know no such Sacrament, unless Christ be the Altar that you mean.

Gage. Lo, I told you, you should soon find fault in him, if you came to that point with him. You should have begun with that first, and never have talked with him about other things. What? know you not the Sacrament of the Altar?

Wood. No sure, I know no such, unless Christ be the Altar that you mean; for Christ is the Altar of all goodnes. And if you mean Christ to be the Altar of the Sacrament you speak of, you shall soon hear my mind and belief therein.

Lang. Well, we mean Christ to be the Altar. Say your mind, and go briefly to work; for I think it almost dinner time.

Gage. I pray you go roundly to work, that you may make an end before dinner.

Wood. Yes, you shall soon hear my mind therein, by Gods help. I do believe, that whensoever I come to receive the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, being truly ministered according to Christs institution, I

believing that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he was crucified on the Cross, and shed his blood for the remission of my sins, and so take and eat the Sacrament of Bread and Wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive whole Christ, God and Man, mystically by Faith. This is my belief of the Sacrament, the which no man is able to disprove.

Gage. By S. Mary, I can find no fault in this. How say you Mr. Doctor?

Lang. Sir, you see not so much as I do. For he goeth craftily to work, I tell you as I have heard. For though he hath granted that the faithful receiver receiveth the Body of Christ, God and Man, yet he hath not granted that it is the Body of Christ before it be received, as you shall see by and by, I warrant you, by his own words. How say you? Is it the Body of Christ as soon as the words be spoken by the Priest, or not? for these words will try him more than all the rest.

Wood. Doth the Word say that it is his Body before it is received? if it do, I will say so too.

Gage. Why? then we shall agree well enough, if you will be tried by the Word.

Wood. Yes forsooth, that I will; God forbid else.

Gage. Why? the Word faith it is his Body before it is eaten.

Wood. Those words would I fain hear; but I am sure they be not in the Bible.

Lang. No? that you shall see by and by (Mr. Gage, quote he) and turned to the 22. of Luke, and there he read, *When supper was done, Christ took bread, gave, and brake it, and gave to his Disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my Body:* Then they spake both at once eating. Here he faith it is his Body.

Wood. Mr. Gage, I do not deny but he called it his Body, but not before eating, as I said before. Wherefore I pray you mark the words. Christ said, *Take, eat:* I pray you Sir mark these words that he said, *Take, eat, and then he said, it was his Body.* So you see, cat-ting goeth before. For he said, *Eat, this is my Body.* So according to the very word, I do believe it is his Body. Which words made them both astonished.

Lang. Why, then by your saying, Judas eat not the Body of Christ. How say you? Did he not?

Wood. Nay, I ask you. Did he?

Lang. I ask you.

Wood. And I ask you.

Lang. And I ask you.

Wood. Marry I ask you. And I bid you answer if you dare for your life. For whatsoever you answer, unless you say as I have said, you will damn your own Soul. For Mr. Gage, I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own Soul and Body; and it lamenteth my heart to see how you be deceived with them; they be deceivers all the sort of them. He cannot answer to this, but either he must prove Judas to be saved, or else he must prove that it is no Body before it be received in Faith, as you shall well perceive, by Gods help, if he dare answer the question.

Gage. Yes, I dare say he dareth. What? you need not to threaten him so.

Wood. Then let him answer if he can.

Then he said he knew what I would say to him; therefore he was much in doubt to answer the question.

Lang. Mr. Gage, I will tell you in your ear what words he will answer me, or ever I speak to him.

Wood. Then he told Mr. Gage a tale in his ear, and said:

Lang. I have told Mr. Gage what you will say.

Gage. Yea, and I will speak the truth for both parties.

Wood. Well, how say you? Did Judas eat the Body of Christ, or not?

Lang. Yea, I say Judas did eat the Body of Christ.

Wood. Then it must needs follow, that Judas hath everlasting life. For Christ faith in the sixth of John, *Who so eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, hath everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day.* If like, Jan. c.

Judas did eat Christs Body, I am sure you cannot deny but that he did both eat his Flesh, and drink his Blood, and then is Judas saved by Christs own words.

Therefore now you are compelled to say that it was eating his.

Woodman knoweth of Sacrament of the Altar, unless they take Christ to be the Altar.

Woodman judgment of the Sacrament.

Anno 1557.

Dr. Langdale seeketh a - 4 Know to a - 4

Whether? the Sacrament be the Body of Christ before it be received.

Luke 22: Eating goeth before the words of Consecration.

Dr. Langdale drives to his shute.

Dr. Langdale should answer to R. Woodman. The Catholics hold that Judas did eat the Body of Christ.

Argument: Who ever eateth the flesh of Christ, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. If like, Jan. c. Judas did eat the Body of Christ, Ergo, Judas hath everlasting life.

not

1557. Anno not Christs Body, or else that Judas is saved. Gage. Surely these be the very words that the Doctor told me in mine ear, that you would say to him. Wood. Well, let us see how well he can avoid this Argument.

Lang. Judas is damned, and yet he eat the Body of Christ; but he eat it unworthily: and therefore he is damned.

Wood. Where find you that Judas did eat the Body of Christ unworthily?

1 Cor. 11. Lang. They be Saint Pauls words, 1 Cor. Chap. 11. Wood. Master Gage, I desire you for Gods sake mark my words well what I say. If Saint Paul speak any such words there, or in any other place; if there be any such words written in all the whole Bible, that ever any Man eat the Body of Christ unworthily, then say that I am the falsest Man that ever you heard speak with Tongue. But indeed, these be the words of Saint Paul, Who eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lords Body; that is, because he presumeth to eat the Sacrament of the Lords Body without Faith, making no difference betwixt the Sacrament and other Bread and Drink. And that is Saint Pauls meaning, and not that any Man doth or can eat the Body of Christ unworthily. For whosoever eateth the Body of Christ, hath everlasting life, as is afore said in the sixth of John; with these words one came for them to dinner in all haste.

Gage. I am sorry, I would fain hear more of this talk, but we shall have another day well enough.

Lang. Nay, Master Gage, I will never talk with him more; for he is the unreasonabest Man that ever I talked with in all my life.

Wood. Then Master Gage put off his cap, and desired him that he would not refuse to talk with me, and that it might not be grievous to him. For he said, we will seek all the means possible to make him an honest Man, and to keep him from burning, if we could. For if my Brother and I had not been, he had been burned ere this time. Then there was great curtesie betwixt them.

Lang. Sir, for your sake, and for my Master your Brothers sake, and for his Fathers sake, and other of his friends sakes, that have spoken to me many times with weeping tears, I will do the best to him that I can; but for no love nor favour that I bear to him, I tell you truth.

Gage. Woodman, you hear what Master Doctor saith: When will you come again?

Wood. Even when you will send for me. For I am a Prisoner, and cannot come when I would. Or if I should desire to come, it will cost me Money, and I have none to give: but if you send for me, it shall cost me none.

Gage. Well, I will send for you on Friday or Saturday, at the farthest, for to morrow I must ride forth of Town, and I would fain hear your talk.

Wood. Sir, I would be very glad you should hear our talk always, and I trust in God you shall hear me say nothing, but the Word of God shall be my Warrant. So Mr. Gage took his leave, and went his way to his lodging, which was right in my way as I went unto Prisonward again; and when he came without my Lord Mountagues gates, there we met with one Head of Bursted, a Smith. Then said Master Gage:

Gage. Woodman, I had forgot one thing, that Head hath brought me in remembrance of as soon as I saw him; for he heard when the tale was told me.

Gage. Head, did not you hear when Smith of Framfield told me that he saw Woodman abroad in the City at liberty.

Head. Yea forsooth that I did.

Gage. Yea surely, and I was very glad, for I had well hoped you had been conformable. But I heard otherwise afterward again, that you had leave of the Keeper to go abroad and speak openly in the Streets, as you went up and down.

Wood. Indeed so the Marshal told me to day. But indeed I was never abroad since I came to Prison, but when I was sent for; and indeed the same time I was abroad with my Keeper, coming from the Bishop, and as I was coming, even as I was from the Marshalsey, I saw

Woodman Smith stand in a Wain unloading of Cheefe-brid asked him how he did, even as I went by, and I never tayed for the wain, and thereupon it did rise. So I departed from thence, with my Keeper to the Marshalsey again, where I now am merry, I praise God therefore, as a sheep appointed to be slain.

The Fourth Examination of Richard Woodman, had before the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Rochester, and a certain Doctor, with divers other Priests and Gentlemen, the 25. day of May, Anno 1557.

Woodman. I was fet from the Marshalsey to the said Bishop and Priests, sitting in St. Georges Church in Southwark, by one of the Marshalls Men and one of the Sheriffs Men. When I came before them, and had done my duty to them as nigh as I could, then said the Bishop of Winchester.

Winch. What is your Name?

Wood. My Name is Richard Woodman forsooth.

Winch. Ah Woodman, you were taken and apprehended for Heretic about three years ago, and were sent to Prison in the Kings Bench, and there remained a long time. Mine old Lord of Chichester, being a famous Man, well known in this Realm of England, and almost throughout all Christendom, I think came to Prison to you, and there, and at other places, called you before him divers times, travelling and perceiving with you many times (because he was your Ordinary) to speak you from your Heresies that you held, but he could by no means advertise you.

Whereupon you were delivered to the Commissioners, and they could do no good with you neither. Then they sent you unto my Lord of London. My Lord of London calling you before him divers times, labour was made unto him of your friends, that you might be released. My Lord having a good hope in you, that you would become an honest Man, because he had heard so of you in times past, yea and you your self promising him, that you would go home and recant your Heresies that you held, delivered you, sending also a Letter of your recantation to the Commissary, that he should see it done. But as soon as you were out of his hands, you were as bad as ever you were, and would never fulfil your promise, but have hid your self in the woods, bushes, dens, and caves, and thus have you continued ever since, till it was now of late. Then the Sheriff of that shire (being a worshipful Man) hearing thereof, sent certain of his Men, and took you in a wood, and so carried you to this House. I cannot tell his Name. What is your Sheriffs Name?

Wood. Forsooth, his Name is Sir Edward Gage.

Winch. Well, you were apprehended for Heretic, and being at Master Gages three weeks or more, ye were gently intreated there; he and other Gentlemen perceiving with you divers times, little prevailed.

Then you appealed to the Bishop of Chichester that now is. The Sheriff like a worshipful Man, sent you to him, and he hath travelled with you, and other also, and can do no good with you, whereupon we have sent for you.

Wood. Then I spake to him. For I thought he would be long, before he would make an end. I thought he was a year in telling of those lies that he had told there against me already. Yea, I kept silence from good words, but it was great pain and grief unto me (as David said.)

At length the Fire was so kindled within my heart, that I could not chuse but speak with my Tongue; for I feared lest any of the company should have departed or ever I had answered to his lies, and so the Gospel to have been slandered by my long silence keeping. So I spake, I praise God therefore, and said; my Lord, I pray you let me now answer for my self, for it is time.

Winch. I permit you to answer to these things that I have said.

Wood. I thank God therefore. And I think my self happy (as Paul said, when he was brought before King Agrippa) that I may this day answer for my self. My Lord, I promise you there is never a word of your sayings true that you have alleged against me.

1 Cor. 11. Saint Pauls words are alleged by D. Langdsh.

Making no difference of the Lords Body expounded.

* Christ speaketh of eating his Flesh, without any determination of unworthiness; that is, finally, whosoever believeth in Christ, he shall be saved, whether is any unworthiness in believing in Christ.

Note well the working of this Man's charity, do for a Man more at request, then for any compassion of the party.

Lead tales and false lies raised upon Woodman.

The fourth Examination of R. Woodman before the Bishop of Winchester.

The old Bishop of Chichester was Doctor Day.

Utrac. For Bishop Beor delivered him of his own accord to the burning of this priappon other case.

False and untrue.

Sir Edward Gage Sheriff of Sussex.

Winch. I cannot tell, but thus it is reported of you. As for me, I never did see you before this day; but I am sure it is not all lies that I have said, as you report.

Wood. Yes, my Lord, there is never a true word of that you have said. And further, where you said you never saw me before this day, you have both heard me and seen me, I dare say, before this day.

Winch. I think I heard you indeed on Sunday, where you plaid the malapart Fellow; but I cannot tell that I saw you. But I pray you, were you not taken in the woods by the Sheriffs men?

Wood. No sure, I was taken besides my House, I being in my House when they came, wherefore that is not true.

Winch. Were not you at the Sheriffs three weeks?

Wood. Yes that I was, a Month just, and was gently intreated of him, I can say no otherwise; for I had meat and drink enough, and fair words.

Winch. Ah, I am well paid; it is not all lies then, as it is chanced. For I spake but of three weeks, and you confess a Month your self.

Wood. Yet your tale is never the truer for that. For you said, I was there three weeks for Heretic, the which is not so. For I was not apprehended for Heretic at the first, neither did mine old Lord of *Chichester* travel with me to pull me from Heretic, as you said; for I held none then, neither do I now, as God knoweth, neither was I sent to the Commissioners, nor to the Bishop of London for Heretic, neither was I delivered to him for any such thing, nor promised him to recant, as you said I did. Wherefore I marvel you be not ashamed to tell so many lies, being a Bishop, that should be an example to other.

Winch. Lo, what an arrogant Heretic this same is. He will deny God; for he that denieth his own hand, denieth God.

Wood. My Lord, judge not lest you be judged your self. For as you have judged me, you shall be judged, if you repent not. And if I have let my hand to any Recantation, let it be seen to my shame, before this Auditor. For I will never deny mine own hand, by Gods help.

Winch. It is not here now, but I think it will be had well enough; but if it cannot be found, by whom will you be tried?

Wood. Even by my Lord of London; for he dealt like a good man with me in that matter that I was sent to Prison for. For it was upon the breach of a Statute, as Master Sheriff here can tell: For he was Sheriff then, as he is now, and can tell how I was tossed up and down from Sessions to Sessions; and because I would not consent that I had offended therein, they sent me to Prison again.

Then my Lord of *Chichester* being mine Ordinary, and I being his Tenant, came to me, to persuade with me that I should have consented to them, and to find my self in fault, where I was in none. To the which I would not agree, but I desired him that he would see me released of my wrong; but he said he could not, but wiled me or my Friends to speak to the Commissioners for me, because it was a Temporal matter: and when I came before them, they sent me to my Lord of London, and my Lord of London was certified by the hands of almost thirty men, both Esquires, Gentlemen and Yeomen, the chiefest in all the Country where I dwelt, that I had not offended in the matter that I was sent to Prison for. Whereupon he delivered me, not willing me to recant Heresies, for I held none (as God knoweth) neither do I now: nor do I know wherefore I was sent to Prison, no more than any man here knoweth; for I was taken away from my work.

Winch. No? wherefore appealed you then to my Lord of *Chichester*, if it were not for Heretic?

Wood. Because there was laid to my charge that I had baptized Children, and married Folks, the which I never did, for I was no where Minister. Wherefore I appealed to mine Ordinary, to purge my self thereof, as I have. Wherefore if any man have any thing against me, let them speak; for I came not hither to accuse my self, neither will I.

Winch. Master Sheriff, can you tell upon what breach of Statute he was sent to Prison first?

The Sheriff. Yea forsooth, my Lord, that I can.

Wood. My Lord, if you will give me leave, I will Anno shew you the whole matter.

Winch. Nay, Master Sheriff, I pray you tell the matter, seeing you know it.

The Sheriff. My Lord, it was for speaking to a Curate in the Pulpit, as I remember.

Winch. Ah, like enough, that he would not stick to reprove a Curate. For did you not see how he fashioned himself to speak to me in the Pulpit on Sunday? he played the malapart fellow with me; and therefore it was no great marvel though he played that part with another.

Wood. Why, you will not blame me for that, I am sure. For we spake for no other cause, but to purge our selves of those Heresies that you laid to our charge. For these were your words; Good people, these men that be brought before us, being here, deny Christ to be God, and the Holy Ghost to be God; pointing to us with your left hand) the which might seem to the whole Audience, that you meant us all. Wherefore to clear our selves thereof, we spake, and said we held no such thing. And you said you would cut out our Tongues. But I am sure you have no such Law.

Winch. Yes that we have, if you blaspheme, and as it chanced, I found such amongst you.

Wood. Indeed after we spake, you declared who they were, but not before; for you spake generally. Wherefore we blasphemed not, but purged our selves.

Winch. But I pray you, how can you purge your self for speaking to the Curate, that it is not Heretic?

Wood. Forsooth these be the words of the Statute; Whosoever doth interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authorized by the Queens Majesty, or by any other lawful Ordinary, that all such shall suffer three Months imprisonment, and furthermore be brought to the Quarter Sessions, there (being sorry for the same) to be released upon his good abearing one whole year. But I had not so offended as it was well proved: For he that I spake to was not lawfully authorized, nor had put away his wife. Wherefore it was not lawful for him to preach by your own Law; and therefore I brake not the Statute, though I spake to him.

Winch. I am glad, I perceive this man speaketh against Priests marriages; he is not contented with Priests that have wives. He is an honest man than I took him for, Master Sheriff, have him away. I am glad he loveth not Priests marriages.

Wood. Then I would have answered to his sayings, but he would in no wise hear me, but bade the Sheriff have me away. So the Sheriff took me by the hand, and plucked me away, and would not let me speak, but going out of the Chancel door, I said; I would shew him the whole matter, if he would have given me leave, but seeing he will not, if he will let me go so, they shall see whether I will not go home to my wife and children, and keep them, as my bounden duty is, by the help of God. So I was sent to the Marshalsey again, where I now am merry, I praise God therefore, as a Sheep appointed to be slain.

Moreover, I was credibly informed by one of our Brethren that heard our talk, that the Bishop said when I was gone, that they would take me whilst I was somewhat good. Which words seemed to many of the people that were there, that I spake against Priests marriages, but I did not, but did only answer to such questions as he asked me, as you shall perceive well by the words, if you mark them, which words were these:

How can you purge your self from Heresies, for talking to the Curate in the Pulpit, and not offend the Statute, said the Bishop? meaning thereby, I think, to have taken vantage of my words; but it was not so intended him by the words of the Statute, which words be as hereafter followeth, (that is) Whosoever doth interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authorized by the Queens Majesty, or by any other lawful Ordinary, that all such shall suffer three Months imprisonment. But I proved that this man was not lawfully authorized to preach (by their own Law) because he had not put away his wife. For their Law is, that no Priest may say Mass, nor preach with the Mass, but he must first

W. answers
to him in
judg. 10.

Woodman
clears
himself of
Recantation

The bonds
drawing of
Bp. Thos.
with Wood-
man heretic.

This was
Dr. Day.

The cause
and manner
how Wood-
man was de-
livered by
Bp. Thos.

Wherefore
Woodman
appealed to
his Ordina-
ry.

1557.

The cause
why Wood-
man was
first ap-
prehended.

Wood-
man and his
fellows
Prisoners
were
sally ac-
cused and
de-
livered of
the Bishop
of Winchester
in the Pulpit.

the Curate
in the Pul-
pit made
heretic.

Woodman
clears
himself
from breach
of the Sta-
tute.

Note the
pretty stile
of this Ca-
tholik Pre-
late.

Woodman
is taken
to speak
against
Priests mar-
riage.

be

Anno 1557. be separated from his wife. That is, because honest marriages be good and commendable, and theirs naught and abominable; therefore they cannot dwell together.

A Priest keeping his wife, yet would needs hold again with Popery.

R. Woodman leaving himself from his enemies by their own Law.

Now I give you all to understand, that I did not reprove this Priest, because he had a wife, but because he taught false Doctrine, which grieved my soul, because he had been a fervent Preacher against the Mass, and all the Idolatry thereof, seven years before, and then came and held with it again; for the which cause I reprov'd him in the Pulpit. And the words that I spake to him, are written in divers of my Examinations at my first imprisonment for that fame. But in very deed, I knew not of the Statute when I perceived it. But because I was sent to Prison upon the breach of it, I bought a Statute Book, and when I had perused it, I perceived I had not offended by their own Law; and therefore still when I was called to answer, I answered them with their own law. But yet they kept me in Prison a year and almost three quarters or ever I was released. I was at mine answer for that eighteen times. If any think I do not allow Bishops and Priests marriages, let them look in my first Examination before the Bishop of *Chichester* that now is, during this my imprisonment, and there they shall find what I have said in the matter. The truth is, I looked to be condemned with my brother that same day; But we may all fee that they can do nothing but as God will permit them to do. But when the time is full come, I trust in God I shall run that joyful race that my brethren have done. Thus I commit you all into the hands of God, who is the preserver, defender, and keeper of all his Elect for evermore, Amen.

The fifth Examination of Richard Woodman, had before the Bishop of Winchester, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdale, with a fat headed Priest, and others, whose names I know not, with certain also of the Commissioners, at S. Mary Overies Church in Southwark, in the presence of three hundred people at the least, the 15th day of June, Anno 1557.

The fifth Examination of Richard Woodman before the Bishop of Winchester, and divers others. June 15. Anno 1557. **Winchester.** **W**oodman, you were before us the last day, and would not be known in any wife that you were sent to Prison for Heresie, and called for your Accusers, and stood stoutly in defending of your self, and in your departing I had thought you had spoken against Priests marriages, thinking by your words we should have found you an honest man, and conformable, when we had called you before us again. You told such a fair tale for your self, as though you had been free from all that was laid to your charge. For you said it was all lies that I told against you; but since I have proved the contrary, as here is your own hand to shew. By the which I have proved, that you reprov'd not the Priest for lacking of Authority, and because he had not put away his wife, but because you liked not his preaching. For indeed I took it, that you reprov'd him because he was not lawfully authorized, but I have proved the contrary since.

Wood. I told you not that I did either reprove him for lack of Authority, or because I liked not his preaching, but I told you wherefore I was first sent to Prison. For you said I was sent to Prison for Heresie, and made a long tale against me. And indeed I told you that there was never a word of your sayings true, but was all lies, as it was indeed. For I never was sent to Prison for Heresie, neither held I any then, nor do now, I take Heaven and Earth to witness; but I told you I was sent to Prison upon the breach of a Statute, which was for speaking to a Priest in the Pulpit, and for that cause the Justices of that Country had thought I had offended the Statute, and called me before them, and would have had me to have been bound to my good bearing, and because I refused it, they sent me to Prison. And these be the words of the Statute, as I told you the last day.

If any man do interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authorized by the Queens Majesty, or by any other lawful Ordinary, that then every party that so offendeth, shall suffer three months imprisonment, and furthermore be brought to the Quarter Sessions, and there being convicted to the same, and also bound for his good bearing

one whole year, to be released, or else to remain to Prison again.

And when I was in Prison, I bought a Statute Book, which when I had perused over, I found by the words thereof that I had not offended, because he was not lawfully authorized, as the Bishop of *London* was certified by the hands almost of thirty men, both Esquires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen, the chiefest in all that Country. For he had not put away his wife, and therefore the Statute took no place on me, as I told you the other day. Wherefore my Lord of *London*, seeing me have so much wrong, did like a good man to me in that matter, and released me. Now when I had told you this matter, you bade the Sheriff have me away; You said you were glad I held against Priests marriages, because I answered to the question you asked me.

The fat Priest. My Lord, do you not hear what he saith by my Lord of *London*? He saith he is a good man in that he released him, but he meaneth that he is good in nothing else.

Wood. What? can you tell what I mean? let every man say as he findeth; he did justly to me in that matter. I say, if he be not good in any thing else, as you say, he shall answer for it, and not I; for I have nothing to do with other mens matters.

Winch. Well, how say you? how liked you his preaching? I pray you tell us.

Wood. That is no matter how I liked it. Howsoever I liked it, I offended not the Statute. Wherefore you have nothing to say to me for that I am sure.

Winch. Well, how like you this then? Here is your own hand writing. I am sure you will not deny it. Will you look on it?

Wood. It is mine own handy work indeed, the which by Gods help I will never deny, nor ever did yet, I praise God therefore.

Winch. And here is good gear I tell you. I pray you hearken well to it; these be the words before the Commissioners. How say you? Do not you believe as soon as the words be spoken by the Priest, that there remaineth neither Bread nor Wine, but only the very Body of Christ, both flesh and blood, as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*? these were the words of the Commissioners.

And then thou saidst, thou durst not say otherwise than the Scripture saith. I cannot find (say you) that it is the Body of Christ before it is received by Faith, bringing in the 22. of *Luke*, saying, Christ said, *Take, eat, this is my Body*. So I cannot prove it is his Body before it be eaten. Then said the Commissioners, Did not *Judas* eat Christs Body? And if you can prove that *Judas* is saved (said you) I must grant that he eat his Body. For Christ saith in the sixth of *John*, *Who eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day*; which words prove, said you, that if *Judas* eat the Body of Christ, he must needs be saved. How say you now? Did *Judas* eat the Body of Christ, or not?

Wood. Then I perceived he went about nothing but to catch words of me in his Diocess, to condemn me with. Though I should confound him never so much, I perceived that he was fully bent thereto. To whom I answered and said:

I will answer you to no such thing, for I am none of your Diocess; wherefore I will not answer to you.

Winch. Thou art within my Diocess, and thou hast offended within my Diocess; and therefore I will have to do with thee.

Wood. Have to do with me if you will; but I will have nothing to do with you, I tell you plainly. For though I be now in your Diocess, I have not offended in your Diocess; if I have, shew me wherein.

Winch. *Mary* here is thine own hand writing, the which thou affirmedst in my Diocess.

Wood. I do not deny but it is mine own hand writing; but that proveth never the more that I have offended in your Diocess: for that doth but declare what talk there was between the Commissioners and me, the which you have nothing to do withal.

No face I on the Statute why

The Priest saith on the meaning of Woodman.

See how nearly these men seek matter against him, whereby to trap him.

Luke 22. Woodman charged matter as the Commissioners before the last Examination.

Dr. VVide of VVinchester, bent to have the blood of Woodman.

Dr. VVide from the Bishop of Winchester to his Ordinary.

Winch. No? hold him a Book, and thou shalt swear whether thou holdest it now, or not, and whether thou wrotest it not in my Diocess, as I think thou didst; Lay thy hand on the Book.

Woodman.
I had to
swear or an-
swer about
Winchester,
being not
his Ordina-
ry.

Wood. I will not be sworn for you; for I am not of your Diocess; and therefore you have nothing to do with me. And as for the writing of the same, I never wrote word of it in your Diocess.

Lang. No, did you not? my Lord, let me see; I will find where you wrote it.

Wood. Then he took it and looked on it, and anon he found that I was sent for out of the *Kings Bench*, to come before the Commissioners.

Lang. My Lord, here you may see it was in the *Kings Bench*, the which is in your Diocess.

Wood. Although I were fetcht out of the *Kings Bench*, that proveth not that I wrote it there, nor did I, I promise you truly.

The far Priest. Where wrote you it then?

Wood. Nay, I owe you not so much service as to tell you; find it out as well as you can: For I perceive you go about to fledge my blood.

Winch. It is no great matter where it was written; it is here, and he denieth not but he wrote it. You shall hear more of it. Here the Commissioners asked you, whether *Judas* did eat any more than bare Bread, and you answered, that he eat more than bare Bread.

Woodman
in a great
burning of
Conscience,
for fear lest
he had
granted too
much to the
Commis-
sioners be-
fore, saying
that *Judas*
did eat
more than
bare bread.

Whereupon they sent you away back to the *Kings Bench* again, and asked you not what more, for the which cause (as you have written here) you had a Hell burning in your Conscience. For you had thought they would have sent a Discharge to the *Kings Bench*, and so let me go (said you) and register my name in their Books, that I had granted that *Judas* did eat the Body of Christ, and so the Gospel should have been slandered by me. For the which Cause I was in such case, I could faintly eat, drink, or sleep for that space, as all my Prison-fellows can testify. If all you, I say, that go to the Church of Satan, and there hear the detestable Doctrine, that they spit and spue out in their Churches and Pulpits, to the great dishonour of God, if all you, I say, that come there, had such a Hell burning in your Conscience for the time, as I had till I came before them again, and had uttered my Conscience more plainly, I dare say you would come there no more. All this is your writing; is it not? How say you?

Wood. I do not deny but it was mine own deed.

Winch. And I pray you, where is there such spitting and spuing out of false Doctrine as you speak of?

Wood. In the Synagogue of Satan, where God is dishonoured with false Doctrine.

Winch. And I pray you, where is one of them?

Wood. Nay, that judge your self; I came not hither to be a Judge.

Winch. Well, here you have affirmed, that *Judas* (your Master) eat more than Bread; but yet he eat not the Body of Christ, as you have declared by your words. For, you had a Hell burning in your Conscience, because you were in doubt, that the Commissioners understood by your words, that *Judas* had eaten the Body of Christ, because you said, he eat more than bare Bread. Therefore thou hadst a great sort of Devils in thee; for in Hell be many Devils: and therefore the Devil and *Judas* is thy Master, by thine own words.

Wood. Nay, I defy *Judas* and the Devil, and his Servants; for they be your Masters, and you serve them, for any thing that I can see, I tell you truth.

The Bishops Argument.

The Devil is Master in Hell
Woodman tells a burning Hell in his Conscience. *Ergo*, the Devil was *Woodman*'s Master.

Answer.

Hell is taken in Scripture two ways, either for the place where damned spirits and souls are tormented, or for the life or estate of Gods correction and anger, as of the soul in this life, which sometimes is full of sharp, that it is resembled to Hell itself. As where we read, The Lord bringeth to Hell, and bringeth out again, *Psalm 137*. The pains of Hell have tormented me, *Psalm 134*.

Winch. Nay, they be thy Masters. For the Devil is Master where Hell is, and thou saidst thou hadst a burning Hell in thee. I pray thee tell me, how thou canst avoid it, but that the Devil was in thee by thine own saying?

Wood. The Hell that I had, was the loving correction of God towards me, to call me to Repentance, that I should not offend God and his People in leaving things so dark, as I left that. For the which cause my Conscience

bare me record, I had not done well, as at all times I have felt the sting of it, when I have broken the Commandments of God by any means, as all Gods People do, I dare say, and it is the loving kindness of God towards them, to drive them to repentance. But it is to be thought, that your Conscience is never troubled, how wickedly soever you do. For if it were, it should not be so strange to you as you make it, which declareth plainly whole Servant you be.

Winch. What a naughty fellow is this? This is such a perverse Villain as I never talked with in all my life. Hold him a Book, I will make him swear, to answer directly to such things as I will demand of him; and if he will not answer, I will condemn him.

Wood. Call you me a Fellow? I am such a Fellow, I tell you, that will drive you all to Hell, if you consent to the shedding of my blood, and you shall have blood to drink, as faith *S. John* in his *Revelation*, the ninth Chapter, and being in Hell, you shall be compelled to pay for pain of Conscience; This is the man that we have had in derision, and thought his life madnes, and his end to be without honour; but now we may see how he is counted among the Saints of God, and we are punished. This shall you see in Hell, if you repent it not, if you do condemn me. This you shall find in the fifth Chapter of the Book of *Wisdom*: and therefore take heed what you do, I give you counsel.

Winch. Wisdom? What speakest thou of Wisdom? thou never hadst it; for thou art as very a fool as ever I heard speak.

Wood. Do you not know, that the foolish things of this world must confound the wise things? Wherefore it grieveth me not to be called a fool at your hands.

Winch. Nay, thou art none of those fools; thou art an obstinate fool, and an Heretic. Lay hand on the Book, and answer to such things as I will lay against thee.

Wood. I will lay hand on the Book for none of you all. You be not my Bishop; and therefore I will have nothing to do with you.

Winch. I will have to do with you. This man is without Law, he careth not for the King nor Queen, I dare say; for he will not obey their Laws. Let me see the Kings Commission. I will see whether he will obey that, or not.

Wood. I would you loved the King and Queens Majesty no worse than I do, if it pleased God: You would not do as you do then.

Winch. Hold him a Book, he is a rank Heretic. Thou shalt answer to such things as I will demand of thee.

Wood. I take Heaven and Earth to record I am no Heretic, neither can I tell wherefore I am brought to Prison, no more then any man here can tell, and therewith I looked round about on the People, and said to the Bishop, If you have any just cause against me worthy of death, lay it against me, and let me have it; for I refuse not to dye (I praise God) for the Truths sake, if I had ten lives. If you have no cause, let me go home, I pray you, to my Wife and Children to see them kept, and other poor Folk that I would set a work by the help of God. I have set on work an hundred persons ere this, all the year together, and was unjustly taken from them; but God forgive them that did it, if it be his will.

Winch. Do you not see how he looketh about for help? But I would see any man shew thee a cheerful countenance, and especially you that be of my Diocess. If any of you bid God strengthen him, or take him by the hand, or embrace him, or shew him a cheerful countenance, you shall be excommunicated, and shall not be received in again, till you have done open Penance; and therefore beware of it.

Wood. I look for no help of men, for God is on my side, I praise him therefore; and therefore I need not to care who be against me, neither do I care.

Then they cried, Away with him, and bring us another. So I was carried again to the *Marshalsea*, where I am now merry (I praise God therefore) as a Sheep appointed to be slain. But for lack of time, I have left out much of our talk; but this is the chiefest of it.

Anno
1557.

The sixth and last Examination of Richard Woodman, written and copied with his own hand.

BE it known unto all Men by this presents writings, that RICHARD Woodman, sometime of the Parish of Warbleton, in the County of Suffex, was condemned for Gods everlasting truth, Anno 1557. July 16. by the Bishop of Winchester, in the Church of Saint Mary Overies in Southwarke, there sitting with him the same time the Bishop of Chichester, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, D. Langdale, M. Roper, with a false headed Priest, I cannot tell his Name. All these confessed to the shedding of my Blood, upon this occasion, as hereafter followeth.

I affirmed, that Iudas received the Sacrament with a Sop and the Devils subtilty; and because I would not be sworn upon a Book, to answer directly to such Articles as he would declare to me; and because I would not believe that there remained neither Bread nor Wine after the words of Consecration, and that the Body of Christ could not be received of any but of the Faithful: For these Articles I was condemned, as hereafter shall follow more at large, by the help of God.

The sixth Examination of Richard Woodman before the B. of Winchester, and divers others, in the Church of St. Mary Overies.

FWinch. The Bishop said when I came before him: I said before you were before us on Monday last past; and there you affirmed certain Heresies. How say you now? Do you hold them still, or will you revoke them?

Wood. I hold no Heresies then, neither do I now, as the Lord knoweth.

Winch. No? did you not affirm, that Iudas received Bread? which is an Heresie, unless you tell what more then Bread.

Wood. Is it Heresie to say, Iudas received no more then Bread? I said he received Bread bare Bread for he received the same Sacrament that was prepared to the worth the Lords death, and because he presumed to eat without Faith, he eat the Devils subtilty, as the words of Christ declare; after he eat the Sop, the Devil entred into him, as you cannot deny.

Winch. Hold him a Book. I will have you answer directly, whether Iudas did eat the Body of Christ or no.

Wood. I will answer no more, for I am not of your Diocess; wherefore I will have nothing to do with you.

Winch. No, you be in my Diocess, and you be of my Diocess, because you have offended in my Diocess.

Wood. I am not of your Diocess, although I am in your Diocess; and I was brought into your Diocess against my will, and I have not offended in your Diocess, if I have, tell me wherein.

Winch. Here in your own hand writing, the which is Heresie. These be the words: I cannot find, say you, that it is the Body of Christ to any, before it is received in Faith. How say you? is not this your own hand-writing?

Wood. Yes, I do not deny but it is mine own hand-writing; but when, or where was it written, or where were the words spoken?

Before the Commissioners, and here is one of them; Master Roper, the words were spoken before you. Were they not?

Roper. Yes indeed that they were, **Woodman**, I am sure you will not deny them; for you have written the words even as you spake them.

Woodman. No Sir, indeed I will not deny but that I spake them, and I am glad that you have seen it. For you may see by that whether I lye, or not.

Roper. Indeed the words be written word by word as you spake them.

Winch. Well, here you affirm, that it is your own deed. How lye you now? will you be sorry for it, and become an honest Man?

Wood. My Lord, I trust no Man can say, but that I am an honest Man; and as for that, I marvel that you will lay it to my charge, knowing that my Lord of London discharged me of all matters that were laid against me, when I was released of him.

Winch. You were released, and it might fortune, it was not laid to your charge then; therefore we lay it to your charge now, because you be suspected to be an Heretic; and we may call you before us, and examine you upon your Faith upon suspicion.

Wood. Indeed St. Peter willeth me to render account of my hope that I have in God, and I am contented so to do, if it please my Bishop to hear me.

Chich. Yes I pray you let us hear it.

Wood. I do believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and of Earth, and of all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ my Saviour, very God, and very Man. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, the comforter of all Gods elect people, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe the true Catholic Church, and all the Sacraments that belong thereto. Thus have I rendered account of my hope that I have of my Salvation.

Winch. And how believe you in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar? And with that word they all put off of the Altar their Caps to that abominable Idol.

Wood. I pray you be contented, for I will not answer to any more questions; for I perceive you go about to shed my Blood.

Winch. No? hold him a Book. If he refuse to swear, he is an Anabaptist, and shall be Excommunicated.

Woodman. I will not swear for you, Excommunicate me if you will. For you be not meet to take an Oath; for you laid Heresies to my charge in yonder Pulpit, the which you are not able to prove; wherefore you be not meet to take an Oath of any Man. And as for me, I am not of your Diocess, nor will have any thing to do with you.

Winch. I will have to do with thee, and I say thou art a froeg Heretic.

Wood. Yes, all truth is Heresie with you; but I am content to shew you my mind, how I believe on the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, without flattering. For that you look for, I am sure. But I will meddle no further, but what I hold my self of it. I will not meddle of any other Mans belief on it.

N. Harp. Why? I am sure all Mens Faith ought to be alike.

Wood. Yes, I grant you so, that all true Christians Faith ought to be alike. But I will answer for my self.

N. Harp. Well, let us hear what you say to it.

Wood. I do believe, that when I come to receive the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, if it be truly ministred according to Christs Institution, I coming in Faith, as I trust in God I will whenever I come to receive it, I believing that Christ was born for me, and that he suffered death for the remission of my Sins, and that I shall be saved by his death and Blood-shedding, and to receive the Sacrament of Bread and Wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive whole Christ, God and Man, mystically by Faith, this is my belief on the Sacrament.

Then they spake all at once, saying mystically by Faith? Mystically

The false Priest. What a fool art thou, mystically by Faith? thou canst not tell what mystical is.

Wood. If I be a fool, so take me: But God hath chosen such fools of this World to confound such wise things as you are.

The false Priest. I pray thee what is mystical?

Wood. I take mystically to be the Faith that is in us, 1 Cor. 13. that the World seeth not, but God only.

Winch. He cannot tell what he saith. Answer to what is the Sacrament of the Altar, whether it be not the Body mystically of Christ before it be received, and whether it be not the Body of Christ to whomsoever receiveth it? Tell me, or else I will Excommunicate thee.

Wood. I have said as much as I will say? Excommunicate me if you will. I am none of your Diocess. The Bishop of Chichester is mine Ordinary. Let him do it if you his Ordinary will needs have my Blood, that it may be required at his hands.

Chich. I am not Consecrated yet, I told you when you were with me.

Wood. No indeed, your Kine bring forth nothing but Cow-Calves, as it chanceth now; meaning thereby he had not his Bulls from Rome.

Then they were all in a great rage with me, and called me all to naught, and said I was out of my wits, because I spake furiously to every Mans question; all the which I cannot remember, but I said:

So **Pellus** said to **Pani**, when he spake the words of

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of soberness and truth out of the Spirit of God, as I do. But as you have judged me, you be your selves. You will go to Hell all the sort of you, if you condemn me, if you repent it not with speed.

Wood. Then my Keeper, and the Sheriffs deputy Fuller, rebuked me, because I spake so sharply to them. And I said, I pray you let me alone; I must answer for my Life.

Then there was much ado that I should keep silence, and so I held my peace. Then spake the Bishop of Winchester and the Archdeacon of Canterbury, saying, We gonot about to condemn thee, but go about to save thy Soul, if thou wilt be ruled, and do as we would have thee.

Wood. To save my Soul? nay, you cannot save my Soul. My Soul is saved already. I praise God therefore. There can no Man save my Soul, but Jesus Christ; and he it is that hath saved my Soul, before the Foundation of the World was laid.

This fat Priest well seen in the Scriptures.
The fat Priest. What an Heresie is that my Lord there is an Heresie. He faith his Soul was saved before the Foundations of the World were laid. Thou canst not tell what thou sayest. Was thy Soul saved before it was?

Wood. Yes, I praise God, I can tell what I say, and I say the truth. Look in the first of the Epheſians, and there you shall find it, where Paul faith, Epheſians 1. Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath blessed us with all manner of spiritual blessings in Heavenly things, by Christ, according as he hath chosen us in himself before the Foundation of the World was laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him, through love, and thereto were we predestinated. These be the words of Paul, and I believe they be most true. And therefore it is my Faith, in and by Jesus Christ, that I save, and not you, or any Man else.

Jesus Christ only Saviour of Mankind.
The fat Priest. What? Faith without works? St. James faith, Faith without works is dead, and we have free will to do good works.

Good works not disallowed.
Wood. I would not that any of you should think, that I disallow good works. For a good Faith cannot be without good works. Yet not of our selves, but it is the gift of God, as faith St. Paul to the Philipians; the second Chapter, It is God that worketh in us both the will and also the deed, even of good will.

Phil. 2.
Winch. Make an end; answer to me. Here is your Ordinary, the Archdeacon of Canterbury; he is made your Ordinary by your Lord Cardinal, and he hath authority to examine you of your Faith upon a Book, to answer to such Articles as he will lay to you. And I pray you refuse it not: for the danger is great if you do. Wherefore we desire you to shew your self a Subject in this matter.

The Archdeacon of Canterbury made Ordinary by the Cardinal to examine Woodman.
Then they spake all, and said; Lo, my Lord desireth you gently to answer to him, and so we do all. For if you refuse to take an Oath, he may excommunicate you. For my Lord Cardinal may put whom he will in the Bishops Office, until he is consecrated.

Wood. I know not so much. If you will give me time to learn the truth of it (if I can prove it to be as you say) I will tell you my mind in any thing that he shall demand of me, without any flattering.

Priest. My Lord and all we tell thee it is true; and therefore answer to him.

B. Woodman challenges his Judges to be all turn-coats and changelings.
Wood. I will believe none of you all, for you be turn-coats and changelings, and be wavering minded, as faith St. James; you be neither hot nor cold, as faith St. John, therefore God will spue you out of his Mouth. Wherefore I can believe none of you all, I tell you truth.

Winch. What? be we turn-coats and changelings, what meanest thou by that?

Wood. I mean, that in King Edwards time you taught the Doctrine that was set forth then, every one of you, and now you teach the contrary; and therefore I call you turn-coats and changelings, as I may well enough. Which words made the most part of them to quake.

Winch. Nay, not all as it chanced.

Wood. No? I pray where were you then?

Winch. I was in the Tower, as the Lieutenant will bear me record.

Wood. If you were in the Tower, it was not therefore, I dare say, it was for some other matter.

Then they all took heart of Grace, and said; My Lord, he cometh to examine you, we think he will not answer to the Articles, you were best to Excommunicate him.

Winchester. He is the naughtiest varlet Heretick that ever I knew. I will read the Sentence against him.

Wood. Then they spake all at once, and I answered them as fast as I could. But I cannot remember it all, the words came out so thick, I spared them not, I praise God therefore; for I spake freely.

Then they that stood by rebuked me, and said; You cannot tell to whom you speak I think.

Wood. No? Think you so? they be but Men. I am sure I have spoken to as good as they be, and better then they will ever be, for any thing that I can see, if they repent not with speed.

Winchester. Give ear; for I will read Sentence against you.

Wood. Will you so? wherefore will you? you have no just cause to Excommunicate me; and therefore if you do condemn me, you will be condemned in Hell, if you repent not: and I praise God, I am not afraid to dye for Gods sake, if I had a hundred lives.

Winchester. For Gods sake? nay, for the devils sake. Thou sayst thou art not afraid to dye; No more was Judas that hanged himself, as thou wilt kill thy self willingly, because thou wilt not be ruled.

Woodman. Nay, I defy the Devil, Judas and all their members. And Judas Fleth was not afraid, but his Spirit and Conscience was afraid, and therefore despaird and hung himself. But I praise God, I feel no loqueness in my Fleth to dye, but a joyful Conscience, and a willing mind thereto. Wherefore my Fleth is subdued to it, I praise God; and therefore I am not afraid of death.

Chich. Woodman. For Gods sake be ruled. You know what you said to me at my House. I could say more, if I would.

Wood. Say what you can; the most fault that you found in me was, because I praised the living God, and because I said, I praise God, and the Lord; which you ought to be ashamed of; if you have any Grace; for I told you where the words were written.

Winchester. Well, how say you? will you confess that Judas received the Body of Christ unworthily? tell me plainly.

Wood. My Lord, if you, or any of you all can prove before all this audience, in all the Bible, that any Man ever eat the Body of Christ unworthily, then I will be with you in all things that you will demand of me, of the which matter I desire all this people to be witnes.

Priest. Will you so? that we shall agree well enough.

St. Paul faith so.

Wood. I pray you where faith he so? rehearse the words.

Priest. In the 11. of the first to the Corinthians he faith; Whoſo eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lords Body.

Wood. Do these words prove that Judas eat the Body of Christ unworthily? I pray you let me see them. They were contented. Then said I, these be the words, even that you said: Good people hearken well to them, Whoſo eateth of this Bread and drinketh of this Cup unworthily: He faith not, Whoſo eateth of this Body unworthily, or drinketh of this Blood unworthily: But he faith; Whoſo eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily (which is the Sacrament) eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference between the Sacrament which representeth the Lords Body, and other Bread and drink. Here (good people) you may all see they are not able to prove their sayings true. Wherefore I cannot believe them in any thing that they do.

Winch. Thou art a rank Heretick indeed. Art thou an expounder? Now I will read Sentence against thee.

Woodman. Judge not left you be judged. For as you have judged me, you be your self. Then he read the Sentence. Why, said I, Will you read the Sentence against me, and cannot tell wherefore?

Winch. Thou art an Heretick, and therefore thou shalt be Excommunicated.

Wood.

Anno 1557. Wood. I am no Heretick, I take Heaven and Earth to witness, I defie all Hereticks; and if you condemn me, you will be damned, if you repent not. But God give you Grace to repent all; if it be his will; and so he read forth the Sentence in Latin, but what he said, God knoweth, and not I. God be judge between them and me. When he had done, I would have talked my mind to them, but they cried, Away, away with him: So I was carried to the *Marshall* again, where I am; and shall be as long as it shall please God; and I praise God most heartily, that ever he hath elected; and predestinated me to come to so high dignity, as to bear rebuke for his Names sake; his Name be praised therefore; for ever and ever, Amen.

And thus you have the Examinations of this Blessed Woodman, or rather Goodman; wherein may appear as well the great Grace and Wisdom of God in that Man, as also the gross ignorance and barbarous cruelty of his adversaries, especially of Doctor White Bishop of Winchester. Now followeth likewise the effect of his Letter.

A Godly Letter of Richard Woodman, written to a Christian Woman, Mistress Roberts of Hawkhurst.

Grace, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father, and from his Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ, by the operation and working of the Holy Ghost; be multiplied plentifully upon you dear Sister Roberts; that you may the more joyfully bear the Cross of Christ that ye are under, unto the end, to your only comfort and consolation, and to all our Brethren and Sisters that are round about you, both now and ever, Amen.

In my most humble wife I commend me unto you, and to all our Brethren and Sisters in those parts, that love our Lord unfainedly, certifying you, that I and all my Brethren with me are merry and joyful, we praise God therefore, looking daily to be dissolved from these mortal Bodies, according to the good pleasure of our Heavenly Father, praising God also for your constancy, and gentle benevolence, that you have shewed unto Gods elect people, in this troublesome time of persecution, which may be a sure pledge and token of Gods good will and favour towards you, and to all other that hear thereof. For blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Wherefore the fruits declare alway what the tree is. For a good Man or Woman, out of the good treasure of their heart, bring forth good things.

Wherefore (dear Sister) it is not as many affirm in these days (the more is to be lamented) that say God asketh but a Mans heart; which is the greatest injury that can be devised against God and his Word. For St. James saith; Shew me thy Faith by thy deeds, and I will shew thee my Faith by my deeds, saying; the Devils have Faith, and tremble for fear, and yet shall be but Devils still, because their minds were never to do good. Let us not therefore be like them, but let our Faith be made manifest to the whole World by our deeds, and in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, as St. Paul saith, let our light shine as in a dark place.

Oh dear hearts, now is the Gospel of God overwhelmed with many black and troublesome clouds of persecution, for the which cause very few go about to have their eyes made clear by the true light of the Gospel, for fear of loosing of their treasures of this World, which are but vain, and shall perish.

Let not us therefore be like unto them which light their candle, and put it under a bushel; but let us set our candle upon a candlestick, that it may give light unto all them that are in the House: that is to say, let all the people of the household of God see our good works, in suffering all things patiently that shall be laid upon us for the Gospels sake, if it be deplorable self. For Christ died for us, leaving us an Example, that we should follow his steps; and as he hath given his life for us, so ought we to give our lives for the defence of the Gospel, to the comfort of our Brethren.

How is it then that some will say, that their Faith is good, and yet they do all the deeds of Antichrist the Devil, and be not ashamed to alledge certain Scriptures to maintain their wickedness? Saint Paul saith; To believe with the heart, justly, and to confess with the

mouth, maketh a Man safe. Oh good God, here may all Men see, that no Man or Woman can have a true Faith, unless they have deeds also; and he that doubteth, look for no good thing at the Lords hands. May not Man judge all such to be like those which St. John speaketh of, that be neither hot nor cold; and therefore God will (he saith) spue them out of his Mouth? If we judge evil of such, have not they given us occasion? had it not been better for them to have had a Millstone tied about their necks, and to have been cast into the Sea, then they should give such offences to Gods elect people in condemning them as they do, in going to the Synagogues of Satan, and there to receive the mark of the Beast, in that they see and hear God blasphemed there; and hold their peace? Doth not that declare to the whole World, that they allow their doings to be good? and these do not only defile themselves, but also be an occasion to confirm the Papists in their Papistry, and so be an occasion of our weak Brothers falling, the which will be all required at their hands, which will be too heavy a burden for them to bear, if they repent it not with speed. For they that know their Masters will, and do it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. Oh, do not we perceive, that now is the acceptable time that Christ speaketh of? yea even now is the Axe put to the roots of the trees, so that every tree that bringeth not forth good fruits now, must be hewen down, and cast into the Fire.

Now is the Lord come with his Fan in his hand, to try the Wheat from the Chaff. The Wheat will he gather into his barn, and the Chaff he will burn as is afore said. Now is the time come that we must go meet the Bridegroom with oyl in our lamps. We are also bidden to the Feast, let us make no excuses. Yea our Master hath delivered his talents unto us, God, give us Grace to occupy them well, that at his coming he may receive his own with vantage. Yea, now is the Lord come to see if there be any fruit upon his trees; for that if the Lord come and find none, he will serve us as he did the wild figg-tree, that is, never fruit shall grow on him more; Also, if we go to meet the Bridegroom without oyl in our Lamps, and should go to buy, the doubt is, we should be served as were the foolish Virgins; that was, God said to them, depart, I know you not. Or if we should make excuses to come to the Feast, other shall be bidden in our rooms; If we occupy not our Talents well, they shall be taken from us and given to others, and all such unprofitable servants shall be cast into Prison in Hell, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Oh good God! what a sort of fearful sayings are here contained? what Christian heart will not hearken diligently hereto? Oh, may not all people well perceive now that this is the time that our Master Christ speaketh of; that the Father should be against the Son, and the Son against the Father, and one Brother against another; that the Brother shall deliver the Brother to death; yea, and that the wicked shall say all manner of wicked sayings against us for his Names sake, the which I have well found by experience, I praise God therefore, that hath given me strength to bear it. For I think there can be no evil devised but it hath been imagined against me, and that of my familiar friends, as David saith; but I praise my Lord God, they are notable to prove any of their sayings true, but that they go about to find fault in them that God hath chosen, because they themselves list not to take up their Cross and follow Christ; and therefore they speak evil of the thing that they know not, the which shall give account for it before him that is ready to judge both the quick and the dead.

But my trust is, that all the people of God will be ruled by the Counsel of St. John, saying; My Sheep will hear my voice, strangers they will not hear: meaning thereby, that ye should not believe strangers, counting them strangers that go about to subvert the Gospel. Wherefore mark well what they be, and try them well or ever you give credit to them, according to St. Johns Counsel in his Epistle, saying; Believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits whether they be of God, or not; meaning thereby, that they that be not of God, will speak good of none but of them that be as they be. Wherefore (dear Sister)

Rom 10.
Converting
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mouth and
believing
in heart
must go together.
Apoc 2.
Math 23.

Apoc 13.

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Luke 12.

Math 23.

Math 23.

Luke 19.

Luke 14.

Mat 25.

Mat 10.

Mat 25.

R. Woodman
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1 John 4.

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Woodman
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to speak.

Phil 2.

Math 5.

Math 24.

God asketh
more than
the heart
only.

James 2.

Phil 2.

Math 5.

be of good cheer, and give no credit to such People, whatsoever ye hear them say. For I have no mistrust by Gods help, but that all the world shall see and know that my blood shall not be dear in mine own fight, whensoever it shall please God to give my Adversaries leave to shed it. I do earnestly believe, that God which hath begun this good work in me, will perform it to the end, as he hath given me grace and will always, to bear this easie yoke and light burden; the which I have always found, I praise my Lord God.

The manifold troubles which Woodman hath passed through.

For when I have been in Prison, wearing one while bolts, otherwhile shackles, otherwhile lying on the bare ground, sometime sitting in the Stocks, sometime bound with cords, that all my Body hath been swollen, much like to be overcome for the pain that hath been in my flesh, sometime fain to lye without in the Woods and Fields, wandering to and fro, few I say, that durst keep my Company for fear of the Rulers, sometime brought before the Justices, Sheriffs, Lords, Doctors, and Bishops, sometime called Dog, sometime Devil, Heretick, Whoremonger, Traitor, Thief, Deceiver, with divers other such like; yea, and even they that did eat of my Bread, that should have been most my Friends by nature, have betrayed me: Yet for all this I praise my Lord God that hath separated me from my Mothers womb, all this that hath happened unto me hath been easie, light, and most delectable and joyfull of any Treasure that ever I possessed; for I praise God they are not able to prove one jot or tittle of their sayings true. But that way that they call Heresie, I serve my Lord God, and at all times before whomsoever I have been brought, God hath

Woodman comforted in his troubles.

given me mouth and wisdom, where-against all my Adversaries have not been able to resist, I praise God therefore. 1557.

Wherefore (dear Sister) be of good comfort with all your Brethren and Sisters, and take no thought what you shall say, for it shall be given you the same hour, according to the promises, as I have always found, and as you and all other of Gods Elect shall well find, when the time is full come. And whereas I and many other have hoped, that this Perfection would have been at an end ere this time, now I perceive, God will have a further trial to root out all dissemblers, that no man should rejoyce in himself, but he that rejoyceth, shall rejoyce of God.

Wherefore if Prophecy should fail, and Tongues should cease, yet love must endure. For fear hath painfulness, but a perfect love casteth out all fear: which love I have no mistrust but God hath poured it upon you abundantly, that nothing in the world shall be able to separate you from God. Neither high nor low, rich nor poor, life nor death, shall be able to put you from Christ; but by him I trust you shall enter into new Jerusalem, there to live for ever, beholding the glory of God with the same eyes that you now have, and all other faithful people that continue to the end. Give all honour and glory to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, to be honoured now and ever, Amen.

After these Examinations thus had and commenced between Richard Woodman and the Bishops, he was (as is afore told) judged by Sentence of Condemnation, and

The burning of 10. Martyrs at Lewes



The martyrdom of ten pious Martyrs of Christ at Lewes, Anno 1557. June 22.

so deprived of his life; with whom also was burned nine other, to wit, five men and four women, which were taken not past two or three days before their Judgment. The names of all which being also before expressed, here again follow in this order. Richard Woodman, George Stevens, William Maynard, Alexander Holman his Servant, Thomasine a Wood his Maid, Margery Moris, James Moris her Son, Dennis Burgess, Ashdowne's Wife, Groves's Wife.

These Persons here above named, and blessed Martyrs, were put to death at Lewes the 22. of June.

Of the which number the eight last were apprehended (as is said) either the same day, or the second or third day before, and so with the said Woodman and Stevens, were together committed to the fire; in which space no

Writ could come down from London to the Justices, for certain Justices charged for burning of such persons. Wherefore what is to be said to such Justices, or what reckoning they will make to God and to the Laws of this Realm, I refer that to them that have to do in the matter. The like whereof is to be found also of other Justices, who without any lawful Writ of discharge or order of Law, have unlawfully and disorderly burnt the Servants of Christ (whose blood the Law both may and also ought to revenge;) especially at Salisbury and at Canterbury, and Garstoe. But concerning these matters, though mans Law do wink, or rather sleep at them, yet they shall be sure Gods Law will find such Murderers out at length. I pray God the doers may repent betime.

Anno

1557.

Ambrose died in Prison confessor.

One Ambrose died in Maidstone Prison.

After these ten above named burnt at *Leves*, about the same time and Month, one *Ambrose* died in *Maidstone* Prison, who else should have been burned in the like cause and quarrel as the other were.

The Condemnation and Martyrdom of Richard Lush.

The Condemnation of R. Lush.

In the Registers of *Gilbert* Bishop of *Barbe* and *Wells*, I find a Certificate made to King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, of one *Richard Lush*, there condemned and given to the Secular Power to be burned for the cause of Herefie, whose Affirmations in the said Certificate be expressed in tenour and effect, as followeth.

His Articles: 1. First, for denying the verity of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar.

2. Item, for denying auricular confession to be made to the Priest.

3. Item, for affirming only to be three Sacraments; to wit, of Baptism, of the Supper, and of Matrimony.

4. Item, for refusing to call the Lords Supper by the Name of the Sacrament of the Altar.

5. Item, for denying Purgatory, and that prayer and almes profit not the dead Body.

6. Item, that Images are not to be suffered in the Church, and that all that kneel to Images at the Church, be Idolators.

7. Item, that they which were burnt of late for Religion, died Gods Servants and good Martyrs.

8. Item, for condemning the single life of Priests, and other votaries.

9. Item, for denying the Universal and Catholick Church, meaning belike the Church of *Rome*.

For these Assertions, as there are expressed, he was condemned and committed to the Sheriffs, and also a Certificate directed by the Bishop aforesaid, to the King and Queen. Whereby we have apparently to understand, that the said *Richard Lush*, thus condemned by Bishop *Brown*, was there burnt and executed, unless peradventure in the mean season he died, or was made away in the Prison; whereof I have no certainty to express.

A note of John Hullier Minister and Martyr, burned at Cambridge.

Concerning the Story of *John Hullier* Martyr, partly mentioned before, for the more full declaration of the death and Martyrdom of that good Man, because the Story is but rawly and imperfectly touched before; for the more perfecting thereof, I thought thereunto to add that which since hath come to my hand, as followeth.

First, *John Hullier* was brought up at *Eaton College*, and after, according to the Foundation of that House, for that he was ripe for the University, he was elected Scholar in the *Kings College*, where also not tarrying full three years of probation, before he was fellow of the College, he after a little season was one of the ten Conducts in the *Kings College*, which was Anno 1539. Then at length in process of time, he came to be Curate of *Babram*, three miles from *Cambridge*, and so went afterward to *Lynn*; where he, having divers conflicts with the Papists, was from thence carried to *Ely*, to Doctor *Thurlyby*, then Bishop there; who after divers Examinationes, sent him to *Cambridge Castle*, where he remained but a while.

From thence he was conveyed to the Town Prison, commonly called the *Tolbooth*, lying there almost a quarter of a year, while at length he was cited to appear at great *Saint Maries* on *Palm Sunday* Eve, before divers Doctors, both Divines and Lawyers, amongst whom was chiefest Doctor *Shaxton*, also Doctor *Young*, Doctor *Sedgewicke*, Doctor *Scot*, *Mitch*, and others: Where after Examination had, for that he would not recant, he was first condemned, the Sentence being read by Doctor *Fulter*,

Then consequently he was degraded after their Popish manner, with scraping crown and hands. When they had degraded him, he said cheerfully; This is all the joyfulllest day that ever I saw, and I thank you all, that ye have delivered and lightened me of all this paltry.

In the mean time whilst it was doing, one standing by, asked *Hullier* what Book he had in his hand. Who answered, a Testament. Whereat this Man in a rage took it and threw it violently from him. Then was he given over to the Secular Powers, *Brasley* being Major, who carrying him to Prison again, took from him all his Books, writings, and papers.

On Maundy Thursday coming to the Stake; he exhorted the people to pray for him, and after holding his peace, and praying to himself, one spake to him, saying; The Lord strengthen thee. Whereat a Sergeant, named *Brasley*, stayed and bade him hold his Tongue, or else he should repent it.

Nevertheless *Hullier* answered and said (either thus or very like, the effect was all one) Friend; I trust that as God hath hitherto begun, so also he will strengthen me, and finish his work upon me. I am bidden to a Maundy, whither I trust to go, and there to be shortly. God hath laid the Foundation, as I by his aid will end it.

Then going to a stool (prepared for him to sit on) to have his hosen plucked off, he desired the people to pray for him again, and also to bear witness that he died in the right Faith, and that he would Seal it with his Blood, certifying them, that he died in a just cause, and for the testimony of the verity and truth, and that there was no other rock but Jesus Christ to build upon; under whose banner he fought, and whose Souldier he was; and yet speaking, he turned himself about toward the East, and exhorted the people there likewise.

Now it chanced on a bank to stand three arch Papists, *George Boyes*, *Henry Barley*, and *Gray*, all three of *Trinity College*. This *Boyes* was one of the Professors of the University that year. To whom Master *Gray* spake, saying; Hear ye not Master Proctor, your Blasphemy this fellow uttereth? surely it is evil done to suffer him.

At whose words, this *Boyes* spake with a loud voice; Master Major, what mean ye if ye suffer him thus to talk at liberty, I tell ye the Council shall hear of it, and we take you not to be the Queens friend. He is a pernicious person, and may do more harm then you wote of. Whereat simple *Hullier*, as meek as a Lamb, taking the matter very patiently, made no answer, but made him ready, uttering his prayer. Which done, he went meekly himself to the Stake, and with Chains being bound, was beset with Reed and Wood, standing in a pitch barrel, and the Fire being set to, not marking the wind, it blew the flame to his back. Then he feeling it, began earnestly to call upon God. Nevertheless his friends perceiving the Fire to be ill kindled, caused the Sergeants to turn it, and Fire it to that place where the wind might blow it to his face.

That done, there was a company of Books which were cast into the Fire, and by chance a Communion Book fell between his hands, who received it joyfully, opened it, and read so long till the force of the flame and smoak caused him that he could see no more; and then he fell again to prayer, holding his hands up to Heaven, and the Book betwixt his Arms near his Heart thanking God for sending him it: and at that time the day being a very fair day and a hot, yet the wind was somewhat up, and it caused the Fire to be the fiercer, and when all the people thought he had been dead, he suddenly uttered these words; Lord Jesus receive my Spirit, dying very meekly.

The place where he was burned, is called *Jesus Green*, not far from *Jesus College*. *Seagar* gave him certain Gunpowder, but little to the purpose; for he was dead before it took fire. All the people prayed for him, and many a tear was shed for him. Which the Papists seeing, cried, he was not to be prayed for, and being but a damned Man, it could profit him nothing: nevertheless they continued praying, whereat the Papists fell into such a rage that they menaced them with terrible threatnings to ward. His flesh being consumed, his bones stood upright even as if they had been alive. Of the people, some took

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what they could get of him, as pieces of Bones. One had his Heart, the which was distributed so far as it would go; one took the Scalp and looked for the Tongue, but it was consumed except the very root.

One rounded him in the ear, and desired him to be constant to the end; at which he spake nothing, but shewed a joyful countenance, and so continued both constant and joyful to the end.

A note of Thomas Rede.

Refer this to the Rede Martyr, because.

T Thomas Rede who was burned at *Lewes*, as it appeareth above, before he was in Prison, determined with himself to go to Church. The night following he saw a vision, a company of tall young men in white, very pleasant to behold; to whom he would have joynted himself, but it would not be.

Then he looked on himself, and he was full of spots, and therewith waked, and took hold, and stood to the truth; God be thanked therefore, and so constantly was burned with his fellows, as is above specified.

Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper burnt at Norwich.

July 19. Simon Miller a Merchant Martyr.

IN the Month of July next ensued the Martyrdom of *Simon Miller* and *Elizabeth Cooper*. This *Simon* dwelling in the Town of *Lynn*, a Godly and zealous Man in the knowledge of the Lord and of his Truth, detesting and abhorring the contrary enforced Religion then set forth, came from *Lynn* to *Norwich*, where he standing in the press and hearing of the people, coming out the same time from their Popish Service ended in the Church, began to ask them coming out of the Church, where he might go to have the Communion. At which words, divers much marvelling to hear and see his boldness, one that was an evil disposed Papist, hearing the same, said, that if he would needs go to a Communion, he would go bring him thither where he should be fed of his purpose. Whereupon shortly after he was brought to the Chancellor of *Norwich* (whose Name was *Dunning*) who after a few words, and small talk passed with this examine, committed him to ward.

The words of Simon Miller to the people. The cause why Simon Miller was taken.

Simon Miller examined before Doctor Dunning.

In the mean while as he was in Examination, he laid in his shoe, his Confession, written in a certain paper, whereof a piece appearing above his shoe, was spied and taken out. The Chancellor asking if he would stand to the Confession of the same Faith therein contained, he constantly affirmed the same. Whereupon, as is said, he was committed. Thus the said *Simon* being in the Bishop's House, under custody of the Keeper there called Master *Fellow*, how it hapned it is not certain, whether by gentleness of the Keeper (who was somewhat gentle that ways) or by leave given of the Bishop, or else whether he had condescended of a purpose to their Articles, he was dismissed, and went home to his House at *Lynn*. Where he continued a certain space, while he had disposed and set there all things in order.

Simon Miller Confession espied in his Shoe.

Simon Miller dismissed to his House at Lynn.

That done, he returned again to the Bishop's House to his Prison and Keeper, till the time at length, he constantly abiding in his professed purpose, and defence of Gods truth, was by the said Bishop and his Chancellor, condemned and committed to the Fire about the 13 day of July.

Elizabeth Cooper, Martyr.

E. L. Cooper Martyr.

WITH this *Simon Miller* also was burnt one *Elizabeth Cooper* (as is aforesaid) a Pewterers Wife, dwelling in *S. Andrews* Parish in *Norwich*, where she had before recanted, and being unquiet for the same, and greatly troubled inwardly, at the last she came into the said *Saint Andrews* Church, the people being at their Popish Service, and there standing in the same, said she revoked her recantation before made in that place, and was heartily sorry that ever she did it, willing the people not to be deceived, neither to take her doings before for an example, &c. These or such like words she spake in the Church.

Elizabeth Cooper revokes her recantation in the open Church.

Then cried one *Bacon* of the said Parish, laying his Arms abroad, saying; Master Sheriff, will you suffer this and repeating the same, urged him to go from the Church

to her House, at whose knocking she came down, and was taken and sent to Prison.

The Sheriff (named Master *Thomas Sutton*) and she had been Servants together before in one House, and for the friendship he bare unto her, and the more for the Gospels sake he was very loath to do it, but that he was enforced by those other persons (before specified) much against his own Confidence, which he now earnestly repenteth.

This good Woman being condemned, and at the Stake with *Simon Miller* to be burnt, when the Fire came unto her, she a little shrunk thereat, with a voice crying, ha. When the said *Simon Miller* heard the same, he put his hand behind him toward her, and willed her to be strong and of good cheer: For good Sister (said he) we shall have a joyful and a sweet supper. Whereat she being as it seemed, thereby strengthened, stood as still and as quiet as one most glad to finish that good work which before most happily he had begun. So in fine she ended her life with her companion joyfully, committing her Soul into the hands of Almighty God.

The Martyrdom of ten faithful and blessed Martyrs, five Men and five Women burnt at Colchester, five in the forenoon, and five in the afternoon, for the testimony and witness of Christ Jesus and his glorious Gospel.

AS it is no new thing in those whom we call Prelates and Priests of the Church, to be raisers up of Persecution against Christ and his poor Flock: so it is much to be marvelled or rather lamented, that Noble Persons and Men of Honour and Worship, would be made such Ministers, to serve the affections of these tyrants, as commonly, as well in all the sorrowful days of the late Queen *Mary*, as namely in this present Story is to be marked.

And first thou rememberest (gentle Reader) how mention was made a little before of xxii. which were sent up Prisoners together from *Colchester* to *London* by the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Darcy*, Master *Tyrril* of *Saint Ovis*, and other Commissioners and Justices, &c. The which xxii. (as is aforesaid) through a gentle submission put unto them, were afterward released and delivered.

In the number of these aforesaid 22. was one *William W. Mass*, Munt of *Muchbentley* in *Essex*, Husbandman, with *Alice* his Wife, and *Rose Allen* Maid, the daughter of the said *Alice* Munt; which coming home again to their House at *Muchbentley* aforesaid, refrained themselves from the unfavoury Service of the Popish Church, and frequented the company of good Men and Women which gave themselves diligently to reading, invoking, and calling upon the Name of God through Christ: whereby they so fretted the wicked Priest of the Town, called Sir *Thomas Tye*, and other like unto him, that calling their heads together, they made a pestilent Supplication to the Lord *Darcy*, in the Name of the whole Parish: the tenor whereof hereafter followeth.

The manner of a Supplication to the Lord Darcy, and by him delivered to Sir John Kingston Priest and Commissary.

PLEASETH it your Honourable Lordship to be advertised that we confess, whilst your good Lordship lay here in the Countrey, the people were stayed in good order to our great comfort: but since your Lordships departure, they have made digression from good order in some places, and namely in the Parish of *Muchbentley*, by reason of three Seditious persons, *William Munt* and his Wife, and *Rose* her daughter, who by their colourable submission (as it doth appear) were dismissed and sent down from the Bishop of *London*, and since their coming home they have not only in their own persons shewed manifest signs and tokens of disobedience, in not coming to the Church, nor yet observing other good orders, but also most maliciously and seditiously have seduced many from coming to the Church, and from obeying all other good orders; mocking also those that frequent the Church, and calling them Church Owls, and Blasphemously calling the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar a blind God, with divers such like Blasphemies. In consideration whereof,

Anno 1557.

The Sheriff against his will enforced to lay hands upon Elizabeth Cooper.

Elizabeth Cooper strongly demanded at the Stake by Simon Miller.

August 21. The Martyrdom of ten Godly Martyrs, five Men and five Women at Colchester.

Alice his wife, Rose Allen her daughter.

The Tyrant Priest a wicked promoter.

A Supplication of the Persecutors to the Lord Darcy.

Anno
1557.

Cruel Persecutors.
The Tyrant
False Brother,
and a
Bloody Tyrant.

whereof, in my it please your Honour, (for the love of God, and for the tender zeal your good Lordship beareth to Justice, and the common Peace and quietness of the King and Queens Majesties loving Subjects) to award out your warrant for the said *William Munt*, his Wife, and *Rose* her Daughter, that they being attached and brought before your good Lordship, we trust the rest will fear to offend (their Ring-Leaders of Sedition being apprehended) to the quietness of their Obedient Subjects.

Your daily Orators, the Parishoners of Muchbentley, *Thomas Tye Priest*, *John Carter*, *Thomas Candler*, *John Barker*, *Richard Mere*, *J. Painter*, *Will. Harris* *John Richard*, with other.

This being done, the said *Sir Thomas Tye* bathought with himself, where the persecuted did resort. For in the beginning of *Queen Marius* Reign, for a Twelvemonth and more he came not to the Church, but frequented the Company of godly men and women, which abstained from the same, and as they thought, he laboured to keep a good Conscience, but the sequel shewed him to be a false Brother.

Now (as I said) he partly knowing the places of refuge for honest men, did further inquire of other men about the same: and being thereof sufficiently (as he thought) instructed to his purpose, immediately about the time the Supplication above specified was exhibited to the said Lord *Darcy*, wrote secretly a Letter to *Boner Bishop of London*, wherein he maketh his account how he had bestowed his time, and complained of divers honest men, among which was the said *William Munt* and his Company: The tenor of which Letter hereafter followeth.

A Letter sent to *Boner Bishop of London*, from *Sir Thomas Tye, Priest*.

Yr Letter to B. Boner

Right honourable Lord, after my bounden duty done in most humble wise, these shall be to signify unto your Lordship the State of our parts concerning Religion. And first since the coming down of the twenty two rank Heretics dismissed from you, the detestable sort of Schismatics were never so bold since the King and Queens Majesties Reign, as they are now at this present. In Muchbentley where your Lordship is Patron of the Church, since *William Munt*, and *Alice his Wife*, with *Rose Allin* her Daughter came home, they do not only absent themselves from the Church, and service of God, but do daily allure many other away from the same, which before did outwardly show signs and tokens of Obedience.

They assemble together upon the Sabbath day in the time of Divine Service, sometimes in one house, sometimes in another, and there keep their Privy Conventicles and Schools of Heresie. The Jurates say, the Lords Commission is out, and they are discharged of their Oath. The Quest-men in your Archdeacons Visitation alledged, that so far as much as they were once presented and now sent home, they have no more to do with them nor any other. Your Officers say, namely *Mr. Boswel*, that the Council sent them not home without a great consideration. I pray God some of your Officers prove not favourers of Heretics. The Rebels are stout in the Town of Colchester.

The Ministers of the Church are hemd at in the open streets, and called Knaves. The blessed Sacrament of the Altar is blasphemed and rayled upon in every House and Tavern. Prayer and Fasting is not regarded. Seditions talks and news are rife, both in Town and Country, in as ample and large manner, as though there had no honourable Lords and Commissioners been sent for reformation thereof. The occasion riseth partly by reason of *John Love* of Colchester lieth (a perverse place) which *John Love* was twice indicted of Heresie, and thereupon fled with his Wife and household, and his goods seized within the Town of Colchester, to the King and Queens Majesties use. Nevertheless the said *John* is come home again, and nothing said or done to him. Whereupon the Heretics are wonderfully encouraged, to the no little discomfort of good and Catholick People, which

daily pray to God for the profit, unity, and relevation of his Church again: which thing shall come the sooner to pass, through the Travel and pains of such honourable Lords and Reverend Fathers as your Lordship is, unto whom I wish long life and continuance, with encrease of much honour. From Colchester the 18. of December.

Your humble Bedfoman,
Thomas Tye, Priest.

When *Judas* this wicked Priest had thus wrought his malice against the People of God, within a while after the storms began to arise against those poor persecuted, *William Munt* and his Company, whereby they were enforced to hide themselves from the heat thereof. And continuing so a little space, at last, the seventh day of *March*, Anno 1557. being the first Sunday in *Lent*, and by two of the Clock in the Morning, one *Mr. Edmund Tyrrel* (who came of the house of those *Tyrrels* which murdered *King Edward* the fifth and his Brother) took with him the Bayliff of the hundred called *William Samuel*, dwelling in *Colebeester*, and the two Constables of *Muchbentley* aforesaid, named *John Baker* and *William Harris*, with divers other a great number; and besetting the house of the said *William Munt* round about, called to them at length to open the Door: which being done, *Mr. Tyrrel* with certain of his Company went into the Chamber where the said Father *Munt* and his Wife lay, willing them to rise: for (said he) you must go with us to *Colebeester-Castle*. Mother *Munt* hearing that, being very sick, desired that her Daughter might first fetch her some Drink; for she was (the said) very ill at ease.

w. Samuel, J. Baker W. Harris Persecutors.

The taking of W. Munt, his Wife, and R. Allin their Daughters.

Then he gave her leave and bade her go. So her Daughter the forenamed *Rose Allin*, Maid, took a stone Pot in one hand, and a Candle in the other, and went to draw drink for her Mother: and as she came back again thorow the house, *Tyrrel* met her, and willed her to give her Father and Mother good counsel, and advertise them to be better Catholick People.

Rose, Sir, they have a better Instructer then I. For the Holy Ghost doth teach them, I hope, which I trust will not suffer them to err.

Tyrrel. Why, said Master *Tyrrel*, art thou still in that mind, thou naughty Hufwife? Marry it is time to look upon such Heretics indeed.

Rose, Sir, with which you call Heretic, do I worship my Lord God, I tell you truth.

Tyrrel. Then I perceive you will burn, Gossip, with the rest, for Companies sake.

Rose. No Sir, not for Companies sake, but for my Christs sake, if so I be compelled, and I hope in his mercies if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it.

Talk between Ed. Tyrrel and Rose Allin.

Tyrrel. So he turning to his Company, said, Sirs, this Gossip will burn: do you not think it? Marry Sir, quoth one, prove her, and you shall see what the will do by and by.

Tyrrel burneth R. Allin hand,

Then that cruel *Tyrrel*, taking the Candle from her, held her Wrist, and the burning Candle under her hand, burning cross-wise over the back thereof, so long, till the very Sinews crackt asunder. Witness herof *William Chandler* then dwelling in *Muchbentley*, who was there present and saw it. Also *Mrs. Bright* of *Romford*, with *Ann Starkey* her Maid, to whom *Rose Allin* also both declared the same, and the said *Mrs. Bright* also ministered salve for the curing thereof, as she lay in her house at *Romford* going up towards *London* with other Prisoners.

In which time of his tyranny, he said often to her, Why Whore, wilt thou not cry? Thou young Whore, wilt thou not cry? Unto which always she answered that she had no cause, she thanked God, but rather to joyce. He had (the said) more cause to weep, then she if she considered the matter well. In the end, when the *Sinews* (as I said) brake that all the house heard them, he then thrust her from him violently, and said, A strong Whore, thou shameless beast, thou beastly Whore, with such like vile words. But the quietly suffering his rage for the time, at the last said, Sir, have ye done what ye will do? And he said, yes, and if thou think it be not well, then mend it.

The patience of the Faithful.

N n n Rose.

The burning of Rose Allins hand by Edmund Tyrrel, as she was going to fetch drink for her Mother, lying sick in her bed.



The Devil payeth the Pelliculators their wages.

She revengeth not evil for evil.

Rose. Mend it? nay, the Lord mend you, and give you repentance, if it be his will. And now if you think it good, begin at the Feet, and burn the Head also. For he that set you a work, shall pay you your wages one day, I warrant you: and so she went and carried her Mother drink as she was commanded. Furthermore after the searching of the house for more Company, at the last they found one John Thurston and Margarets his Wife there also, whom they carried with the rest to Colchester-Castle immediately.

And this said Rose Allin being Prisoner, told a Friend of hers this cruel act of the said Tyrrel; and shewing him the manner thereof, she said while my own hand (quoth she) was a burning, I having a Pot in my other hand, might have laid him on the Face with it, if I had would: for no man held my hand to let me therein. But I thank God (quoth she) with all my heart, I did it not.

Also being asked of another, how she could abide the painful burning of her hand, she said, at first it was some grief to her, but afterward, the longer she burned, the less she felt, or well near none at all.

And because Mr. Tyrrel shall not go alone in this kind of Cruelty, you shall hear another like example of a blind Harpers hand burnt by Bishop Boner, as is testified by the relation of Valentine Dingley, sometime Gentleman to the said Bishop, who declared before credible witnesses, as followeth: How the said B. Boner, having this blind Harper before him, spake thus unto him, That such blind abjects which follow a sort of Heretical preachers, when they come to the feeling of the Fire, will be the first that will fly from it.

To whom the blind man said, that if every joyn of him were burnt, yet he trusted in the Lord not to fly. Then Boner signifying privily to certain of his men about him what they should do, they brought to him a burning Coal. Which Coal being put into the poor mans hand, they clost it fast again, and so was his hand pitiously burned. Amongst the doers whereof was the said Mr. Valentine Dingley, witness and reporter hereof, as is declared.

We read in the Story of Titus Livius of King Por-senna, who after the burning of the right hand of Marcus Scævola, which came purposely to kill him, being only contented therewith, sent him home to Rome again. But thus to burn the hand of poor Men and Women which never meant any harm unto them, and not yet contented with that, but also to consume their whole

The Martyrdom of three men and three women at Colchester, burned in the forenoon, besides foure others burned in the afternoon.



Bodies without any just cause, we find no example of such barbarous Tyranny, neither in Titus Livius neither in any other story amongst the Heathen.

But to return to our Colchester Martyrs again, as touching William Munt and his Wife, and burning of their Daughter Rose Allins hand, sufficient hath been declared. With the said William Munt and his Family, was joynd also in the same Prison at Colchester another Faithful Brother, named John Johnson, alias Aliker, of Thorp in the County of Essex Labourer, of the age of four and thirty years, having no Wife alive, but three young Children, who also was with them indicted of Heresie, and so all these four lay together in Colchester Castle.

The other six Prisoners lay in Mote-Hall in the said Town of Colchester, whose names were:

First, William Bengeor, of the Parish of S. Nicholas in Colchester, Glasier, of the age of sixty years.

2. Thomas Benold of Colchester, Tallow Chandler.

3. W. Parcas of Bocking in the County of Essex Fuller, a young man, of the age of twenty years.

4. Agnes Silverfide, alias Smith, dwelling in Colchester, Widow, of the age of forty years.

5. Helen Ewring, the Wife of John Ewring Miller, dwelling in Colchester, of the age of 45. years or thereabouts, who was one of the 22. Prisoners mentioned before, sent up in bands from Colchester to London, and after being delivered with the rest, repaired home to Colchester again to her Husband, where notwithstanding she enjoyed her liberty not very long: for shortly after her return, met with her one Robert Maynard then Bay-liff of Colchester, a special enemy to Gods Gospel, who spying her, came to her, and kissed her, and bade her welcom home from London. Unto whom she confidently answered again, and said, that it was but a Judas kiss. For in the end, quoth she, I know you will betray me, as indeed it came to pass: for immediately after that talk she was apprehended by him again, and there lodged with the rest in the Town Prison (as is aforesaid) called the Mote-Hall.

6. The sixth of this Company was Elizabeth Folke, a young Maid, and Servant in Colchester, of the age of twenty years. These six were imprisoned in the Town Prison of Colchester, called Mote-Hall, as the other four, above specified, were in the Castle.

Ann Divers Examinations these good men had at sundry times before divers Justices, Priests, and Officers, as Mr. Roper, John Kingdon, Commissary, John Boswel Priest and Boners Scribe, and others more, whereof the said Boswel made relation to Bishop Boner, certifying him of their depositions, as is to be read in our first Book of Acts and Monuments. Last of all they were examined again in *Mote-Hall* the twenty fourth day of *June*, by Dr. Chadsey, John Kingdon Commissary, with other Priests, and Boswel the Scribe, in the presence of the two Bayliffs of Colchester, Robert Brown and Robert Maynard, with divers other Justices both of the Town and Country, and other Gentlemen a great sort: at which time and place, and before the said persons, they had Sentence of Condemnation read against them, chiefly for not affirming the Real presence of the Sacrament in their Altar. The effect of their words therein, was this, or such like, as here followeth.

W. Bonger *First the Lords faithful Prisoners in Mote-Hall.*
William Bonger of the Parish of St. Nicholas in Colchester Glazier, said, that the Sacrament of the Altar was Bread, is Bread, and so remaineth Bread, and for the Consecration it is not the holier, but rather the worse. To this he did stand, as also against all the rest of their Papistical Doctrine: and so had Sentence read against him.

T. Bould *The Bould of Colchester, Tallow Chandler, affirmed the like in effect that the said William Bonger did: and so had Sentence also read against him.*

W. Turrell *condemned.*
W. Turrell of Boxford said, that when he received the Sacrament, he received Bread in an holy use, that preacheth the remembrance that Christ died for him. To this he stood, and against other their Popish matters: and so also had Sentence read against him.

Ag. Silver *condemned.*
Agnes Silverfide, alias Smith, said, that she loved no Consecration. For the Bread and Wine is rather worse then better thereby, she said. This good old Woman answered them with found judgment and boldness, to every thing they asked her, that it rejoiced the hearts of many, and especially to see the patience of such a reverend old age, against the taunts and checks of her Enemies. To this she also stood, and had Sentence read against her in like manner.

Helene Ewring *condemned.*
Helene Ewring answered the like in effect as the other did, clearly denying all the Laws set forth by the Pope, with her whole heart. This good Woman was somewhat thick of hearing, but yet quick in understanding the Lords matters, his name therefore be praised. Against her also there was Sentence read.

Elizabeth Folks *condemned.*
Elizabeth Folks the young Maiden, being Examined whether she believed the presence of Christs Body to be in the Sacrament substantially and really, or no; answered that she believed that it was a substantial Lie, and a real Lie. At which words the Priests and others chafed very much, and asked her again, whether after the Consecration there remained not the Body of Christ in the Sacrament. And she answered, that before Consecration and after, it is but bread, and that man blest with God Word, is cursed and abominable by the Word, &c. Then they examined her of Confession to the Priest, of going to Church to hear Mass, of the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, &c. Unto all which she answered, that she would neither use nor frequent any of them all, by the grace of God, but utterly detest and abhor them from the bottom of her heart, and all such trumpery.

D. Chadsey *wrote.*
Then read they the Sentence of Condemnation against her. In which time Doctor Chadsey wept, that the tears trickled down his Cheeks. So the Sentence being read, she kneeled down on both her knees, lifting up her hands and eyes unto Heaven, with fervent prayer in audible voice praising God that ever she was born, to see that most blessed and happy day, that the Lord would see that most worthy to suffer for the Testimony of Christ:

Elizabeth Folks *prayed for and Lord, said she (if it be thy will) forgive them that this have done against me, for they know not what they do.* Then rising up, she exhorted all those on the Bench to repentance, especially those who brought her to Prison, as Robert Maynard the Bayliff, and such like; which Maynard commonly, when he fate in judgment

upon life and death, would sit sleeping on the bench many times, so careful was his mind on his Office.

Further she willed halting Gospellers, to beware of Blood, for that would cry for vengeance, &c. And in the end she told them all, laying her hand upon the Barr, if they did not repent their wicked doings therein, that undoubtedly the very Barr would be a witness against them at the day of judgment; that they had that day shed innocent Blood.

This Elizabeth Folks, the day before she was condemned, was examined only upon this Article, Whether she believed that there was a Catholick Church of Christ or no. Unto which she answered, Yea. Then was she immediately (by Boswel, means the Scribe) delivered unto her Uncle Holt of the same Town of Colchester to keep, who carried her home unto his house: and she being there, might have departed thence many times, if she had would: for there were means offered to convey her away. But she hearing that some doubted that she had yielded to the Pope (although it was most untrue) would in no wise content her self, but wept, and was in such anguish of mind and terror of Conscience, that (no remedy) she would to the Papists again, for any persuasions that could be. And coming before them at Cosins House at the White-Hart in Colchester, she was at utter defiance with them and their Doctrine: and so had, as you have heard, in the end a Papistical reward, as the rest of her Brethren had.

The Lords faithful Prisoners in Colchester Castle.

W. Munt *condemned.*
William Munt of Muchbently in Essex of the age of sixty one years, said, that the Sacrament of the Altar was an abominable Idol, and that if he should observe any part of their Popish proceedings, he should displease God, and bring his Curse upon him, and therefore for fear of his vengeance he durst not do it. This good Father was examined of many things: but God be thanked, he stood to the Truth, and in the end there fore had Sentence of Condemnation read against him.

John Johnson *condemned.*
John Johnson of Thorp in Essex, Widower, of the age of thirty four years, was examined as the rest, and made answer in such sort, as the Papists counted him none of theirs, and therefore condemned him with their Bloody Sentence; as they had done the rest before. This John Johnson affirmed, that in the receiving of the Sacrament, according to Chrills institution, he receiveth the Body of Christ spiritually, &c.

Alice Munt *condemned.*
Alice Munt, the Wife of the said William Munt, of the age of one and forty years, being also examined as the rest, said and confirmed the same in effect as her Husband did, and was therefore also condemned by their Bloody Sentence in like manner.

Rose Allin *condemned.*
Rose Allin Maid the Daughter of the said Alice Munt, of the age of twenty years, being examined of auricular Confession, going to the Church to hear Mass, of the Popish seven Sacraments, &c. answered stoutly, that they stank in the face of God, and she durst not have to do with them for her life, neither was she (the said) any member of theirs: for they were the members of Antichrist; and so should have (if they repented not) the reward of Antichrist. Being asked further, what she could say of the See of the Bishop of Rome, whether she would obey his Authority or no: she answered boldly, that she was none of his. As for his See (quoth she) it is for Crows, Kites, Owls, and Ravens to swim in, such as you be: for by the grace of God I shall not swim in that See, while I live; neither will I have any thing to do therewith. Then read they the Sentence of Condemnation against her, and so sent her unto Prison again unto the rest, where she sung with great joy, to the wonder of many.

Thus these poor condemned Lambs, being delivered into the hands of the Secular power, were committed again every one unto the Prison from whence they came, where they remained with much joy and great comfort (in continual reading and invoking the name of God) ever looking and expecting the happy day of their dissolution. In which time the cruel Papists left not their malicious attempts against them (although they would seem now to have no more to do with them.) For Bloody Boner, whose Throat never cried but shortly after got a Writ for

the burning of the foresaid then good Creatures; and to shew the more diligence in the cause, he sent his own trusty man down with it, named *Edward Cofin*, and with him also his Letter for the furtherance of the matter, the 30. day of *July*, the next month after the Condemnation.

The Writ being thus received of the said Bayliffs, and they having then no leisure thereabouts, appointed the day of the execution thereof, to be the second day of *August* next following. And because the faithful Souls were in two several Prisons, as the Castle, was for the Country, and *Mote-Hall* for the Town: therefore it was agreed among them, that they in *Mote-Hall* should be burnt in the forenoon, and those at the Castle, by the Sheriff of the Shire, in the afternoon, as here thou mayst see it more plain how it came to pass accordingly.

The second day of *August*, 1557. betwixt six and seven of the Clock in the morning, was brought from *Mote-Hall* unto a plot of ground, hard by the Town-wall of *Colchester* on the outward-side, *William Bongeror*, *William Farcas*, *Thomas Benall*, *Agnes Silver-side*, *Alas Smith*, *Helene Ewring* and *Elizabeth Folke*, afore-named; which being there, and all things prepared for their Martyrdom, at the last these said constant Martyrs kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to God, but not in such sort as they would, for the cruel Tyrants would not suffer them: especially one *Master Cleve* among the rest (who sometime had been a Gospeler shewed himself very extreme unto them; the Lord give him repentance (if it be his good will) and grace to be a better man. When they had made their prayers, they rose, and made them ready to the fire. And *Elizabeth Folke*, when he had plucked off her Petticoat, would have given it to her Mother (which came and kist her at the Stake, and exhorted her to be strong in the Lord) but the wicked there attending, would not suffer her to give it. Therefore taking the said Petticoat in her hand, she threw it away from her, saying, Farewell all the world, farewell Faith, farewell Hope, and so taking the Stake in her hand, said, Welcom Love, &c. Now she being at the Stake, and one of the Officers nailing the Chain about her, in the striking of the Staple, he mist the place, and strake her with a great stroke of the hammer on the shoulder Bone: whereat the suddenly turning her head, lifting up her eyes to the Lord, and prayed smilingly, and gave her self to exhorting the People again.

When all the six were also nailed likewise at their stakes, and the Fire about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the Fire, that the flanders by (which were by estimation thousands) cried generally almost; The Lord strengthen them, the Lord comfort them, the Lord pour his mercies upon them, with such like words, as was wonderful to hear.

Thus yielded they up their Souls and Bodies into the Lords hands, for the true testimony of his Truth. The Lord grant we may imitate the same in the like quarrel (if he so vouch us worthy) for his mercies sake, Amen.

In like manner the said day in the Afternoon, was brought forth into the *Castle-Yard*, to a place appointed for the same, *William Munt*, *John Johnson*, *Alice Munt* and *Rose Allin* afore-said: which godly Constant persons, after they had made their prayers, and were joyfully tied to the Stakes, calling upon the name of God, and exhorting the People earnestly to flee from Idolatry, suffered their Martyrdom with such triumph and joys, that the People did not less shout thereto to see it, then at the other that were burnt the same day in the Morning.

Thus ended all these glorious ten Souls that day, their happy lives unto the Lord, whose ages all did grow to the sum of four hundred and six years, or thereabouts. The Lord grant we may well spend our years and days likewise to his glory, Amen.

John Thurston died in Colchester Castle.

Before you have heard of the taking of *John Thurston* at *Muckbentley*, in the house of one *William Munt* of the same Town; which said *John Thurston* said, died in *Colchester-Castle*, a constant Confessor of Jesus Christ.

1 Thomas Confessor of Christ.

The age of these ten made the sum of 406 years.

The story and Death of *George Eagles*, otherwise termed *Trudgeover*, a most painful Traveller in Christ: Gospel, who for the same Gospel most cruelly was Martyred by the Cruel Papists.

Anno

1557.

Among other Martyrs of singular vertue and constancy, one *George Eagles* deserveth not the least admiration, but is so much the more to be commended, for that he, having little learning or none, most manfully served and fought under the banner of Christs Church. For oftentimes the will and pleasure of God is, to beautify and adorn his Kingdom with the weak and simple Instruments of this world; such as in the old Testament *Amos* was, who with many other of obscure and unknown names, were called from the heards and folds to the honor of Prophets; as likewise we read of the Apostles that were called from Fishermens craft, and put into Churches. Wherefore this *George Eagles* is not to be neglected for his base occupation, whom Christ called thence to set forth and declared abroad his Gospel. Rather we ought to glorify God the more thereby in his holiness, which in so blind a time inspired him with the gift of preaching, and constancy of suffering: who after a certain time he had used the occupation of a Taylour, being eloquent and of good utterance, gave and applied himself to the Profit of Christs Church.

Which man, as before in those most bright and clear days of King *Edward* the sixth, he had not unfruitfully shewed and preached the power and force of the Lord, so afterward in the tempestuous time and fall of the Church (at what time the Confessors of Christ and his Gospel were troubled, divers of them murdered, part banished, and othersome constrained for fear not to shew their heads) he expressed and uttered his manly stomach. For he, wandering abroad into divers and far Countries where he could find any of his Brethren, did there most earnestly encourage and comfort them, now tarrying in this Town, and sometime abiding in that certain months together, as occasion served, lodging sometime in the Country, and sometime for fear living in Fields and Woods, who, for his immoderate and unreasonable going abroad, was called *Trudgeover*. Oftentimes he did lie abroad in the night without covert, spending the most part in devout and earnest prayer.

His diet was so above measure spare and slender, that for the space of three years, he used for the most part, to drink nothing but very Water, whereunto he was compelled through necessity of the time of persecution: and after when he perceived that his Body by Gods providence proved well enough with this diet, he thought best to inure himself therewithal against all necessities.

Now when he had profited Christs Church in this sort, by going about and preaching the Gospel a year or two, and especially in *Colchester*, and the quarters thereabout; that privy Enemy which envieth always the salvation and blessed estate of the good, lurked and laid wait by all means possible for him, so that there were divers Spies sent out, who had in commandment, wherefore they found him, to bring him either quick or dead.

But when this their attempt could not prevail, but all was in vain (the said *Eagles* with his Brethren keeping in close, and hiding themselves in out and dark places, as in Barns, Thickets, Holes, and privy Closets) his Adversaries went about another way to compass this their enterprise of taking him.

For in the Queens name a grievous Edict was proclaimed thoroughout four Shires, *Essex*, *Suffolk*, *Kent*, and *Norfolk*, promising the party that took him, twenty pounds for his pains; doubtless a worthy hire to entice any Jew to treachery. For being inflamed with greedy desire of the money, they devised and invented all ways and reasons they could possible to be enriched with the hurt and destruction of this filly man.

At length it came to pass, that this *George* being seen by chance at *Colchester* upon *Mary Magdalens* day, at which time they kept a Fair in the Town, should have forthwith been delivered to his Adversaries, if he perceiving the same (as God would have it) had not conveyed himself away as fast as he could, a great multitude pursuing after, and seeking diligently for him.

Who

G. Eagles Martyred.

The painful travel of G. Eagles.

Ann. Who first hid himself in a grove, and then from thence stole into a Corn-field thereby, and so lay secretly couched from the violence of his enemies, inasmuch as they were all, saving one, past hope of taking him, and therefore ready to depart their way.

This one, having more subtilty and wicked craft in his head then the rest, would not depart thence with his Fellows, but climbed up into a high tree, there to view and spy if he might see *Eagles* any where stir or move.

*Quid non mori illis precora cogis,
Aure sacra James?*

Enclit.

The poor man thinking all sure enough, by reason that he heard no noise abroad, rose up on his knees, and lifting up his hands, prayed unto God. And whether it were for that his head was above the Corn, or because his voyce was heard, the lurker perceiving his desired prey that he hunted after, forthwith came down, and suddenly laying hands on him, brought him as Prisoner to *Colchester*. Notwithstanding the greedy and *Judas* Knave, which had foomish promised him, was fain to be contented with a very small reward, and glad to take that too, lest he should have had nothing at all.

This *George*, not without great lamentation of divers good men, and great lick unto the Church of God (of which to his power he was a worthy Instrument) was committed to Prison there, and from thence within four days after conveyed to *Chelmsford*, where he abode all that night in devout Prayer, and would not sleep, neither would he eat or drink but Bread and Water. The next day he was carried to *London* to the Bishop or the Council, and there remained a certain time, and then was brought down to *Chelmsford* to the Sessions, and there was indicted and accused of Treason, because he had assembled Companies together, contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm in that case provided. For so it was ordained a little before, to avoid sedition, that if men should flock secretly together, above the number of six, they should be attached of Treason: which strict Law was the casting away of the good Duke of *Somerset* before mentioned.

And albeit it was well known, that poor *Eagles* did never any thing seditiously against the Queen, yet to cloak an honest matter withal, and to cause him to be the more hated of the People, they turned Religion into a Civil offence and crime, and though he defended his cause stoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his Religion, or Faith before the Judges, yet could he not bring it to pass by any means, but that he must needs be indicted (as is said) of Treason; whose indictment did run much after this fashion.

George Eagles, thou art indicted by the name of *George Eagles*, otherwise *Trudgeover the Word*, for that thou didst such a day make thy prayer, that God should turn Queen *Maries* heart, or else take her away.

He denied that he prayed that God should take her away, but he confessed, he prayed that God would turn her heart in his prayer. Well, notwithstanding he was condemned for a Traitor, although the meaning thereof was for Religion.

This thing done, he was carried to the New-Inn, called the sign of the *Crown* in *Chelmsford*, by the beastly *Bayliffs* which some of them were they that before did their best to take him; and being in the Inn, one *Richard Potts* the Elder, an Inn-holder, dwelling at the sign of the *Cock* in the same Town, did much trouble him, in perswading him to confess he had offended the Queen in his prayer, which he was condemned for, and to ask her forgiveness.

R. Potts Innholder at the Cock in Chelmsford.

To whom he said, he had not offended her Grace in that behalf. So in process of time, he was laid upon a Sled, with an hurdle on it, and drawn to the place of execution, being fast bound, having in his hand a Psalm-Book, of the which he read very devoutly all the way with a loud voyce, till he came there: and being on the Ladder this forefaid *Potts* did much trouble him with the matter aforesaid, when he would have uttered other things, till such time as the Sheriff commanded *Potts* to hold his peace, and trouble him no more.

So he made his confession, and stood very constant till then he was tumbled off the Ladder. With him were cast certain *Taverners*, and the next day, when they were brought out to be executed with him, there happened a thing that did much set forth and declare the innocency and godlyness of this man. For being led between two Thieves to the place where he should suffer, when as he exhorted both them and all other to stand steadfastly to the Truth, one of these turned the counsel he gave, into a jesting matter, and made but a jest at it.

Why should we doubt to obtain Heaven, saith he, forasmuch as this holy man shall go before us, as Captain and leader unto us in the way. We shall flee thither straight as soon he hath once made us the entry.

In this *George Eagles* and that other did greatly reprove him, who on the other side gave good heed to *Georges* exhortation, earnestly bewailing his own wickedness, and calling to Christ for mercy. Put the more that the first was bid to be still, and to leave off his scoffing the more perverse he did continue in his foolishness, and his wicked behaviour. At length he came to the Gallows, where they should be hanged, but *George* was carried to another place, thereby to suffer. Between the two it was the godliers chance to go the foremost, who being upon the Ladder, after he had exhorted the People to beware and to take heed to themselves, how they did transgress the Commandments of God, and then had committed his Soul into Gods hands, he ended his life after a godly and quiet manner.

The mockers turn cometh next, which would have said likewise somewhat, but his Tongue did fumble and he was so faulter in his head, that he was not able to speak a word. Fain would he have uttered his mind, but he could not and bringing it out. Then did the Under-sheriff bid him say the Lords Prayer, which he could not say neither but fluttering, as a man would say, one word to day and another to morrow. Then one did begin to say it, and so bade him say after.

An example to be noted of a Thief rejecting and deriding wholesome and godly preaching.

Such as were there, and saw it, were very much astonished, especially those that did behold the just punishment of God against him that had mocked so earnest a matter. *George Eagles* in the meantime, after he had hanged a small time, having a great check with the halter, immediately one of the Bayliffs cut the halter asunder, and he fell to the ground being still alive, although much amazed with the check he had off the Ladder.

Then one *William Swallow* of *Chelmsford* a Bayliff, did draw him to the Sled that he was drawn thither on, and laid his neck thereon, and with a Cleaver, such as is occupied in many mens Kitchens, and blunt, did hackle off his head, and sometime hit his neck, and sometime his Chin, and did slowly mangle him, and so opened him. Notwithstanding this blessed Martyr of Christ abode steadfast and constant in the very midst of his torments, till such time as this tormentor *William Swallow* did pluck the heart out of his Body. The Body being divided in four parts, and his Bowels burnt, was brought to the forefaid *Swallows* door, and there laid upon the Filth-stals before his door, till they had made ready a horse to carry his quarters, one to *Colchester*, and the rest to *Harwich*, *Chelmsford*, and *S. Rowles*.

W. Swallow tormentor of *George Eagles*.

His Head was set up at *Chelmsford* on the Market-Cross on a long Pole, and there stood, till the Wind did blow it down, and lying certain days in the Street Gods just judgment upon a cruel Persecutor. that he shewed on this wicked Bayliff *Swallow*, who within short space after this was so punished, that all the hair went well near off his head, his eyes were as it were closed up, and could scanty see, the nails of his fingers and toes went clean off. He was in such case of his Body as though he had been a Leprosy, and now in his last age almost a very beggar, and his Wife, which he a little after married, God hath punished with the Falling-sickness, or a distill like unto that: which may be a warning or glass for all men and women to look in, that be enemies to Gods true Servants.

W. Swallow's Wife punished with the Falling-sickness.

No less token of his marvellous judgment did God Gods judgment upon the forefaid *Richard Potts*, which did so much trouble this *George Eagles* in the inn, and at the place of execution, as is above specified. He lived till the

N. n. 3. beginning *gla.*

beginning of Q. Elizabeths Reign, all which time he litle joyed, and being on a time in a great clafe with two or three of his neighbours in his own house, feeling himself not well, he said to one of his Servants, Go with me in to the Chamber, and when he came there, he fell down on a low Bed, as heavy as in had been Lead, and lay there foming at the mouth, and could never speak after, neither yet understand what was said to him, as by all means was tryed by his neighbours with signs to him made, but lay as senseless as it had bin a very dumb Beast, and within three or four days dyed. God grant that this token sent of God, with many more like, may be a warning to us ever hereafter, while we shall live unto the worlds end.

Besides this, God hath wonderfully shewed his work. For at a time when they laid great wait for this *George Eagles*, so that it was thought that it was impossible, but that he should be taken being so beset; his Friends did put him into Apprentice apparel, viz. Watchet-hose as there manner is, and an old Cloak, and set him on a Pack of Wool, as though he had ridden to carry Wool to the Spinners, so he rode amongst the midst of his Adversaries, and escaped them all for that time. Another trouble of the said *George Eagles*, was also Justice *Brown* who enjoyed not his cruelty many years after, &c.

Also when he was at the Sessions at *Chebmsford*, there was a rumor raised, that he had accused divers honest men that did keep him in their houses, and was conversant with him, and all to discredit him; which rumor was very false and utterly untrue. Witness one *Raynold*, with divers other dwelling in *Chebmsford*.

The Martyrdom, and Examination of Richard Craftfield of Wymundham, condemned to death for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

August 5.

About this time suffered at *Norwich*, a godly man and a constant Martyr of Christ, called *Richard Craftfield*, whose Examinations before the Chancellor, named *Dunning*, as he penned them with his own hand, fo have we faithfully recorded the same.

How say you Sirrah, said the Chancellor, to the Ceremonies of the Church?

Then said I, What Ceremonies?

He said unto me, do you not believe that all the Ceremonies of the Church were good and godly?

My answer was, I do believe so many as are grounded in the Testament of Jesus Christ.

Tush, said he, Do you believe in the Sacrament of the Altar?

I said, I knew not what it was.

Then said he, Do you not believe that Christ took Bread, gave thanks, brake it, and said, *Take, eat, this is my Body*?

Yes verily, said I, and even as Christ did speak, so did he perform the work.

Tush, said he, Do you not believe this, that after the words be spoken by the Priest, there is the substance of Christs Body, Flesh and Blood? How say you, do you not believe this? speak man.

I do believe that Christs Body was broken for me upon the Cross, and his Blood shed for my redemption, whereof the Bread and the Wine is a perpetual memory, the pledge of his mercy, the Ring and Seal of his promise, and a perpetual memory for the Faithful unto the end of the world. So then I was commanded into Prison until the next day.

Another Examination of Richard Craftfield

Another Examination of Craftfield.

The day following I was brought forth. Then the Chancellor said unto me, *Richard*, how say you? Are you otherwise minded than you were yesterday? He rehearsing all the words that we had afore, said, Are not these your words? Whereunto I answered, Yes.

Then said he, How say you, can you not find in your heart, when you come to the Church, to kneel down before the Rood, and make your Prayer?

I answered and said, No; rehearsing the Commandment of God forbidding the same.

He said, Have you not read or heard, that God commanded an Image to be made?

I answered, What Image?

He said, The brazen Serpent.

I said, Yes, I have heard it read, how that God did command it to be made, and likewise to be broken down.

Then Doctor *Bridges* said, Wherefore did God command the *Seraphims* and *Cherubims* to be made?

I said, I could not tell; I would fain learn.

Then said the Chancellor, But how say you to this? can you find in your heart to fall down before the Picture of CHRIST, which is the Rood?

I said, No, I fear the curse of God: for it is written, that God curseth the hands that make them, yea and the hands that make the tools wherewith they are carved.

Then Dr. *Bridges* raged and said, List now what a piece of Scripture he hath here gotten to serve his purpose, for he will not allow but where he listeth.

Then said the Chancellor, How say you to Confession to the Priest? when were you confessed?

I said, I confess my self daily unto the eternal God, whom I most grievously offend.

Then the Chancellor said, Do you not then take Confession to the Priest to be good?

I answered, No, but rather wicked.

Then the Chancellor said, How say you by yonder the Organs gear, yonder finging and yonder playing on the Organs? is it not good and godly?

I said, I could perceive no godliness in it.

Then he said, Why, is it not written in the Psalms, *That we should praise God with hymns and Spiritual Songs*?

I said, Yes spiritual Songs must be had: but yonder is of the Flesh, and of the Spirit of error. For to you it is pleasant and glorious, but to the Lord it is bitter and odious.

Then said the Chancellor, Why, is it not written, *My house is an house of Prayer*?

I said, Yes. It is written also, *That you have made my house of prayer a Den of Thieves*.

With that, the Chancellor looked and said have we?

I answered and said, Christ said so. Then was I commanded to ward.

Then *Thursday* next following, was Dr. *Bridges* sent to mee to examine mee of my Faith. And he said, Country-man, my Lord Bishop (for love hee would have you saved,) hath sent me unto you, because to morrow is your day appointed: therefore my Lord hath thought it meet, that you should declare unto me your Faith. For to morrow my Lord will not have much ado with you.

I answered and said, Hath my Lord sent you?

It is not you, to whom I am disposed to shew my mind.

Then he said to me, I pray you shew me your mind concerning the Sacrament of the Altar.

I answered, Are you ignorant what I have said?

He said, No for it was well written, Except you believe, faith he, as the Church hath taught you are damned both Body and Soul.

I answered and said, Judge not, lest you be judged: condemn not, lest you be condemned.

And he said, Lo, we shall have a traitor as well as an Heretick: for he will disallow the Kings Judgment.

I said, No, I do not disallow the Kings Judgment, but yours I do disallow. For I pray you tell me, how came you by this Judgment?

He answered and said, by the Church: for the Church hath power to save and condemn: for if you be condemned by the Church, be ye sure, that you be damned both Body and Soul.

Then I answered, if you have this power, I am sore deceived. For I believe that Christ shall be our judge. But now I perceive that you will do much for him, that you will not put him to the pain.

Then he said, stand nearer Country-man: why stand ye so far off?

I said, I am near enough, and a little too near.

Then he said, Did not Christ say, *Is not my Flesh meat, and my Blood Drink indeed*?

I said, To whom spake Christ those words?

He said, To his Disciples.

I (intending to rehearse the Text) said, whereat did Christs Disciples manure inwardly?

He

Anno

1557

Confession

to the Priest.

Playing on

the Organs.

Play: 16.

Take 16.

Another Examination of R. Craftfield.

The Popes Church takes Christs Office out of his hand.

Anno
1557.

He said; No, they did not murmur, but they were the Infidels (saith he) for the Disciples were satisfied with these words.

I said, did not Christ say thus; as he taught at Capernaum? whereas his Disciples murmured, saying, *This is an hard saying. Who can abide the bearing of it? Jesus perceiving their thoughts, said, doth this offend you?*

Then he raged and said, Oh, thou wretchest the Text for thine own purpose. For the Disciples did never murmur, but the unbelievers, as thou art.

I said, Yes, but I perceive you know not the Text. Then said he, with much raging, I will lay my head thereon, it is not so.

Then said I, I have done with you.

Then said he, What shall I tell my Lord of you?

If you have nothing to tell him, your errand shall be sooner done said I. And so he departed.

Then on Friday was brought forth to receive judgment. Then the Chancellor said unto me, Are you a new Man, or are you not?

I answered and said, I trust I am a new Man Born of God.

God give Grace you be so, said he. So he rehearsed all my examination, and said, How say you; are not these your words?

I said, Yes, I will not deny them.

Then he said to Dr. Pore, standing by, I pray you talk with him. Then he alledging to me many fair flattering words, said, *Take, eat, this is my Body.* How say you to this? Do you not believe that it is Christs Body? speak.

I said, Have you not my mind? Why do you trouble me?

He said, What did Christ give you? was it Bread, or was it not?

I said, Christ took Bread, and gave thanks, and gave it, and they took Bread, and did Eat. And St. Paul maketh it more manifest, where he saith, *So oft as ye shall Eat of this Bread, and Drink of this Cup, ye shall shew forth the Lords Death until he come.* St. Paul saith not here as you say: for he saith, *So oft as ye shall Eat of this Bread.* He doth not say, Body. So they intending that I should go no further in the Text, said, *Truſt, you go about the bush.* Answer me to the first question. Let us make an end of that.

What say you to the Bread that Christ gave? Let me have your mind in that.

I answered, I have said my mind in it.

Then the Chancellor said, No, we will have your mind in that.

I answered, I have said my mind in it.

Then said the Chancellor, No, we will have your mind more plainly. For we intend not to have many words with you.

I said, my Faith is fully grounded and stablished, that Christ Jesus the Eagle Lamb hath offered his blessed Body a Sacrifice to God the Father, the price of my redemption. For by that onely sacrifice are all the faithful sanctified, and he is our only Advocate and Mediator, and he hath made perfect our redemption. This hath he done alone, without any of your daily oblations.

Then Dr. Bridges start up, and said, Truth, your Words are true indeed. You take well the literal sense: but this you must understand, that like as you said that Christ offered his Body upon the Crosse, which was a bloody sacrifice, and a visible sacrifice: so likewise we daily offer the self same Body that was offered upon the Crosse, but not bloody and visible, but invisible, unto God the Father.

Do you offer Christs Body, I said? Why then Christs Sacrifice was not perfect. But Christ is True, when all Men shall be lyars.

Then he said, Thou shalt not fear him that hath power to kill the Body: but thou shalt fear him that hath power to kill both Body and Soul.

I answered and said, It is not so. But the Text is thus, *Thou shalt not fear them that have power to kill the Body, and then have done what they can. But thou shalt fear him that hath power to kill both Body and Soul, and cast them both into Hell-fire, and not them.*

He answered and said, Yes: for it is the Church.

I answered and said, Why, Christ saith, *I give my life for the redemption of the world. No man taketh my life from me (saith he) but I give it of my own power, and so I have power to take it again.* Therefore Christ the Son of God did offer his Body once for all. And if you will presume to offer his Body daily, then your power is above Christs power. With that he chafed and said, What shall we have Doctrine? Ye are not hereto appointed.

Then the Chancellor stood up, and said, Wil ye turn from this wicked error, and be an example of goodness, as you have been an example of evil (for by your wicked reading, you have perwaded simple Women to be in this error) and ye shall have mercy.

And I said, it is of God that I do crave mercy, whom I have offended, and not you.

Then said the Chancellor, When were you at your Parish Church? These two years and more have you stood Excommunicate. Wherefore you are condemned. And so I was condemned.

Thus hast thou (gentle Reader) the Examinations of this godly young Man, set forth and written with his own hand, who, not long after his condemnation, was by the Sheriffs and Officers there, brought to the stake, where with much patience and constancy he entered his blessed Martyrdom. At the burning of which Christian Martyr, one Thomas Carman the same time was apprehended, by what occasion, it is not yet to us fully certain, whether it was for words, or for praying with him, or for pledging him at his burning, concerning which Thomas Carman, his story hereafter followeth in his order and place, further to be seen.

One Fryer, and a certain godly Woman burned at Rochest-
er, who was the Sister of George Eagles.

About the same time and Month, one named Fryer, with a Woman accompanying him, who was the Sister of George Eagles, in the like cause of righteousness, suffered the like Martyrdom by the unrighteous Papists, whose Tyranny the Lord of his mercy abate and cut short, turning that wicked generation, if it be his will, to a better mind.

The apprehension and Death of Mistress Joyce Lewes,
the Wife of Thomas Lewes, of Mancetter, most con-
stantly suffering for Gods Word at Lichfield.

Mistress Joyce Lewes, a Gentlewoman born, was delicately brought up in the pleasures of the world, having delight in gay apparel, and such like foolishness with the which follies the most part of the Gentilefolks of England were then, and are yet infected, who was married first to one called Appleby, and afterward to Thomas Lewes of Mancetter. In the beginning of Queen Mary's time shee went to the Church and heard Mass as others did, but when she heard of the burning of that most godly and learned Martyr, Laurence Sanders, who suffered in Coventry, she began to take more heed to the matter, and enquired earnestly of such as she knew feared God, the cause of his Death: and when she perceived it was because he refused to receive the Mass, she began to be troubled in Conscience, and waxed very unquiet. And because her house was even hard by Mr. John Glovers house, of whom mention was made before, a Man of Blessed Memory, and a singular example of his unfained godliness and manifold troubles which he suffered for the Gospel, she did oftentimes resort to him, and desired him to tell her the faults that were in the Mass, and other things that at that time were urged as necessary to salvation.

Now he perceiving both her unquiet mind, and also the desire she had to know the truth, did most diligently instruct her in the ways of the Lord, approving unto her out of Gods Holy Word, that the Mass, with all other papistical inventions, was odious in Gods sight; and besides this, reproved her, for that she delighted in the vanities of this world so much. By the which godly counsel given by him, it happened that she began to wax weary of the world, thoroughly sorrowful for her sins, being inflamed

The Martyr-
dom of Rich-
ard Craftefield.
Anno 1557.
Aug. 5.

August 20,
One Fryer, &c
the Sister of
Geo. Eagles
burned at
Rochester.

The story of
Mistress Joyce
Lewes, Mat-
157.

Note here
the ignor-
ance of the
Catholick
men in the
Scriptures.

Another
examination
of R. Crafte-
field.

1 Cor. 10.

Unbloody
Sacrifice of
the Mass.

with the Love of God, desirous to serve him according to his word, purposing also to flee from those things the which did displeafe the Lord her God. And because she had learned the Maie to be evil and abominable, she began to hate it. And when at a time she was compelled by the furiousness of her Husband to come to the Church, at the same time when the Holy Water was cast, she turned her Back towards it, and shewed her self to be displeafed with their Blasphemous Holy Water, injurious to the Blood of Christ. Whereupon she was accused before the Bishop for the despiing of their Sacramentals.

Immediately, a Citation was sent for her to her Husbands Houfe, to appear before the Bishop incontinently. The Sumner that brought the Citation delivered it to her Husband, who looking upon it, and perceiving that it was moved with anger, willing the Sumner to take the Citation with him again, or else he would make him to eat it. The Sumner refused to take it again, for he thought no Man durst have been so bold to trouble him. But in the end Lewes compelled the said Sumner to eat the Citation indeed, by setting a Dagger to his Heart; and when he had eaten it, he caused him to drink to it, and so sent him away. But immediately after, the said Lewes with his Wife were commanded to appear before the Bishop, where the said Lewes by and by submitted himself, and desiring the Bishop to be good to him, excusing himself after the best Fashion he could. Whereupon the Bishop was content to receive his submission, with condition that his Wife should submit her self also. But the stoutly told the Bishop, that by refusing of the Holy Water she had neither offended God, nor any part of his Laws. At the which words the Bishop being grievously offended, yet because she was a Gentle Woman, he would not take her at the worst (as he said) he gave her one Months respite, binding her Husband in an hundred pound to bring her again unto him at the Months end, and so they were both let go.

When they came to their own Houfe, the said Mistris Joyce Lewes gave her self to most diligent prayer, and invoking of the name of God, resorting continually to the abovenamed Man of God, Master John Glover, who did most diligently instruct her with Gods Word, willing her in any case not to meddle with that matter in respect of vaine glory, or to get her self a name, shewing her the great dangers she was like to cast her self in, if she should meddle in Gods matter otherwise than Christ doth teach.

When the Month was now almost expired, and the time at hand that she should be brought before the said Bishop her Husband being advertised by the said Mr. John Glover and others, not to carry her to the Bishop, but to seek some ways to save her, or if the worst should come, to be content to forfeit so much Money, rather than to cast his own Wife into the fire: He answered, he would not loose or forfeit any thing for her sake: and so, like a murderer of his own Wife, he carried her to the bloody Bp. where she was examined, and found more stout, than she was before Death was threatened. And to begin withal, she was sent to such a stinking prison, that a certain maid, which was appointed to keep her company, did swoon in the same prison.

Being thus kept in prison, and oftentimes examined, and ever found stout, at the length she was brought in judgment, and pronounced an Heretick worthy to be burned. When the Bishop reasoned with her, why she could not come to the Maie, and receive the Sacraments and Sacramentals of the Holy Ghost: she answered, Because I find not these things in Gods Word, which you so urge and magnifie, as things most needful for mens Salvation. If these things were in the same Word of God commanded, I would with all my Heart, receive, esteeme, and believe them. The Bishop answered, If thou wilt believe no more than is in the Scripture, concerning matters of Religion, thou art in a Damnable case. At which words she was wonderfully amazed, and being moved by the Spirit of God, told the Bishop, that his words were ungodly and wicked.

After her condemnation, she continued a whole twelve Months in prison, because she was committed to the Sheriff that was of late chosen, who could not be compelled to put her to Death in his time, as he affirmed: for the

which things, after her Death, he was sore troubled and in danger of his Life. All that time she was in prison, her behaviour was such both in words and deeds, that all they, that had any spark of godliness or honesty, did greatly lament her case, that she should be put to Death.

Now when the time did draw near the which God had appointed for her Deliverance, the Writ *De committendo* (as they term it) being brought down from London, the desired certain of her Friends, to come to her, with whom when they came, she consulted how she might behave her self, that her Death might be more glorious to the Name of God, Comfortable to his People, and also most Discomfortable unto the Enemies of God. As for Death (said she) I do not greatly pafs: when I behold the amiable Countenance of Christ my dear Saviour the Ouglesome Face of Death doth not greatly trouble mee. In the which time also she reasoned most comfortably out of Gods Word, of Gods election and reprobation.

In the evening, before the day of her suffering, two of the Priests of the clofe of *Litchfield*, came to the under Sheriffs Houfe where she lay, and sent word to her by the Sheriff, that they were come to hear her Confession: for they would be sorry she should die without. She sent them word again, she had made her Confession to Christ her Saviour, at whose hands she was sure to have forgiveness of her sins. As concerning the cause for the which she should die, she had no cause to confess that, but rather to give unto God most humble praise, that he did make her worthy to suffer Death for his Word: And as concerning that Absolution that they were able to give unto her, being authorized by the Pope, she did desire the same, even from the bottom of her Heart. The which thing when the Priests heard they said to the Sheriff, Well, to morrow her stoutness will be proved and tryed. For although perhaps she hath now some Friends that whisper her in her ears, to morrow we will see who dare be so hardy as to come near her: and so they went their ways with anger, that their confession and absolution was nought set by.

All that night she was wonderfully cheerful and merry, with a certain gravity, in so much that the Majesty of the Spirit of God did manifestly appear in her, who did expel the fear of Death out of her Heart, spending the time in prayer, readings, and talking with them that were purposely come unto her, to comfort her with the Word of God.

About three of the clock in the mornings, Satan (who never sleepeth, especially when Death is at hand) began to stir himself busily, shooting at her that fiery dart the which he is wont to do against all that are at defiance with him, questioning with her, how she could tell that she was chosen to eternal Life, and that Christ dyed for her. I grant that he dyed, but that he dyed for thee how canst thou tell; with this suggestion when she was troubled, they that were about her did counsel her to follow the example of Paul, *Galatians 2.* where he saith, *Which hath loved me, and given himself for me.* Alfo, that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of Gods Word, was a manifest token of Gods love towards her, especially that same Holy Spirit of God working in her Heart, that love and desire towards God to please him, and to be justified by him through Christ, &c. By these and like persuasions, and especially by the comfortable promises of Christ, brought out of the Scripture, Satan was put to flight, and shee comforted in Christ.

About eight of the clock, Mr. Sheriff came to her into her Chamber, saying these words, Mistris Lewes, I am come to bring you tidings of the Queens pleasure, the which is, that you shall live no longer but one hour in this world: therefore prepare your self thereunto, it standeth you in hand. At which words, being so grossly uttered, and so suddenly by such an officer as he was free was somewhat abashed. Wherefore one of her Friends and acquaintance standing by, said these words, Mistris Lewes, you have great cause to praise God, who will vouchsafe so speedily to take you out of this world, and make you worthy to be a witness of his truth, and to bear record unto Christ, that he is the only Saviour.

After the which words spoken thus, shee said, Master Sheriff your message is welcome to mee, and I thank my God

Mistris Lewes instructed by Mr. John Glover.

Mistris Lewes imprisoned.

Mistris Lewes a year in prison after her condemnation.

Mistris Lewes refused to be confessed of the Priests.

Temptations of Mistris Lewes before her death and Martyrdom.

Joyce Lewes comforted in her temptations.

Anno 1557. God that he will make me worthy to Adventure my Life in his quarrel. And thus Mr. Sheriff departed: and within the space of one hour he came again, *cum gladiis & fustibus*; and when he came up into the Chamber, one of her Friends desired him to give him leave to go with her to the stake, and to comfort her, the which the Sheriff granted at that time, but afterwards he was fore troubled for the same, when she was dead.

Now when she was brought through the Town with a number of Bill-men, a great multitude of People being present, she being led by two of her Friends (which were Mr. Michael Reniger, and Mr. Augustine Bernier) (he was brought to the place of execution: and because the place was far off, and the throng of the People great, and the not acquainted with the fresh ayre (being so long in prison) one of her Friends sent a messenger to the Sheriff's House for some drink; and after he had prayed three several times, in the which prayer he desired God most instantly to abolish the Idolatrous Mass, and to deliver this Realm from Papistry (at the end of the which prayers the most part of the people cried *Amen*, yea, even the Sheriff that stood hard by her, ready to cut her in the fire for not allowing the Mass, at this her prayer said with the rest of the people, *Amen*), when she had thus prayed, she took the Cup into her Hands, saying; I drinke to all them that unadvisedly love the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and wish for the abolishment of Papistry.

When she had drunk, they that were her Friends drank also. After that a great number, specially the Women of the Town did drink with her; which afterward were put to open penance in the Church by the cruel Papists, for drinking with her.

When she was tied to the stake with the Chain she shewed such a cheerfulness, that it passed mans reason, being so well coloured in her face, and being so patient, that the most part of them that had honest hearts did lament, and even with tears bewail the Tyranny of the Papists. When the fire was set upon her, the neither struggled nor stirred, but only lifted up her hands towards Heaven, being dead very speedily: for the Under-Sheriff at the request of her Friends had provided such stuff, by the which she was suddenly dispatched out of this miserable world.

This amongst other things may not be forgotten, that the Papists had appointed some to rail upon her openly, and to revile her, as she went to the place of execution, and also when she came at the stake. Amongst others there was an old Priest, which had a pair of writing Tables to note both the names of the Women that drank of her Cup (as before you heard,) and also described her Friends by their apparel, for presently he could not learn their names, and afterwards enquired for their names: and so immediately after Process was sent out for them, both to Coventry and other places: but God whose providence sleeps not, did defend them from the hands of these cruel tyrants. Unto the which God, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be honour and glory for ever, *Amen*.

The Martyrdom of Ralph Allerton, James Austoo, Margery Austoo, and Richard Roth, burned at Hillingdon. In searching out the certain number of the faithful Martyrs of God that suffered within the time and Reign of Queen Mary, I find, that about the seven-teenth day of September, were burned at Hillingdon, nigh unto London, these four constant Professors of Christ, *Ralph Allerton, James Austoo, Margery Austoo*, his Wife, and *Richard Roth*. Among the which, it first appeareth that this *Ralph Allerton* was, more then a year before his condemnation, apprehended and brought before the Lord Darcy of Chichester, and was there accused, as well for that he would not consent and come unto the Idolatry and Superstition which then was used, as also that he had by preaching enticed others to do the like.

Being then hereupon examined, hee confessed that he coming into his Parish of Bentley, and seeing the People sitting there, either gazing about, or else talking together, he exhorted them that they would fall unto prayer, and meditation of Gods most Holy Word, and not sit still idly. Whereunto they willingly consented. Then after prayer ended, he read unto them a Chapter of the New Testament, and so departed.

In the which exercise he continued until *Calendmas*, and then being informed that he might not so do by the Law (for that he was no Priest or Minister) he held off, and kept himself close in his house until *Easter* then next after. At what time, certain Sworn Men for the inquiry of such matters, came unto his house, and attached him for reading in the Parish of Helling.

But when they understood that he had read but once, and that it was of obedience (whereunto he earnestly moved the People) they let him for that time depart. Nowwithstanding for fear of their cruelty; he was not long after constrained to forsake his own house, and keep himself in Woods, Barns, and other solitary places, until the time of his apprehension.

After this examination, the Lord Darcy sent him unto the Council; but they (not minding to trouble themselves with him unto *Boner* who by threatenings and other subtle means, so abused the simple and fearful heart of this Man (as yet not thoroughly layd upon the ayd and help of God) that within short time he won him to his most wicked will, and made him openly at *Pauls Cross* to revoke and recant his former profession, and thereupon set him at liberty of Body. Which yet brought such a bondage and Terror of Soul and Conscience, and so cast him down, that except the Lord (whose mercies are immeasurable) had supported and lift him up again, he had perished for ever.

But the Lord, who never suffereth his elect Children utterly to fall, casting his pitiful eyes upon his lost sheep, with his merciful and Fatherly Condescensions, did (with *Peter*) raise him up again, giving unto him not only hearty and unfeigned repentance, but also a most constant boldness to profess again (even unto the Death) his most holy name and glorious Gospel, Wherefore at the procurement of one *Thomas Iye Priest*, sometime an earnest professor of Christ, but now a fierce Persecutor of the same (as appeareth more at large before in the history of *William Muns* and his wife) he was again apprehended, and set up again unto *Boner*, before whom he was the eighth day of April, and sundry other times examined. The report of which examination, written by his own hand with Blood for lack of other ink, hereafter followeth.

The Examination of Ralph Allerton at his second apprehension, appearing before the Bishop of London at Fulham, the eighth day of April, Anno 1557, written by himself, with his own Blood.

Boner. Ah firrah, how chanceth it that you are come hither again on this fashion? I dare say thou art accused wrongfully.

Ralph. Yea my Lord so I am. For if I were guilty of such things as I am accused of, then would be very sorry.

Boner. By Saint Mary that is not well done. But let me hear, Art thou an honest Man? for if I can prove no Heresie by thee, then shall thine Accusers do thee no harm at all. Go to, let me hear thee: for I did not believe the tale to be true.

Ralph. My Lord, who did accuse me? I pray you let me know, and what is mine accusation, that I may answer thereunto.

Boner. Ah, wilt thou so? Before God if thou hast not dissembled, then thou needest not be afraid, nor ashamed to answer for thy self. But tell me in Faith, hast thou not dissembled?

Ralph. If I cannot have mine accusers to accuse me before you, my Conscience doth constrain me to accuse my self before you: For I confess that I have grievously offended God in my dissimulation at my last being before your Lordship, for the which I am right sorry, as God knoweth.

Boner. Wherein I pray thee, didst thou dissemble, when thou wast before me?

Ralph. Forsooth my Lord, if your Lordship remember, I did set my hand upon a certain writing, the contents whereof (as I remember) were, That I did believe in all things as the Catholick Church teacheth, &c. In the which I did not disclose my mind, but shamefully dissembled, because I made no difference between the True Church and the untrue Church.

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Boner. Nay, but I pray thee let me hear more of this gear. For I fear me thou wilt smell of an Heretick anon. Which is the True Church, as thou sayest? Dost thou not call the Hereticks Church the True Church, or the Catholick Church of Christ? Now which of these two are the True Church, sayst thou? Go to, for in Faith I will know of thee ere I leave thee.

Ralph. As concerning the Church of Hereticks, I utterly abhor the same, as detestable and abominable be false God, with all their enormities and Heresies: and the Church Catholick is that I only embrace whose Doctrine is sincere, pure and true.

Boner. By *S. Augustine*, but that is well said of thee. For by God Almighty, if thou hadst allowed the Church of Hereticks, I would have burned thee with fire for thy labour.

Morton. Then said one *Morton* a Priest, My Lord, you know not yet what Church it is that he calleth Catholick. I warrant you he meaneth naughtily enough.

Boner. Think you so? Now by our blessed Lady, if it be so, he might have deceived me. How say you, firrah, which is the Catholick Church?

Ralph. Even that which hath received the wholesome sound, spoken of *Ezay, David, Malachy, and Paul*, with many other more. The which sound, as it is written, hath gone throughout all the Earth in every place, and unto the ends of the world.

Boner. Yea, thou sayest true before God. For this is the sound that hath gone throughout all Christendom, and he that believeth not the sound of the Holy Church, as *St. Cyprian* saith, doth err. For he saith, that whoever is out of the Church, is like unto them that were out of *Noah's* ship when the flood came upon all the whole world; so that the *Ark of Noah* is likened unto the Church: and therefore thou hast well said in thy confession. For the Church is not alone in *Germany*, nor was here in *England* in the time of the late *Schisme*, as the Hereticks do affirm. For if the Church should be there alone, then were Christ a liar. For he promised that the Holy Ghost should come to us, lead us unto all truth, yea, and remain with us unto the end of the world. So now if we will take Christ for a true sayer, then must we needs affirm, that the way which is taught in *France, Spain, Italy, Flanders, Denmark, Scotland*, and all Christendom over, must needs be the True Catholick Church.

Ralph. My Lord, if you remember, I spake of all the world, as it is written, and not of all Christendom only, as me thinks your Lordship taketh it, the which kind of speaking you do not find in all the Bible. For sure I am, that the Gospel hath been both preached and persecuted in all Lands: First, in *Jewry* by the Scribes and Pharisees, and since that time by *Nero, Dioclesian*, and such like, and now here in these our days by your Lordship knoweth whom. For truth it is that the Church which you call Catholick, is none otherwise Catholick then was figured in *Cain*, observed of *Jeroboam, Ahab, Jezabel, Nabuchodonosor, Antiochus, Herod*, with innumerable more of the like: and as both *Daniel* and *Ezdras* make mention of these last days by a plain prophecy, and now fulfilled, as appeareth, and affirmed by our Saviour Christ and his Apostles, saying; There shall come grievous Wolves to devour the flock.

Boner. Now, by the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, Mr. *Morton*, he is the rankest Heretick that ever came before me. How say you? have you heard the like?

Morton. I thought what he was my Lord at the first, I.

Boner. Now by all Hallows thou shalt be burnt with fire for thy lying, thou whoremong'ring varlet and prick-louse thou. Dost thou find a prophecy in *Daniel* of us? Nay, you knave, it is of you that he speaketh of, and of your false pretended holiness. Go to, let me hear what is the saying of *Ezdras*, and take heed ye make not a lie, I advise you.

Ralph. The saying of *Ezdras* is this; *The heat of a great multitude is kindled over you, and they shall take away certain of you, & feed the idols with you, and be contented unto them, shall be had in derision, laughed to scorn, and trodden under foot: yea they shall be like Mad Men, for they shall spare no Man; they shall put and waste such as fear the Lord, &c.*

Boner. And have you taken this thing to make your Market good? Ah firrah, wilt thou so? by my Faith a pretty instruction, and a necessary thing to be taught among the People. By my troth I think there be more of this opinion. I pray thee tell me: Is there any that understandeth this Scripture on this fashion? Before God, I think there be none in all *England*, but thou.

Ralph. Yes, my Lord, there are in *England* three Religions.

Boner. Sayest thou so? which be those three?

Ralph. The first is that which you hold, the second is clean contrary to the same; and the third is a Neuter, being indifferent: that is to say, observing all things that are commanded outwardly, as though he were of your part, his heart being set wholly against the same.

Boner. And of these three which art thou? for now thou must needs be one of them.

Ralph. Yea, my Lord, I am of one of them; and that which I am of, is even that which is contrary to that which you teach to be believed under pain of Death.

Boner. Ah fir, you were here with me at *Fulham*, and had good cheer, yea and money in your purse when you went away, and by my Faith I had a favour unto thee, but now I see thou wilt be a naughty knave. Why, wilt thou take upon thee to read the Scripture, and canst understand never a word? For thou hast brought a text of Scripture, the which maketh clean against thee. For *Ezdras* speaketh of the multitude of you Hereticks, declaring your hate against the Catholick Church, making the simple or idle people believe, that all is Idolatry that we do, and so entice them away until you have overcome them.

Ralph. Nay, not so my Lord. For he maketh it more plain, and saith on this wise; *They shall take away their goods, and put them out of their houses, and then shall it be known who are my chosen (saith the Lord) for they shall be tried, as the silver or gold in the fire.* And we see it so come to pass, even as he hath said. For who is not now driven from house and home, yea and his goods taken up for other Men that never sweat for them, if he do not observe as you command and set forth? Or else, if he be taken, then must he either deny the truth, as I did, in dissembling; or else he shall be sure to be tried, as *Ezdras* saith, even as the gold is tried in the fire. Whereby all the world may know, that you are the bloody Church, figured in *Cain* the Tyrant, neither yet are ye able to avoid it.

Morton. I promise you my Lord, I like him better now than ever I did, when he was here before you the other time. For then he did but dissemble, as I perceived well enough; but now me think he speaketh plainly.

Boner. Marry, fir, as you say indeed, he is plain. For he is a plain Heretick, and shall be burned. Have the knave away. Let him be carried to *Little-else* at *London* until I come.

Ralph. And so was I carried to *London* unto *Little-else*, and there remained that night, and on the next morning I appeared before him again, the Dean of *Pauls* and the Chancellor of *London* being present. Then were brought forth certain writings that I had set my hand unto.

Boner. Come on your ways, firrah. Is not this your hand, and this, and this?

Ralph. Yea, they are my hand all of them; I confess the same, neither yet will I deny any thing that I have set my hand unto. But if I have set my hand to any thing that is not lawful, therefore am I sorry. Nevertheless, my hand I will not deny to be my doing.

Boner. Well said, Now ye must tell me; Were you never at the Church since you went from me, at *Mais Mattens*? &c.

Ralph. No; my Lord, not at *Mais Mattens*, nor any other strange worshipping of God.

Boner. Yea, sayest thou so? Wast thou neither at thine own Parish Church, nor at any other? And dost thou also say, that it is a strange worshipping? Why, I pray thee, wilt thou not believe the Scripture to be true?

Ralph.

Anno

1557.

Three forms of Religion in England.

The place of Ezdras explained.

Allerton charged with his own hand writing.

Anno 1557. *Ralph.* Yea, my Lord, I believe the Scripture to be true, and in the defence of the same I intend to give my lik, rather then I will deny any part thereof, God willing.

Dean. My Lord, this fellow will be an honest man, I hear by him. He will not stand in his opinion; for he sheweth himself gentle and patient in his talk.

Boner. Oh, he is a glorious knave. His painted terms shall no more deceive me. Ah whoreſon Prick-loufe, doth not Christ ſay, *This is my Body*? And how dareſt thou deny theſe words, for to ſay, as I have a writing to ſhew, and thine own hand at the ſame? Let me ſee, wilt thou deny this? Is not this thine own hand?

Ralph. Yes, my Lord, it is my own hand, neither am I aſhamed thereof, becauſe my confeſſion therein is agreeable to Gods Word. And whereas you do lay unto my charge, that I ſhould deny the Words of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; Oh, good Lord! from whence cometh this rath, haſty, and untrue judgment? Forſooth not from the Spirit of Truth; for he leadeth Men into all Truth, and is not the Father of lyars. Whereupon ſhould your Lordſhip gather or ſay of me ſo diffamouſly? Wherefore, I beſeech you, if I deny the Scriptures Canonical, or any part thereof, then let me die.

Tye the Prieſt. My Lord, he is a very ſeditious fellow, and perſwadeth other men to do as he himſelf doth, contrary to the order appointed by the Queens Highneſſe and the Clergy of this Realm. For a great fort of the Pariſh will be gathered one day to one place, and another day to another place to hear him; ſo that very few come to the Church to hear divine Service: and this was not only before that he was taken and brought unto the Council, but alſo ſince his return home again, he hath done much harm. For where both Men and Women were honeſtly diſpoſed before, by Saint Anne now are they as ill as he almoſt. And furthermore; he was not alhamed to withſtand me before all the Pariſh, ſaying, that we were of the malignant Church of Anti-chriſt, and not of the True Church of Chriſt, alledging a great many of Scriptures to ſerve for his purpoſe, ſaying; Good People, take heed, and beware of theſe Blood-thirſty Dogs, &c. And then I commanded the Conſtable to apprehend him, and ſo he did. Nevertheless, after this apprehenſion, the Conſtable let him go about his buſineſſ all the next day, ſo that without putting in of Sureties, he let him go into Suffolke and other places, for no goodneſſ; I warrant you my Lord: It were Alms to teach ſuch Officers their duty; how they ſhould let ſuch Rebels alſo at their own liberty; after that they be apprehended and taken, but to keep them faſt in the Stocks until they bring them before a Juſtice.

Ralph. As I ſaid before, ſo ſay I now again; thou art not of the Church of Chriſt, and that will I prove, if I may be ſuffered. And where you ſaid, that you commanded the Conſtable to apprehend me, you did ſo indeed, contrary to the Laws of this Realm, having neither to lay unto my charge, Treafon, Felony, nor Murder: No, neither had you Precept, Proceſs, nor Warrant to ſerve on me; and therefore I ſay, without a Law was I apprehended. And whereas you ſeek to trouble the Conſtable, becauſe he kept me not in the Stocks three days and three nights, it doth ſhew in part what you are: And my going into Suffolke was not for any evil, but only to buy half a Buſhel of Corn for Bread for my poor Wife and Children, knowing that I had no long time to tarry with them. But if I had run away, then you would ſurely have laid ſomewhat to his charge.

Boner. Go to, thou art a Merchant indeed. Ah firrah, before God thou ſhalt be burnt with fire. Thou knoweſt Richard Rabiſ; doſt thou not? Is he of the ſame mind that thou art of, or no? canſt thou tell?

Ralph. He is of age to anſwer; let him ſpeak for himſelf; for I hear ſay that he is in your houſe.

Bon. Loe what a knave here is. Go Clany, fetch me Rabiſ hither. By my troth he is a falſe knave; but yet thou art worſe than he. Ah firrah, did you not ſet your hand to a writing, the tenor whereof was, that if thou ſhould at any time fayor do Heretically, then it ſhould be lawfull for me to take thee with a reſcap, and to proceed in ſentence againſt thee?

Ralph. Yea, that is ſo. But here is to be asked, whether it be ſufficient, that my hand or name in writing be able to give Authority to you or to any other to kill me? For if I by writing can do ſo much, then muſt my Authority be greater then yours. Nevertheless, I have neither ſaid nor done heretically, but like a True Chriſtian man have I behaved my ſelf. And ſo I was committed unto priſon again, and the 24. day of the ſame Month, I was brought before the Biſhop, the Lord North, Dr. Starry, and others, and after a long talk in Latine amongſt themſelves (unto the which I gave no anſwer, becauſe they ſpoke not to me, although they ſpoke of me) at the laſt the Biſhop ſaid:

Boner. How ſay you firrah? tell me briefly at one word, wilt thou be contented to go to *Kilburn* with me, and there to kneel thee down at Maſſ, ſhewing thy ſelf outwardly as though thou diſt it with a good will? Go to, ſpeak.

Ralph. I will not ſay ſo.

Boner. Away with him, away with him.

The ſecond day of May I was brought before the Biſhop, and three Noble Men of the Council, whoſe names I do not remember.

Boner. Lo my Lords, this ſame is the fellow that was ſent unto me from the Council, and did ſubmit himſelf, ſo that I had half a hope of him: but by St. Anne I was always in doubt of him. Nevertheless, he was with me, and ſaid well; and when I delivered him, I gave him money in his purſe. How ſaiſt thou? was it not ſo as I tell my Lords here?

Ralph. Indeed my Lord I had meat and drink enough; but I never came in bed all the while. And at my departing you gave me twelve pence, howbeit I asked none, nor would have done.

A Lord. Be good to him my Lord. He will be a honeſt Man.

Boner. Before God, how ſhould I truſt him? He hath once deceived me already. But ye ſhall hear what he will ſay to the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar. How ſay you firrah? after the words of Conſecration be ſpoken by the Prieſt, there remaineth no bread, but the very Body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, God and Man, and none other ſubſtance, under the form of Bread.

Ralph. Where find you that, my Lord, written?

Boner. Lo Sir. Why? Doth not Chriſt ſay, *This is my Body*? How ſaiſt thou? Wilt thou deny theſe words of our Saviour Chriſt? Or elſe was he a diffembler, ſpeaking one thing, and meaning another? Go to, now I have taken you.

Ralph. Yea, my Lord, you have taken me indeed, and will keep me untill you kill me. Howbeit, my Lord, I marvel why you leave out the beginning of the inſtitution of the ſupper of our Lord? For Chriſt ſaid; *Take ye, and Eat ye, this is my Body*. And if it will pleaſe you to joyn the former words to the latter, then ſhall I make you an anſwer. For ſure I am, that Chriſt was no diffembler; neither did he ſay one thing, and mean another.

Boner. Why? Then muſt thou needs ſay, that it is his Body; for he ſaith it himſelf, and thou confeſſeſt that he will not lie.

Ralph. No, my Lord; he is true, and all men are lyars. Notwithſtanding, I utterly reſuſe to take the Words of our Saviour ſo fantastically as you teach us to take them: for then ſhould we conſpire with certain Hereticks called the *Neforians*; for they deny that Chriſt had a true natural Body, and ſo methink you do; my Lord. If you will affirm his Body to be there, as you ſay he is, then muſt you needs alſo affirm, that it is a fantactical Body; and therefore look to it for Gods ſake, and let theſe words go before; *Take ye and Eat ye*, without which words the reſt are not ſufficient; but when the worthy receivers do take and Eat, even then are fulfilled the words of our Saviour unto him, or every of them that ſo receiveth.

Boner. Ah, I feel well thou canſt not underſtand theſe words; I will ſhew thee a Parable. If I ſhould ſet a piece of Beef before thee, and ſay; Eat, it is Beef: And then take part of it away, and ſend it to my Cook; and he ſhall change the faſhion thereof, and make it look like Bread: What, wouldſt thou ſay that it were

St Thomas Ty, lately turned to his vomit, ſhirted for blood.

Allerton pretended, contrary to the Laws of the Realm.

Allerton charged with reſcap.

Allerton brought in: ſaid before Boner and certain Lords.

Trentham's translation.

St. Thomas's Parable.

were no Beef, because it hath not the fashion of Beef?
Ralph. Let me understand a little further, my Lord; shall the Cook add nothing thereunto, nor take any thing therefrom?

Boner. What is that to the matter, whether he do or no, so long as the shape is changed into another likeness?

Ralph. Ah, will you fo my Lord? your Sophistry will not serve; the truth will have the victory nevertheless, as *Esay* saith; He that restraineth himself from evil, must be spoiled. And *Amos* hath such like words also: For the Wife must be fain to hold their peace; so wicked a time it is, saith he: Nevertheless, he that can speak the truth, and will not, shall give a strait account for the same.

A Doctor. By my Lords leave, here me thinks thou speakest like a fool. Wilt thou be a Judge of the Scripture? Nay, thou must stand to learn, and not to teach; for the whole Congregation hath determined the matter long ago.

A Priest. No, by your leave, we have a Church, and not a Congregation. You mistake that word, Mr. Dr.

Ralph. Then said I to my fellow prisoners standing by; My Brethren, do ye not hear how these Men help one another? Let us do so also. But we never came all in together. Then was I carried away for that time. The 19. day of *May* I was brought before the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and *Chicheſter*, with others.

B. Rocheſt. Were you a companion of *George Eagles*, otherwise called *Trudgeover*? My Lord of *London* telleth me that you were his fellow companion.

Ralph. I know him very well, my Lord.

Rocheſt. By my Faith, I had him once, and then he was as drunk as an Ape, for he flunk fo of drink, that I could not abide him; and so sent him away.

Ralph. My Lord, I dare say you took your mark amiss. It was either your self, or some of your own company, for he did neither drink Wine, Ale, nor Beer, in a quarter of a year before that time; and therefore it was not he forsooth.

The rest of mine Examinations you shall have when I am condemned, if I can have any time after my coming into *Newgate*, the which I trust shall touch the matter a great deal more plainly; for the pithy matters are yet unwritten. Thus fare you well good Friends all. Yea, I say, farewell for ever in this present world. Greet ye one another, and be joyful in the Lord. Salute the good widows among you, with all the rest of the Congregation in *Berford*, and *Dedham*, and *Colcheſter*.

This promise of his, being either not performed, for that he might not thereto be permitted, or else if he did write, the same not coming to my hands. I am fain in the rest of his examinations to follow the only report of the Register; who witnesseth, that the 15. day of *May*, Anno 1557. in the Bishops Palace at *London*, he was examined upon certain Interrogatories, the contents whereof be these.

Articles ministred against Ralph Allerton.

First, that he was of the Parish of *Machbentley*, and so of the Diocese of *London*.

Secondly, that the 10. day of *January* then last past, Mr. *John Morant* preaching at *Pauls*, the said *Ralph Allerton* did there openly submit himself unto the Church of *Rome*, with the Rites and Ceremonies thereof.

Thirdly, that he did consent and subscribe as well unto the same submission, as also to one other bill, in the which he granted, that if he should at any time turn again unto his former opinions, it should be then lawful for the Bishop immediately to denounce and adjudge him as an Heretic.

Fourthly, that he had subscribed to a bill, wherein he affirmed, that in the Sacrament, after the words of Consecration be spoken by the Priest, there remaineth still material Bread and material Wine; and that he believeth that the Bread is the Bread of thanksgiving, and the memorial of Christs Death; and that when he receiveth it, he receiveth the Body of Christ spiritually in his Soul, but material Bread in substance.

Fifthly, that he had openly affirmed, and also advisedly spoken that which is contained in the said former fourth Article last before specified.

Sixthly, that he had spoken against the Bishop of *Rome*, with the Church and See of the same, and also against the 7. Sacraments and other ceremonies and ordinances of the same Church, used then within this Realm.

Seventhly, that he had allowed and commended the opinion and faith of Mr. *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, and others of late burned within this Realm, and believed that their opinions were good and godly.

Eighthly, that he had divers times affirmed, that the Religion used within this Realm, at the time of his apprehension, was neither good, nor agreeable to Gods Word, and that he could not conform himself thereunto.

Ninthly, that he had affirmed, that the Book of Common Prayer set forth in the Reign of King *Edward* the sixth, was in all parts good and godly; and that the said *Ralph* and his company prisoners, did daily use amongst themselves in prison some part of the Book.

Tenthly, that he had affirmed, that if he were out of prison, he would not come to Mass, Mattins, nor Evensong, nor bear Taper, Candle, or Palm, nor go in Procession, nor would receive Holy Water, Holy Bread, Athes, or Pax, or any other ceremony of the Church then used within this Realm.

Eleventhly, that he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty he would not confess his sins to any Priest, nor receive absolution of him; nor yet would receive the Sacrament of the Altar, as it was then used.

Twelfthly, that he had affirmed, that praying to Saints and prayers for the Dead, were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to fast and pray, but at his own will and pleasure; neither that it is lawful to reserve the Sacrament, or to worship it.

Thirteenthly, that the said *Allerton* hath, according to these his affirmations, abstained and refused to come unto his Parish Church ever since the 10. day of *January* last, or to use, receive, or allow any ceremonies, Sacraments, or other rites then used in the Church.

To all the Articles he answered affirmatively, denying precisely none of them; saving to this clause contained in the twelfth Article, that a Man is not bound to fast and pray but at his own will and pleasure, he said that he had affirmed no such thing, but he confessed that he had not fasted nor prayed so oft as he was bound to do. And unto this answer he also subscribed in this sort.

Except it be proved otherwise by the Holy Scriptures, I do affirm these Articles to be true. By me *Ralph Allerton*.

The next Examination was the fourth day of *July*; The Acts whereof, because they do appear more amply in his other examination, had the 10. day of *September*, I do here omit, giving you further to understand, that upon the seventh day of the same month of *July*, he was brought before Dr. *Darbyshire* in the Bishops Palace, who examined him again upon the former Articles, and after persuaded him to recant, threatening him that otherwise he should be burned. To whom he boldly answered, I would I might be condemned even to morrow; for I perceive my Lord (meaning *Boner*) doth nothing but seek Mens Blood. Upon which saying *Darbyshire* committed him again to prison, and the 10. day of *September* the Bishop caused him (with the other three abovenamed) to be brought unto *Fulham*, and there in his private Chapel within his house, he judicially propounded unto him certain other new Articles; of the which, the Tenors of the first, fifth, sixth, and seventh are already mentioned in the second, third, and fourth former objections: As for the rest, the contents thereof here follow,

Thou *Ralph Allerton* canst not deny, but that the Information given against thee, and remaining now in the Acts of this Court of thine Ordinary, *Edmund Bishop of London*, was and is a True Information.

This Information was given by *Thomas Tye*, Curate of *Bentley* (of whom you have already heard) and certain other of the same Parish and affinity: as namely,

John

Persecutors:
 Information given against
 Ralph Allerton,
 by Sir
 Thomas Tye
 Priest, &
 wicked Pro-
 motor.

John Painter, William Harris, John Barker, John Carter, Thomas Candler, Jeffry Belswood, John Richard, Richard Meer.

The effect whereof was, that one Lawrence Edwards, of Bentley aforesaid, had a Child that was unchristened, and being demanded by the said Tye, why his Child was not baptized, he made answer it should be when he could find one of his Religion (meaning a true professor of Christs Gospel.) Whereat the Curate said, Ah, ye have had time to utter that hath schooled you of late. Yea (quoth the said Edwards) that I have, and if your Doctrine be better then his, then I will believe you; and therewithal fondly offered to fetch him.

Whereupon the Constable going with him, they brought before the said Curate the said Ralph Allerton; of whom in this Information they make this report that he was a Seditious person who since his coming down from the Bishop, had set upon the Constables door certain Seditious Letters, moving and perswading thereby the People to follow his malicious disobedience; and that these his perswasions had taken effect in many: And farther, that the said Ralph Allerton (the Curate asking him whether he had instructed this Lawrence Edwards, that it was against Gods Commandment to enter into the Church) casting abroad his hands, should say; Oh good People, now is fulfilled the saying of the godly Priest and Prophet Ezechias, who saith, *4. Ekd. 16. The fire of a multitude is kindled against a few: they have taken away their houses, and spoiled their goods, &c.* Which of you all have not seen this day? who is he here amongst you, that seeth not all these things done upon us this day? The Church which they call us unto, is the Church of Antichrist, a persecuting Church, and the Church malignant. With these and many more words (said they, most maliciously and falsely alledged out of the Scriptures) he thus perswaded a great multitude there present (as much as in him lay) unto disobedience. For the which cause the Constables did then apprehend him.

3. Item, thou Ralph Allerton canst not deny, but that the Letter sent unto me by my Lord Darcy, beginning with these words (*Please it your Lordship, &c.*) was thine one Letter, and was subscribed by thine own hand.

The contents of the Letter mentioned in this Article, and written by Allerton unto the Lord Darcy, was a Confession of his demeanour before his first apprehension, the effect and purport whereof, because it appeareth in the beginning of his History, I do here omit.

4. Item, thou Ralph Allerton canst not deny, but that the other Letter, sent also to me from my said Lord Darcy, beginning thus (*Please it your Lordship, &c.*) and ending with those words (*whensoever it be*) is thine own very Letter, and subscribed with thine own hand.

This was also another Letter written by him unto the Lord Darcy, the Contents whereof were, that where the said Lord Darcy had commanded him to declare where he had been ever since *Whitsontide* last before his first apprehension, this was to certify his Lordship, that he was not able to do so, otherwise then as he had already shewed him by his former Letters. And moreover, whereas he charged him to have read unto the People abroad in the Woods, he certified him that he did never read any thing abroad, saving once when he was in the Company of George Eagles and others, Richard Roth took a writing out of his bosom, and desired the said Ralph to read it, which request he then accomplished; and demanding of him whole doing the same was, the said Roth told that it was Master Crasmers, late Archbishop of Canterbury; and farther he could not shew him. Nevertheless, he was ready and willing to suffer such punishment as his Lordship should think meet, desiring yet that the same might be with favour and mercy, although he feared neither punishment nor death, praying the Lord, that it might be in his fear, whensoever it should be.

8. Item, thou Ralph Allerton canst not deny, but that the Letters written with Blood, beginning with these words (*Grace, mercy, and peace, &c.* and ending thus, (*Farewell in God*) remaining now registred in the Acts

of this Court, were written voluntarily with thine own hand.

He wrote this Letter in the Prison with Blood for lack of other Ink, and did mean to send the same unto Agnes Smith alias Silver-side, at that time imprisoned; and afterward burned at Colchester for the testimony of the Gospel of Christ, as before is mentioned. The Copy of which Letter here ensueth.

A Letter written by Ralph Allerton, unto Agnes Smith Widow.

Grace, mercy and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, with the assistance of Gods holy Spirit, and the abundant health both of Soul and Body, I wish unto you, as to my own Soul, as God knoweth, who is the Searcher of all secrets.

Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his infinite mercy to call me to the state of grace, to suffer Martyrdom for Jesus Christs sake, although heretofore I have most negligently dallied therewith; and therefore far unworthy I am of such an high benefit, to be crowned with the most joyful Crown of Martyrdom: Nevertheless, it hath pleased God not so to leave me, but hath raised me up again according to his promise, which saith; *Although he fall, yet shall he not be hurt: For the Lord upholdeth him with his hand, Psal. 37.* Whereby we perceive Gods election to be most sure, for undoubtedly he will preserve all those that are appointed to die. And as he hath begun this work in me, even so do I believe that he will finish the same, to his great glory, and to my wealth, through Jesus Christ, So be it.

Dearly beloved Sister (I am constrained so to call you; because of your constant Faith and love unfained) consider, that if we be the true Servants of Christ, then may not we in any wise make agreement with his enemy Antichrist. For there is no concord and agreement between them, faith the Scriptures, and a man cannot serve two Masters, faith Christ. And also it is prefigured unto us in the old Law, whereas the People of God were most straitly commanded that they should not mingle themselves with the ungodly Heathen, and were also forbidden to eat, drink, or to marry with them. For as often as they did either marry unto their Sons, or take their Daughters unto them, or to their Sons, even so oft came the great and heavy wrath of God upon his own People, to overthrow both them and all their Cities, with the holy Sanctuary of God; and brought in strange Princes to reign over them, and wicked Rulers to govern them, so that they were sure of Hunger, Sword, Pestilence, and wild Beasts to devour them. Which plagues never ceased, until the good People of God were clean separated from the wicked Idolatrous People.

Oh dearly beloved, this was written for our learning that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope. And is it not in like case hapned now in this Realm of England? For now are the People of God had in derision, and troden under foot, and the Cities, Towns, and Houses where they dwell, are inhabited with them that have no right thereunto, and the true owners are spoiled of their labours; yea, and the holy Sanctuary of Gods most blessed Word is laid desolate and wast, so that the very Foxes run over it, &c. yet is it the food of our Souls, the Lantern of our feet, and the Light unto our paths; and where it is not preached, the People perish. But the Prophet saith, *Esay 59. He that refraineth himself from evil, must be spoiled.* Why should men then be abashed to be spoiled, seeing that it is told us before, that it must so happen unto them that refrain from evil? And thus I bid you farewell in God.

R. A.

Item, thou Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but that the Letters written with Blood, beginning with these words in the over part thereof: (*The Angel of God, &c.*) and ended thus (*Be with you, Amen.*) and having also this Postscript (*Do ye suppose that our Brethren &c.*) remaining now registred in the Acts of this Court, are thine own hand-writing.

9. For the better understanding of this Article, I have also here inserted the Copy of the Letter mentioned in the same; which Letter he wrote (by his own Confession) unto *Richard Roth*, then in danger of the subtle snares of that bloody Wolf *Boner*,

A Letter of
Ralph Allerton.

Another Letter written by Ralph Allerton unto *Richard Roth*, his fellow-Martyr.

THe Angel of God pitch his Tent about us, and defend us in all our ways, *Amen, Amen.*

O dear Brother, I pray for you; for I hear say, that you have been divers times before my Lord in Examination. Wherefore take heed for Gods sake what the wise man teacheth you, and shrink not away when you are enticed to confels an untruth, for hope of life, but be ready always to give an answer of the hope that is in you. For whosoever confesseth Christ before men, him will Christ also confels before his Father. But he that is ashamed to confels him before men, shall have his reward with them that do deny him. And therefore, dear Brother, go forward: ye have a ready way, so fair as ever had any of the Prophets or Apostles, or the rest of our Brethren, the holy Martyrs of God. Therefore covet to go hence with the multitude while the way is full. Alfo (dear Brother) understand that I have seen your Letter, and although I cannot read it perfectly, yet I partly perceive your meaning therein, and very gladly I would copy it out, with certain comfortable additions thereunto annexed. The which as yet will not be brought to pass for lack of Paper, until my Lord be gone from hence, and then your request shall be accomplished, God willing, without delay. Thus fare ye well in God. Our dear Brother and Fellow in tribulation, *Robert Allin*, saluteth you, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you, *Amen.*

Ralph Allerton.

Postscriptum.

Do ye suppose that our Brethren and Sisters are not yet dispatched out of this world? I think that either they are dead, or shall be within these two days.

And for the other Objection yet remaining, and not specified, if it were not more somewhat to shew the folly of these bloody Tyrants (which of so small trifles take occasions to quarrel with the Saints of God) than for any weighty thing therein contained; I would neither trouble you with the reading thereof, nor yet my self with writing. But that ye may judge of them as their doings do give occasion, I will now proceed in the matter.

Item, thou *Ralph Allerton* canst not deny, but confest, that the writing of Letters in a little piece of Paper on both sides of it, with this Sentence following on the one side (*look at the foot of the Stock for a Knife*) and with this Sentence following upon the other side (*look between the Post and the Wall for two Books and two Epistles, leave them here when ye go*) remaining now in the Register and Acts of this Court, is voluntarily written by thee *Ralph Allerton* with thine own hand.

Item, thou *Ralph Allerton* canst not deny, but that thou art privy to a certain Writing remaining now in the Register and Acts of this Court, the beginning whereof is with these words (*I would have men wise, &c.*) and ending thus (*from house to house*).

Item, thou *Ralph Allerton* canst not deny, but that thou art privy, and of consent and maintenance of a certain great Woodknife, a long Sword, a Hook, a Stone and of a Trencher written upon with Chalk, having this Sentence (*All is gone and lost, because of your folly*;) of two Boords written upon with Chalk, the one having this Sentence (*under the Stone look*) and the other having this Sentence (*whereas you bid me take heed, I thank you, I trust in God that I shall be at peace with him shortly*) remaining now Registered in the Acts of this Court.

Answers to the Articles
Ex Regist.

For answer unto all these Articles, he granted that the first Nine were true, as the Register recordeth. Howbeit, I find noted in the backside of the Information, specified in the second Article (although crossed out again) that he denied such things as were there in the same informed

against him. Wherefore it is not likely that he did simply grant unto the contents of the second Article, but rather that he only affirmed, that such an Information was given against him, and not that the same was true.

Thus much I thought to warn the Reader of, lest that in mistaking his answers, it might seem, that he granted himself to be a seditious and a Rebellious Person; of which fact he was most clear and innocent. And being farther demanded upon the contents of the eighth Article, where he had the Blood he wrote that Letter withal; he said, that *Richard Roth*, sometime his Prison-fellow, did make his Nose bleed, and thereby he got the Blood wherewith he did then write. The Bishop again asked him, to whom he would have sent the same. He answered unto one *Agnes Smith alias Silver-side*, of *Colchester*. Why (quoth the Bishop) *Agnes Smith* was an Heretic, and is burned for Heresy. Nay, said *Allerton*, she is in better case, than either I my self, or any of us all. Then being again demanded (upon the ninth Objection) to whom he would have sent the Letter mentioned in the same; he answered, that he meant to have sent it unto *Richard Roth*, at that present separated from him. Whereupon the Bishop farther inquired, what he meant by these words *Brethren and Sisters*, specified in the said Letter? He answered, that he meant thereby, such as were lately condemned at *Colchester*, and were like (at the writing thereof) shortly to be burned. Now as for the contents of the tenth and the eleventh Articles he utterly denied them. But to the twelfth he confest, that he writ upon the said Trencher and other Boords, the words mentioned in the said Article, and that he did leave the same in the Prison-house, to the intent that *Richard Roth* should read them. *Boner* also bringing out the Wooden Sword, mentioned in the said Article, asked him who made it, and for what purpose. Whereunto he answered, that he was the maker thereof, howbeit for no evil purpose. But being idle in the Prison, and finding there an old Boord, he thought the time better spent in making thereof, then to sit still, and do nothing at all.

The forenoon being now spent, the rest of this tragedy was deferred until the afternoon. Wherein was manifested unto him yet certain other Objections, the tenor whereof was.

First, that he had misliked the Mass, calling upon Other Objections, Saints, and carrying the Cross in Procession, with other their Ceremonies, calling them Idolatry, and also that he had disfavoured them therefrom.

2. Item, that he was much desirous to have the People believe as he did; and therefore being in Prison with his Fellows, did sing Psalms and other Songs against the Sacrament of the Altar, and other Ordinances of the Church, so loud that the People abroad might hear them and delight in them.

3. Item, that he had divers times conspired against his Keeper, and had provided things to kill him, and so to break the Prison, and escape away.

4. Item, that he had railed against the Bishop, being his Ordinary, calling him a bloody Butcher, Tyrant, and ravening Wolf, and also against his Officers, especially *Cluny* his Sumner, calling him Butchers Cur, with other such names.

5. Item, that he had murmured, grudged, disdained and misliked, that the Bishop had proceeded against certain of his Dioceses, and had condemned them as Heretics, or that he should proceed now against him and others yet remaining in errors, notwithstanding that he and his Chaplains had charitably admonished and exhorted them from the same.

6. Item, that he ought faithfully to believe, that there is one Catholick Church, without the which there is no salvation; of the which Church Jesus Christ is the very Priest and Sacrifice, whose Body and Blood is really and truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine; the Bread and Wine being by the divine power transubstantiated into his Body and Blood.

7. Item, that he had kept himself, and also distributed to others certain heretical and corrupt Books, condemned and reprobated by the Laws of this Realm.

8. Item,

Anno

1557.

A 000
1557.

8. *Item*, that he had contrary to the orders and Statutes of this Realm kept Company with that seditious Heretick and Traytor, *George Eagles*, commonly called *Trudgeover*, and had heard him read in Woods and other places, yet not accusing but allowing and praising him.

Unto which Articles, because they were for the most part so foolish and full of lies, he would in a manner make no answer, saying he granted that he did mislike their Mass and other Ceremonies, because they were wicked and naught. And moreover, he told the Bishop, that he and his complices did nothing but seek how to kill Innocents.

The Bishop then asked him, whether he would believe in all points touching the Sacrament of the Altar, as is contained in the General Council holden and kept under *Innocentius* the Third, and therewithal he did read the Decree of the said Council touching the Sacrament.

Whereunto *Allerton* again made answer and said; I believe nothing contained in the same Council, neither have I any thing to do therewith; and it were also very necessary, that no man else should have to do therewith.

Then (quoth *Boner*) thou art of the Opinion that the Hereticks lately burnt at *Colchester* were of.

Yes, said he, I am of their Opinion, and I believe that they be Saints in Heaven.

This done, the Bishop perceiving that he would not recant, demanded what he had to say, why he should not pronounce the Sentence of Condemnation against him. To whom he answered, Ye ought not to condemn a man Heretick, for I am a good Christian. But now go to, do as you have already determined: For I see right well, that Right and Truth be suppressed, and cannot appear upon the Earth.

These words ended, the Bishop pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation, and so delivered him unto the temporal Officers: Who reserved him in their custody until the 17. day of *September*, at which time, both he and the other three before mentioned, were all burned, as ye have already heard. Of which other three, because as yet little is said, I will therefore now proceed to declare such cause of their cruel deaths, as in the Register is recorded.

James Austoo, and Margery his Wife

Examination
of James
Austoo and
Margery his
Wife.

Touching the first Apprehension of these two persons, I find neither occasion why, neither time, nor manner how: Howbeit, as the days then served, it was no hard or strange matter to fall into the hands of such, as with cruelty persecuted the true Professors of Gods Gospel, especially having so many Promoters, and unneighbourly neighbours to help them forwards. By which kind of People, it is not unlike these two godly yoke-fellows were accused and taken; and being once delivered into the pitiless handling of *Boner*, their Examinations (ye may be sure) were not long deferred. For the 16. day of *July* 1557. they were brought before him into his place at *London*. Where first he demanded of the said *James Austoo* (amongst other questions) where he had been confessed in. Lent, and whether he received the Sacrament of the Altar at *Easter*, or not?

To whom he answered, That indeed he had been confessed of the Curate of *Albhallows Barking*, nigh to the Tower of *London*, but that he had not received the Sacrament of the Altar; for he defied it from the bottom of his heart.

Why (quoth the Bishop) dost thou not believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the true Body and Blood of Christ?

No, said *Austoo*, not in the Sacrament of the Altar, but in the Supper of the Lord, to the Faithful Receiver is the very Body and Blood of Christ by Faith.

Boner not well pleased with this talk, asked then the Wife, how she did like the Religion then used in this Church of *England*?

She answered, that she believed, that the same was not according to Gods Word. but false and corrupted, and that they which did go thereunto, did it more for fear of the Law, than otherwise.

Then he again asked her, if she would go to the Church and hear Mass; and pray for the Prosperous estate of the King, being then abroad in his Affairs.

Whereunto the said, that she defied the Mass with all her heart, and that she would not come into any Church wherein were Idols.

After this the Bishop objected unto them certain Articles, to the number of eighteen. The Tenor whereof (because they touch only such common and trifling matters as are already mentioned in divers and sundry places before) I do here for brevities sake omit and pass over; giving you yet this much to understand; that in the matters of Faith they were as found, and answered as truly (God be therefore praised) as ever any did, especially the Woman, to whom the Lord had given the greater knowledge, and more ferventness of Spirit. Notwithstanding according to the measure of grace that God gave them, they both stood most firmly unto the truth. And therefore to conclude, the tenth day of *September* they were (with *Ralph Allerton*, of whom ye have heard) brought again before the Bishop within his Chappel at *Fulham*, where he speaking unto them, said first on this wise; *Austoo*, dost thou know where thou art now, and in what place, and before whom, and what thou hast to do?

Yes (quoth *Austoo*) I know where I am: For I am in an Idols Temple.

After which words, their Articles being again read, and their Constancy in Faith perceived, *Boner* pronounced against either of them severally the Sentence of Condemnation, and delivering them unto the Sheriff there present, did rid his hands (as he thought) of them; but the Lord in the end will judge that: to whom I refer his cause.

It so happened upon a night, that as this *Margery Austoo* was in the Bishops Prison (which Prison I suppose was his Dog-Kennel; for it was, as is reported, under a pair of Stairs,) by the Bishops procurement there was sent a stout Champion (as appeared) about twelve of the Clock at night, who suddenly opened the door, and with a Knife drawn, or ready prepared, fell upon her, to the intent to have cut her Throat. Which he by reason of the clearness of the Moon perceiving, and calling unto God for help, he (but who it was the knew not) giving a grunt, and fearing belike to commit to cruel a deed, departed his ways without any more hurt doing.

The next night following, they caused a great rumbling to be made over her head, which seemed to her to have been some great Thunder, which they did to have feared her out of her wits, but yet, thanks be to God, they missed of their purpose.

Richard Roth.

IN the godly fellowship of the forenamed three Martyrs, was also this *Richard Roth*, as is already specified. Who being apprehended, and brought up unto the Bishop of *London*, was by him examined the fourth day of *July*; at what time the Bishop did earnestly travel to induce him to believe that there were seven Sacraments in Christs Church, and that in the Sacrament of the Altar (after the words of Consecration duly spoken) there remained the very substance of Christs Body and Blood, and none other. Whereunto (at that present) he made only this answer; that if the Scripture did so teach him, and that he might be by the same so persuaded, he would so believe, otherwise not. But at another Examination (which was the 9. day of *September*) he declared plainly, that in the said Sacrament of the Altar as it was then used there was not the very Body and Blood of Christ, but that it was a dead God, and that the Mass was detestable, and contrary to Gods holy word and will, from the which Faith and Opinion he would not go or decline.

The next day, being the tenth day of the same month of *September*, the Bishop at his house at *Fulham* (by way of an Article) laid and objected against him; that he was a comforter and bolder of Heretics; and therefore had written a Letter to that effect unto certain that were burned at *Colchester*; the Copy whereof ensued.

Mar. Austoo
certified in
Prison.Examination
of R. Roth.

The Martyrdom of Ralph Allerton, James Austbo, Margery Austbo, Richard Roth, Anno 1557. Sep. 17.



The Martyrdom of Margaret Thurlston, Agnes Bongcor, at Colchester. Anno 1557. Sep. 17.



A Letter written by Richard Roth, unto certain Brethren and Sisters in Christ, condemned at Colchester, and ready to be burned for the Testimony of the Truth.

A Letter of
R. Roth.

O Dear Brethren and Sisters, how much have you to rejoyce in God, that he hath given you such Faith to overcome this Blood-thirsty Tyrant thus far? and no doubt he that hath begun that good work in you, will fulfil it unto the end. O dear hearts in Christ, what a Crown of glory shall ye receive with Christ in the Kingdom of God? Oh that it had been the good will of God that I had been ready to have gone with you. For I lie in my Lords Little-chaise in the day, and in the night I lie in the Cole-house, from Ralph Allerton, or any other: and we look every day when we shall be condemned. For he said, that I should be burned within ten days before Easter; but I lie still at the Pools brink, and every man goeth in before me: but we abide patiently the Lords leisure, with many bonds, in fetters and stocks; by the which we have received great joy in God. And now fare you well dear Brethren and Sisters, in this world, but I trust to see you in the Heavens face to face.

Oh Brother Munt, with your Wife and my dear Sister Rofe, how blessed are you in the Lord, that God hath found you worthy to suffer for his sake? with all the rest of my dear Brethren and Sisters known and unknown. O be joyful even unto death. Fear is not, faith Christ; for I have overcome death, faith he. Oh dear hearts! seeing that Jesus Christ will be our help, Oh tarry you the Lords leisure. Be strong, let your hearts be of good comfort, and wait you still for the Lord. He is at hand. Yea, the Angel of the Lord pitcheth his Tent round about them that fear him, and delivereth them which way he seeth best. For our lives are in the Lords hands; and they can do nothing unto us before God suffer them. Therefore give all thanks to God.

Oh dear hearts! you shall be clothed with long white garments upon the mount Zion, with the multitude of Saints, and with Jesus Christ our Saviour, which will never forsake us. Oh blessed Virgins! ye have played the wife Virgins part, in that you have taken Oyl in your Lamps, that ye may go in with the Bridegroom, when he cometh, into the everlasting joy with him. But as for the foolish, they shall be shut out, because they made

not themselves ready to suffer with Christ, neither go about to take up his Cross. Oh dear hearts, how precious shall your death be in the fight of the Lord? for dear is the death of his Saints. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen. Amen. Pray, pray, pray.

By me Richard Roth, written
with my own Blood.

This Letter he confessed indeed (upon the said Examination) that he had written with his Blood, and that he meant to have sent the same unto such as were condemned at Colchester for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and were afterwards burned there, as ye have already heard.

The Bishop then farther asked him, what he thought his Prison-fellow Ralph Allerton to be.

He answered, that he thought him to be one of the The Elect Children of God; and that if at any time hereafter he happened to be put to death for his Faith and Religion, he thought he should die a true Martyr. And moreover, finding himself aggrieved with the Bishops privy and secret condemning of Gods People, he said unto him in this sort; My Lord, because the People should not see and behold your doings, ye cause me and others to be brought to our Examinations by night, being afraid (belike) to do it by day.

The Bishop not greatly caring for his talk, proceeded to examine him of other matters, amongst which this high and weighty thing was one, videlicet, how he did like the Order and Rites of the Church then used here in England.

To whom he said, that he ever had, and yet then did abhor the same withal his heart.

Then divers of the Bishops Complices intreated and persuaded him to recant, and ask mercy of the Bishop.

No (quoth Roth) I will not ask mercy of him that cannot give it. Whereupon he was (as the rest before mentioned) condemned and delivered unto the Sheriff, and the 17. day of September they all most joyfully fended their lives in one fire at Ilington, for the Testimony of Christ, as before is declared.

Agnes

Anno

1557.

Septemb. 17.

Margaret
Thurston,
Agnes
Bongcor,
Martyrs.A note of
Margaret
Thurston.

The Martyr-

dom of

Margaret

Thurston, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bong-

cor, &c.

Agnes Bongcor, and Margaret Thurston, two goodly Christian Women, burnt at Colchester for the sincere profession of Christs Gospel.

A Little before (gentle Reader) was mention made of ten that suffered Martyrdom at Colchester, at which time there were two other Women also, one called Margaret Thurston, and the other Agnes Bongcor, that should have suffered with them, and were likewise condemned at the same time and place that the other above named ten were, for the like cause, and answered also in their examinations the like in effect as the other did. But the one, namely Margaret Thurston, that morning she should suffer with those that went from the Castle, was for that time deferred. What the cause was, the Testimony of Joan Cook, shall declare unto us. Which Joan Cook, the Wife now of John Spark, being then in the Castle of Colchester for Religion, did demand of this Widow Thurston, whose Husband died in the Prison, being imprisoned for Religion, wherefore the said Margaret, being a condemned Woman, should be reserved when the other suffered in the Castle Bailey: she answered, that it was not for any fear of Death, but being prepared as the rest were that suffered the same day, she felt in her self a great shivering and trembling of the flesh. Whereupon forsaking the company, she went aside to pray. And whilst she was a praying, she thought that she was lifted up with a mighty wind that came round about her. Even at that instant came in the Gaoler and company with him, and whilst she turned her self to fetch her Psalter, they took the other prisoners and left her alone. Shortly after she was removed out of the Castle, and put into the Town-prison, where she continued until Friday sevensnight after her company were burnt. That day, not two hours before her death, she was brought to the Castle again, where she declared thus much to the foresaid Joan Cook.

The other, named Agnes Bongcor, who should have suffered in like manner with the six that went out of Motehall, was also kept back at that time, but not in like sort, because her name was wrong written within the Writ, as in the Bayliffs Letter of Colchester, sent to Bomer about the same more plainly doth appear in the Book of our first edition, pag. 1632.

The same morning, the second of August, that the said six in Motehall were called out to go to their Martyrdom, was Agnes Bongcor also called with them, by the name of Agnes Bover. Wherefore the Bayliffs understanding her (as I said) to be wrong named within the Writ, commanded the said Agnes Bongcor to Prison again as ye have heard in the Letter before named, and so from Motehall that day sent her to the Castle, where she remained until her Death.

But when she saw her self so separated from her said Prison-fellows in that sort, Oh good Lord! what pitious mone that good Woman made, how bitterly she wept, what strange thoughts came into her mind, how naked and desolate she esteemed her self, and into what plunge of despair and care her poor Soul was brought, it was pitious and wonderful to see: which all came because she went not with them to give her life in the defence of her Christ; for of all things in the world, life was least looked for at her hands. For that morning in which she was kept back from burning, had she put on a smock that she had prepared only for that purpose. And also having a Child, a little young Infant sucking on her, whom she kept with her tenderly all the time that she was in Prison, against that day likewise did she send away to another Nurse, and prepared her self presently to give her self for the testimony of the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ. So little did she look for life, and so greatly did Gods gifts work in her above nature, that death seemed a great deal better welcom than life. But this took not effect at that times the thought it would, and therefore (as I said) was the not a little troubled.

Being in this great perplexity of mind, a friend of hers came to her, and required to know whether Abrahams Obedience was accepted before God, for that he did Sacrifice his Son Isaac, or that he would have offered him? Unto which she answered thus:

I know (quoth she) that Abrahams will before God was allowed, or the deed, in that he would have done it, if the Angel of the Lord had not staid him: but I (said she) am unhappy, the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignity, and therefore Abrahams case and mine is not alike.

Why (quoth her friend) would ye not willingly have gone with your company, if God should so have suffered it?

Yes (said she) with all my heart, and because I did not, it is now my chief and greatest grief.

Then said her Friend; My dear Sister, I pray thee consider Abraham and thy self well, and thou shalt see thou dost nothing differ with him in will at all.

Alas (quoth she) there is a far greater matter in Abraham than in me; for Abraham was tried with the offering of his own Child, but so am not I; and therefore our cases are not alike.

Good Sister (quoth her Friend) weigh the matter but indifferently. Abraham I grant (said he) would have offered his Son: and have not you done the like in your little sucking Babe? But consider further than this, my good Sister (said he) where Abraham was commanded but to offer his Son, you are heavy and grieved because you offer not your self, which goeth somewhat more near you than Abrahams Obedience did; and therefore before God, assuredly, is no less accepted and allowed in his holy presence; which further the preparing of your throud also doth argue full well, &c. After which talk between them, she began a little to stay her self, and gave her whole exercise to reading and prayer, wherein she found no little comfort.

In the time that these foresaid two good Women were prisoners, one in the Castle, and the other in Motehall, God by a secret mean called the said Margaret Thurston unto his truth again; who, having her eyes opened by the working of his Spirit, did greatly sorrow and lament her backsliding before, and promised faithfully to the Lord in hope of his mercies, never more while she lived to do the like again, but that she would constantly stand to the confession of the same, against all the Adversaries of the Cross of Christ. After which promise made, came in a short time a Writ from London for the burning of them, which according to the effect thereof was executed the 17. day of September, in the year afore said.

Now when these fore said good Women were brought to the place in Colchester where they should suffer the 17. day of September, in the year afore said, they fell down upon both their knees, and made their humble prayers unto the Lord: which thing being done, they rose and went to the stake joyfully and were immediately thereto chained, and after the fire had compassed them about, they with great joy and glorious triumph gave up their Souls, Spirits, and Lives, into the hands of the Lord, under whose Government and protection, For Christs sake we beseech him to grant us his holy defence and help for ever more, Amen.

Thus (gentle Reader) God chooseth the weak things of the world, to confound mighty things.

John Kurde, Martyr.

In the story before, was something touched of a certain Shoemaker suffering at Northampton, being unnamed, whom because we understand by a Letter sent from the said parties, that he suffered in this year. 1557. and in the Month of September, therefore we thought there to place him. His name was John Kurde, a Shoemaker, late of the Parish of Syssam in Northampton Shire, who was imprisoned in Northampton Castle for denying the Popish Transubstantiation, for the which cause William Binsley Bachelor of Law, and Chancellor unto the Bishop of Peterborough, and now Archdeacon of Northampton, did Pronounce Sentence of Death against the said Kurde, in the Church of all Saints in Northampton, in August, Anno 1557. And in September following, at the commandment of Sir Thomas Tresham, Sheriff then of the Shire he was led by his John Kurde,

Q o o 3

Officers

A Writ for
the burning
of Margaret
Thurston and
Agnes Bongcor.

Septemb. 17.
John Kurde,
Martyr.

Will. Binsley
Chancellor
unto the Bishop
of Peterborough,
and now Archdeacon
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in Northampton,
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commandment of Sir
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Sheriff then of the
Shire he was led by his
John Kurde.

The Martyrdom of John Kurde, at Northampton, Anno 1557. September. 20.



Officers without the Northgate of Northampton, and in the stone pits was burned. A Popish Priest standing by, whose name was John Rose, Vicar of Saint Giles in Northampton, did declare unto him, that if hee would recant, he was authorized to give him his pardon. His answer was, that he had his Pardon by Jesus Christ, &c.

A True Certificate of the taking of one John Noyes of Laxfield, in the County of Suffolk, Shoemaker, who was taken the nineteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord God, 1557. as hereafter followeth.

IN the Month of September this present year, (as some report) in the year past, suffered the blessed Martyr J^o. Noyes, whose story here followeth.

First, Master Thomas Lovell being then chief Constable of Hoxton Hundred, in the County aforesaid, and one John Jacob, and William Stannard then being under-Constables of the foresaid Town of Laxfield, and W^olffren Dowling, and Nicholas Stannard of the same Town, being then accounted faithful and Chatholick Christians, though undoubtedly they proved most cruel hinderers of the True Professours of Christ and his Gospel, with others, were command'd to be that present day before the Justices whose names were Master Thurston, Sir John Tyrrel, and Master Kene, and Sir Jo. Siliard being High Sheriff.

These sitting at Hoxton in the County of Suffolk aforesaid, and there the said Townsmen aforesaid having commandment of the said Justices to inquire in their Town if there were any that would neglect to come to their Service and Mass, further to examine the cause why they would not come, and thereupon to bring the true certificate to the said Justices within fourteen days then next ensuing; they then coming homeward, being full of hatred against the truth, and desirous to get promotion, without any such commandment of the Justices (as far as we can learn) took Counsel one with another how to attach the said John Noyes without any more delay.

This devilish enterprise agreed upon, chiefly through the Counsel of Master Thomas Lovell, W^olffren Dowling, and Nicholas Stannard aforesaid with expedition his house was beset on both sides. This done, they found the said John Noyes, on the backside of the said house going

Persecution by the Constables, Sheriff, & Justices of Suffolk.

Charge given by the Inquisitors.

Counsel taken at sitting by the said John Noyes, his wife, &c.

The Martyrdom of John Noyes of Laxfield, Anno 1557. of as some say, Anno 1556. September.



outward, and Nicholas Stannard called to the said John, and said, Whither goest thou? And he said, to my neighbours. And the said Nicholas Stannard said, your Master hath deceived you; you must go with us now. But the said John Noyes answered, No, but take you heed your Master deceive not you. And so they took him and carried him to the Justices the next day. After his appearance and sundry causes alledged, the Justices and the Sheriff together cast him into Eye-dungeon, and there he lay a certain time. And then was carried from thence to Norwich, and so came before the Bishop, where were ministered unto him these positions following:

1 Whether he believed that the Ceremonies used in the Church were good and godly, to stir up Mens minds to Devotion.

2 Item, whether he believed the Pope to be Supreme Head of the Church here in Earth.

3 Item, whether he believed the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ to be in the Sacrament of the Altar under the Forms of Bread and Wine, after the Words of Consecration.

Whereunto he answered, that he thought the natural Body of Christ to be only in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament, &c.

For the which, Sentence at last was read by the Bishop against him, in the presence of these there sitting the same time, Dr. Dunning Chancellor, Sir W. Woodboue, Sir Thomas Woodboue, Mr. George Heyden, Mr. Spenser, W. Farrar Alderman of Norwich, Mr. Thurston, Winesden with divers other.

More of his Examination than this came not to our hands.

In the mean time his Brother-in-law, one Nicholas Fisk of Dinwington going to comfort him at such time as he remained prisoner in the Guild hall of Norwich, after Christian Exhortation, asked him if he did fear Death when the Bishop gave judgment against him, considering the terror of the same; And the said John Noyes answered, he thanked God he feared death no more at that time, than he or any other did, being at liberty. Then the said Nicholas required him to shew the cause of his Condemnation. Upon which request the said John Noyes writ with his own hand as followeth:

I said

John Noyes taken by Nicholas Stannard, & executed.

John Noyes cast into Eye-dungeon.

Ex Regis. Articles against John Noyes.

read pre- face denied Sacrament, &c.

Sentence read against John Noyes.

Anno 1557. I said (quoth he) that I could not believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the natural Body of Christ. But I said, that the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ is received of Christian People in the remembrance of Christs death, as a spiritual food, if it be ministered according to Christs Institution.

But they said, I could not tell what spiritual meant.

The Bishop said, that the Sacrament was God, and must be worshipped as God. So said the Chancellor also.

Then answered I, my Lord, I cannot so believe.

Then (quoth the Bishop) why? Then say thou dost believe. Notwithstanding these collutions could not prevail.

4. Noyes brought to the place of Marys martyrdom.

Now being condemned, he was sent again from Norwich to Eye-Prison, and upon the 21. day of September in the year aforesaid, about midnight, he was brought from Eye to Laxfield to be burned, and on the next day morning was brought to the Stake, where was ready against his coming the foresaid Justice, Maister Thurston, one Mr. Waller then being under Seriff, and Mr. Thomas Lovell being High Constable, as is before expressed, the which commanded men to make ready all things meet for that sinful purpose. Now the fire in most places of

The fire was out in the Town where John Noyes should be burned.

the Street was put out, saving a smोक was edied by the said Thomas Lovell proceeding out from the top of a Chimney, to which house the Sheriff and Grannow his Man went, and brake open the door, and thereby got fire, and brought the same to the place of execution. When John Noyes came to the place where he should be burned, he knelt down and said the 50. Psalm, with other Prayers, and then they making haft bound him to the Stake, and being bound, the said John Noyes said, Fear not them that can kill the Body, but fear him that can kill both Body and Soul, and cast it into everlasting fire.

The words of John Noyes to his Sister.

When he saw his Sister weeping and making moan for him, he bade her that she should not weep for him, but weep for her sins.

Then one Nicholas Cadman being Haftler, a valiant Champion in the Popes affairs, brought a Fagot and set against him; and the said John Noyes took up the Fagot and kissed it and said; Blessed be the time that ever I was born to come to this.

Then he delivered his Pfalter to the under Sheriff, desiring him to be good to his Wife and Children, and to deliver to her that same Book; and the Sheriff promised him that he would, notwithstanding he never as yet performed his promise. Then the said John Noyes said to the People, they say they can make God of a piece of Bread, believe them not.

The words of John Noyes to the People.

Then said he; Good People, bear witness that I do believe to be saved by the merits and passion of Jesus Christ, and not by mine own deeds; and so the fire was kindled, and burned about him, then he said; Lord have mercy upon me. Christ have mercy upon me. Son of David have mercy upon me.

And so he yielded up his life, and when his Body was burned, they made a pit to bury the Coals and Ashes, and amongst the same they found one of his feet that was unburned, whole up to the Ankel, with the hofe on, and that they buried with the rest.

John Jarvis wrongfully troubled the words spoken at the burning of Noyes.

Now while he was a burning, there stood one John Jarvis by, a mans Servant of the same Town, a plain Fellow, which said; Good Lord, how the Sinews of his Arms shrink up. And there stood behind him one Grannow and Benet, being the Sheriffs men, and they said to their Maister, that John Jarvis said, What villain wretches are these? And their Maister bid lay hand on him, and they took him and pinioned him, and carried him before the Justice that same day, and the Justice did examine him of the words aforesaid, but he denied them, and answered that he said nothing but this? Good Lord, how the Sinews of his Arms shrink up. But for all this the Justice did bind his Father and his Maister in 5. l. a piece, that he should be forth coming at all times. And on the Wednesday next he was brought again before the Justices, Mr. Thurston and Mr. Kent, they listing at

Fre. in the Hall. Hundred, and there they did appoint a 11. man, that the said John Jarvis should be set in the stocks the next market day, and whipt about the market about. But his Maister, one William Jarvis, did after crave friendship of the Constables, and they did not set him in the Stocks till Sunday Morning, and in the Afternoon they did whip him about the Market with a Dog-whip, having three Curds, and so they let him go.

Some do give out, that John Jarvis was whipped for saying that Nicholas Cadman was Noyes Haftler, that is, such a one as maketh and halseth the fire.

The Copy of a certain Letter that he sent to comfort his Wife at such time as he lay in Prison.

Wife, you desired me that I would send you some tokens that you might remember me. As I did read in the New Testament, I thought it good to write unto you certain places of the Scripture for a remembrance. St. Peter saith, 1 Pet. 4. Dearly Beloved be not troubled with this heat that is now come among you to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you, but rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christs sufferings, that when his glory appears ye may be merry and glad. If ye be nailed on for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the spirit of glory, and the spirit of God resteth upon you. It is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well doing than for evil doing 1 Pet. 2.

So 1 Pet. 4. See that none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a Thief, or an evil doer, or as a busy-body in other mens matters; but if any man suffer as a Christian man, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorifie God in this behalf; for the time is come that Judgment must begin at the house of God. If it first begin at us, what shall the end of them be, that believe not the Gospel of God? Wherefore let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit their Souls to him in well doing.

St. Paul saith, 2 Tim. 3. All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution.

St. John saith, 1 John 2. See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world, which passeth away and is the lust thereof, but he that fulfilleth the will of God abideth for ever.

St. Paul saith Colos. 2. If ye be risen again with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things that are above, and not on things which are on earth.

Our Saviour Christ saith, Mat. 18. Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a Millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the Sea.

The Prophet David saith, Psal. 34. Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all.

Fear the Lord, ye his Saints: for they that fear him lack nothing.

When the Righteous cry, the Lord heareth them and delivereth them out of all their troubles: But misfortune shall stay the ungodly, and they that hate the righteous shall perish.

Hear, O my People. I assure thee O Israel, if thou wilt hearken unto me, there shall no strange God be in thee, neither shalt thou worship any other God. Oh that my People would obey me: for if Israel would walk in my ways, I should soon put down their Enemies, and turn my hand against their Adversaries.

Our Saviour Christ saith; The Disciple is not above his Master, nor yet the Servant above his Lord. It is enough for the Disciple to be as his Master is, and that the Servant be as his Lord is. If they have called the Master of the house Belzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household? fear not them therefore.

St. Paul

St. Paul faith, 2. Cor. 4. set your selves therefore at large, and bear not a strangers yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? what Company hath light with darkness? either what part hath the believer with the Infidel &c. ? Wherefore come out from among them, and separate your selves now (saith the Lord) and touch none unclean thing; so will I receive you, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my Sons and Daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

For neither eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, neither can it enter into the heart of man what good things the Lord hath prepared for them that love him, 1 Cor. 2.

Ye are bought neither with Silver nor Gold, but with the precious Blood of Christ, 1 Pet. 1.

There is none other Name given to men wherein we must be saved, Acts 4.

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So fare ye well Wife and Children; and leave worldly care, and see that ye be diligent to pray.

Take no thought (saith Christ, Mat. 6.) saying, what shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewith shall we be clothed? (for after all these things seek the Gentiles) for your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things; but seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven, and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be ministered unto you.

The Martyrdom of Cicely Ormes at Norwich. An. 1557. September 23.



The Martyrdom and suffering of Cicely Ormes, burnt at Norwich for the Testimony and witness of Christs Gospel.

Sep. 23. Cicely Ormes, Martyr.

About the 23. day of the said month of September, next after the other above mentioned, suffered at Norwich Cicely Ormes Wife of Edmund Ormes Worstead-weaver, dwelling in St. Laurence Parish in Norwich: the being of the age of 32. years or more, was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper above mentioned, in a place called Lollards-pit without Bishops-Gate, at the said Norwich, for that the said the would pledge them of the fatne Cup that they drank on. For so saying, one Master Corbet of Sprowston by Norwich, took her and sent her to the Chancellor. When she came before him, he asked her what she said unto the Sacrament of Christs Body. And she said, she did believe that it was the Sacrament of the Body of Christ. Yea, said the Chancellor, but what is that that the Priest holdeth over his head? She answered him and said, it is Bread: and if you make it any better, it is worse. At which words the Chancellor sent her to the Bishops Prison to the Keeper called Fellows, with many threatening and hot words, as a man being in a great chafe.

Mr. Corbet of Sprowston, Persecutor.

The Chancellor's name was Drinning.

Bridges a Popish persecutor.

The 23. day of July she was called before the Chancellor again, who sat in judgment with Master Bridges and others. The Chancellor offered her, if she would go to the Church and keep her Tongue, she should be at liberty, and believe as she would.

But she told him she would not consent to his wicked desire therein, do with her what he would; for if she should, she said, God would surely plague her. Then, the Chancellor told her, he had showed more favour to her, than ever he did to any, and that he was loth to condemn her, considering that she was an ignorant, unlearned, and foolish Woman. But she, not weighing his words, told him if he did, he should not be so delirious of her sinful flesh, as she would (by Gods grace) be content to give it in so good a quarrel. Then rose he and read the bloody Sentence of Condemnation against her, and did deliver her to the Secular Power of the Sheriffs of the City, Mr. Thomas Sutherton, and Mr. Leonard Sutherton Brethren, who immediately carried her to the Guild-hall in Norwich, where she remained until her death.

This Cicely Ormes was a very simple Woman, but yet zealous in the Lords cause, being born in East Dereham, and was there the Daughter of one Thomas Heund Taylor. She was taken the fifth day of July, and did for a twelve month before she was taken, recant, but never after was the quiet in Conscience, until she was utterly driven from all their Popery. Between the time that she recanted, and that she was taken, she had gotten a Letter made to give to the Chancellor, to let him know that she repented her recantation from the bottom of her heart, and would never do the like again while she lived. But before she exhibited her Bill, she was taken and sent to Prison as is before-said. She was burnt the 23. day of September, between seven and eight of the Clock in the

Cicely Ormes first recant.

Cicely Ormes recanteth her Recantation.

Anno 1557. the morning, the said two Sheriffs being there, and of people to the number of 200. When she came to the stake, she kneeled down, and made her prayers to God: that being done, she rose up and said, Good People, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God.

This do I not, nor will I recant; but I recant utterly from the bottom of my heart the doings of the Pope of Rome, and all his Popish Priests and shavelings. I utterly refuse and never will have to do with them again by Gods Grace. And good people, I would you should not think of me that I believe to be saved in that I offer my self here unto the Death for the Lords cause, but I believe to be saved by the Death and passion of Christ; and this my Death is and shall be a witness of my Faith unto you all here present. Good People, as many of you as believe as I believe, pray for me. Then she came to the stake, and laid her hand on it, and said, Welcome the Cross of Christ. Which being done, she looking on her hand, and seeing it blacked with the stake, she wiped it upon her smock, for she was burnt at the same stake that *Simon Miller* and *Elizabeth Cooper* was burned at. Then after she had touched it with her hand, she came and kissed it, and said, Welcome the sweet Cross of Christ, and so gave her self to be bound thereto. After the Tormentors had kindled the fire to her, she said, *My Soul doth magnifie the Lord, and my Spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour*: and in so saying she set her hands together right against her breast, casting her eyes and head upward, and so stood, heaving up her hands by little and little, till the very sinewes of her Arms did break asunder, and then they fell; but she yielded her Life unto the Lord, as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, or as one feeling no pain; So wonderfully did the Lord work with her; his Name therefore be praised for evermore. Amen.

The last words of Cox, O man as the stake

The trouble and disturbance among good Men and Women at Lichfield.

After the Death and Martyrdom of Mistress *Joyce Lewys*, a little above specified, diverse good Men and Women in the same Town of *Lichfield* were vexed and in trouble before the Bishop and his Chancellor, for kissing the said *Joyce Lewys*, and drinking with her about the time of her Death; the names of which persons were these: *Josane Love*, *Elizabeth Smith*, *Margaret Biddel*, *Helcke Baring*, *Margaret Coatesfuse*, *Nicholas Bird*, *John Harristone* and his Wife, *Agnes Glyn*, *Agnes Glover*, *Agnes Penisfather*, &c. These with other were produced to their examination before the Bishop and his Chancellor for the cause abovenamed, and therefore adjudged for Hereticks, for that they did pray and drink with the said Mistress *Lewys*, but especially *Agnes Penisfather* sustained the most trouble, for that she accompanied the said *Joyce Lewys* going to her Death. Which *Agnes* being examined further of the said Bishop, what words she had spoken to two Priests of the Church of *Lichfield*, called *John Aley* and *James Foxe*, concerning the said *Joyce Lewys* after her burning, said, as followeth, That she being asked by the said two Priests being at her Fathers House in the City of *Lichfield*, at such time as she came from the burning of the said *Joyce Lewys*, wherefore she the said *Agnes* did weep for such an Heretick, meaning *Joyce Lewys*, whose Soul they they said was in Hell; the said *Agnes Penisfather* to their demand made this answer, that she thought the said blessed Martyr to be in better case than the said two Priests were.

Agnes Penisfather accused of two Priests for words.

With the which words being charged and willed to submit her self as the other had done above rehearsed to such penance as they should enjoyn unto her, she refused so to do, and therefore was commanded to close prison, the Sheriffs being charged with her under pain of 100 pounds, that none should have any access unto her. At length, at the perswasion of her Friends she was compelled to do as the other had done before. And thus much concerning things done at *Lichfield*.

The persecution and cruelty exercised by the Papists in the Dioceses of Chichester.

And now from *Lichfield* to come to *Chichester*, although we have but little to report thereof, for want of certain relation and records of that Country, yet it seemeth no little trouble and persecution there also to have raged, as in other Countries. For what place was there almost in all the Realm, where the Popes Ministers did not better them, murdering some or other, as in the Acts of this Ecclesiastical history may sufficiently appear? Whereby as this plague of the Popes Tyranny was general to all other People and Countries of England, so likewise in the Dioceses of *Chichester*, divers and many there were condemned and Martyred for the true Testimony of righteousness within the compass of Queen *Maries* Reign. In the number of whom were these:

John Foreman of *Esgrenewest*.
John Warner of *Berne*.
Christian Grover of the Archdeaconry of *Lewys*.
Thomas Atkoth, Priest.
Thomas Avington of *Fordingly*.
Dennis Burgess of *Buxsted*.
Thomas Ravensdale of *Rie*.
John Milles of *Hellinglegb*.
Nicholas Holden of *Wubiam*.
John Hart of *Witbiam*.
Margery Morice of *Hethfield*.
Anne Try of *Esgrenewest*.
John Oseward of *Woodmancote*.
Thomas Harland of *Woodmancote*.
James Morice of *Hethfield*.
Thomas Dougate of *Esgrenewest*.
John Alsheden of *Katberfield*.

Martyrs.

The greatest doer against these godly and true faithful Martyrs, and letters upon their condemnation, were these: *Christopherson* the Bishop after *Deay*, *Richard Bristly* Dr. of Law, and Chancellor of *Chichester*, *Robert Taylor* Bachelor of the Law his Deputy, *Thomas Paccard* Civilian, *Amib. Clarke*, *Albane Longdale* Bachelor of Divinity, &c.

The Examination of Thomas Spurdance one of Queen Maries Servants, before the Chancellor of Norwich.

The Bishops Chancellor did ask me if I had been with the Priests, and confessed my sins unto him. And I said, No, I had confessed my sins to God, and God faith, In what hour soever a sinner doth repent and be sorry for his sins, and ask him forgiveness, willing no more so to do, he will no more reckon his sin unto him, and that is sufficient for me.

The examination of the Spurdance.

Then said the Chancellor; Thou deniest the Sacrament of penance.

I said, I deny not penance, but I deny that I should shew my sins unto the Priest.

Then said the Chancellor, that is a denying of the Sacrament of penance.

Write this Article.

Have you received the blessed Sacrament of the Altar (said he) at this time of *Easter*?

And I said, No.

And why have you not faith he?

I said, I dare not meddle with you in it, as you use it.

Why, do we not use it truly, said he?

I said, No: for the Holy Supper of the Lord serveth for the Christian Congregation; and you are none of Christs Members: and therefore I dare not meddle with you, lest I be like unto you.

Why are we none of Christs Members, said the Chancellor?

I said, Because you teach Laws contrary to Gods Laws.

What Laws are those, said he?

I said, These three Articles that you swear the people unto here, be false and untrue, and you do evil to swear the people unto them.

Then

Then said he, good people take no heed unto his words: for he is an Heretick, and teacheth you disobedience: and so he would no more speak of that matter.

Then said he, How belevest thou in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar: dost thou not believe that after it is consecrated, it is the very same Body that was born of the Virgin Mary?

I said, No, not the same Body in substance: for the same Body hath a substance in Flesh, Blood and Bones, and was a bloody Sacrifice, and this is a dry Sacrifice.

And I said, Is the Mass a Sacrifice?

Unto which a Doctor answered that fate by him, It is a Sacrifice both for the Quick and the Dead.

Then said I, No, it is no Sacrifice: for St. Paul saith, that Christ made one Sacrifice once for all: and I do believe in none other Sacrifice, but only in that one Sacrifice that our Lord Jesus Christ made once for all.

Then said the Doctor, That Sacrifice that Christ made, was a wet Sacrifice, and the Mass is a dry Sacrifice.

Then said I, that same dry Sacrifice is a Sacrifice of your own making, and it is your Sacrifice, it is none of mine.

Spurdance examined upon the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then said the Chancellor, He is an Heretick, he denieth the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then said I, Will ye know how I believe in the Holy Supper of our Lord?

And he said, Yea.

Then said I, I believe that if I come rightly and worthily as God hath commanded me, to the Holy Supper of the Lord, I receive him by Faith, by believing in him. Put the Bread being received is not God, nor the Bread that is yonder in the Paxe is not God. God dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, neither will be worshipped with the works of Mens hands. And therefore you do very evil to cause the People to kneel down and worship the Bread: for God did never bid you hold it above your heads, neither had the Apostles such use.

Then said the Chancellor, He denieth the presence in the Sacrament. Write this Article also. He is a very Heretick.

Then said I, The Servant is not greater than his Mr. For your Predecessors killed my Master Christ, the Prophets and Apostles, and Holy Vertuous Men, and now you also kill the Servants of Christ, so that all the righteous Blood that hath been shed, even from righteous Abel, until this day, shall be required at your hands.

Well said the Chancellor, have him away.

Another Examination of Spurdance, before the Bishop in his house.

Another examination of Thomas Spurdance before the Bishop.

The Bishop said, Sirrah, dost thou not believe in the Catholick Faith of Holy Church?

And I said, I believe Christs Catholick Church.

Yea said he, in Christs Church, of the which the Pope is the Head? dost thou not believe that the Pope is supreme Head of the Catholick Church?

And I said, No. I believe not that he should be above the Apostles, if he take them to be his Predecessors. For when there came a thought among the Apostles, who should be the greatest when their Master was gone, Christ answered them unto their thoughts, *The Kings of the Earth bear domination above other, but ye shall not so do, for he that will be greatest among you shall become servant unto you all.* How is it then (said I) that he will climb so high above his fellows? And also we were sworn in my Master King Henry's time, that we should to the uttermost of our power, never consent to him again. And therefore as he hath nothing to do here in England, so neither in his own country more, then a Bishop hath in his Diocess.

Luke 22.

Yea, said the Bishop, what of that? We were then in error and sin, now we are in the right way again and therefore thou must come home again with us, and acknowledge thy fault, and become a Christian man, and be sworn unto the Pope as our Supreme Head. Wilt thou be sworn unto the Pope? How saiest thou?

The Popes Supremacy.

Then I said, No, I warrant you, by the grace of God Anno not as long as I live. For you cannot prove by the Scripture that the Pope is Head of the Church, and may do therein what him listeth.

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No said he? Yes I trow: for as the Belweather which weareth the Bell, is head of the Flock of Sheep, even so is the Pope the Head of the Church of Christ. And as the Bees in the Hive have a Master Bee, when they are gone out, to bring them home again to the Hive: even so the Pope when we be gone astray and wandered from the Fold, from the Hive, &c. then is ordained our Head by succession of Peter, to bring us home again to the true Church; as thou now, my good fellow, hast wandered long out of the way like a scattered sheep, &c. Hear therefore that Belweather, the Master Bell, &c. and come home with us to thy mother the Church again.

Unto whom I answered, My Lord, all this is but natural reason, and no Scripture: but since yee cannot prove the Pope to be Authorized by Scripture, ye answer not me as I thought yee would.

Ha, said he, I see well ye be stout, and will not be answered: therefore ye shall be compelled by Law whether ye will or no.

My Lord, said I, so did your Forefathers intreat Christ and his Apostles. They had a Law, and by their Law they put him to Death; and so likewise, you have a law which is Tyranny, and by that would ye enforce me to believe as you do: but the Lord I trust will assist me against all your beggarly Ceremonies, and make your foolishness known to all the world one day.

Then said he, when were ye at Church and went in Procession, and did the Ceremonies of the Church? And I said, Never since I was born.

No said he? how old are you?

And I said, I think about xl.

Why, said he, How did you use your self at Church twenty years ago?

I said, As you do now.

And even now, said he, you said you did not use the Ceremonies since you were born.

No more I did, said I, since I was born anew; as Christ said unto Nicodemus, *Except ye be born anew, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Then said a Doctor that fate by, he is a very Anabaptist: for that is their opinion plain.

No Sir, you say falsely, said I: for I am no Anabaptist: for they deny Children to be Baptised, and so do not I.

Well, said the Bishop, why dost thou not go to the Church, and do the Ceremonies?

And I said, Because they be contrary to Gods Word and Laws, as you your self have taught: but now you say it is good again: and I think if there were a return to morrow, you would say that false again which you hold now. Therefore, I may well say, there is no Truth in you.

Then said the Bishop, thou art a stubborn fellow, and an Heretick, and a Traytor.

No, said I, I am no Traytor, for I have done, I think, better Service to the Crown imperial of England, than you.

If you had done so good service (said he) you would be obedient to the Laws of the Realm.

So I am, said I. There is no Man alive (I thank God) that can accuse me justly that ever I was disobedient to any Civil Laws. But you must consider my Lord, that I have a Soul and a Body, and my Soul is none of the Queens, but my Body and my goods are the Queens. And I must give God my Soul, and all that belongeth unto it, that is I must do the Laws and Commandments of God; and whosoever Commandeth Laws contrary to Gods Laws, I may not do them for losing of my Soul, but must rather obey God than Man.

And hee said, Why dost thou not these Laws then? are they not agreeable to Gods Law?

And I said, No, you cannot prove them to be Gods Laws.

Yea, said he, that I can.

Then said I, if you can prove by the Word of God Image that you should have any Graven Images made to set in your Churches for lay Mens Books, or to worship God

Obedience to Princes, how false.

Anno 1557. God by them, or that you should have any Ceremonies in your Church as you have, prove them by the Word of God; and I will do them.

Then, said he, it is a good and decent order to furnish the Church: as when you shall go to dinner, you have a cloth upon the Table to furnish the Table before the meat shall come upon it; so are these Ceremonies a comely, decent order to be in the Church among Christian people.

These, said I, are inventions and imaginations out of your own brain, without any Word of God to prove them. For God saith, Look what you think good in your own eyes, if I command the contrary, it is abominable in my sight. And these Ceremonies are against Gods Laws. For, Saint Paul saith, they be weak and beggarly, and rebuketh the Galatians for doing them.

Well, said he, if you will not do them, seeing they be the Laws of the Realm, you are an Heretick and disobedient: and therefore come home again and confess your faults with us, that you have been in error, &c. Will you do so?

And I said, No, I have been in no error: for the spiritual Laws were never truller set forth then in my Master King Edwards time, and I trust unto God I shall never forsake them while I live.

Then came a Gentleman to me and said, Are ye wiser than all Men? and have ye more knowledge than all Men will ye cast away your Soul willingly? My Lord and other Men also, would fain you would save your self: therefore choose some Man where you will, either spiritual or temporal, and take a day, my Lord will give it you.

Then said I, if I save my life, I shall lose it; and if I lose my life for Christs sake, I shall find it in life everlasting. And if I take a day, when the day cometh, I must pay then even as I do now, except I will lie, and therefore that needeth not.

Well, then have him away, said the Bishop.

This above named Thomas Spurdance was one of Queen Marias Servants, and was taken by two of his fellows, the said Queens Servants, named John Haman otherwise called Barker, and George Loosen, both dwelling in Codman in the County of Suffolk, who carried him to one Mr. Golsal, dwelling in the said Codman, and by him he was sent to Bury, where he remained in prison, and afterwards burned in the Month of November.

The Story and Martyrdom of three constant witnesses of Christ.

November 11. Not long after the Martyrdom of the two good Women at Clochester, above named, were three faithful witnesses of the Lords Testament, tormented and put to death in Smith-field at London, the eighteenth of November, in the year aforesaid, whose names hereafter follow:

John Hallingdale.
William Sparrow.
Richard Gibson.

Which three were produced before Boner Bp. of London, the fifth day of November, 1557. and had by him and his officers certain Articles ministred unto them: the sum whereof hereafter followeth.

Articles ministred by Boner unto John Hallingdale.

First, that the said John Hallingdale is of the Diocess of London, and so subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London.

Secondly, that the said John before the time of the Reign of K. Edward the sixth, late King of England, was of the same Faith and Religion that was then observed, believed, taught, and set forth in the Realm of England.

Thirdly, that during the Reign of the said K. Edward the sixth, the said John Hallingdale, upon occasion of the preaching of certain Ministers in that time, did not abide in his former Faith and Religion, but did depart from it, and so did and doth continue till this present day,

and so determineth to do (as he saith) till his life end.

Fourthly, that the said John Hallingdale hath thought, believed, and spoken divers times, that the Faith, Religion, and Ecclesiastical Service received, observed, and used now in this Realm of England; is not good and laudable; but against Gods Commandment and Word, especially concerning the Mass and the seven Sacraments; and that he the said John will not in any wise conform himself to the same, but speak and think against it during his natural life.

Fifthly, that the said John abseneth himself continually from his own Parish Church of St. Leonards, neither hearing Mattins, Mass, nor Evensong; nor yet confessing his sins to the Priest, or receiving the Sacrament of the Altar at his hands, or using other Ceremonies as they are now used in this Church and Realm of England; and as he remembereth, he never came but once in the Parish Church of St. Leonards, and careth not (as he saith) if he never come there any more, the Service being as it is there, and so many abuses being there, as he saith there are, especially the Mass, the Sacraments, and the Ceremonies and Service set forth in Latine.

Sixthly, that the said John, when his Wife, called Alice, was brought in bed of a Man Child, caused the said Child to be Christned in English, after the same manner and form in all points, as it was used in the time of the Reign of K. Edward the sixth aforesaid, and caused it to be called Josue, and would not have the said Child Christned in Latine after the form and manner as it is now used in the Church and Realm of England, nor will have it by his will (as he saith) to be confirmed by the Bishop.

Unto all which Articles the said John Hallingdale made answer, confessing them all, and every part of them to be true, and saying, that he would not revoke his said Answers, but stand unto them according as is in every Article above written.

Furthermore, the said John Hallingdale, being demanded by the said Boner, whether he did firmly believe that in the Sacrament, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, there is really and truly the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, or no; made answer, that he neither in the time of the said K. Edward the sixth, nor at that present did believe, that in the said Sacrament there is really the very Body and Blood of Christ. For he said, that if he had so believed, he would (as others had done) have received the same, which he did not, because he had and then did believe, that the very Body of Christ is only in Heaven, and no where else. And furthermore the said John Hallingdale said, that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all that of late have been burned for Hereticks, were no Hereticks at all, because they did preach truly the Gospel: upon whose preaching he grounded his Faith and Conscience, as he said, according to the saying of S. John, in the 18. Chapter of his Revelation, where he saith, That the Blood of the Prophets, and of the Saints, and of all that were slain upon Earth, was found in the Babylonical Church, by the which, he said, is understood the Church where the Pope is the head.

After which Examination, the said John was sent unto Prison again. And the next day, being the sixth day of the said Month; he was called before the Bishop again, who perswading him with some wrested sentences of the Scriptures, the said John Hallingdale answered, Because I will not (saith he) come to your Babylonical Church, therefore (speaking unto Boner) you go about to condemn me. And being of Boner further demanded, whether he would persevere and stand in his Opinions or no: he made answer, that he would continue and persist in them unto the Death. Then Boner read the bloody Sentence of Condemnation: At which time the said John affirmed openly, that (thanking God) he never came into the Church since the Abomination came into it: and so he was sent to Prison again.

Upon the same 6. day also, in the forenoon, was produced before the Bishop the forenamed William Sparrow and had laid unto him certain Articles, which hereafter follow.

Articles

The Spurdance by whom he was apprehended.

November 11. The Story and Martyrdom of John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, Richard Gibson.

Articles ministred by Boner unto John Hallingdale.

John Hallingdale again brought before the Bishop.

Sentence read against John Hallingdale by B. Boner.

Articles ministred by Boner unto William Sparrow.

Articles against William Sparrow.

First, that thou *William Sparrow* wast in times past detected and presented lawfully unto thy Ordinary the Bishop of *London*, called *Edmund*, who also is now thine Ordinary of the said Diocess, and thou wast presented and detected unto him for Heresie, Errors, and unlawful Opinions, which thou didst believe, set forth, and hold.

2 Secondly, that thou before the said Ordinary didst openly and judicially confesse the said Heresies, Errors, and unlawful Opinions, as appeareth plainly in the Acts of the Court, had and made before the said Ordinary.

3 Thirdly, that thou after the premisses, didst make thy Submission in writing, and didst exhibit and deliver the same as thy deed, to thy said Ordinary; openly confessing and recognising thy Heresies, Errors, unlawful Opinions, and thine offences and transgressions in that behalf.

4 Fourthly, that thou after the premisses, didst promise unto thy said Ordinary voluntarily and of thine own mind, that always after the said Submission, thou wouldest in all points conform thy self unto the common order of the Catholick Church observed and kept here in this Realm of *England*, and in no wise fall again to Heresies, Errors, or unlawful Opinions.

5 Fifthly, that thou since thy said Submission, hast willingly fallen into certain Heresies and Errours, and hast holden and set forth diverse unlawful Opinions, to the right great hurt of thine own Soul, and also to the great hindrance and loss of diverse others, especially against the Sacrament of the Altar, against Confession auricular, with other the Sacraments of the Catholick Church.

6 Sixthly, that thou since the said Commission, hast willingly gone about divers places within the Diocess of *London*, and sold diverse Heretical, Erroneous and Blasphemous Ballets about, and wast apprehended and taken with the said Ballets about thee, and committed to prison.

Unto all which Articles the said *William Sparrow* answered in effect, as hereafter followeth.

His answers to the Articles.

To the first, second, third, and fourth Articles he answered affirmatively, as thus: That he was presented and detected to *Boner*, unto whom he made his Submission, &c. as in the Articles.

To the fifth Article he answered, That if he had spoken against them, he had spoken but the truth: for they be naught, meaning the Contents of the said Article.

To the sixth, he granted to the Article, adding, that he had sold the said Ballets then shewed and read before him, and that the same did contain Gods Word.

After which Answers, the said *William Sparrow* was sent unto prison. And the same day in the afternoon, being produced before the Bishop again, and there charged with his said Submission, made the year before unto the Bishop, he answered thus; I am forry (said he) that ever I made it, and it was the worst deed that ever I did: adding further unto them, Hold up your Abomination so long as you can. Also being laid unto him, and charged by the Bishop that he went to Church, and there was contended and heard Mass: the said *William Sparrow* made answer and confessed, that he did so, but with a troubled Conscience he said, God knoweth. And speaking further to the Bishop, he said, That which you call truth, I do believe (said he) to be Heresie. And also the Bishop charging him again with the Contents of the fifth Article above named, he answered, that he had so done, as is contained in the same Article, and so will do again if he were at liberty. And being further demanded of *Boner*, whether he would persist and continue in the same, or no: he made answer, that he would not go from his Opinions: And adding therunto, he said, That which you call Heresie (speaking to the Bishop) is good and godly, and if every hair of my head were a Man (said he) I would burn them all, rather than go from the truth.

Then being demanded what ground of learning he had to cleave to his Opinions: he made answer and said, That all the Laws now used (meaning the Ecclesiastical Laws) are naught and abominable. And further, thereunto he said, That the Mass is naught and abominable, &c. Which words being spoken, the Bishop immediately read the Sentence of Condemnation upon him, and so delivered him to the Secular Power, by whom he was sent to Prison again.

1557.

Sentence read against *Will. Sparrow*.

Richard Gibbon, Martyr.

With the other two above named, suffered also in the same fire *Richard Gibbon*, who first was cast into the Counter in the *Poultry* (where he had been prisoner by the space of two years for Suretiship in a matter of debt, and then stood upon his deliverance) then upon suspicion and evil will was accused to *Boner*, for that in the Prison he was never confessed, nor received at the Popish Altar: by reason whereof he was called for, and sustained divers and sundry conflicts and examinations in the cause of his Faith and Religion. But first he seemed to make a certain Submission which also he exhibited with the other 28. above mentioned: but because it seemed something to differ in words from the other, it appeareth not to be received: or whether it was received or no, it is not fully certain. This is certain, that although his Submission was in the Bishops Register recorded, yet he was not delivered out from imprisonment till the day of his burning. The Articles first objected and ministred unto him by the Bishop, were these:

Richard Gibbon, Martyr.

Articles objected and ministred to *Richard Gibbon* by *Boner Bishop* of *London*.

First, that the said *Richard Gibbon*, prisoner in the Counter in the *Poultry* in the Diocess of *London*, hath otherwife than became a faithful Christian Man and a good Subject of this Realm of *England* behaved himself in words and deeds in divers conditions and points, contrary to the Order, Religion, and Faith of Christs Catholick Church, and contrary to the Order of this Realm, to the pernicious and evil example of the Inhabitants of the City of *London*, and the Prisoners of the Prison of the said Counter in the *Poultry*, and greatly to the hurt and damage of his own Soul, offending especially in the Articles following: By reason whereof the said *Rich. Gibbon* was and is of the jurisdiction of the said Bishop of *London*, and subject to the said jurisdiction, to make answer to his offences and transgressions under written, according to the order of the Law.

2 Secondly, that the said *Richard Gibbon* hath unreverently spoken against the Pope, and See and Church of *Rome*, and likewise against the whole Church of this Realm of *England*, and against the seven Sacraments of the Catholick and whole Church of Christendom, and against the Articles of the Christian Faith here observed in this Realm of *England*, and against the commendable and laudable Ceremonies of the Catholick Church.

3 Thirdly, that the said *Richard Gibbon* hath commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, and also all other Hereticks here in this Realm of *England*, according to the Ecclesiastical Laws condemned for Hereticks, and also liked all their Heretical and Erroneous, Damnable and Wicked Opinions especially against the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Authority of the Pope and See of *Rome*, with the whole Religion thereof.

4 Fourthly, that the said *Richard Gibbon* hath comforted, ayded, assisted and maintained both by words, and otherwife, Hereticks and Erroneous persons, or at the least suspected and inflamed of Heresie and Errors condemned by the Catholick Church, to continue in their Heretical and Erroneous Opinions aforesaid, favouring and counselling the same unto his power.

5 Fifthly, that the said *Gibbon* hath affirmed and said, that the Religion and Faith commonly observed, kept, and used now here in this Realm of *England*, is not disagreeable, nor in any wise agreeable unto Gods Word and Commandment.

O. Mary in Religion is not disagreeable.

Anno 1557. The Book of the English Service.

6. Sixthly, That the said *Gibson* hath affirmed, that the English Service, and the Books, commonly called the Books of Communion, or Common Prayer, here set forth in this Realm of England in the time of K. Edward the sixth, were in all parts and points good and godly, and that the same only, and no other, ought to be observed and kept in this Realm of England.

Martin, Maf, Even-
song refused

Aurinder
Confession.

Popish Fast
and Prayer.

Richard Gib-
son a tall
and big man

Intolerable
bragging of
a vile Pro-
moter.

7. Seventhly, That the said *Gibson* hath affirmed, that if he may once be out of Prison and at Liberty, he will not come to any Parish Church, or Ecclesiastical Place, to hear Matins, Mass, Evening, or any Divine Service now used in this Realm of England, nor come to Procession upon times and days accustomed, nor bear at any time any Taper or Candle, nor receive at any time Alms, nor bear at any time Palm, nor receive Pax at Mass time, nor receive holy Water, nor holy Bread, nor observe the Ceremonies or Usages of the Catholick Church, here observed or kept commonly in this Realm of England.

8. Eighthly, That the said *Gibson* hath affirmed, that he is not bound at any time, though he have liberty, and the presence of a Priest convenient meet, to confess his sins to the said Priest, nor to receive the Absolution of his sins at his hands, nor to receive of him the Sacrament, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, after such form as is now used within this Realm of England.

9. Ninthly, That the said *Gibson* hath affirmed, that prayer unto Saints, or prayers for the dead, are not laudable, available, or profitable; and that no man is bound at any time or in any place to fast or pray, but only at his own will and pleasure, and that it is not lawful to reserve or keep the said Sacrament of the Altar, nor in any wife to adore and worship it.

The greatest matter which he was charged withal, was for not coming to Confession, being thereunto required, for not receiving of the Sacraments of the Popish making, and for that he would not swear to answer unto their interrogatories laid against him.

Norwithstanding, after these his first Examinations he continued in the foresaid Prison of the Compter a good space, from the Month of May unto November, at what time he was again produced against the final Examination Judiciary. Where is to be noted, that Mr. *Gibson* being a very big and tall man, of a personable and Herical Stature, was sent for of *Boner* by a little and short person, a Promoter, like *Robin Papist*, called *Robin Caley*, if it were not he himself.

This *Robin Caley*, having the conducting of the said Gentleman from the *Pauley*, would needs hale him thorow *Chappide*, the Gentleman desiring him to turn some other way. But the more the Gentleman intreated, the more fierce was the filly *Jack* upon him; and drawing and holding him by the Arm, would needs hale him thorow the High-street, that all the World might see what he could do in his Office. Mr. *Gibson*, desirous to be led without holding, willed and intreated him to let his Arm loose, he would go quietly of his own accord with him whether he would, only craving that he might go by him freely without noting of the People.

The saucy and impotent Miser the Promoter hearing this, who was scarce able to reach to his shoulders: Nay (saith he) thou shalt not escape me so, come on thy ways. Thou shalt not choof but come; and so reaching at his Arm, would needs drag him unto the Bishop. The Gentleman content to go, yet loth to be notified in the Streets, gently requested again and again; that refraining his hold, he would suffer him to go of his own free and voluntary will; he should not need to fear him, for he would not start from him. To whom the Caitiff, looking up to his face, Come on thy way (saith he) I will hold thee fast, spite of thy Beard, and whether thou wilt or no.

Mr. *Gibson* seeing and beholding the intolerable bragging of the wretched Miser, and moved therewith not a little, could bear no longer; but said, Wilt thou, said he? and added moreover, bitterly looking down towards him, that if he did not inconveniently pluck away his hand (and so stayed withal) he would immediately wring his neck from his Body. Whereupon *Robin Papist* the Promoter was fain to pluck away his hold, and so proceeded they

unto the Bishop there to be examined again before him.

After this, another day being assigned him to appear again, much talk passed between him and *Darbyshire*, then Chancellor. But in fine, being required to swear that he should answer unto all they would demand, he denied to answer unto all things the Bishop should command him as Ordinary: for he is not (saith he) mine Ordinary, and so bade him go tell the Bishop. Before the which Bishop he being then commanded to appear the Friday next following, was brought unto the *Justice-Hall* without *Newgate*, where he had the like Consults with the foresaid Bishop and divers other Justices. At length he was assigned the Saturday following, to be present in the Bishops Consistory Court, to hear his final Sentence. At which day and place, the said Examinee appearing as he was commanded, the Bishop after other matter of communication, asked him if he knew any cause why the Sentence should not be read against him. To whom the said Mr. *Gibson* answered, That the Bishop had not ing wherefore justly to condemn him. The Bishops reason was again objected to him, That men said he was an evil man. To whom *Gibson* replying again; Yea, saith he, and so may I say of you also. To be short, after this and such other talk, the Bishop hastened unto the Sentence. Which being read, *Gibson* yet again admonished him to remember himself, and to save his Soul, said, That he would not hear the Bishops babbling; and said moreover, boldly protesting and affirming that he was contrary, and an Enemy to them all in his mind and opinion, although he had afore time kept it secret in mind, for fear of the Law. And speaking to the Bishop, Blessed, said he, am I, that am curd at your hands. We have nothing now, but thus will I: For as the Bishop said, so must it be. And no Hereafter is to turn the truth of Gods Word into lies, and that do you, meaning the Bishop and his Fellows.

Thus this valiant Souldier, fighting for the Gospel and sincere Doctrine of Christs Truth and Religion, against Falshood and Error, was committed, with his Fellows, to the Secular Power.

And so these three godly men, *John Hallingdale*, *William Sparrow*, and Mr. *Gibson*, being thus appointed to the slaughter, were the twelfth day after their Condemnation (which was the 18th day of the said Month of November) burnt in *Smithfield* in London. And being brought thither to the stake, after their prayer made, they were bound thereunto with Chains, and Wood fast unto them, and after Wood, fire, in the which being compassed about, and the fiery flames consuming their Flesh, at the last they yielded gloriously and joyfully their Souls and Lives into the holy hands of the Lord, to whose tuition and government I commend thee, good Reader. Amen.

It is a little above declared in this story of *Richard Gibson*, how *Boner* ministred unto the said *Gibson* certain Articles, to the number of nine. Now let us see lik with the Articles which the said *Gibson* ministred again to *Boner*, according to the same number of nine, for him to answer unto, as by the same hereunder written may appear.

Articles proposed by Richard Gibson unto Edmund Boner Bishop of London, by him to be answered, by yea or nay, or else so say he cannot tell.

1. Whether the Scriptures of God, written by Moses and other holy Prophets of God, through Faith that is in Christ Jesus, be available Doctrine, to make all men in all things unto Salvation learned, without the help of any other Doctrine, or no?
2. What is Authority, and from whence it cometh, and to whom it appertaineth, and to what end it tendeth?
3. Whether the holy Word of God, as it is written, doth sufficiently teach all men, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office soever he or they be, their full, true, and lawful duty in their Office; and whether every man, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office soever he or they be, are bound upon the pain of eternal damnation, in all things to do as they are hereby taught and commanded, and in no wife to leave undone any thing that is to be done, being taught and commanded by the same?

As yet no
parag
Ruth. in fin.

Sentence
read against
Ruth. Gibson.

The marriage
of *John
Hallingdale*,
W. Sparrow,
and *Richard
Gibson*,
Anno 1557,
November 18.

4. Whether any Man, the Lord Jesus Christ, God and Man only except, by the Holy Ordinance of God ever was, is, or shall be Lord over Faith, and by what lawful authority of any Man, of what dignity, estate, or calling by Office soever he or they be, may use Lordship or Power over any Man for Faiths sake, or for the service of his Conscience?

5. By what lawful authority or power any Man, of what dignity, estate, or calling soever he or they be, may be so bold as to alter or change the Holy Ordinances of God, or any of them, or any part of them?

6. By what evident tokens Antichrist in his Ministers may be known; seeing it is written, that *Sathan* can change himself into the limilitude of an Angel of light, and his Ministers fashion themselves as though they were the Ministers of righteousness; and how it may be known to him that is desirous thereof, when he is one of that number, or in the danger thereof, or when he is otherwise?

7. What the Beast is, the which maketh war with the Saints of God, and doth not only kill them, but also will suffer none to buy nor sell, but such as worship his Image, or receive his mark in their right hands, or in their foreheads, his Name, or the number of his Name, or do worship his Image, which by the just and terrible Sentence of God already decreed, shall be perished in Fire and Brimstone, before the Holy Angels, and before the Lamb; and they shall have no rest day nor night, but the smoke of their torment shall ascend up for evermore? Also what the gorgeous and glittering Whore is, the which sitteth upon the Beast, with a Cup of Gold in her hand full of abominations; with whom the Kings of the Earth have committed fornication, and the Inhabitants of the Earth, and she her self also is drunken with the Blood of the Saints, which is the Wine of her Fornication; whose Flesh the horns of the Beast, shall tear in pieces, and burn her with Fire. For God hath put in their hearts to do his will?

8. Whether a King over all those people which are born and inhabit within his own Dominions, Regions, and Countries, or any part of them, of what dignity, estate, or calling by Office soever they be, here upon this earth immediately under Christ, by the Holy Ordinance of God, is lawful, supreme, and chief Governor, or no? And whether a King over all those people within his Dominions, Regions, and Countries and every part of them, by holy Ordinance of God, lawfully may, and ought not otherwise to do, nor suffer otherwise to be done, than in his own name, power, and authority (the Name of God only except) as lawful, supreme, and chief Head in all things that belongeth to rule, with an exception, to govern and rule? And whether all those people, of what dignity, estate, or calling soever they be, are bound by the holy Ordinance of God, to owe their whole obedience and service in all things without exception (their duty to God only excepted) to their King only, as to the supreme and chief Governor upon Earth immediately under Christ. And whether a King without offence against God and his people, may give away, and not himself use that his Authority and Power given him of God; or lawfully may, without offence to God and his people after knowledge thereof had, suffer himself by fraud or guile, or by any other unlawful mean, to be beguiled, commanded, and spoiled thereof? And whether any Subject, of what dignity, estate, or calling soever he or they be, without offence to God and to his King, to the murthering or derogation of the Supreme Prerogative Royal of his King, or of any part thereof, may do ought, or after knowledge thereof had, without offence to God and to his King, may conceive the same?

He meaneth
the Canon
Law.

9. Whether the holy written Law of God be given of God unto all Men, of what dignity, estate, or calling by Office soever they be, as well thereby to govern all their Dominions, Regions, and Countries, and their people therein inhabiting, as themselves: and whether any Law or Laws (the holy Law of God only excepted) not being made within any Dominion, Region, or Country whereas it or they be used, may be lawfully used before it or they be, as the lawful Law or Laws of the same Dominion, Region, or Country, by publick and common order of the same Dominion, Region, or Country

lawfully allowed: and whether any Subject without offence against God and his King, within the Dominion of his King, may lawfully use any such Law or Laws not so allowed?

Anno
1558.

Emanuel.

Ascribe unto the Lord, O ye mighty, ascribe unto the Lord, Lord, worship and strength: give unto the honour of his Name, and bow your selves to the Majesty of the Lord.

I will hearken what the Lord God will say: for he shall speak peace unto his people, that they turn not themselves unto idols, in this 6. of April 1557.

By me Richard Gibson.

The Death and Martyrdom of John Rough Minister, and Margaret Mearing, burned at London the xxii. of December.

IN this furious time of persecution, were also burned these two constant and faithful Martyrs of Christ, John Rough a Minister, and Margaret Mearing.

This Rough was born in Scotland, who (as himself confesseth in his answers to *Boners* Articles) because some of his kinsfolk would have kept him from his right of inheritance which he had to certain Lands, did at the age of xvii. years, in despite (and the rather to displease his friends) profess himself into the order of the black Friars at *Sterling* in Scotland, where he remained the space of 16. years, until such time as the Lord *Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran* and Governour of the Realm of Scotland aforesaid (casting a favour unto him) did use unto the Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, to have him out of his professed order, that as a secular Priest he might serve him for his Chaplain. At which request the Archbishop caused the Provincial of that House, having thereto Authority, to dispenze with him for his habit and order.

This suit being thus by the Earl obtained, the said Rough remained in his service, one whole year: during which time it pleased God to open his eyes, and to give him some knowledge of his truth, and thereupon was by the said Governor sent to Preach in the freedom of *Ayre*, where he continued four years, and then after the death of the Cardinal of Scotland, he was appointed to abide at *Saint Andrews*, and there had assigned unto him a yearly pension of twenty pound from King Henry the eighth, King of England. Howbeit, at last weighing with himself his own danger, and also abhorring the Idolatry and Superstition of the Country, and hearing of the freedom of the Gospel within this Realm of England, he determined with himself not to tarry any longer there: And therefore, soon after the Battell of *Muscleborough*, he came first unto *Carlisle*, and from thence unto the Duke of *Somer*, et, then Lord Protector of England, and by his assignment had appointed unto him out of the Kings Treasury twenty pounds of yearly stipend, and was sent (as a preacher) to live at *Carlisle*, *Barwick*, and *Newcastle*. From whence (after he had there according to the Laws of God and also of this Realm, taken a Country Woman of his to Wife) he was called by the Archbishop of *York* that then was, unto a Benefice nigh in the Town of *Hudd*, where he continued until the death of that Blessed and good King *Edward* the sixth.

But in the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Mary* (perceiving the alteration of Religion, and the persecution that would thereupon arise, and seeing his own weakness) he fled with his wife into *Friesland*, and dwelt there at a place called *Norden*, labouring truly for his living, in knitting of Caps, Hose, and such like things, till about the end of the Month of *October* last before his death. At which time, lacking yarn, and other such necessary provision for the maintenance of his occupation, he came over again into England, here to provide for the same, and the tenth day of November arrived at London. Where, hearing of the secret society, and holy Congregation of Gods Children there assembled, he joyned himself unto

Decemb. 22.
John Rough,
Min. Mear-
ing Martyrs.

A zealous
occasion of a
fierily pro-
fession.

John Rough
first called
to the truth:

John Rough
first coming
into Friesland
K. Edw. time

John Rough
with his
wife fled
into Friesland.

unto them, and afterwards being elected their Ministe-
 and Preacher, did continue most virtuously exercised in
 that Godly fellowship, teaching and confirming them in
 the truth of the Gospel of Christ. But in the end (such was
 the providence of God, who disposeth all things to
 the best) the twelfth day of December, he with *Cuthbert
 Symfon* and others, through the crafty and trayterous sug-
 gestion of a false Hypocrite and dissembling Brother,
 called *Roger Sergeant* a Taylor, were apprehended by
 the Vicechamberlain of the Queens House, at the
Saracens Head in *Islington*; where the Congregation
 had then purposed to assemble themselves to their Godly
 and accustomable exercises of Prayer, and hearing the
 Word of God: which pretence, for the safeguard of all the
 rest, they yet at their examinations covered and excused,
 by hearing of a play that was then appointed to be at that
 place. The Vicechamberlain, after he had apprehended
 them, carried *Rough* and *Symfon* unto the Council, who
 charged them to have assembled together to celebrate the
 Communion or Supper of the Lord, and therefore after
 sundry examinations, they sent the said *Rough* unto
Newgate; but his examinations they sent unto the Bi-
 shop of *London*, with a Letter signed with their hands:
 the copy whereof followeth.

Anno
 1558.
 John Rough
 joyne
 himselfe
 to the con-
 gregation at
 London.

John Rough
 apprehend-
 ed, and by
 whom.

A Letter sent from the Queens Council unto Boner Bi-
 shop of London, touching the examination of John
 Rough, Minister.

A Letter
 sent from
 the Council
 to B. Boner.

After our heavy commendations to your good Lordship,
 we send you here inclosed the examination of a
 Scottish Man named John Rough, who by the Queens
 Majesties commandment is presently sent to Newgate,
 being of the chief of them that upon Sunday last,
 under the colour of coming to see a play at the *Saracens
 Head* in *Islington*, had prepared a Communion to
 be celebrated and received there among certain other Se-
 ditions and Heretical Persons. And forasmuch as by the said
 Roughs examination, containing the Story and progresse
 of his former life, it will appeare of what sort he is, the
 Queens Highnes hath willed us to send him unto your
 Lordship, to the end that being called before you out of
 Prison, as oft as your Lordship shall think good, ye may pro-
 ceed both to his further examination, and otherwise order-
 ing of him according to the Lawes, as the case shall require.
 And thus we bid your Lordship heartily well to fare. From
 Saint James the 15. day of December, 1557.

Your Lordships loving friends.

Nicholas Ebor.
 F. Shrewsbury.
 Edward Hastings.
 Anthony Mountague.
 John Bourne.
 Henry Iernegan.

Boner, now minding to make quick dispatch, did with-
 in three days after the receipt of the Letter (the 18. day
 of December) send for this *Rough* out of *Newgate*, and in
 his Palace at *London* ministred unto him 12. Articles: Ma-
 ny whereof because they contain only questions of the
 Profession and Religion of that age; wherein both he and
 his Parents were Christened (which in sundry places are
 already mentioned) I do here for brevity omit; minding
 to touch such only, as pertain to matters of Faith now in
 controversy, and then chiefly objected against the Mar-
 tyrs and Saints of God, which in effect are these.

Articles a-
 gainst John
 Roughs Sa-
 craments of
 the Altar.
 Confession.

First, that thou *John Rough* didst directly speak a-
 gainst the 7. Sacraments, used commonly and re-
 verently, as things of estimation and great worthines in
 the Catholick Church: and also didst reprove and condemn
 the substance of the said Sacraments, but especially the
 Sacrament of the Altar, affirming that in that same is
 not really and truly the very Body and Blood of Christ:
 that consecration to the Priest, and absolution given by
 him (as the Minister of Christ) for sins is not necessary
 or available in any wise.

Latin Ser-
 vice.

2. Item, thou hast misliked and reproved the Religi-
 on and Ecclesiastical Service, as it is now used in this

Realm, and hath allowed the Religion and Service used in
 the later years of King *Edward* the sixth, and so much as
 in thee hath layn, last by word, writing, and deed, set
 forwards, taught, and preached the same openly, and in
 sundry places affirmed, that the said English Service and
 Doctrine therein contained, is agreeable in all points to
 Gods Word, and unto the truth, condemning utterly the
 Latin Service now used in the Queens Reign, and inducing
 others by thine example to do the like.

3. Item, thou hast in sundry places within this Realm
 commended and approved the Opinion and Doctrine of
The Crammer, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas
 Ridley* and *Hugh Latimer*; concerning the Sacrament of
 the Altar, affirming that in the Sacrament there remain-
 eth, after the words of Consecration, material Bread, and
 material Wine, without any Transubstantiation.

4. Item, that thou hast in sundry places of this Realm,
 since the Queens Reigo, ministred and received the Com-
 munion as it was used in the late days of King *Edward*
 the 6. and thou knowest, or credibly hast heard of di-
 vers, that yet do keep Books of the said Communion, and
 used the same in private Houses out of the Church and are
 of Opinion against the Sacrament of the Altar.

Books of
 Communion

5. Item, that thou in sundry places of this Realm
 hast spoken against the Pope of *Rome*, and his Apосто-
 lick See, and hast plainly contemned and despised the
 Authority of the same, misliking and not allowing the
 Faith and Doctrine thereof, but directly speaking against
 it, and by thine example hast induced other the Subjects
 of this Realm, to speak and do the like.

Against the
 Supremacy
 of the Pope.

6. Item, thou dost know, and hast been conversant
 with all, or a great part of such English Men as have
 fled out of this Realm for Religion, and hast confen-
 ded and agreed with them in their Opinions, and hast
 succoured, maintained, and holpen them, and hast been
 a conveyer of their Seditious Letters, and Books into this
 Realm.

7. Item, that thou hast said, that thou hast been at *Rome*,
 and tarried there about thirty days or more, and that thou
 hast seen little good or none there, but very much evil.
 Amount the which thou sawest one great Abomination,
 that is to say, a Man (or the Pope) that should go
 on the ground, to be carried upon the Shoulders of four
 Men, as though he had been God and no Man: Also a
 Cardinal to have his Harlot riding openly behind him:
 And thirdly, a Popes Bull, that gave expresse licence to
 have and use the Stews, and to keep open Bawdry by the
 Popes approbation and authority.

Abominable
 sights at
 Rome.

8. Item, that thou, since thou thy last coming into En-
 gland out of the parts beyond the Sea, hast perniciously
 allured, and comforted divers of the Subjects of this Realm,
 both young men, old men and women, to have and use
 the Book of Communion, set forth in this Realm, in
 the later days of King *Edward* the sixth, and hast also
 thy self read and set forth the same, causing others to
 do the like, and to leave their coming to the Parish
 Churches to hear the Latin Service now used.

9. Item, that thou on the third Sunday of *Advent*
 the 12. day of this December 1557. wast apprehended at
 the *Saracens* Head at *Islington*, in the County of *Middle-
 sex* and Diocese of *London*, by the Queens Vicechamber-
 lain, with one *Cuthbert* a Taylor, *Hugh* a Hosier, and di-
 vers other there assembled, under the colour of hearing
 a play, to have read the Communion Book, and to have
 used the accustomed fashion, as was in the latter days of
 King *Edward* the sixth.

Cuthbert Sym-
 fon, Rough
 Rest.

The Answer of John Rough, to the foresaid Articles.

TO the first he said and confessed, that he had spoken
 against the number of the said Sacraments, being
 fully perfwaded that there be but only two Sacraments,
 to wit, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord; and as
 for the other five, he denied them to be Sacraments,
 and therefore hath spoken against them. And as con-
 cerning the Sacrament of the Altar (which he then cal-
 led the Supper of the Lord) he confessed that he had spo-
 ken and taught, that in the said Sacrament there is not really
 and substantially the very Body & Blood of Christ, but that
 the substance of Bread and Wine doth remain in the

His answers
 to the Arti-
 cles.

said Sacrament, without any Transubstantiation at all. Farther as touching Confession of sins to the Priest, he answered, That he thought it necessary, if the offence were done unto the Priest: but if the offence were done to another, then Confession made to the Priest is not necessary, but Reconciliation only to be made to the Party so offended.

2. To the second he answered, That he then did and had before disliked the Order of Latin Service then used; and also did allow the Service used in the later time of King Edwards Reign, for that the holy Scripture doth the same, and therefore he granted that he did teach and set forth the said English Service, as in the same Article is objected.

3. To the third, he granted That he had approved the Doctrine of the Parties articulate as agreeable to Gods Word, and that they were godly learned men, and such as had perfect understanding in the Contents of the same Article.

4. To the fourth he answered, That he did well like the Communion used in King Edwards days, but he said, that he had not misliked or received the same here in England since the Queens Reign, neither yet knew any that had those Books, but on the other side, he knew many that had those Books, and that there also he had received the Communion in sundry places.

5. The Contents of the fifth he granted to be true.

6. To the sixth he confessed, That he had been familiar with divers English men and women, being in Friesland, and agreed with them in Opinion, as Mr. Scory, Thomas Young, George Roe, and others, to the number of one hundred Persons, which fled thither for Religion, using there the Order set forth in the Reign of King Edward, and otherwise he denieth the Contents of this Article.

7. The Contents of the seventh he granted in every point to be true.

8. To the eighth he answered and confessed, That since his last coming into England (which was about the tenth day of November) he had in sundry places in the Suburbs of London prayed and read such Prayers and Service, as is appointed in the Book of the Communion, and willed others to do the like, both men and women, which he did know by sight, but not by name. Howbeit he did never cause any to withdraw themselves from the Latin Service, but he said it were better to pray in a Tongue that they did understand, than in an unknown Tongue.

9. To the ninth he confessed, at the time and place articulate he was present to hear and see a Play, and there was apprehended by the Queens Majesties Vice-Chamberlain, with one Cutbert a Taylor, and one Hugh a Hoffer, and divers other both men and women, whose names he knew not, and by him was brought before the Council, who sent him unto Newgate, and from thence he was brought to the Bishop. And otherwise he denieth the Contents of this Article.

Upon these Answers he was dismissed, and the next day being the nineteenth of December, he was again brought before the said Bishop and others. Who, when they perceived his constancy, determined the next day after to bring him openly into the Consistory, there to adjudge, and condemn him as an Heretick. Which purpose they accomplished: For the twentieth day at Afternoon, in the presence of the Bishop of London, and S. Davids, with Pecknam Abbat of Westminster, and others, he was there produced. Where after much and many fair persuasions, Bener read unto him the Articles and Answers, before mentioned, in the which they charged him to have received the Orders of the Church, and therefore might not marry; and that he had refused to consent unto the Latin Service then used in the Church. Whereunto he then answered and said, That their Orders were nothing at all, and that he being a Priest, might lawfully marry, and that his Children which he had by his Wife were lawful. And touching the Service then used, he utterly detested it, saying, That if he should live as long as did Methuselah, yet he would never come to the Church to hear the abominable Mass and other Service being as it was then. Upon which words the Bishop pro-

Another appearance of John Rough before the Bishop.

In a Rough condemned and degraded by Bener.

ceeded to the actual degradation of the said Rough, emptying him from all the benefits and privileges of their Church, and after condemning him as an Heretick, committed his Body to the Secular Power, who taking him into their charge and custody, carried him unto Newgate.

Moreover, as touching the said Mr. Rough, this is further to be noted, that he being in the North Country in the days of King Edwards the sixth, was the mean to save Dr. Watson's life (who in Q. Maryes time was Bishop of Lincoln) for a Sermon that he had made there. The said Watson after that, in the said days of Q. Mary, being with Bener at the Examination of the said Mr. Rough, to requite the good turn in saving his life, detected him there to be a pernicious Heretick, who did more hurt in the North parts than an hundred besides of his Opinion. Unto whom Mr. Rough said again, Why Sir, is this the reward I have for saving your life, when you preached erroneous Doctrine in the days of King Edwards the sixth? This Mr. Rough said, he had lived thirty years, and yet had never bowed his knee to Baal; and being before Bener, among other talk, he affirmed that he had been twice at Rome, and there had seen plainly with his eyes, which he had many times heard of before, namely, that the Pope was the very Antichrist: for there he saw him carried on mens shoulders, and the false-named Sacrament born before him. Yet was there more reverence given to him, than to that which they counted to be their god. When Bener heard this, rising up, and making as though he would have torn his Garments, Hail thou, said he, been at Rome, and seen our holy Father the Pope, and dost thou blaspheme him after this sort; and with that flying upon him, he plucked off a piece of his Beard, and after making speedily haste to his death, he burnt him half an hour before six of the clock in the morning, because the day (belike) should not be far spent, before he had done a malicious deed.

Furthermore, Note that this Mr. Rough being at the burning of Aulsoe in Smithfield, and returning homeward again, met with one Mr. Farrar, a Merchant of Halifax, who asked him, where he had been. Unto whom he answered, I have been (saith he) where I would not for one of mine eyes but I had been. Where have you been, said Mr. Farrar? Forsooth (saith he) to learn the way. And so he told him he had been at the burning of Aulsoe, where shortly after he was burned himself.

A Letter written by John Rough, unto certain of his godly Friends, confirming and strengthening them in the truth, which he had before taught.

The comfort of the Holy Ghost make you able to give consolation to others in these dangerous days, when Satan is let loose, but to the trial only of the chosen, when it pleaseth our God to sift his Wheat from the Chaff. I have not leisure and time to write the great temptations I have been under. I speak to Gods glory; my cave was to have the senses of my Soul open, to perceive the voice of God, saying, Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father and his Angels. And to save the life corporal, is to lose the life eternal. And he that will not suffer with Christ, shall not reign with him. Therefore most tender ones, I have by Gods Spirit given over the flesh, with the fight of my soul, and the Spirit bath the victory. The flesh shall now ere it be long, leave off to sin, the Spirit shall reign eternally. I have chosen the death, to confirm the truth by me taught. What can I do more? Consider with your selves, that I have done it for the confirmation of Gods Truth. Pray that I may continue unto the end. The greatest part of the assault is past, I praise my God. I have in all my assaults felt the present aid of my God, I give him most hearty thanks therefore. Look not back, nor be ye ashamed of Christs Gospel, nor of the Bonds I have suffered for the same, thereby ye may be assured it is the true Word of God. The holy ones have been sealed with the same mark. It is no time for the loss of one man in the Battel, for the Camp to turn back. Up with mens hearts; blow down the dawbed walls of Heresie. Let one take the Banner, and the other the Trumpet; I mean not to make corporal resistance, but pray, and ye shall have Elias his defence, and Elishas company to fight for you. The cause is the Lords. Now my Brethren, I can write no more, time

Anno 1557.

A note of Mr. Rough.

By Bener plucked off half the beard of John Rough.

Another note of John Rough.

Anno 1557. time will not suffer, and my heart with pangs of death is assaulted: but I am at home with my God yet alive. Pray for me, and salute one another with the holy kiss. The peace of God rest with you all, Amen. From Newgate Prison in haste, the day of my Condemnation.

John Rough.

Another Letter of John Rough written unto the Congregation two days before he suffered.

THe Spirit of all Consolation be with you, aid you, and make you strong to run to the fight that is laid before you, wherewithal God in all Ages hath tried his Elect, and hath found them worthy of himself, by coupling to their Head Jesus Christ: in whom, whose desire to live godly, the same must needs suffer persecution. For it is given unto them, not only to believe, but also to suffer. And the Servant or Scholar cannot be greater than his Lord or Master: but by the same way the Head is entered, the Members must follow: no life is in the Members which are cut from the Body: likewise you have no life, but in Christ: for by him we live, move, and have our being. My dear Son, now departing this life to my great advantage, I make change of mortality with immortality, of corruption to put on incorruption, to make my Body like to the Corn cast into the ground, which except it dye first, it can bring forth no good fruit. Wherefore death is to me great advantage; for thereby the Body ceaseth from sin, and after turneth into the first Original, but after shall be changed, and made brighter than the Sun or Moon. What shall I write of this corporal death, seeing it is decreed of God, that all men shall once dye? Happy are they that dye in the Lord, which is to dye in the faith of Christ, professing and confessing the same before many witnesses. I praise my God I have passed the same journey by many temptations, the Devil is very buisie to persuade the world to entice with promises and fair words: which I omit to write lest some might think I did hunt after vain glory, which is farthest from my heart. Lastly, the danger of some false Brethren, who before the Bishop of London purposed to confess on untruth to my face; yet the God that ruled Babylon, moved their hearts: where they thought to speak to my accusation, he made them speak to my Purgation. What a journey (by Gods power) I have made these eight days before this day, it is above flesh and blood to bear: but as Paul saith, I may do all things in him which worketh in me, Jesus Christ. My comf, Brethren, have I run, I have fought a good fight, the Crown of Righteousness is laid up for me, my day to receive it is not long to. Pray Brethren, for the Enemy doth yet assault. Stand constant unto the end, then shall you possess your Souls. Walk worthily in that Vocation wherein you are called. Comfort the Brethren. Salute one another in my name. Be not ashamed of the Gospel of the Croft, by me preached, nor yet of my sufferings: for with my blood I affirm the same. I go before, I suffer first the baiting of the Butchers dogs; yet I have not done what I should have done: but my weakness, I doubt not, is supplied in the strength of Jesus Christ; and your wisdom and learning will accept the small Talent, which I have distributed unto you (as I trust) as a faithful Steward: and what was undone, impute that to frailty and ignorance, and with your love cover that which is and was naked in me. God knoweth ye are all tender unto me, my heart burneth for the love of you. Ye are not without your great Pastor of your soul, who so loveth you, that if men were not to be sought out (as God be praised, there is no want of men) he would cause stones to minister unto you. Cast your care on that Rock, the wind of temptation shall not prevail: fast and pray, for the days are evil. Look up with your eyes of hope, for the redemption is not far off (but my wickedness hath deserved that I shall not see it). And also that which is behind of the blood of our Brethren, which shall also be laid under the Altar, shall cry for your relief. Time will not now suffer me to write longer Letters. The Spirit of God guide you in and out, rising and sitting, cover you with the shadow of his wings, defend you against the tyranny of the wicked, and bring you happily unto the Port of Eternal Felicity, where all tears shall be wiped from your eyes, and you shall always abide with the Lamb.

John Rough.

Margaret Mearings, Martyr.

IT is declared, that in the company of John Rough, The Rary, and examination of Margaret Mearings, who, as the Register maketh mention, was at one time and day brought with the said Rough forth to Examination: where the Bishop having no private matters to charge her withal, did the eighteenth day of December object against her those common and accustomed Articles mentioned before. To which she answered as followeth.

First, That there is here in Earth a Catholick Church, and that there is the true Faith of Christ observed and kept in the same Church.

2. Item, That there were only two Sacraments in the Church, namely, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, and the Sacrament of Baptism.

3. Item, That she was baptized in the Faith, and Belief of the said Church, renouncing there, by her Godfathers and Godmothers, the Devil and all his works, &c.

4. Item, That when she came to the age of fourteen years, she did not know what her true belief was, because she was not then of discretion to understand the same, neither yet was taught it.

5. Item, That she had not gone from the Catholick Faith at any time: but she said that the Mass was abominable before the sight of God, and before the sight of all true Christian People, and that it is the plain Cup of Fornication, and the Whore of Babylon. And concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, she said, she believed there was no such Sacrament in the Catholick Church. Also she said, That she utterly abhorred the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, with all the Religion observed in the same Antichrists Church.

6. Item, She answered to the sixth Article, as to the first, before specified.

7. Item, That she hath refused to come to her Parish Church, because the true Religion of Christ was not then used in the same: and further said, That she had not come unto the Church by the space of one year and three quarters then last past, neither yet did mean any more to come unto the same in these idolatrous days.

8. Item, As touching the manner of her Apprehension, she said, That Cluney the Bishops Sumner did fetch her to the Bishop.

Her Answers to the Articles.

Margaret Mearings apprehended by Cluney.

These Answers being then registered, they were again (with the said Articles) propounded against her the twentieth day of December, and there being demanded if she would stand unto those her Answers, she said, I will stand to them unto the death; for the very Angels of Heaven do laugh you to scorn, to see your Abomination that you use in the Church. After the which words, the Bishop pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation against her; and then delivering her unto the Sheriffs, she was with the fore-named John Rough carried unto Newgate. From whence they were both together led unto Smithfield, the 22th day of the same Month of December, and there most joyfully gave their lives for the Profession of Christs Gospel.

When the later end of this History of Mr. Rough and Margaret Mearings was in finishing, there came to our hands one necessary thing of the said Margaret Mearings, which we thought not good to omit. The matter is this: Mr. Rough being chief Pastor to the Congregation in the said time of Queen Mary, as before you have heard (of which Company this Margaret Mearings was one) did not well like the said Margaret, but greatly suspected her, as many other of them did besides, because she would oftentimes bring in strangers among them, and in her talk seemed (as they thought) somewhat too buisie, &c. Now, what they saw or understood further in her, we know not, but this followed the evil suspicion conceived of her. Mr. Rough, the Friday before he was taken, in the open face of the Congregation, did excommunicate her out of the same Company: and so seemed with the rest to exclude and cut her off from their Fellowship and Society. Whereat she being moved, did not well take it, nor in good part, but thought herself not indifferently

The Martyrdom of John Rough and Margaret Mearings in Smithfield, Anno 1557, December.

ferently handled among them. Whereupon to one of her Friends in a heat, the threatened to remove them all. But the Providence of God was otherwise. For the Sunday after, Mr. *Rough* being taken by the Information of one *Roger Sergeant* to the Bishop of London (as hereafter thou shalt hear) was laid Prisoner in the Gatehouse at Westminster, where none of his Friends could come to visit him. Then this said *Margaret*, hearing thereof, got her a Basket, and a clean Shirt in it, and went to Westminster, where she, feigning her self to be his Sister, got into the Prison to him, and did there to her power not a little comfort him.

Margaret
relieveth
Mr. *Rough*
in Prison.

Then coming abroad again, the understanding that the Congregation suspected the said *Sergeant* to be his Promoter, went to his House, and asked whether *Judas* dwelt not there. Unto whom answer was made, there dwelt no such. No, said she? Dwelleth not *Judas* here that betrayed Christ? his name is *Sergeant*. When she saw she could not speak with him, she went her way. So the Friday after, she standing at *Mark Lane* end in London, with another Woman, a Friend of hers, saw *Cluney*, *Boners* Sunner, coming in the Street towards her House. Whom when she saw, she said to the other Woman standing with her, Whither goeth yonder fine Fellow, said she? I think surely he goeth to my House; and in viewing him still, at the last she saw him enter in at her door. So immediately she went home, and asked him whom he sought. Whereunto *Cluney* made answer and said, for you; you must go with me. Marry (quoth she) here I am; I will go with you: and coming to the Bishop, she was laid in Prison, and the Wednesday

The taking
of *Margaret*
Cluney,
Martyr.

after burnt with Mr. *Rough* in *Smithfield*, as ye have heard.

Anno
1558.

Anno 1558.

The suffering and cruel Torments of Cutbert Symfon, Deacon of the Christian Congregation in London, in Queen Maries days, most patiently abiding the cruel rage of the Papists for Christs sake.

NEXT after the Martyrdom of Mr. *Rough* Minister of the Congregation above mentioned, succeeded in like Martyrdom the Deacon also of that said godly Company or Congregation in London, named *Cutbert Symfon*, being committed to the fire, the Year of our Lord 1558, the 28. day of March.

This *Cutbert Symfon* was a man of a faithful and zealous heart to Christ and his true Flock, inasmuch that he never ceased labouring, and studying most earnestly, not only how to preserve them without corruption of the Popish Religion, but also his care was very vigilant, how to keep them together without peril or danger of persecution. The pains, travel, zeal, patience, and fidelity of this man, in caring and providing for this Congregation, as it is not lightly to be expressed; so is it wonderful to behold the Providence of the Lord by vision, concerning the troubles of this faithful Minister and godly Deacon, as in this here following may appear.

The Friday at night before Mr. *Rough* Minister of the Congregation (of whom mention is made before) was taken, being in his Bed he dreamed, that he saw two of

The visions
sent to Gods
Saiants con-
cerning their
Afflictions.

A true description of the racking and cruell handling of Cutbert Symfon in the Tower.



the Guard leading *Cutbert Symfon* Deacon of the said Congregation, and that he had the Book about him, wherein were written the names of all them which were of the Congregation. Whereupon being sore troubled, he awaked, and called his Wife, saying, *Kate*, strike a light, for I am much troubled with my Brother *Cutbert* this night. When she had so done, he gave himself to read in his Book a while, and there feeling sleep to come upon him, he put out the Candle, and so gave himself again to rest. Being asleep, he dreamed the like dream again; and, awaked therewith, he said, Oh *Kate*, my Brother *Cutbert* is gone. So they lighted a Candle again, and rose. And as the said Mr. *Rough* was making him ready to go to *Cutbert* to see how he did, in the mean time the said *Cutbert* came in with the Book containing

the names and accounts of the Congregation. Whom when Mr. *Rough* had seen, he said, Brother *Cutbert*, ye are welcome: for I have been sore troubled with you this night, and so told him his dream. After he had so done, he willed him to lay the Book away from him, and to carry it no more about him. Unto which *Cutbert* answered, he would not so do: for dreams, he said, were but phantasies, and not to be credited. Then Mr. *Rough* straitly charged him in the name of the Lord to do it. Whereupon the said *Cutbert* took such Notes out of the Book, as he had willed him to do, and immediately left the Book with Mr. *Rough's* Wife.

The next day following, in the night, the said Mr. *Rough* had another dream in his sleep concerning his own

Anno 1558. ownd trouble. The matter whereof was this. He thought in his dream that he was carried himself forcibly to the Bishop, and that the Bishop pluckt off his Beard, and cast it into the fire, saying these words, Now I may say I have had a piece of an Heretick burned in my House, and so accordingly it came to pass.

Now to return to Cutbert again; as we have touched something concerning these visions, so now remaineth to story also of his pains and sufferings upon the Rack, and otherwise, like a good *Laurence* for the Congregations sake, as he wrote it with his own hand.

A true Report how he was used in the Tower of London, being sent thither by the Council, the thirteenth day of December.

A Letter of Cutbert Symfon to his friends.

ON the Thursday after, I was called into the Warehouse, before the Constable of the Tower, and the Recorder of London Mr. Cholmsley; they commanded me to tell, whom I did will to come to the English Service. I answered, I would declare nothing. Whereupon I was fet in a Rack of Iron, the space of three hours as I judged.

Then they asked me if I would tell them. I answered as before. Then was I loosed, and carried to my lodging again. On the Sunday after I was brought into the same place again before the Lieutenant and the Recorder of London, and they examined me. As before I had said, I answered. Then the Lieutenant did swear by God I should tell. Then did they bind my two fore-fingers together, and put a small Arrow betwixt them, and drew it through so fast that the blood followed, and the Arrow brake.

Then they racked me twice. Then was I carried to my Lodging again, and ten days after the Lieutenant asked me if I would not confess that which before they had asked me. I said, I had said as much as I would. Then five weeks after he sent me unto the High Priest, where I was greatly assaulted, and at whole hand I received the Popes Curse, for bearing witness of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. And thus I commend you unto God, and to the Word of his Grace, with all them that unfeignedly call upon the Name of Jesus, desiring God of his endless mercy, through the Merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ, to bring us all to his everlasting Kingdom, Amen. I praise God for his great mercy shewed upon us. Sing O *Anna* unto the Highest with me *Cutbert Symfon*. God forgive me my sins. I ask all the World forgiveness, and I do forgive all the World, and thus I leave this World, in hope of a joyfull Resurrection.

A note of Cutbert Symfons patience.

A note of Cutbert Symfon.

Now as touching this *Cutbert Symfon*, this further is to be noted, that *Boner* in his Consistory speaking of *Cutbert Symfon*, gave this testimony of him there to the People, saying, Ye see this man, such he, what a personable man he is; and after he had thus commended his person, added moreover; And furthermore concerning his patience, I say unto you, that if he were not an Heretick, he is a man of the greatest patience that yet ever came before me: For I tell you, he hath been thrice racked upon one day in the Tower. Also in my House he hath felt some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience broken, &c.

It is thought and said of some, that that Arrow which was grated betwixt his fingers, being tied together, was not in the Tower, but in the Bishops house.

A Vision of Cutbert Symfon.

The day before the blessed Deacon and Martyr of God, *Cutbert Symfon*, after his painful rackings, should go to his Condemnation before *Boner*, to be burned, being in the Bishops Colchouse there in the Stocks, he had a certain Vision or Apparition very strange, which he himself with his own mouth declared to the godly learned man Mr. *Austen*, to his own Wife, and *Thomas Symfon*, and to others besides, in the Prison of *Newgate* a little before his death. The relation whereof I stand in no little doubt whether to report abroad or not,

considering with my self the great diversity of mens judgments by the reading of Histories, and variety of Affections. Some I see will not believe it, some will deride the same, some also will be offended with setting forth things of that sort uncertain, esteeming all things to be uncertain and incredible, whatsoever is strange from the common order of Nature.

Others will be perchance agrieved, thinking with themselves; or else thus reasoning with me, that although the matter were as is reported, yet so far from the common error of believing rash Miracles, Phantasies; Visions, Dreams and Apparitions thereby may be confirmed, more expedient it were the same to be un-set forth.

These, and such like, will be, I know, the sayings of many. Whereunto briefly I answer, granting first, and admitting with the words of *Basil*, *ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἀνέφελον*. That is, not every Dream is straightway a Prophecy. Again, neither am I ignorant that the Papists in their Books and Legends of Saints have their prodigious Visions and Apparitions of Angels, of our Lady, of Christ, and other Saints: which as I will not admit to be believed for true; so will they ask me again why should I then more require these to be credited of them, than theirs of us.

First, I write not this, binding any man precisely to believe the same, so as they do theirs, but only report it as it hath been heard of persons known, naming also the Parties who were the hearers thereof, leaving the judgment thereof notwithstanding free unto the arbitrement of the Reader. Albeit, it is no good Argument, proceeding from the singular or particular, to the universal, to say that Visions be not true in some: *Ergo*, they be true in none. And if any shall muse, or object again, Why should such Visions be given to him, or a few other singular persons, more than to all the rest, seeing the other were in the same cause and quarrel, and died also Martyrs as well as he? To this, I say, concerning the Lords times and doings I have not to meddle nor make, who may work where and when it pleaseth him. And what if the Lord thought chiefly above the other with singular consolation to respect him, who chiefly above the other, and singularly did suffer most exquisite Torments for his sake? What great marvel herein? But, as I said, of the Lords secret times I have not to reason. This only which bath out of the mans own mouth been received, so as I received it of the Parties, I thought here to communicate to the Reader, for him to judge thereof as God shall rule his mind. The matter is this.

What credit is to be given to visions, and how far.

The day before this *Symfon* was condemned, he being in the Stocks, *Cluney* his Keeper cometh in with the Keys about nine of the Clock at night (after his usual manner) to view his Prison, and see whether all were presents, who when he espied the said *Cutbert* to be there, departed again, locking the doors after him. Within two hours after, about eleven of the Clock toward midnight, the said *Cutbert* (whether being in a slumber, or being awake I cannot say) heard one coming in, first opening the outward door, then the second, after the third doors, and so looking in to the said *Cutbert*, having no Candle or Torch that he could see, but giving a brightness and light most comfortable and joyfull to his heart, saying, Hail, unto him, and departed again. Who it was he could not tell, neither I dare define. This that he saw, he himself declared four or five times to the said Mr. *Austen*, and to others. At the sight whereof he received such joyfull comfort, that he also expressed no little solace in telling and declaring the same.

Articles severally ministered to Cutbert Symfon the nineteenth day of March, with his Answers also to the same annexed.

First, That thou *Cutbert Symfon* art at this present abiding within the City and Diocess of London, and not out of the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.

Articles severally ministered to Cutbert Symfon.

Item, That thou within the City and Diocess of London hast uttered many times, and spoken deliberately these Words and Sentences following, *videlicet*, that though thy Parents, Ancestors, Kinsfolks, and Friends, yea, and also thy self, before the time of the late Schism

here

here in this Realm of England, have thought, and thoughtest, that the Faith and Religion observed in times past here in this Realm of England, was a true Faith and Religion of Christ, in all Points and Articles, though in the Church it was set forth in the Latin Tongue, and not in English, yet thou believest and sayest, that the Faith and Religion, now used commonly in the Realm, is not in the English, but in the Latin Tongue, is not the true Faith and Religion of Christ, but contrary and expressly against it.

Ceremonies. Item, That thou hast within the said City and Diocese of London hast willingly, wittingly, and contemptuously done, and spoken against the Rites and the Ceremonies, commonly used here through the whole Realm, and observed generally in the Church of England.

Seven Sacraments. Item, That thou hast thought and believed certainly, and so within the Diocese of London hast affirmed and spoken deliberately, that there be not in the Catholick Church seven Sacraments, nor of that virtue and efficacy as is commonly believed in the Church of England them to be.

Sacrament of the Altar. Item, That thou hast likewise thought and believed, yea, and so within the City and Diocese of London spoken, and deliberately affirmed, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not really, substantially, and truly the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Item, That thou hast been, and to thy power art at this present a Favourer of all those, that either have been here in this Realm, heretofore called Hereticks, or else convicted, and condemned by the Ecclesiastical Judges for Hereticks.

Using of English Service. Item, That thou, contrary to the order of this Realm of England, and contrary to the usage of the Holy Church of this Realm of England, hast at sundry times and places within the City and Diocese of London, been at Assemblies and Conventicles, where there was a multitude of People gathered together to hear the English Service said, which was set forth in the later years of King Edward the sixth, and also to hear, and have the Communion Book read, and the Communion ministrifred, both to the said Multitude, and also to thy self; and thou hast thought, and so thinkest, and hast spoken that the said English Service and Communion Book, and all things contained in either of them was good and laudable, and for such thou didst and dost allow, and approve either of them at this present.

The Answer of the said Cutbert to the foresaid Articles.

His answer to the Articles. UNto all which Articles the said Cutbert Symfon answered thus, or the like in effect.
To the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Article, he confessed them to be true in every part thereof.
To the seventh Article he said, That he was not bound to answer unto it, as he believeth.

A Letter of Cutbert Symfon, written to his Wife out of the Colebourne.

A Letter of Cutbert Symfon to his wife. DEarly beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ, I cannot write as I do wish unto you.
I beseech you with my Soul, commit your self under the mighty hand of our God, trusting in his mercy, and be will surely help us, as shall be mozt unto his glory and our everlasting comfort, being sure of this, that he will suffer nothing to come unto us, but that which shall be mozt profitable for us.

For it is either a Correction for our sins, or a trial of our Faith, or to set forth his glory, or for all together, and therefore must needs be well done. For there is nothing that cometh unto us by Fortune or Chance, but by our Heavenly Fathers Providence. And therefore pray unto our Heavenly Father, that he will ever give us his Grace to consider it. Let us give him mozt hearty thanks for these his fatherly Corrections; for as many as he loveth, he correcteth. And I beseech you now be of good cheer, and count the Crofs of Christ greater riches, than all the vain pleasures of England, I do not doubt (I praise God for it) but that you have supped with Christ at his Maundy, I mean, believe in him: for that is the

effect, and then must you drink of his Cup: I mean his Crofs (for that doth the Cup signifie unto us.) Take the Cup with a good stomach, in the Name of God, and then shall you be sure to have the good Wine, Christs Blood, to thy poor thirsty Soul. And when you have the Wine, you must drink it out of this Cup. Learn this when you come to the Lords Supper. Pray continually. In all things give thanks.

In the Name of Jesus shall every knee bow, Cutbert Symfon.

{ Hugh Foxe. }
{ John Devenish. }

With Cutbert likewise was apprehended and also suffered (as is before mentioned) Hugh Foxe and John Devenish. Who being brought unto their Examinations with the said Cutbert, before Boner Bishop of London, the Nineteenth day of March, had Articles and Interrogatories to them ministrifred by the said Officer, albeit not all at one time. For first to the said Cutbert several Articles were propounded, then other Articles in general were ministrifred to them altogether. The order and manner of which Articles, now joyntly to them ministrifred here follow, with their Answers also to the same annexed to be seen.

Articles generally ministrifred to them all three together, the said 19th day of March, with their Answers to the same annexed.

AFTER these Articles thus ministrifred and laid to Cutbert Symfon, with his Answers likewise unto the same, the Bishop calling them all together, objected to them other Positions and Articles, the same which before are mentioned in the story of Bariles Green, only the eighth Article out of the same omitted and excepted: which Articles, because they are expressed in the place above mentioned, we need not here make any new report thereof, but only refer the Reader to the place assigned.

The Answers general of Cutbert Symfon, Hugh Foxe, and John Devenish, to the Articles by the Bishop to them generally propoged.

TO the first Article they all answered affirmatively; but John Devenish added, That that Church is grounded upon the Prophets and Apostles, Christ being the Head corner-stone, and how in that Church there is the true Faith and Religion of Christ.

To the second Article they all confessed and believed, That in Christs Catholick Church there are but two Sacraments, that is to wit, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord; otherwise they do not believe the Contents of this Article to be true in any part thereof.

To the third Article they all answered affirmatively.

To the fourth Article they all answered affirmatively.

To the fifth Article they all answered affirmatively, That they do believe, and have, and will speak against the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Sacrament of the Altar, and likewise against the Authority of the See of Rome, and are nothing sorry for the same, but will do it still while they live.

To the sixth Article they all answered, and denied to acknowledge the Authority of the See of Rome to be lawful and good, either yet his Religion.

To the seventh Article they all answered affirmatively, that they have and will do still while they live; and John Devenish adding thereto, said that the Sacrament of the Altar, as it is now used, is no Sacrament at all.

To the eighth Article they all confessed, and believed all things, above by them acknowledged and declared, to be true, and that they be of the Diocese of London, and Jurisdiction of the same.

These three above named Persons, and blessed Writnes of Jesus Christ, Cutbert, Foxe, and Devenish, as they

Anno 1558.

Hugh Foxe, John Devenish, Martyrs.

General Articles objected to them all three together.

Their Answer general to the Articles.

Anno

1558. Godly Martyrs burned in Smithfield. Anno 1558 March 28.



The burning of William Nichol at Hereford West in Wil.



they were altogether apprehended at *Ipsington*; as is above declared, so the same all three together suffered in *Smithfield* about the 28th day of *March*, in whose perfect constancy the same Lord (in whose cause and quarrel they suffered) giver of all Grace, and Governour of all things, be exalted for ever, Amen.

The suffering and martyrdom of William Nichol, put to death by the wicked hands of the Papists at Hereford-West in Wales.

three constant godly men at *Norwich* in *Norfolk*, who were cruelly and tyrannically put to death for the true testimony of Jesus Christ, the nineteenth of *May*, Anno 1558. whose names be these:

William Seaman.
Thomas Carman.
Thomas Hudjon.

April 2.
Wm. Nichol,
Martyr.

WE find in all Ages from the beginning, that Satan hath not ceased at all times to molest the Church of Christ with one Affliction or other, to the trial of their Faith, but yet never so apparently at any time to all the World, as when the Lord hath permitted him power over the Bodies of his Saints, to the shedding of their Blood, and perverting of their Religion; for then sleepeth he not, I warrant you, from the murdering of the same, unless they will fall down with *Achab* and *Jehazabel* to worship him, and so kill and poyson their own Souls eternally; as in these miserable latter days of *Queen Mary* we have felt, heard, and seen practised upon Gods People. Among whom we find recorded an honest good simple poor man, one *William Nichol*, who was apprehended by the Champions of the Pope, for speaking certain words against the cruel Kingdom of Antichrist, and the ninth day of *April*, Anno 1558. was butcherly burnt and tormented at *Hereford-West* in *Wales*, where he ended his life in a most happy and blessed state, and gloriously gave his Soul into the hands of the Lord, whose goodness be praised for ever, Amen.

This *William Nichol* (as we are informed) was so simple a good Soul, that many esteemed him half foolish. But what he was we know not, but this we are sure, he died a good man, and in a good cause, whatsoever they judge of him. And the more simplicity and feebleness of wit appeared in him, the more beastly and wretched doth it declare their cruel and tyrannical act therein. The Lord give them Repentance therefore, if it be his blessed will, Amen, Amen.

The Martyrdom of William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudjon, put to death by the persecuting Papists at Norwich in the County of Norfolk.

Immediately after *William Nichol*, succeeded in that honourable and glorious Vocation of Martyrdom:

The said *William Seaman* was an Husbandman, of *Wil. Seaman*. the Age of twenty six years, dwelling in *Mendlesham*, in the County of *Suffolk*, who was sundry times fought for by the commandment of *Sir John Tyrrel* Knight, and at last he himself in the night searched his House and other places for him; notwithstanding he somewhat mist of his purpose, God be thanked. Then he gave charge to his Servants, *Robert Baulding* and *James Clarke*, with others to seek for him. Who, having no Officer, went in the Evening to his House, where he being at home, they took him and carried him to their Master *Sir John Tyrrel*. This *Baulding* being *Seaman*'s nigh Neighbour, and whom the said *Seaman* greatly trusted as a special Friend, notwithstanding to do his Master a pleasure, now became Enemy to his chief Friend, and was one of the busiest in the taking of him. Now as they were going to carry him to their Master *Sir John Tyrrel* in the night, it is credibly reported that there fell a Light between them out of the Element, and parted them, this *Baulding* being in company with the rest when the Light fell; and albeit he was then in his best Age, yet after that time never enjoyed good day, but pined away even unto death.

Well, for all that strange sight, (as I said) they carried him to their Master. Who, when he came, asked him why he would not go to Mass, and receive the Sacrament, and so to worship it? Unto which *William Seaman* answered, denying it to be a Sacrament, but said it was an Idol, and therefore would not receive it. After which words spoken, *Sir John Tyrrel* shortly sent him to *Norwich* to *Hopton* then Bishop, and there after Conference and Examination had with him, the Bishop read his bloody Sentence of Condemnation against him; and afterward delivered him to the Secular Power, who kept him unto the day of Martyrdom.

Sir John
Tyrrel Kt.

Rob. Baulding,
James Clarke,
Persecutors.

A flight out
of the Element.

Gods punishment
upon a Persecutor.

Seaman
brought to
Bp. Hopton,
and by him
Condemned.

This

May 19.
The day
and martyr-
dom of Wm.
Seaman, Tho.
Carman, and
Tho. Hudjon.

Seaman
Wife and his
3 young
Children
were persec-
uted also by
Sir J. Tyrrel.

This said *William Seaman* left behind him when he died, a Wife and three Children very young: and with the said young Children his Wife was persecuted out of the said Town also of *Mendleham*, because that she would not go to hear Mass, and all her Corn and Goods seized and taken away by Master *Christopher Coles* Officers, he being Lord of the said Town.

Thomas Cran-
mer Martyr.

Thomas Cranmer (who, as is said, pledged *Richard Crafshfield* at his burning, and thereupon was apprehended) being Prisoner in *Norwich*, was about one time with the rest examined and brought before the said Bishop, who answered no less in his Masters cause than the other; and therefore had the like reward that the other had, which was the Bishops Bloody blessing of Condemnation, and delivered also to the Secular Power, who kept him with the other until the day of slaughter, which lasted on, and was not long after.

Cranmer
condemned.

Thos. Hudson
Martyr.

Thomas Hudson was of *Aisleham* in *Norfolk*, by his occupation a Glover, a very honest poor Man, having a Wife, and three Children, labouring always truly and di-

ligently in his vocation, being of thirty years of age, Anno 1558, and bearing to good a will to the Gospel, that he in the days of King *Edward* the sixth, two years before Queen *Maries* Reign, learned to read English of *Anthonby* and *Thomas Norgate* of the same Town, wherein he greatly profited about the time of alteration of Religion. For when Queen *Mary* came to Reign, and had changed the Service in the Church, putting in for Wheat, draff and darnel, and for good Preaching, Blasphemous crying out against Truth and Godliness; he then avoiding all their Ceremonies of Superstition, absented himself from his house, and went into *Suffolk* a long time, and there remained travelling from one place to another, as occasion was offered. At the last he returned back again to *Norfolk* to his House at *Aisleham*, to comfort his Wife and Children, being heavy, and troublesome with his absence.

Hudson
flew from
Suffolk
to
Norfolk.

Now when he came home, and perceived his continuance there would be dangerous, he and his Wife devised to make him a place among his fagots to hide him-

The burning of 3 godly Martyrs at Norwich, viz. William Seaman, Tho. Cranmer, and Tho. Hudson, Anno 1558. May 6.



self in, where he remained all the day (instead of his chamber) reading and praying continually, for the space of half a year, and his Wife like an honest Woman being careful for him, used her self faithfully and diligently towards him.

Berry the
Commis-
sary, a per-
secutor.

In the mean time came the Vicar of the Town, named *Berry* (who was one of the Bishops Commissaries, a very evil Man) and inquired of this said *Thomas Hudsons* Wife for her Husband. Unto whom she answered, as not knowing where he was. Then the said *Berry* rated her, and threatened to burn her, for that she would not betray her Husband where he was. After that when *Hudson* understood it, he waxed every day that when *Hudson* understood it, he waxed every day more zealous than other, and continually read and sang Psalms to the wonder of many, the people openly resorting to him, to hear his exhortations and vehement Prayers.

At the last he walked abroad for certain days openly in the Town, crying out continually against the Mass and all their trumpery, and in the end coming home in his House he sate him down upon his Knees, having his Book by him, reading and singing Psalms continually without ceasing for three days and three nights together, refusing meat and other talk, to the great wonder of many.

J. Crouch be-
ware of
Thos. Hudson
to the Con-
fession.

Then one *John Crouch* his next neighbour went to the Constables, *Robert Marsham* and *Robert Lawes* in the night, to certify them thereof: for *Berry* comman-

ded openly to watch for him; and the Constables understanding the same, went cruelly to catch him in the break of the day, the two and twentieth of the Month of April, Anno 1558.

Now when *Hudson* saw them come in, he said; Now the taking mine hour is come. Welcom friends, welcom. You be they that shall lead me to life in Christ. I thank God therefore, and the Lord enable me thereto for his mercies sake. For his desire was, and ever he prayed (if it were the Lords will) that he might suffer for the Gospel of Christ. Then they took him, and lead him to *Berry* the Commissary, which was Vicar of the Town, and the said *Berry* asked him first, where he kept his Church for four years before. To the which the said *Hudson* answered thus, whereforever he was, there was the Church.

Talk be-
tween
Berry
and
Hudson.

Dost thou not believe, said *Berry*, in the Sacrament of the Altar? What is it?

Sacrament
of the Altar.

Hudson. It is worms meat; my belief (faith he) is in Christ Crucified.

Berry. Dost thou not believe the Mass to put away The Mals Sins?

Hudson. No, God forbid; it is a patched Monster, and a disguised Puppet, more longer a piecing than ever was *Salomons* Temple. At which words *Berry* stamped, fumed, and shewed himself as a madman, and said, Well, thou villain, thou! I will write to the Bishop my good Lord, and trust unto it, thou shalt be handied according

Anno 1558. *1558.*
1558.
 ding to thy deserts. Oh Sir, said *Hudson*, there is no Lord but God, though there be many Lords and many Gods. With that *Berry* thrust him back with his hand. And one *Ri. bard* *Cliffar* standing by, said I pray you Sir, be good to the poor Man. At which words *Berry* was more mad than before, and would have had *Cliffar* bound in a recognifance of forty pounds for his good abearing, both in word and deed; which his desire took no effect. Then he asked the said *Hudson* whether he would recant, or no. Unto the which words *Hudson* said, the Lord forbid; I had rather dye many deaths than to do so.

Then after long talk, the said *Berry*, seeing it booted not to perfwade with him, took his pen and ink, and wrote Letters to the Bishop thereof, and sent this *Hudson* to *Norwich* bound like a thief to him, which was eight miles from thence, who with joy and fingeing cheau went thither, as merry as ever he was at any time before. In Prison he was a Month, where he did continually read, and invoke the Name of God.

These three Christians and constant Martyrs, *William Seaman*, *Thomas Carman*, and *Thomas Hudson*, after they were (as ye have heard) condemned the 19. day of May. Anno 1558. were carried out of Prison to the place where they should suffer, which was without *Bishopgate* at *Norwich*, called *Lollards Pit*. And being a l there, they made their humble Petitions unto the Lord. That being done, they rose and went to the Stake, and flinging all there with their Chains about them, immediately this said *Thomas Hudson* cometh forth from them under the Chain to the great wonder of many; whereby divers feared and greatly doubted of him. For some thought he would have recanted, other judged rather that he went to ask further day, and to desire conference; and some thought he came forth to ask some of his Parents Blessing. So some thought one thing, and some another: but his two companions at the Stake cried out to comfort him what they could, exhorting him in the Bowels of Christ to be of good cheer, &c. But this sweet *Hudson* felt more in his Heart and Conscience than they could conceive in him. For alas good Soul, he was compassed (God knoweth) with great dolour and grief of mind, not for his death, but for lack of feeling of his Christ: and therefore being very careful he humbly fell down upon his Knees, and Prayed vehemently and earnestly unto the Lord, who at the last (according to his old mercies) sent him comfort, and then rose he with great joy, as a Man new changed even from death to life, and said:

Now I thank God I am strong, and pass not what Man can do unto me. So going to the Stake to his fellows again, in the end they all suffered most joyfully, constantly, and manfully, the death together, and were consumed in Fire, to the terror of the wicked, the comfort of Gods Children, and the magnifying of the Lords Name, who be praised therefore for ever, Amen.

After this, the foresaid Commissary *Berry* made great stir about other which were suspected within the said Town of *Ailesham*, and caused two hundred to creep to the Crofs at *Pentecost*, besides other punishments which they sustained.

On a time this *Berry* gave a poor Man of his Parish of *Marlham* a blow with the swingel of a flail, for a word speaking, that presently thereon he died, and the said *Berry*, as is said, held up his hand at the Bar therefore.

Then after that in his Parish of *Ailesham* also, Anno 1557. there was one *Alice Oxes* came to his House, and going into the Hall he meeting her, being before moved, smote her with his fist, whereby she was fain to be carried home, & the next day was found dead in her Chamber.

To write how many Concubines and Whores he had, none would believe it, but such as knew him in the Country where he dwelt. He was rich, and of great Authority, a great swearer, altogether given to Women, and persecuting the Gospel, and compelling Men to Idolatry.

One *John Norgate*, a Man learned, Godly, and zealous, who would not go to their trash, but rather dye, being sore hunted by the said *Berry* prayed heartily to God, and the Lord shortly after in a consumption delivered him. Notwithstanding the rage of this wicked Man waxed fiercer and fiercer. He troubled sundry Men, burnt many good Books that he could get, and divorced many Men and Women for Religion.

When he heard say that Queen *Mary* was dead, and the glory of their triumph quailed, the Sunday after, being the nineteenth of November Anno 1558. he made a great feast, and had one of his Concubines there, with whom he was in his Chamber after dinner, until Even song. Then went he to Church, where he had ministrifed Baptifm, and in going from Church homeward after Even song, between the Church-yard and his House; being but a little space (as it were a Church-yard breadth afunder) he fell down suddenly to the ground with a heavy groan, and never stirred after, neither shewed any one token of repentance.

This hapned his neighbours being by, to the example of all other. The Lord grant we may observe his judgments. And those that had his great riches, since his death have so consumed with them; that they be poorer now than they were before they had his goods: such judgment hath the Lord executed to the eyes of all Men.

At that time one *Dunning* Chancellor of *Lincoln* which in some part of Queen *Maries* days was Chancellor of *Norwich*, and a very merciles Tyrant as lived died in *Lincolnshire* of as sudden a warning as the said *Berry* died.

Thus have I shewed thee (good Reader) the constancy, boldness, and glorious victory of these happy Martyrs, as also the tyrannical cruelty of that unfortunate Commissary, and his terrible end. The Lord grant we may all effectually honour the judgments of Gods, and fear to displease his holy Majesty. Amen.

¶ The Persecution of Mother Seaman.

About this time, or fomewhat before, was one *Joan* *Seaman*, Mother to the foresaid *William Seaman*, being of the Age of threefore and six years, persecuted by the said Sir *John Tyrel* also, out of the Town of *Mendlesham* aforesaid, because the would not go to Mass and receive against her Conscience. Which good old Woman being from her House, was faglad sometime to lye in Bushes, Groves, and Fields, and sometime in her Neighbours House, when she could. And her Husband being at home, about the age of eighty years, fell sick, and the hearing thereof, with speed returned home to her House, and not regarding her life, but considering her duty, and shewed her diligence to her Husband most faithfully, until God took him away by death. Then by Gods providence the fell sick also, and departed this life within her own House shortly after.

And when one Master *Symonds* the Commissary heard of it, dwelling thereby in a Town called *Thordam*, he commanded straightly that she should be buried in no Christian burial (as they call it) where through her friends were compelled to lay her in a pit under a Motes die. Her Husband and she kept a good House, and had a good report amongst their neighbours, willing always to receive strangers, and to comfort the poor and sick, and lived together in the Holy estate of Matrimony very honestly above 40. years, and she departed this Life willingly and joyfully, with a steadfast Faith and a good remembrance of Gods promise in Christ Jesus.

The persecution of Mother Benet.

In the said time of Queen *Mary*, there dwelt in the Town of *Wethersey* by *Mendlesham* aforesaid, a very honest Woman called Mother *Benet*, a Widow, which was persecuted out of the same Town, because she would not go to Mass, and other their beggarly Ceremonies; but at the last she returned home again secretly to her House, and there departed this Life joyfully. But Sir *John Tyrel* and Master *Symonds* the Commissary would not let her be buried in the Church-yard. So was she laid in a grave by the high-way side.

The same good old Woman Mother *Benet*, in the time of persecution, met one of the said Mother *Seamans* Neighbours, and asked her how the said Mother *Seaman* did, and she answered, that she did very well, God be thanked. Oh, said she, Mother *Seaman* hath itept a great step before me; for she was never covetous that I could perceive.

Her Husband in his mirth would say unto her, O Woman, if thou wert sparing, thou mightest have saved me.

Berry made a feast, and had one of his Concubines.

Gods punishment and terrible end of Berry.

Living goods consumed as was against the Flie.

Gods punishment upon Dunning Chancellor of Norwich.

Joan Seaman also persecuted by Sir Tyrel.

The duty of a good Wife.

Symonds the Commissary would not let Mother Seaman be buried in the Church-yard.

Mother Benet was persecuted.

Sir John Tyrel and M. Symonds would not suffer Mother Benet to be buried in the Church-yard.

The Holy Ghosts comfort from under the Chains of pray.

Hudson caused to have the feeling of Christ.

Hudson felt the feeling of his desire.

Berry killed a poor Man, whereupon he dyed.

Berry killed a poor Woman, whereupon she dyed.

John Norgate a Confessor.

The rage of all good Books that he could get.

The Charitable Alms of Mother Strawn to be noted.

an hundred Marks more than thou hast. To the which she would answer again gently, and say; O man, be content, and let us be thankful; for God hath given us enough, if we can see it. Alas, good husband, would the say, I tell you truth, I cannot ficken up my butter, and keep my cheese in the Chamber and wait a great price, and let the poor want, and so displease God. But, husband, let us be rich in good works, and so shall we please the Lord, and have all good things given us, &c. This good Woman, of that vice of covetousness, of all that knew her, was adjudged least to be spotted, of any infirmity she had. The Lord root it out of the hearts of them that be infected therewith, Amen.

The Martyrdom of three constant and Godly persons burnt at Colchester for the defence and testimony of Christ's Gospel.

May 16.
Two Men
and one Woman,
Martyrs.

THOU hast heard (good Reader) of the forenamed three that were burnt at *Norwich*, whose Blood quenched not the persecuting thirst of the Papists. For immediately after, even the same Month, upon the twenty sixth day, was seen the like murder also at *Colchester* in Essex of two Men and a Woman, lying there in Prison appointed ready to the slaughter; who were brought forth the same day unto a place prepared for them to suffer, and accordingly gave their lives for the testimony of the truth, whose names likewise hereafter follow.

William Harris.
Richard Day.
Christian George. } Martyrs.

These three good Souls were brought unto the Stake, and there joyfully and fervently had made their Prayers unto the Lord.

The Martyrdom of William Harris, Richard Day, & Christian George, &c.

At the last, being feted in their places, and chained unto their posts, with the Fire flaming fiercely round about them, they like constant Christians triumphantly praised God within the same, and offered up their Bodies a lively Sacrifice unto his holy Majesty; in whose habitation they have now their everlasting Tabernacles: his Name therefore be praised for evermore, Amen.

They said *Christian George* Husband had another Wife burnt before this *Christian*, whose Name was *Agnes George*, which suffered, as you have heard, with the thirteen at *Stratford Bow*. And after the death of the said *Christian*, he married an honest godly Woman again, and so they both (I mean the said *Richard George* and his last Wife) in the end were taken also, and laid in Prison, where they remained till the death of *Queen Mary*, and at last were delivered by our most gracious Sovereign Lady *Queen Elizabeth*, whom the Lord grant long to Reign among us, for his mercies sake, Amen.

John George and his Wife prisoners, delivered by Q. Elizabeth.

In the Month of *June* came out a certain Proclamation, short but sharp, from the King and the Queen, against whollom and Godly Books, which under the false Title of *Heretic* and *Sedition*, here in the said Proclamations were wrongfully condemned.

By the King and Queen.

A Proclamation by the King and Queen.

WHEREAS divers Books, filled both with *Heretic*, *Sedition*, and *Treason*, have of late, and be daily brought into this Realm out of foreign Countries and places beyond the Seas, and some also covertly Printed within this Realm, and cast abroad in sundry parts thereof, whereby not only God is dishonoured, but also an encouragement given to disobey lawful Princes and Governors: The King and Queens Majesties, for redress hereof, do by this their present Proclamation declare and publish to all their Subjects, that whosoever shall after the proclaiming hereof, be found to have any of the said wicked and Seditious Books; or finding them, do not forthwith burn the same, without shewing or reading the same to any other person, shall in that case be reputed and taken for a Rebel, and shall without delay be executed for that offence, according to the order of martial Law.

Given at our Manor of Saint James's, the sixth day of June.
John Cawood Printer.

The order and occasion of taking certain Godly Men and Women praying together in the fields about Illington, of whom thirteen were condemned by Boner, and after suffered in the Fire for the truths sake, as in the Story here following may appear.

Anno 1558.

June 27.
12 Men and 13 Martyrs burned.

Secretly in a back clofe in the Field by the Town of *Illington*, were collected and assembled together a certain company of Godly and Innocent persons, to the number of 40. Men and Women. Who there fitting together at prayer, and virtuously occupied in the meditation of Gods holy Word, first cometh a certain Man to them unknown; who looking over unto them, so stayed and saluted them, saying, that they looked like Men that meant no hurt. Then one of the said company asked the Man, if he could tell whose clofe that was, and whether they might be so bold there to sit. Yea, said he, for that ye seem unto me such persons as intend no harm, and so departed. Within a quarter of an hour after, cometh the Constable of *Illington*, named *King*, warded with six or seven other, accompanying him in the same business, one with a Bow, another with a Bill, and other with their Weapons likewise. The which six or seven persons the said Constable left a little behind him in a clofe place, there to be ready if need should be, while he with one with him should go view them before. Who so doing, came through them, looking and viewing what they were doing, and what Books they had, and so going a little forward, and returning back again, bade them deliver their Books. They understanding that he was Constable, refused not so to do. With that cometh forth the residue of his fellows above touched, who bade them stand, and not depart. They answered again, they would be obedient and ready to go whithersoever they would have them, and so were they first carried to a Brewhouse but a little way off, while that some of the said Souldiers ran to the Justice next at hand. But the Justice was not at home; whereupon they were had to Sir *Roger Cholmley*. In the mean time some of the Women, being of the same number of the fore said forty persons, escaped away from them, some in the clofe, some before they came to the Brewhouse. For so they were carried; ten with one Man, eight with another, and with some more, with some less, in such sort as it was not hard for them to escape that would. In fine, they that were carried to Sir *Roger Cholmley*, were twenty seven, which Sir *Roger Cholmley* and the Recorder taking their Names in a Bill, and calling them one by one, so many as answered to their Names, he sent to *Newgate*. In the which number of them that answered, and that were sent to *Newgate*, were twenty and two.

King Constable of Illington.

Sir Roger Cholmley, and the Recorder of London, persecutors.

These two and twenty were in the said Prison of *Newgate* seven weeks before they were examined, to whom word was sent by *Alexander* the Keeper, that if they would hear a Mass, they should all be delivered. Of these fore said two and twenty were burned thirteen: In *Smithfield* seven, at *Brainford* six.

See to Newgate.

In Prison two dyed in *Whitsen-week*, the Names of Confessors: whom were *Matthew Wythers*, *T. Taylor*.

Seven of them which remained escaped with their lives hardly, although not without much trouble, yet (as God would) without burning. Whose Names were these:

John Willes.	Hudley.	Persecuted Christians.
Thomas Hinchshaw.	T. Coats, Haberdasher.	
R. Baily, Woolpacker.	Roger Sandy.	
Robert Willes.		

The first seven were brought forth to examination before *Boner*, and so having their condemnation, were burnt (as is said) in *Smithfield*. The other six followed not long after, and suffered at *Brainford*, whereof specially here followeth now in order of Story to be seen.

The

Anno
1558.

The Examination and Condemnation of Seven godly and faithful Martyrs of Christ, burnt in Smith-field.

June 27.
Seven Martyrs burned
in Smith-field.

Concerning the Examination and Condemnation of these above said, which were apprehended and taken at *Islington*, seven first were produced before *Boner* the 14th of June, to make Answer to such Articles and Interrogatories, as by the said Bishop should be mislaid unto them. The names of these seven were:

Martyrs.

Henry Pond.	John Floyd.
Ranold Eastland.	John Holiday.
Robert Southam.	Roger Holland.
Matthew Ricarby.	

To these seven constant and godly Martyrs, produced before *Boner*, certain Articles were mislaid in this effect as followeth.

Articles.

Articles by
Bp. Boner
mislaid to
the seven
Martyrs.

First, That ye being within the City and Diocese of *London* have not, according to the common custom of the Catholick Church of this Realm of *England*, come to your own Parish Church, nor yet to the Cathedral Church of this City and Diocese of *London*, to hear devoutly and christianly the Mass, the Mass, the Even-song, sung or said there in the Latin Tongue, after the common usage and manner of the Church of this Realm.

2. Secondly, That ye have not come to any of the said Churches to pray, to go in Procession, or to exercise your selves there in godly and laudable exercises.

3. Thirdly, That you have not conformed your selves duly to all the laudable Customs, Rites, and Ceremonies of any the said Churches.

4. Fourthly, Ye have not been confessed at due times and places to your own Curate, of your sins.

5. Fifthly, Ye have not received at your said Curates hands (as of the Minister of Christ) absolution of your sins.

6. Sixthly, You have not at due times and places of your Curate received reverently and duly the Sacrament of the Altar.

7. Seventhly, Ye have not faithfully and truly believed, that in the said Sacrament of the Altar, there is really and truly the very Body and Blood of Christ.

8. Eighthly, Ye have not by your mouth, nor otherwise by your deed expressed or declared in any wise, that ye without wavering or doubting do think and believe, that the Faith and Religion now observed in the Church of *England*, is a true Faith and Religion in all points.

9. Ninthly, Ye have not made any signification that you do in deed approve or allow in any wise the common Service in Latin, here observed and kept in the Church of this Realm of *England*.

10. Tenthly, Ye have not believed, nor do believe at this present, that the Service in Latin, commonly used and observed in the Church of this Realm, is good and lawful, and not against the Word of God.

11. Eleventhly, Ye have in times past liked, allowed, and approved as good and godly, and so do like, allow, and approve at this present, the Service in English, the Books of Common Prayer, the Books of Communion, the Religion set forth and used in the time of King *Edward* the sixth, especially as it was set forth and used in the latter days of the said King *Edward*.

12. Twelfthly, Ye have in times past been very desirous, and so are at this present, that the said English Service, the said Book of Common Prayer, the said Book of Communion, and the said Religion and Faith so set forth and used in King *Edward*'s time, might now again be restored, set forth and used, and your self freely at your liberty, without any restraint or lets to use it, and also in all points and things to do therein, as ye did, especially in the latter days of the said *Edward* the sixth.

13. Thirteenthly, Ye have of late been charitably sent to from me the Bishop of *London*, and also by mouth

exhorted, that where of late you did leave your Churches, and went in the time of Divine Service into the fields and prophane places, to read English Psalms, and certain English Books, ye would leave off that, and being out of Prison, and at your liberty, come into your own Parish Churches, there to hear Mattins, Mass, and Even-song, after the common order of the Churches of this Realm, and to make due confession of your sins to your own Curate, and receive at his hands (as of the Minister of Christ, having therein sufficient Authority) absolution of your sins, hear Mass, receive the Sacrament of the Altar with a true Faith, according to the Belief of the Catholick Church, and observe all other the Rites and Customs of the said Catholick Church used in this Realm of *England*, as well in going in Procession after the Cross, as also otherwise generally.

14. Fourteenthly, Ye being to required, have refused, and do refuse so to do, saying, amongst other vain and light words, that forso much as ye were imprisoned by the space of six weeks, not knowing where with ye were charged, your Petition should be and was, that ye might first answer to your former cause, and then ye would be ready to answer me the said Bishop to all that by me should be laid to our charge.

Unto the which Articles all the forenamed seven (only *Ranold Eastland* excepted) made answer in effect as hereafter followeth.

The Answers of the forenamed persons to the Articles aforesaid.

To the first Article they answered affirmatively, *Roger Holland* adding, that he came not to their Latin Service these two years before.

Matthew Ricarby added, That he came not to Church since Latin Service was renewed, because it is against the Word of God, and Idolatry is committed in creeping to the Cross.

Henry Pond added, if he had licence then to go to Church, he would not.

To the second Article they all answered affirmatively; *Henry Pond* adding as in the first Article. *John Floyd* added, That the Latin Service then used, was set up by man, and not by God, and this he learned (he said) in King *Edward*'s days, which he believed to be true. *Robert Southam* added, That he refused to come to Church, because it is furnished with Idols, and because the Sacrament of the Altar he believed to be an Idol.

To the third Article they all answered affirmatively: For they said, That the Customs, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church then used, are not agreeable to Gods Word.

To the fourth and fifth Articles, they all answered affirmatively, adding, that they believed no Priest hath Power to remit sin.

To the sixth Article *John Holiday*, *Henry Pond*, and *Robert Southam* answered, That since the Queens Majesties reign; but *Robert Southam* added, not for ten years before, he had received the Sacrament of the Altar, either at their Curates hands, or any other Priest. *John Floyd*, *Matthew Ricarby* and *Roger Holland* answered affirmatively, adding in effect that the Sacrament of the Altar is no Sacrament approved by the Word of God, &c.

To the seventh Article they all confessed the Contents thereof to be true in every part: *Henry Pond* adding, That he knoweth not nor believeth any such Sacrament, called the Sacrament of the Altar, but confesseth the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and believeth that to be approved. *John Floyd* added, That those that kneel to and worship the Sacrament of the Altar, commit Idolatry, &c.

8, 9, 10. To the eighth, ninth, and tenth Articles, they all confessed the contents of those Articles to be true. But *John Holiday*, *Henry Pond*, and *John Floyd* added, That they do allow the Latin Service for them that understand the same, so far as it agreeth with Gods Word. For some part thereof is not agreeable to Gods Word (they said;) but to such as do not understand the said Service in Latin, they do not allow it, for it doth not profit them. *Robert Southam* added and said, That it was a fond question to

ask a simple man, whether the Latin Service be good and lawful. *Matthew Ricarby* and *Roger Holland* denied the Service in Latin to be good.

11. To the eleventh Article, they all confessed the same to be true in every part; saving *Henry Pond*, and *Matthew Ricarby*, who answered in effect that they could not judge thereof, but leave them to be tried by the Word of God.

12. To the twelfth Article, they granted and confessed the same to be true, and desired of God that the Service were in the English again.

13. To the thirteenth Article they all granted and confessed the same to be true.

14. To the fourteenth Article they all granted and confessed the same to be true in every part.

Thus have ye the Answers of these men to the foresaid Articles, save that *Reinold Eastland* required to answer thereunto, refused so to do, alledging that he knoweth that to end a strife an Oath is lawful; but to begin a strife an Oath is not lawful; and therefore he now refuseth to take his Oath in the beginning of this matter against him. Whereupon being charged by the Bishop, he said for his not answering to the Articles, he was content to stand unto the order of the Law for his punishment, whatsoever it should be.

The 17th day after of the said Month of June, the said *Eastland* appeared again before the Bishop, who standing firm in that he had said before, denied to make any Answer in that case, &c. whereupon the said *Eastland*, with the other six his fellow Prisoners, were assigned by the Bishop to repair again to the same place at After-

noon, who being there present in the foresaid Consistory as they were commanded, and standing all together before the said Bishop, he beginning thus with them, asked them, if he had committed them to Prison: They said, No; but Mr. *Cholmley* and the Recorder of London committed them to *Newgate*.

Then being demanded further by the Bishop, if he had done any thing or act to keep them in Prison, or to hinder their Liberty from Prison; to this they answered they could not tell. Then the foresaid Articles being again recited to them, all they answered and knowledged them to be the Articles, and that they would stand to their Answers made to the same. Whereupon the Bishop dis- severing them apart one from another, proceeded with them severally, first beginning with *Reinold Eastland*, who there declared that he had been uncharitably handled and talked withal since his first imprisonment in that behalf. Then being required to reconcile himself again to the Catholick Faith, and go from his Opinions; he said, that he knew nothing why he should recant; and therefore would not conform himself in that behalf, &c. and so the Sentence was read against him, and he given to the Secular Power, &c.

After him was called in *John Holiday*, who likewise being advertised to renounce his Heresies (as they called them) and to return to the Unity of their Church, said, That he was no Heretic, nor did hold any Heresie, neither any Opinion contrary to the Catholick Faith, and so would offer himself to be judged therein. Whereupon he likewise persisting in the same, the Sentence was pronounced against him, condemning him to be burnt.

Next to him was condemned, with the like Sentence,

The Martyrdom of *Henry Pond*, *Reinold Eastland*, *R. Southam*, *Matthew Ricarby*, *John Floyd*, *L. Holiday*, *R. Holland* in Smithfield Aug 1558 Ju. 27.



The Condemnation of *Henry Pond*.

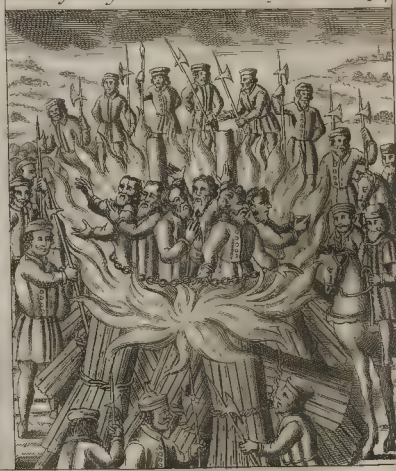
Henry Pond, because he would not submit himself to the Romish Church, saying to *Boner*, That he had done or spoken nothing whereof he was or would be sorry, but that he did hold the Truth of God, and no Heresie, &c.

After whom next followed *John Floyd*, who likewise denied to be of the Popes Church, and said his mind of the Latin Service, that the Prayers made to Saints is Idolatry, and that the Service in Latin is profitable to none, but only to such as understand the Latin. Moreover, being charged by *Boner* of Heresie, and saying, that whatsoever he and such other now-a-days do, all is Heresie; for this he was condemned with the same butcherly Sentence, and so by the Secular Power was sent away.

The Condemnation of *J. Floyd*, *R. Southam*, *Matthew Ricarby* and *Roger Holland*.

Then *Robert Southam*, after him *Matthew Ricarby*, and last of all *Roger Holland* were severally produced.

The Martyrdom of Six men burned at Braunford An 1558 July 14



Thus *Roger Holland* with his Fellows (as ye heard) standing to their Answers, and refusing to acknowledge the Doctrine of the Romish Church, were altogether condemned, the Sentence being read against them, and so all seven by Secular Magistrates being sent away to *Newgate* the seventeenth of June, not long after about the seven and twentieth day of the said Month were had to *Smithfield*, and there ended their lives in the glorious cause of Christs Gospel. Whose particular Examinations came not to our hands; saving only the Examinations of *R. Holland*, which here follow in order and manner as we received them by the Information of certain, who were present at the same.

Anno
1558.

The Examination and Condemnation of Roger Holland.

The first examination of Roger Holland.

This Roger Holland, a Merchant-Taylor of London, was first an Apprentice with one Mr. Kempton at the Black Boy in Watling-street, where he served his Apprenticeship with much trouble unto his Master in breaking him from his licentious liberty which he had before been trained and brought up in, giving himself to riot, as dancing, fencing, gaming, banqueting and wanton company; and besides all this, being a stubborn and an obstinate Papist, far unlike to come to any such end as God called him unto; the which was as followeth:

His Master, notwithstanding this his lewdness, putting him in trust with his Accounts, he had received for him certain money, to the sum of thirty pounds, and falling into ill Company, lost the said money every Groat at Dice, being past all hope which way to answer it, and therefore he purposed to convey himself away beyond the Seas, either into France or into Flanders.

Now having determined with himself thus to do, he called betimes in the Morning to a Servant in the House, an ancient and discreet Maid, whose name was Elizabeth, which professed the Gospel, with a life agreeing unto the same, and at all times much rebuking the wilful and obstinate Papistry, as also the licentious living of this Roger Holland. To whom he said, Elizabeth, I would I had followed thy gentle persuasions and friendly rebukes; which if I had done, I had never come to this shame and misery which I am now fallen into; for this Night have I lost thirty pounds of my Masters money, which to pay him, and to make up mine Accounts, I am not able. But this much I pray you desire my Mistress, that she would intreat my Master to take this Bill of my hand, that I am thus much indebted unto him; and if I be ever able, I will see him paid, desiring him that the matter may pass with silence, and that none of my Kindred nor Friends may ever understand this my lewd part: For if it should come unto my Fathers ears, it would bring his grey hairs overshon unto his Grave; and so was he departing.

The Maid considering that it might be his utter undoing, Stays, said she; and having a piece of money lying by her, given unto her by the death of a Kinsman of hers, who (as it was thought, was Dr. Redman) she brought unto him thirty pounds, saying, Roger, here is thus much money; I will let thee have it, and I will keep this Bill. But since I do this much for thee, to help thee, and to save thy honesty, thou shalt promise me to refuse all lewd and wild Company, all swearing and ribaldry talk; and if ever I know thee to play one Twelve-pence at either Dice or Cards, then will I shew this thy Bill unto my Master. And furthermore, thou shalt promise me to resort every day to the Lecture at Abchurch-lane, and the Sermon at Pauls every Sunday, and to cast away all thy Books of Papistry and vain Ballads, and get thee the Testament and Book of Service, and read the Scriptures with reverence and fear, calling unto God till for his Grace to direct thee in his Truth. And pray unto God fervently, desiring him to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the sins of thy youth; and ever be afraid to break his Laws, or offend his Majesty. Then shall God keep thee, and send thee thy hearts desire.

After this time, within one half year God had wrought such a change in this man, that he was become an earnest Professor of the Truth, and detested all Papistry and evil Company; so that he was in admiration to all them that had known him and seen his former life and wickedness.

Then he repaired into Lancashire unto his Father, and brought divers good Books with him, and bestowed them upon his Friends, so that his Father and others began to taste of the Gospel, and to detest the Mass, Idolatry, and Superstition; and in the end his Father gave him a stock of money to begin the world withal, to the sum of fifty pounds.

Then he repaired to London again, and came to the Maid that lent him the money to pay his Master with-

al, and said unto her, Elizabeth, here is thy money I borrowed of thee, and for the friendship, good will, and the good counsel I have received at thy hands, to recompence thee I am not able, otherwise than to make thee my wife; and soon after they were married, which was in the first year of Queen Mary. And having a Child by her, he caused Mr. Role to baptize his said Child in his own House. Notwithstanding he was betrayed unto the Enemies, and he being gone into the Country to convey the Child away, that the Papists should not have it in their assaulting hands, Borer caused his Goods to be seized upon, and most cruelly used his wife.

After this he remained closely in the City, and in the Country in the Congregations of the Faithful, until the last year of Queen Mary. Then he with the six other afore said, were taken in, or not far from St. Johns Wood, and so brought to Newgate upon May-day in the Morning, Anno 1558.

Then being called before the Bishop, Dr. Chadsey, both the Harsfields, and certain other, after many other fair and crafty persuasions of Dr. Chadsey, to allure him to their Babylonical Church; thus the Bishop began with him.

Holland. I for my part do with well unto thee, and the more for thy Friends sake. And as Dr. Standish telleth me, you and he were both born in one Parish, and he knoweth your Father to be a very honest Catholic Gentleman. And Mr. Doctor told me that he talked with you a year ago; and found you very willingly addicted to your own conceit. Divers of the City also have shewed me of you, that you have been a great Procurer of mens Servants to be of your Religion, and to come to your Congregations; but since you be now in the danger of the Law, I would wish you to play a wise mans part: So shall you not want any favour I can do or procure for you, both for our own sake, and also for your Friends, which be men of worship and credit, and wish you well, and by my troth, Roger, so do I.

Then said Mr. Egglestone, a Gentleman of Lancashire, and near Kinsman to Roger, being there present; I thank your good Lordship; your Honour meaneth good unto my Cousin, I beseech God he have the Grace to follow your counsel.

Holland. Sir, you crave of God you know not what. I beseech God to open your eyes to see the light of his Word.

Egglestone. Roger, hold your peace, lest you fate the worse at your Lords hands.

Holland. No, I shall fare as it pleaseth God; for man can do no more than God doth permit him.

Then the Bishop and the Doctors, with Johnson the Register, casting their Heads together, in the end said Johnson; Roger, how saist thou? wilt thou submit thy self unto my Lord, before thou be entered into the Book of Contempt?

Holland. I never meant but to submit my self unto the Magistrate, as I learn of St. Paul to the Romans, Chap. 13. and so he recited the Text.

Chadsey. Then I see you are no Anabaptist.

Holland. I mean not yet to be a Papist; for they and the Anabaptists agreed in this point, not to submit themselves to any other Prince or Magistrate, than those that must first be sworn to maintain them and their doings.

Chadsey. Roger, remember what I have said, and also what my Lord hath promised he will perform with further friendship. Take heed, Roger, for your ripeness of Wit hath brought you into these Errors.

Holland. Mr. Doctor, I have yet your words in memory, though they are of no such force to prevail with me. Then they whispered together again, and at the last said Borer, Roger, I perceive thou wilt be ruled by no good counsel, for any thing that either I, or your Friends or any other can say.

Holland. I may say to you, my Lord, as Paul said to Felix and unto the Jews, as doth appear in the two first and twentieth of the Acts, and in the fifteenth of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. It is not unknown unto my Master whom I was Apprentice withal, that I was of this your blind Religion that now is taught, and therein did obstinately and wilfully remain, until the later end

of King Edward in manner, having that liberty under your Auricular Confession, that I made no conscience of sin, but trusted in the Priests Absolution, he for money doing some penance also for me: which after I had given, I cared no further what offences I did, no more than he passed after he had my money, whether he tasted Bread and Water for me, or no: so that lechery, swearing, drinking, or dicing all the night long, I made no conscience at all. And thus was I brought up, and herein have I continued till now of late, that God hath opened the light of his Word, and called me by his Grace to repentance of my former Idolatry and wicked Life: for in *Lancashire* their blindness and whoredom is overmuch more than may with chaste ears be heard. Yet these my Friends, which are not clear in these notable Crimes, think the Priest with his Mass can save them, though they blaspheme God, and keep Concubines besides their Wives, as long as they live. Yea, I know some Priests, very devout, my Lord, yet such as have six or seven children by four or five sundry women.

Mr. Doctor, now to your Antiquity, Unity, and Universality (for these Dr. Chadsey alledged as notes and tokens of their Religion) I am unlearned. I have no philosophy to shift my Reasons withal; but the truth I trust I have, which needeth no painted colours to set her forth. The Antiquity of our Church is not from Pope Nicholas, or Pope Joan, but our Church is from the beginning, even from the time that God said unto Adam, that the Seed of the Woman should break the Serpents head; and so to faithful Noah; to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to whom it was promised, that their Seed should multiply as the Stars in the Sky; and so to Moses, David, and all the holy Fathers that were from the beginning, unto the birth of our Saviour Christ. All they that believed these promises were of the Church, though the number were oftentimes but few and small, as in *Helias's* days, when he thought there was none but he that had not bowed their knees to Baal, when God had reserved seven thousand that never had bowed their knees to that Idol: as I trust there be seven hundred thousand more than I know of, that have not bowed their knees to the Idol your Mass, and your God *Marion*: the upholding whereof is your bloody cruelty, whiles you daily persecute *Helias* and the Servants of God, forcing them (as *Daniel* was in his Chamber) closely to serve the Lord their God; and even as we by this your cruelty are forced in the fields to pray unto God, that his holy Word may be once again truly preached amongst us, and that he would mitigate and shorten these idolatrous and bloody days, wherein all cruelty reigneth. Moreover, our Church have been the Apostles and Evangelists, the Martyrs and Confessors of Christ, that have at all times and in all ages been persecuted for the testimony of the Word of God. But for the upholding of your Church and Religion, what Antiquity can you shew? Yea, the Mass, that Idol and chief Pillar of your Religion, is not yet four hundred years old, and some of your Masses are younger, as that Mass of *S. Thomas Becket* the Traitor, wherein you pray, That you may be saved by the blood of *S. Thomas*. And as for your Latin Service, what are we of the Laity the better for it? I think he that should hear your Priests mumble up their Service, although he did well understand Latin, yet should he understand few words thereof; the Priests do so champ them and chew them, and spit so fast, that neither they understand what they say, nor they that hear them; and in the mean time the People, when they should pray with the Priest, are set to their Beads to pray our Ladies Prayer. So crafty is Satan to devise these his Dreams (which you defend with Fagot and Fire) to quench the light of the Word of God: which (as *David* saith) should be a Lantern to our feet. And again, wherein shall a young man direct his ways, but by the Word of God? And yet you will hide it from us in a Tongue unknown. *S. Paul* had rather in the Church to have five words spoken with understand-

ing, than ten thousand in an unknown Tongue; and yet will you have your Latin Service and praying in a strange Tongue, whereof the People are utterly ignorant to be of such Antiquity?

The Greek Church, and a good part of Christendom besides, never received your Service in an unknown Tongue, but in their own natural Language, which all the People understand, neither yet your Transubstantiation, your receiving all alone, your Purgatory, your Images, &c.

As for the Unity which is in your Church, what is it else but Treason, Murder, Poysoning one another, Idolatry, Superstition, Wickedness? What Unity was in your Church, when there were three Popes at once? Where was your Head of Unity when you had a woman Pope? Here he was interrupted, and could not be suffered to proceed; but, faith the Bishop, *Roger*, these thy words are very blasphemy, and by the means of thy Friends thou shalt be suffered to speak, and art over malapert to teach any here. Therefore Keeper take him away.

The second Examination of Roger Holland.

The day that *Henry Pond* and the rest were brought forth to be again examined, Dr. Chadsey said, *Roger*, I trust you have now better considered of the Church Holland, than you did before.

Holland. I consider thus much: That out of the Church there is no Salvation, as divers ancient Doctors say.

Boner. That is well said. Mr. Egleston, I trust your Kinsman will be a good Catholic man. But *Roger*, you mean, I trust, the Church of Rome.

Holland. I mean that Church which hath Christ for her Head; which also hath his Word, and his Sacraments according to his Word and Institution.

Chadsey. Then Chadsey interrupted him, and said, is that a Testament you have in your hand?

Holland. Yea, Mr. Doctor, it is the New Testament. You will find no fault with the Translation (I think.) It is of your own Translation; it is according to the great Bible.

Boner. How say you? How do you know it is the Testament of Christ, but only by the Church? For the Church of Rome hath and doth preserve it, and out of the same hath made Decrees, Ordinances, and true Expolitions.

No (saith *Roger*) the Church of Rome hath and doth suppress the reading of the Testament. And what a true Expolition (I pray you) did the Pope make thereof, when he set his foot on the Emperor's neck; and said, *Thou shalt walk upon the Lion and the Asse: the young Lion and the Dragon shalt thou tread under thy foot?* Psal. 91.

Then said the Bishop; Such unlearned wild heads as thou and other, would be Expolitors of the Scripture. Would you then the ancient Learned (as there be some here as well as I) should be taught of you?

Holland. Youth delighteth in vanity. My wildness hath been somewhat the more by your Doctrine, than ever I learned out of this Book of God. But (my Lord) I suppose some of the old Doctors say; If a poor Lay-man bring his Reason and Argument out of the Word of God, he is to be credited afore the Learned, though they be never so great Doctors. For the gift of Knowledge was taken from the Learned Doctors, and given to poor Fishermen. Notwithstanding I am ready to be instructed by the Church.

Boner. That is very well said, *Roger*. But you must understand that the Church of Rome is the Catholic Church. *Roger*, for thy Friends sake (I promise thee) I will thee well, and I mean to do thee good. Keeper, see he want nothing. *Roger*, if thou lack any money to pleasure thee, I will see thou shalt not want. This he spake unto him alone, his Fellows being apart, with many other fair Promises, and so he was sent to Prison again.

The wickedness of *Reg. Holland* before he was called to the Gospel.

At the Examination, divers of *Reg. Holland's* friends and kinsfolks, being men of worship, were present, both *Lancashire* and *Crofters*.

The Mass, how old it is.

Latin Service.

Anno 1558.

The Greek Church differing from the Latin.

The second Examination of *Roger Holland*.

Anno
1558.*The last Examination of Roger Holland.*

The last Examination of *Roger Holland* was, when he with his fellow Prisoners were brought into the Consistory, and there excommunicated all, saving *Roger*, and ready to have their Sentence of Judgment given, with many threatening words to fear them withal: the *L. Strange*, Sir *Tho. Jarret*, M. *Egleston* Esquire, and divers other of worship, both of *Cheeshire* and *Lancashire*, that were *Roger Holland's* Kinsmen and Friends, being there present, which had been earnest Suters to the Bishop in his favour, hoping of his safety of life. Now the Bishop hoping yet to win him with his fair and flattering words, began after this manner.

Boner. Roger, I have divers times called thee before home to my House, and have conferred with thee, and being not learned in the Latin Tongue, it doth appear unto me thou art of a good memory, and of a very sensible talk, but something overhasty, which is a natural Discale to some men. And surely they are not the worst natured men. For I myself shall now and then be hasty, but mine anger is soon past. So, *Roger*, surely I have a good opinion of you, that you will not with these lewd Fellows call your self heading from the Church of your Parents and your Friends that are here, very good Catholics (as it is reported unto me.) And as I mean these good, so, *Roger*, play the wife mans part, and come home with the lost Son, and say, I have run into the Church of Schismatics and Heretics, from the Catholic Church of *Rome*; and you shall, I warrant you, not only find favour at Gods hands, but the Church that hath Authority, shall absolve you, and put new Garments upon you, and kill the Fainting, to make thee good cheer withal, that is, in so doing, as meat doth refresh and cheerish the mind, so shalt thou find as much quietness of Conscience in coming home to the Church, as did the hungry Son that had been fed afore with the Hogs, as you have done with these Heretics that fever themselves from the Church. I give them a homely name, but they be worse (putting his hand to his Cap for Re-erence sake) than Hogs: For they know the Church, and will not follow it. If I should say thus much to a Turk, he would (I think) believe me. But, *Roger*, if I did not hear thee, and thy Friends good will, I would not have said so much, as I have done; but I would have let mine Ordinary alone with you.

At these words his Friends that were there, gave the Bishop thanks for his good will and pains that he had taken in his and their behalf.

Boner. Well, Roger, how say you? Do you not believe, that after the Priest hath spoken the words of Consecration, there remaineth the Body of Christ really and corporally under the forms of Bread and Wine? I mean the self same Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, that was crucified upon the Crofs, that rose again the third day.

Holland. Your Lordship faith, the same Body which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, which was crucified upon the Crofs, which rose again the third day: but you leave out which ascended into Heaven; and the Scripture faith, he shall there remain until he come to judge the quick and the dead. Then he is not contained under the forms of Bread and Wine, by *Hoc est Corpus meum, &c.*

Boner. Roger, I perceive my pains and good will will not prevail, and if I should argue with thee, thou art so wilful (as all thy Fellows be, standing in thine own singularity and foolish conceit) that thou wouldst still talk to no purpose this seven years, if thou mightest be suffered. Answer whether thou wilt confess the Real and Corporal Presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, or wilt not.

Holland. My Lord, although God by his sufferance hath here placed you, to set forth his truth and glory in us his faithful Servants; notwithstanding your meaning is far from the zeal of Christ: and for all your words, you have the same zeal that *Annas* and *Caiaphas* had, trusting to their Authority, Traditions and Ceremonies, more than to the Word of God.

Boner. If I should suffer him, he would fall from reasoning to raving, as a frantick Heretic.

L. Strange. Roger, faith the Lord *Strange* I perceive my Lord would have you tell him whether you will submit your self to him, or no?

Boner. Yea, faith *Boner*; and confests this Preface that *Phave* spoken of.

With this, *Roger* turning him to the Lord *Strange* and the rest of his Kinsmen and Friends, very cheerfully kneeled down upon his knees, and said; God by the mouth of his Servant *S. Paul* hath said, *Let every Soul submit himself unto the higher Power*; and he that resisteth receiveth his own Damnation: and as you are a Magistrate appointed by the will of God, so do I submit my self unto you; and to all such as are appointed for Magistrates.

Boner. That is well said, I see you are no Anabaptist. How say you then to the Presence of Christs Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar?

Holland. I say, and beseech you all to mark and bear witness with me (for so you shall do before the Judgment Seat of God) what I speak, for here is the Conclusion: And ye my dear Friends (turning him to his Kinsmen) I pray you shew my Father what I do say, that he may understand I am a Christian man. I say and believe, and am therein fully persuaded by the Scriptures, that the Sacrament of the Supper of our Lord, ministered in the holy Communion according to Chills institution, I being penitent and sorry for my sins, and minding to amend and lead a new life, and so coming worthily unto Gods Boord in perfect Love and Charity, do there receive by faith the Body and Blood of Christ. And though Christ in his Human Nature sit at the right hand of his Father, yet (by faith I say) his Death, his Passion, his Merits are mine, and by faith I dwell in him, and he in me. And as for the Mass, Transubstantiation, and the worshipping of the Sacrament, they are meer Impiety and horrible Idolatry.

Boner. I thought so much, said *Boner*, (suffering him to speak no more) how he would prove a very blasphemous Heretic as ever I heard. How unreverently doth he speak of the blessed Mass? and so read his bloody Sentence of Condemnation, adjudging him to be burned.

All this while *Roger* was very patient and quiet, and when he should depart, he said, My Lord, I beseech you suffer me to speak two words. The Bishop would not hear him, but bade him away. Notwithstanding, being requested by one of his Friends, he said, Speak, what hast thou to say?

Holland. Even now I told you that your Authority was from God, and by his sufferance: and now I tell you, God hath heard the Prayer of his Servants, which hath been poured forth with tears for his afflicted Saints, which daily you persecute, as now you do us. But this I dare be bold in God to speak (which by his Spirit I am moved to say) that God will shorten your hand of Cruelty, that for a time you shall not molest his Church. And this shall you in short time well perceive, my dear Brethren, to be most true. For after this day, in this place shall there not be any by him put to the trial of Fire and Fagot: And after this day there was none that suffered in *Smithfield* for the testimony of the Gospel, God be thanked.

After these words spoken, said *Boner, Roger*, thou art, I perceive, as mad in these thy Heresies as *C. r.* was *Joan Buecher*. In anger and fume thou wouldst become a railing Prophet. Though thou and all the sort of you would see me hanged, yet I shall live to burn, yea, I will burn all the sort of you that come in my hands, that will not worship the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, for all thy prating, and so he went his way.

Then *Roger Holland* began to exhort his Friends to Repentance, and to think well of them that suffered for the testimony of the Gospel, and with that the Bishop came back, charging the Keeper that no man should speak to them without his licence, and if they did, they would be committed to Prison. In the mean season *H. Pond* and *Roger* spake still unto the People, exhorting them to stand in the Truth: adding moreover, that God would shorten these cruel and evil days for his elects sake.

The martyrdom of Roger Holland with six others in 1558.

The day they suffered, a Proclamation was made, That none should be so bold to speak or talk any word unto them, or receive any thing of them, or to touch them upon pain of Imprisonment, without either Bail or Mainprize; with divers other cruel threatening words, contained in the same Proclamation. Notwithstanding the People cried out, desiring God to strengthen them: and they likewise prayed for the People, and the restoring of his Word. At length Roger embracing the stake, and the Reeds, said these words:

Lord I most humbly thank thy Majesty, that thou hast called me from the state of death, unto the light of thy heavenly Word, and now unto the fellowship of thy Saints, that I may sing and say, Holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts. And Lord into thy hands I commit my Spirit. Lord bless these thy people, and save them from idolatry. And so he ended his life, looking up into Heaven, praying and praising God, with the rest of his Fellow Saints. For whose joyfull constancy the Lord be praised.

The Martyrdom of six, which suffered at Braintree for the true testimony of Jesus Christ.

July 14: Six Martyrs burnt at Braintree.

Not long after the death of the forenamed seven godly Martyrs that suffered in Smithfield, were fix other faithful Witnesses of the Lords true Testament, martyred at Braintree seven miles from London, the 14th day of July, 1558. which said fix were of that Company that were apprehended in a Close hard by Ilchester, as is above specified) and sent to Prison. Whose Names and Articles propounded to them, with their Answers unto the same, hereafter follow.

Robert Mills,
Stephen Cotton,
Robert Dynes,
Stephen Wight,
John Slade,
William Pikes, or
Pikes a Tanner. } Martyrs.

These six forenamed Martyrs (gentle Reader) had their Articles ministred to them by Thomas Darbyshire, Bishops Chancellor, at sundry times; as Robert Wille the 20th day of June, Stephen Wight the 21th day of the said Month. Stephen Cotton and John Slade the 22th day, and Robert Dynes and William Pikes the 23th day. At which said times, though they were severally examined, yet had they all one manner of Articles ministred to them, yea and the self same Articles that were ministred to John Hilday, Henry Pond, and their Company aforesaid. Which said Articles I leave the Reader to look for above in their story, and think it not necessary any more to rehearse them, but only to proceed with their Answers to the same, which briefly and in sum hereafter followeth.

The Answers of the forenamed Persons to the Articles aforesaid.

The answers of the six forenamed Martyrs to the Articles.

To the first Article they all granted the same; and added thereto for going to Church, that R. Mills and Stephen Wight came not thither for three quarters of a year before, and John Slade and William Pikes not since the Queens Reign, Stephen Cotton not for a Twelve-month before, and Robert Dynes not for two years before.

The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Articles they all answered in effect, as the forenamed John Hilday, Henry Pond, and their Company did, saying they added, that as the Rites, Customs, and Ceremonies are against the Word of God, so will they observe and keep no part of the same. Stephen Wight added further, That he received not their Sacrament of the Altar for two years before, nor John Slade and William Pikes since Queens Maries Reign, nor Stephen Cotton for a Twelve-month before, nor Robert Dynes for three years before.

To the seventh Article, They all granted the same in every part like unto the forenamed Henry Pond and his Company; saying that Robert Dynes added, that it was no part of his Belief.

To the eighth Article they all granted the same in every part, as the forenamed William Hilday and his Company: but Robert Mills added thereto, that he will not come to Church, nor receive their Religion, so long as the Cross is crept up, and worshipped, and Images are in Churches. John Slade added in effect as Robert Mills did, adding further, that there be not seven Sacraments, but two Sacraments, which is Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. Stephen Cotton would not further allow the Popish Religion, than it agreeth with Gods Word: and Robert Dynes affirmed in effect the same to Stephen Cotton also.

To the ninth and tenth Articles, Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton answered, that they do not allow the Popish Service then set forth, because it is against the Truth, and in a strange Language which the Common People understand not. Robert Dynes and William Pikes will neither allow nor disallow the Latin Service, because they understand it not. And Stephen Wight would make no direct Answer to the Articles at all, and to the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth Articles we find no Answers recorded of the said Stephen Wight, but of the rest of his fellow Prisoners we find answers to those Articles which hereafter follow.

To the eleventh Article, Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton answered, That concerning the Books, Faith, and Religion specified in this Article, they do allow them to far forth, as they agree with Gods Word, &c. Robert Dynes would make no Answer thereto, because he thought himself unmeet to judge thereof: and William Pikes doth not remember that he hath misliked the service, and the Faith, and Religion set forth in King Edwards the sixths time.

To the twelfth they grant, That if they might receive the Sacrament as they did in King Edwards the sixths days, they would with all their heart so do.

To the thirteenth and fourteenth Articles, they confess and grant the Contents of them to be true in every part.

When at the days before specified, these good men were produced before Bishops Chancelor, Thomas Darbyshire, and had the fore said Articles ministred unto them, and they (as ye have heard) had made answer unto the same; in the end the Chancelor commanded them to appear before him again the eleventh day of July after in the said place at Pauls. Where when they came, he required of them, whether they would turn from their Opinions to the Mother holy Church; and if not, that then, whether there were any cause to the contrary, but that he might proceed with the Sentence of Condemnation. Whereunto they all answered, That they would not go from the Truth, nor relent from any part of the same while they lived. Then he charged them to appear before him again the next day in the afternoon, between one and two of the Clock, to hear the definitive Sentence read against them, according to the Ecclesiastical Laws then in force. At which time, he sitting in Judgment, talking with these godly and virtuous men, at last came into the said place Sir Edwards Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Knights, two of Queen Maries Officers of her House, and being there, they saw them down over against the Chancelor, in whose presence the said Chancelor condemned these good poor Lambs, and delivered them over to the secular Power, who received and carried them to Prison immediately, and there kept them in safety, till the day of their death.

In the mean time this naughty Chancelor slept not, I warrant you, but that day in which they were condemned, he made certificate unto the Lord Chancelors Office, from whence the next day after was sent a Writ to burn them at Braintree also said, which accordingly was accomplished in the same place, the said fourteenth day of July: Whereunto they being brought, made their humble Prayers unto the Lord Jesus, undesired themselves, went joyfully to the stake, whereunto they were bound, and the fire flaming about them, they yielded their Souls, Bodies, and Lives into the hands of the Omnipotent Lord, for whose cause they did suffer, and to whose protection I commend the gentle Reader, Amen.

Among

Anno 1557. Among these fix was one *William Pikes* (as ye have heard) who sometime dwelt in *Ipſwich* in *Suffolk*, by his occupation a Tanner a very honest Godly Man, and of a virtuous disposition, a good Keeper of Hospitality, and beneficial to the persecuted in *Queen Maries* days. This said *William Pikes*, in the third year of *Queen Maries* Reign, a little after *Midſummer*, being then at liberty, went into his Garden, and took with him a Bible of *Rogers* translation, where he, sitting with his face towards the *South*, reading on the said Bible, suddenly fell down upon his book, between eleven and twelwe a clock of the day, four drops of fresh Blood, and he knew not from whence it came. Then he seeing the same, was sore astonished, and could by no means learn (as I said) from whence it should fall: and wiping out one of the drops with his finger, he called his Wife, and said, In the vertue of God Wife, what meaneth this? Will the Lord have four Sacrifices? I fee well enough the Lord will have Blood: his will be done, and give me Grace to abide the trial. Wife, let us pray (said he) for I fear the day draweth nigh. Afterward he daily looked to be apprehended of the Papists, and it came to pass accordingly, as ye have heard. Thus much thought I good to write thereof, to stir up our dull senses in considering the Lords works, and reverently to honour the same. His name therefore be praised for evermore, Amen.

Moreover, concerning the said *William Pikes*, as he was in *Newgate* fore sick, and at the point of death, so that no Man looked he should live six hours, he declared to them that stood by, that he had been twice in persecution before, and that now he desired the Lord, if it were his will, that he might glorifie his Name at the Stake, and so as he prayed it came to pass at *Brainford*.

Ye heard before, that of those two and twenty taken at *Ipſington*, thirteen were burned, and six escaped, albeit very hardly, and some of them not without scourging by the hands of the Bishop. In the which number was *Thomas Hinshaw* and *John Willes*, according to the express picture hereafter purported.

Ex Epigrammate Ennii apud Ciceronem alluſio.

*Si fas cadendo celeſtia, ſcandere cuiquam eſt.
Bonero culi maxima porta patet.*

In effigiem Boneri carmen.

*Qua nova forma viri, quid virga, quid ora, quid alvus,
Pondera quid veniſtu, craſſitudo que velis?
Corpus amaraeum, diſtento abdomine purum
Rides ante ſuſpet, lector amice, magis?
Vaſta quid iſta velim ſi neſcis pondera, dicam:
Nam nihil hic mirum venter obſcuſ habet.
Carnibus humanis & ſanguine veſtitur atro,
Ducentos annis bauſerat ille tribus.
Ergo quid hoc monſtri eſt, recto vis nomine dicam?
Nomen nec Patrius, nec gerit ille Matris.
Qui patre Savago natus, falſoque Bonerus
Dicitur: hunc melius dixeris Orbilius.*

The ſame in Engliſh.

*MUſe not ſo much that natures work
Is thus deformed now:
With belly blown, and head ſo ſwollen,
For I ſhall tell you how:
This Cannibal in three years ſpace
Two hundred Martyrs ſlew:
They were his food, he lov'd ſo Blood,
He ſpared none he knew.*

*Is ſhould appear that Blood feeds fat,
If Men lye well and ſoft:
For Boners Belly waxt with Blood,
Though be ſeem'd to faſt off.
O Bloody Beaſt, bewail the death
Of thoſe that thou haſt ſlain:
In time repent, ſince thou canſt not
Their lives reſtore again.*

G. G.

In Bonerum.

*Carnificis nomen debetur jure Bonero,
Qui ſine Chriſticeſſas crimine maſtat &c.
Certe carnificis immixtus nomine gaudet,
Siquē iſto pejor nomine nomen, amat.
Carnificem vocitas? ridet. Crudelia facta
Narrat? rem gratam non facit ipſe magis.
Dei Deus ut ſapias meliora Bonere, veliſtis
Te feriant meritis munera digna precor.*

The ſcourging of *Tho. Hinshaw*.

IN the Godly number above mentioned, which were apprehended at *Ipſington*, there congregated together, for their exerciſe of prayer and reading, was this *Thomas Hinshaw* above named, a young Man of the age of 19. or 20. years, prentiſe in *Pauls* Churchyard with one *M. Pagon*, Who with the reſt was carried to the Conſtables of *Ipſington*, and there every one of them ſearched, and led forthwith to the chief Juſtice Maſter *Cholmley*, dwelling in the old *Bailly* in *London*, and by him then the ſaid *Thomas Hinshaw* was ſent to *Newgate*: and there remaining priſoner without conference with any, about eight weeks, at the laſt was ſent for to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, and by him, *Harpſfield*, and *Cole*, examined. After which examination he was ſent to *Newgate* again, where he remained three weeks following. Which time being overpaſſed, he was ſent for again before the ſaid Biſhop, the day being *Saturday*, and with him had much talk to little purpoſe. The next day after alſo, which was *Sunday*, they perſwaded with him very much in like manner, and perceiving they could not bend him unto their bow, in the afternoon the Biſhop going unto *Fulham*, took him with him, where immediately after his coming, he was ſet in the Stocks remaining there all the firſt night with Bread and Water.

The next morning the Biſhop came and examined him himſelf, and perceiving no yielding to his mind, he ſent *M. Harpſfield* to talk with him; who, after long talk, in the end fell to raging words, calling the ſaid *Thomas Hinshaw* peeviſh boy, and asked him whether he thought he went about to damn his Soul, or no? &c. Unto which the ſaid *Thomas* answered, that he was perſwaded that they laboured to maintain their dark and devilish Kingdom, and not for any love to truth. Then *Harpſfield*, being in a mighty rage, told the Biſhop thereof. Whereat the Biſhop fumed and fretted, that ſcant for anger being able to ſpeak, he ſaid, Doſt thou anſwer my Archdeacon ſo, thou naughty boy? I ſhall handle thee well enough, be affured: ſo he ſent for a couple of Rods, and cauſed him to kneel againſt a long Bench in an Arbor in his Garden, where the ſaid *Thomas*, without any inforcement of his part, offered himſelf to the beating, and did abide the fury of the ſaid *Boner*, ſo long as the ſat panned Biſhop could endure with breath, and till for wearineſs he was fain to ceaſe, and give place to his shameful act. He had two willow Rods, but he waſted but one, and ſo left off.

Now after this ſcourging, the ſaid *Thomas Hinshaw* notwithstanding did ſuſtain divers conflicts, and examinations ſundry times. At laſt being brought before the ſaid Biſhop in his Chappel at *Fulham*, there he had procured witneſſes, and gathered Articles againſt him, which the young Man denied, and would not affirm, or conſent to any interrogatory there and then miniſtred, do what they could.

The Articles were theſe.

Concerning Palms, Almes, holy Bread, holy Water, Articles ob:
Auricular confeſſion, receiving the Sacrament at
Eaſter, hearing divine ſervice then ſet forth, &c.

Whether he had received all theſe, or whether he would receive them or no.

Item, what he thought of the Service ſet forth in King *Edward*'s time, in his latter days, and in eſpecial, what he thought of the verity of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament.

In

Anno
1558.The right Picture and true counterfeite of Boner, and his cruelty, in scourging of
both Saints, in his Orchard at Fulham.

In all which his answers, the said *Thomas Hinshaw* kept an upright Confidence, and entangled himself with none of their Ceremonies: so merciful was the Lord unto him.

The Hinshaw
advised to
at Person
his Master.

Not long after this his examination, about a fortnight or such a thing, the foresaid Examinee fell sick of a burning Ague, whereby he was delivered upon censure unto his Master *Martin Pynson* in *Pauls Church-yard* afore said: for the Bishop thought verily he was more like to dye than to live. The which his sickness endured a twelve-month or more, so that in the mean time *Queen Mary* died. Then he shortly after recovered health, and escaped death, being at the writing of this yet alive, both witness and reporter of the same, the Lord therefore be praised, Amen.

The scourging of John Willes by Bishop Boner.

The Story of
John Willes
a capper.

BEsides the above named, was scourged also by the hands of the said Bishop, one *John Willes* a Capper, a right faithful and true honest Man in all his dealings and conditions. Who was Brother to the foresaid *R. Willes* burned before at *Brainford*, as is above signified. Who also was apprehended in the same number with them at *I-lington*, as is mentioned also before: and being brought before *Boner*, and there examined, was commanded to the *Colehouse*, with the foresaid *Tho. Hinshaw*, where they remained one night in the Stocks. From thence he was sent to *Fulham*, where he, with the said *Hinshaw*, remained 8, or 10. days in the Stocks; during which time he sustained divers conflicts with the said *Boner*, who had him oft times in Examination, urging him, and with a Stick which he had in his hand, oft-times rapping him on the head, and flinging him under the chin, and on the ears, saying he looked down like a thief. Moreover, after he had assayed all manner of ways to cause him to recant, and could not, at length having him to his Orchard, there within a little arbor, with his own hands beat him first with a willow rod, and that being worn well nigh to the stumps, he called for a birchen rod, which a lad brought out of his Chamber. The cause why he so beat him, was this; *Boner* asked him when he had crept to the Cross he answered, Not since he came to the years of discretion, neither would, though he should be torn with wild hoes. Then *Boner* bade him make a Cross in his forehead, which he refused to do. Whereupon he

John Willes
with the
Hinshaw, laid
in the Stocks
at Fulham.

had him incontinently to his Orchard, and there calling for rods, threwed his cruelty upon him, as he did upon *Thomas Hinshaw*, as is above declared.

This done, he had him immediately to the Parish Church of *Fulham* with the said *Tho. Hinshaw*, and *Rob. Willes*, to whom there being severally called before him, he ministered certain Articles, asking if he would subscribe to the same. To the which the said *John Willes* made his Answer according to his Confidence, denying them all, except one Article which was concerning *K. Edwards* Service in English. Shortly after this beating, *Boner* sent to him in Prison a certain old Priest lately come from *Rome*, to conjure out the evil Spirit from him, who laying his hand upon his head, began with certain words pronounced over him, to conjure as he had been wont before to do. *Willes* marvelling what the Priest was about to do, said, He trusted no evil Spirit to be within him, and laughed him to scorn, &c.

Bishop &
Wiles be-
aten of Boner.
John Willes
denied to
subscribe to
8 B. Boner Ar-
ticles.

An old con-
juring Priest.

As this *John Willes* was divers times and oft called before *Boner*, so much communication and talk passed between them; which to recite all, it were too long. And if it were not unpleasant for the Reader that lusteth to laugh, to see the blind and unfavoury reasons of that Bishop, which he used to perfwade the ignorant withal. As in the process of his other talk with this *Willes*, *Boner* going about to perfwade him not to meddle with matters of the Scripture, but rather to believe other Mens teaching, which had more skill in the same; first asked if he did believe the Scripture? Yea, said he, that I do. Then the Bishop, why (quoth he) *Saint Paul* saith, If the man sleep, the Woman is at liberty to go to another Man. If thou wert asleep having a Wife, wouldest thou be content thy Wife to take another Man? And yet this is the Scripture.

The unfa-
voury rea-
sons or talk
of B. Boner
going about
to perfwade
John Willes.
Boner judge-
ment, that
he should
trust more to
Mens than to
the Scrip-
tures of God.

Item, if thou wilt believe *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and such, then thou canst not go right. But if thou wilt believe me, &c. thou canst not err. And if thou shouldst err, yet thou art in no peril, thy Blood should be required at our hands. As if thou shouldst go to a far Country, and meet with a fatherly Man as I am (for these were his terms) and ask the way to the Head City, and he should say this way, and thou wilt not believe him, but follow *Luther*, and other Hereticks of late days, and go a contrary way, how wilt thou come to the place thou askest for? so if thou wilt not believe me, but follow the leading of other Hereticks, so shalt thou be brought to destruction, and burn both Body and Soul.

this fault-
rule hold-
eth, &c.
the way-
ward.

ANNO 1558. Astruly as thou seest the Bodies of them in *Smithfield* burnt, so truly their Souls do burn in Hell, because they err from the true Church.

Of times speaking to the said *John Willes*, he would say, They call me *Boner*. A vengeance on you all, I would fain be rid of you, but you have a delight in burning. But if I might have my will, I would fow your Mouths, and put you in facks and drown you.

Now somewhat to say concerning the deliverance of the said *John Willes*. The same day that he was delivered, *Boner* came unto the Stocks where he lay, and asked him how he liked his lodging, and his fare.

Well, said *Willes*, if it would please God I might have a little straw to lye or sit upon.

Then said *Boner*, Thou wilt shew no token of a Christian Man. And upon this his Wife came in unknowing unto him, being very great with Child, and looking every hour for her lying down, entreating the Bishop for her husband, and saying, that the would not go out of the House, but there would lay her belly in the Bishops House, unless he had her Husband with her. How sayest thou (quoth *Boner*) thou Heretic? If thy wife miscarry, or thy Child, or Children, if he be with one or two, should perish, the Blood of them would he require at thy hands. Then to this agreement he came, that he should hire a Bed in the Town of *Fulham*, and her husband should go home with her the morrow after, upon this condition, that his kinsman there present (one *Robert Rouse*) should bring the said *Willes* unto his House at *Pauls* the next day.

Whereunto the said *Willes* said, he would not agree, except he might go home by and by. At length his Wife being importunate for her Husband; and seeing that she would go no further, but there remain, unless she had her Husband with her, the Bishop fearing belike the rumour which might come upon his House thereby, bade the said *Willes* make a Cross, and say, *In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen.*

Then the said *Willes* began to say, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost Amen. No, no, said *Boner*, say it me in Latin, *In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen.* *Willes* understanding the matter of that Latin to be but good, said the same, and so went home with his Wife, his foresaid kinsman being charged to bring him the next day unto *Pauls*; else, said *Boner*, if thou dost not bring him, thou art an Heretic as well as he. Notwithstanding, the charge being no greater, his kinsman did not bring him, but he of his own voluntary accord came to the said Bishop within a few days after, where the Bishop put unto him a certain writing in Latin to subscribe unto, containing as it seemed to him no great matter, that he needed greatly to stick at, albeit, what the bill was, he could not certainly tell: so subscribed he to the bill, and returned home. And thus much concerning the 22. taken at *Islington*.

The History and cruel handling of Richard Yeoman, Doctor Taylors Curate at *Hadley*, constantly suffering for the Gospels sake.

AFTER the Story of these 22. taken at *Islington*, proceeding now (the Lord willing) we will prosecute likewise the taking and cruel handling of *Richard Yeoman* Minif. Which *Yeoman* had been before Doctor *Taylor's* Curate, a godly devout old Man of 70. years which had many years dwelt in *Hadley*, well seen in the Scriptures, and giving Godly Exhortations to the people. With him D. *Taylor* left his cure at his departure. But as soon as M. *Newall* had gotten the Benefice, he drave away good *Yeoman* as is before said, and set in a Popish Curate to maintain and continue their Romish Religion which now they thought fully stablished. Then wanded he long time from place to place, moving and exhorting all Men to stand faithfully to Gods Word, earnestly to give themselves unto prayer, with patience to bear the Cross now laid upon them for their tryal, with boldness to confess the truth before the adversaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the Crown and reward of eternal felicity. But when he perceived his adversaries to lye in wait for him, he went into *Kent*, and with a little packer of laces, pins, and points, and such like things,

he travelled from village to village, selling such things, and by that poor shift gave himself somewhat to the sustaining of himself, his poor Wife and Children.

At the last a Justice of *Kent* called Master *Moyles*, took the poor *Yeoman* and set him in the Stocks a day and a night, our having no evident matter to charge him with, he let him go again. So came he secretly again to *Hadley*, and tarried with his poor Wife, who kept him secretly in a Chamber of the Town House, commonly called the *Guildhall*, more than a year. All the which time, the good old Father abode in a Chamber locked up all the day, and spent his time in devout prayer, and reading the Scriptures, and in carding of wool which his Wife did spin. His Wife also did go and beg Bread and meat for her self and her Children, and by such poor means sustained they themselves. Thus the Saints of God sustained hunger and misery, while the Prophets of *Baal* lived in jollity, and were costly pampered at *Jesabels* Table.

At the last, Parson *Newall* (I know not by what means) perceived that *Richard Yeoman* was so kept by his poor Wife, and, taking with him the Bailiffs Deputies and Servants, came in the night time and brake up five doors upon *Yeoman*, whom he found in a bed with his poor Wife and Children. Whom when he had so found, he irefully cried, saying, I thought I should find an heretic and an whore together. And he would have plucked the clothes off from them. But *Yeoman* held fast the clothes, and said unto his Wife, Wife, arise, and put on thy clothes. And unto the Parson he said, Nay Parson, no harlot, nor whore, but a married Man and his Wife, according unto Gods Ordinance, and blessed be God for lawful Matrimony. I thank God for this great Grace, and I desire the Pope and all his Popery. Then led they *Richard Yeoman* unto the Cage, and set him in the Stocks until it was day.

There was then also in the Cage an old Man named *John Dale*, who had sitten there three or four days, because when the said Parson *Newall* with his Curate executed the Romish Service in the Church, he spake openly unto him, and said, O miserable and blind guides, will ye ever be blind leaders of the blind? will ye never amend? will ye never see the truth of Gods Word? Will neither Gods threats nor promises enter into your hearts? will the Blood of Martyrs nothing mollifie your Stone Stomack? O inordinate hard hearted, perverfe, and crooked Generation. O damnable fort, whom nothing can do good unto.

These and like words he spake in ferventness of Spirit against the Superstitious Religion of *Rome*. Wherefore Parson *Newall* caused him forthwith to be attached, and set in the Stocks in the Cage. So was he there kept till Sir *Henry Doile*, a Justice, came to *Hadley*.

Now when poor *Yeoman* was taken, the Parson called earnestly upon Sir *Henry Doile* to send them both to Prison. Sir *Henry Doile* earnestly laboured and entreated the Parson, to consider the Age of the Men, and their poor estate; they were persons of no reputation nor Preachers; wherefore he would desire him to let them be punished a day or two, and so to let them go, at the least *John Dale* who was no Priest: and therefore seeing he had so long sitten in the Cage, he thought it punishment enough for this time. When the Parson heard this, he was exceeding mad, and in a great rage called them pestilent Heretics, unfit to live in the Common Wealth of Christians. Wherefore I beseech you Sir, quoth he, according to your Office, defend holy Church, and help to suppress these Sects of Heresies, &c. which are false to God, and thus boldly set themselves, to the evil example of others, against the Queens gracious proceedings. Sir *Henry Doile* seeing he could do no good in the matter, and fearing also his peril if he should too much meddle in this matter, made out the Writ, and caused the Constables to carry them forth to *Bury* Gaol. For now were all the Justices, were they never so mighty, afraid of every shaven crown, and stood in as much awe of them, as *Pilate* did stand in fear of *Annas* and *Caiphas*, and of the Pharisaical Brood, which cried, Crucifie him, Crucifie him. If thou let him go, thou art not *Cæsars* friend.

Wherefore

Rich. Yeoman
set in the
Stocks by day
Mole of
Ken. Rich.
Yeoman re-
turneth a-
gain to Had-
ley.

Parson New-
all a wicked
persecutor.
Yeoman ta-
ken by Par-
son Newall.

Whereof
1. Dale to
Parson New-
all, and his
Curate.

John Dale set
in the Cage
by Parson
Newall.
Sir Henry
Doile in-
creased his
Gods Saide,
but could
not beheard.

The King-
dom of
Lancaster.

Willes wife
increased
for her hus-
band.

Rob. Rouse
kinsman to
J. Willes.

The condit-
on put to J.
Willes to sub-
scribe to name
Patris, &c.

John Willes
sent home
with his
Wife.

July 10.
The story of
Marys death
of R. Yeoman
Minister.

R. Yeoman
sent into
Kent.

Yeoman and
John Dale
sent to Bury
Gaol.

Comments
no. 1 of John
Dale.

Wherefore whatsoever their consciences were, yet (if they would escape danger) they must needs be the Popish Bishops slaves and vassals. So they took *Richard Yeoman* and *John Dale*, pintoned, and bound them like Thieves, set them on Horback, and bound their Legs under the Horks Belles, and so carried them to the Gaol at *Bury*, where they were tyed in Irons; and for that they continually rebuked Popery, they were thrown into the lowest Dungeon, where *Jo. Dale* through sickness of the Prison, and evil keeping, dyed in Prison, whose Body, when he was dead, was thrown out and buried in the Fields. He was a Man of 46. years of Age, a Weaver by his occupation, well learned in the holy Scriptures, faithful and honest in all his conversation, stedfast in confession of the true Doctrine of Christ set forth in King *Edwards* time; for the which he joyfully suffered Prison and Chains, and from this Worldly Dungeon he departed in Christ to eternal Glory, and the Blessed Paradise of everlasting felicity.

After that *John Dale* was dead, *Richard Yeoman* was

removed to *Norwich* Prison, where after strait and evil keeping, he was examined of his Faith and Religion. Then he boldly and constantly confessed himself to be of the Faith and Confession that was set forth by the late King of Blessed Memory, holy King *Edward* the sixth, and from that he would in no wise vary. Being required to submit himself to the holy Father the Pope: I defie him (quoth he) and all his detestable Abominations: I will in no wife have to do with him, nor any thing that appertaineth to him. The chief Articles objected to him, were his marriage, and the Mass Sacrifice. Wherefore when he continued stedfast in confession of the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burnt, but most cruelly tormented in the Fire. So ended he his poor and miserable life, and entered into the blessed Bosom of *Abraham*, enjoying with *Lazarus* the comfortable quietness that God hath prepared for his elect Saints.

Anno
1558.

Yeoman re-
moved to
Norwich.

The chief
matters ob-
jected to
Rob. Yeoman

The burning of Richard Yeoman Minister at Norwich 1558 July 10



The Martyrdom of Thomas Benbridge, Anno 1558 July 10



The Story of John Alcock.

The Story of
John Alcock

There was also in *Hadley* a young Man, named *John Alcock*, which came to *Hadley* seeking work, for he was a Shereman by his occupation. This young Man after the Martyrdom of Doctor *Taylor*, and taking of *Richard Yeoman*, used first in the Church of *Hadley* to read the Service in English, as partly is above touched. At length, after the coming of Parson *Newall*, he being in *Hadley* Church upon a Sunday when the Parson came by with procession, would not once move his Cap, nor shew any sign of reverence but stood behind the Font. *Newall* perceiving this, when he was almost out of the Church door, ran back again, and caught him, and called for the Constable.

Parson New-
all in a rage
against John
Alcock for
not going on
procession.

Then came *Rob. Rolfe*, with whom this young Man wrought, and asked M. Parson what hath he done, that ye are in such a rage with him?

He is an Heretick and a Traitor (quoth the Parson) and despite the Queens proceedings. Wherefore I command you in the Queens Name, have him to the Stocks, and see he be forth coming.

Rob. Rolfe
honest Con-
stable of
Hadley.

Well, quoth *Rolfe*, he shall be forth coming, proceed you in your business, and be quiet. Have him to the Stocks, quoth the Parson.

I am Constable, quoth *Rolfe*, and may bail him, and will bail him; he shall not come in the Stocks, but he shall be forth coming: So went the good Parson forth

with his holy procession, and so to Mass.

At afternoon *Rolfe* said to this young Man, I am sorry for thee, for truly the Parson will seek thy destruction, if thou take not good heed what thou answerest him.

The young Man answered, Sir, I am sorry that it is my hap to be a trouble to you. As for my self, I am not sorry, but I do commit my self into Gods hands, and I trust he will give me Mouth and Wisdom to answer according to right.

Well, quoth *Rolfe*, yet beware of him. For he is malicious and a blood-sucker, and beareth an old hatred against me, and he will handle you the more cruelly, because of displeasure against me.

I fear not, quoth the young Man. He shall do no more to me, than God will give him leave; and happy shall I be if God will call me to dye for his truths sake.

After this talk, they then went to the Parson, who at Alcock brought to Parson New-
all.

The first asked him, Fellow, what saist thou to the Sacrament of the Altar?

I say, quoth he, ye use the matter, ye make a shameful Idol of it, and yeare false Idolatrous Priests all the sort of you.

I told you (quoth the Parson) he was a stout He-
retick.

So after long talk, the Parson committed him to Ward, Parson New-
all carried
up J. Alcock
the young Man with him, and so came the young Man to London.

Anno
1558.John Alcock
died in
Newgate.
John Alcock
buried of the
Papists in a
dunghill.

no more again to Hadley, but after long Imprisonment in Newgate, where after many Examinations and troubles, for that he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the Pope, and to be reconciled to the Romish Religion, he was cast into the lower Dungeon, where with evil keeping and sickness of the House, he dyed in Prison. Thus dyed he a Martyr for Christs verity, which he heartily loved and constantly confessed, and received the garland of a well foughten battel at the hand of the Lord. His Body was cast out, and buried in a dunghill, For the Papist would in all things be like themselves: Therefore would they not so much as suffer the dead Bodies to have honest and convenient sepulture.

Thomas Benbridge Gentleman and Martyr, wrongfully condemned and put to death by the cruel Papists, for the defence of the Gospel of Christ Jesus.

July 22.
The Story of
The Ben-
bridge Mar-
tyr.The Ben-
bridge exam-
ined be-
fore the B.
of Winchester.Articles op-
posed a-
gainst The
Bourne.
Answer.The real
presence.

Answer.

Confirmati-
on.

Answer.

Answer.
Penance no
Sacrament.

Answer.

Answer.

Head of the
Church.

Thomas Benbridge a Gentleman, single and unmarried in the Diocese of Winchester, although he might have lived a pleasant and a Gentlemans life in the wealthy possessions of this World; yet to follow Christ had rather enter into the strait gate of persecution, to the Heavenly possession of life in the Lords Kingdom, than here to enjoy pleasures present with unquietness of Conscience. Wherefore, manfully standing against the Papists for the defence of the sincere Doctrine of Christs Gospel, he spared not himself to confirm the Doctrine of the Gospel. For the which cause he being apprehended for an adversary of the Romish Religion, was forthwith had to examination before Doctor White Bishop of Winchester, where he sustained sundry conflicts for the truth against the said Bishop and his Colleague. The Articles of the Bishop ministred to him, with his answers to the same annexed, be here following.

Articles ministred to M. Benbridge, with his answers following the same.

First, we articulate against you, that the Church of God ministred rightly, according to the Rite Apostolical.

To this he answered, That Baptism is not administred at this present, so as it was in the Apostles time, for that it is not ministred in the English Tongue.

2. Item, we articulate, that the Church of God doth believe, and hold, that in the Sacrament of thanksgiving, after the words of Consecration pronounced of the Priest, the true and natural Body of Christ is present really.

He answered, that he believeth not that in the Sacrament is contained the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, saying; this is the mark that ye shooat at.

3. Item, we articulate, that the Church holdeth and believeth, that confirmation is a Sacrament in the Church, and that by imposition of hands of a Bishop, cometh Grace.

He answered, that he knoweth not whether that confirmation be a Sacrament or not, and whether the Bishop giveth Grace or not; he knoweth not the order and fashion of ministrature.

4. Item we articulate, that Penance is a Sacrament in the Church, and that by Auricular Confession and Absolution, pronounced by the priest, sins be forgiven.

He answered negatively, denying sins to be forgiven by absolution pronounced of a Priest, and that it is not necessary for a Man to recite all his sins to a Priest.

5. Item, we articulate against thee, that the Church doth believe and hold the same Authority to be now in the Church which Christ gave to his Apostles.

He answered negatively, for that the Church hath not the same power and strength to work.

6. Item, we articulate, that the Church believeth and holdeth, that the Order of Ministers, now being in the Church of Christ, is instituted of Christ himself.

He answered, he believed not the Bishops to be the Successors of the Apostles, for that they be not called as they were, nor have that Grace.

7. Item, we articulate that the Church believeth and holdeth, the Pope to be Supreme Head in the Church, and she Vicar of Christ in Earth.

He answered, that it is not the Pope, but it is the Devil that is Supreme Head of the Church which you speak of.

8. Item, we articulate, that the Church doth hold and believe that it is necessary to be Baptized.

He denied not the same.

9. Item, we articulate, that the Church doth hold and believe, that there is Purgatory, and that the Souls of the dead be relieved with the alms and Prayers of the living.

He answered and saith, as touching Purgatory, he will not believe as their Church doth believe.

10. Item, we articulate, that the Church holdeth and believeth that Matrimony is a Sacrament of the Church.

He answered, that he will not say that Matrimony is a Sacrament, but to be a sacred Order and sign of an holy thing, &c.

Moreover hapning into the mention of Martin Luther, he said, that the said Martin Luther died a good Christian Man, whose Doctrine and Life he did approve and allow.

Thus have ye the Articles ministred by the Bishop and also the Answers of the said M. Benbridge unto the same, for the which he was then condemned, and after brought to the place of Martyrdom by the Sheriff, called Sir Richard Peckhal. Where he standing at the Stake, began to untie his points, and to prepare himself; then he gave his Gown to the Keeper, being belike his fee. His Jerkin was laid on with Gold Lace fair and brave which he gave to Sir Rich. Peckhal the High Sheriff. His cap of Velvet he took off from his Head and threw it away. Then lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his Prayers.

That done, being now fastened to the Stake, D. Seaton willed him to recant, and he should have his pardon: but when he saw it prevailed not to speak, the said dreaming and doltish Doctor willed the people not to pray for him unless he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog.

M. Benbridge standing at the Stake with his hands together in such manner as the Priest holdeth his hands in his memento, the said D. Seaton came to him worse than D. Seaton did a great deal, who (as is thought) was set on by some other.

Then said one that stood by, Sir, cut out his Tongue, and another being a temporal Man, railed on him worse than D. Seaton did a great deal, who (as is thought) was set on by some other.

Then when they saw he would not yield, they bade the tormentors to set to Fire, and yet he was nothing like covered with fagots. First, the Fire took away a piece of his Beard, whereat he nothing shrank at all. Then it came on the other side and took his Legs, and the neither Stockings of his Hose being Leather, made the Fire to pierce the sharper, so that the intolerable heat thereof made him to cry, I recant: and suddenly therewith he thrust the Fire from him. And having two or three of his friends by, that wished his life, they kept to the Fire, and help to take it from him also; who for their labour were sent to Prison. The Sheriff also of his own Authority took him from the Stake, and sent him to Prison again, for the which he was sent unto the Fleet, and there lay a certain time. But before he was taken from the Stake, the said Seaton wrote Articles to have him to subscribe unto them as touching the Pope, the Sacrament, and such other trash. But the said M. Benbridge made much ado ere he would subscribe them, inasmuch that Doctor Seaton willed them to set to Fire again. Then with much pain and grief of Heart he subscribed to them upon a Mans Back. That being done, he had his Gown given him again, and so was led to Prison. Being in Prison he wrote a Letter to Doctor Seaton, and recanted those words he spake at the Stake, unto which he had subscribed: for he was grieved that ever he did subscribe unto them. Whereupon expressing his Conscience, he was the same day seven night after burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors did rather broil him than burn him. The Lord give his enemies repentance.

Answer.

Answer

Answer.

Answer.
Matrimony
no Sacra-
ment.Martin Lu-
ther.The Ben-
bridge con-
demned.The Ben-
bridge
brought to
the Stake.D Seaton
forbiddeth
to pray for
him.Master Ben-
bridge recan-
ted at the
Stake.Sir Richard
Peckhal.M. Benbridge
repenteth
his recanta-
tion.

The unjust Execution and Martyrdom of four burned at S. Edmunds Bury.

The Story of our Martyrs in Suffolk IN this year aforesaid, which was the last of Queen *Maries* reign, Dr. *Hopton* being Bishop of *Norwich*, and Dr. *Spencer* bearing the room of his Chancellor, about S. *James* tide, at S. *Edmunds Bury*, were wrongfully put to death four Christian Martyrs, to wit :

Martyrs. *John Cooke*, a Sawyer.
Robert Miles, alias *Plummer*, a Sheerman.
Alexander Lane, a Wheelright.
James Ashley, Bachelor.

The Examination of these forenamed Persons, being **Anno** severally called before the Bishop of *Norwich*, and Sir *Edward Walgrave*, with others, was partly upon these Articles following.

First, Sir *Edward Walgrave* called *John Cooke* to *Sir Edward Walgrave* him, and said, How fortineth it, that you go not to *Persecutor* Church?

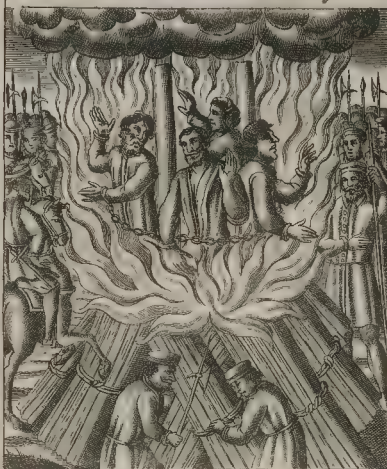
John Cooke said, I have been there.

Sir Edward said, What is the cause that you go not *Examination of John Cooke* thither now in these days?

John Cooke said, Because the Sacrament of the Altar is an abominable Idol, and (saith he) the vengeance of God will come upon all them that do maintain it.

Sir Edward said, O thou rank Traytor, if I had as good Commission to cut out thy Tongue, as I have to

Foure burned at S. Edmunds Bury.



The Martyrdome of Alexander Gouch, and Drivers wife.



fit here this day, thou shouldst be sure to have it cut out.

Examination of Robert Miles. Then commanded he the Constable to have him away, saying, he was both a Traitor and a Rebel.

Then he called *Robert Miles*, and said, how fortineth it, that you go not to the Church?

Robert Miles answered, Because I will follow no false Gods.

Then said the Bishop, who told thee that it is a God?

Then said *Miles*, Even you, and such as you are.

Then the Bishop commanded him aside, and to appear before him the next day.

Examination of Alexander Lane. Then he called *Alexander Lane* before him, and asked him, how it chanced, that he would not go to the Church?

He said, That his Conscience would not serve him so to do.

Then *Sir Edward* said, How dost thou believe?

Then said *Lane*, even as it is written in Gods Book.

Then *Sir Edward* commanded him to say his Belief.

Then the said *Lane* being somewhat abashed, said his Belief to these words, which he missed unawares, *Born of the Virgin Mary*.

Then *Sir Edward* said, What? was he not born of the Virgin *Mary*?

Yes, said *Lane*, I would have said so.

Nay, said *Sir Edward*, you are one of *Cookes* Scholars, and so commanded him away, and to come before him the next day.

After the like manner they passed also with *James*

Ashley, whom they warned the next day likewise to appear before them again. So in fine they appearing again, had their Condemnation. And thus these four blessed Martyrs and Servants of Christ, innocently suffered together at S. *Edmunds Bury*, as is aforesaid, about the beginning of *August*, not long before the sickness of *Queen Mary*.

The Martyrdome of two godly persons suffering at Ipswich for the Gospel of Christ, and his everlasting Testament, named Alexander Gouch, and Alice Driver.

M After *Noone*, a Justice in *Suffolk*, dwelling in *Marleham*, hunting after good men to apprehend them, (as he was a bloody Tyrant in the days of Trial) at the length had understanding of one *Gouch* of *Woodbridge*, and *Drivers Wife* of *Grosborough*, to be at *Grosborough* together, a little from his House, and immediately took his men with him, and went thither, and made diligent search for them, where the poor man and woman were compelled to step into an Hay-golph to hide themselves from their cruelty. At the last they came to search the Hay for them, and by gaging thereof with Pitchforks, at the last found them: so they took them and led them to *Melton Goal*, where they remaining a time, at the length were carried to *Bury* against the Assize at S. *James* tide, and being there examined of matters of Faith, did boldly stand to confess Christ crucified, defying the Pope with all his Papistical Trash. And among other things *Drivers Wife* likened *Queen Mary* in her Persecution, to *Jezabel*; and so in that sense calling her *Jezabel*, for that

Examination of James Ashley.

Mr. Gouch a Persecutor

Gouch and Alice Driver taken at Grosborough and carried to Melton Goal. Queen Mary called Jezabel. Alice Drivers ears cut off, for likening Q. Mary to Jezabel.

Anno
1558.

that Sir Clement Higham, being chief Judge there, adjudged her Ears immediately to be cut off, which was accomplished accordingly, and she joyfully yielded her self to the punishment, and thought her self happy that she was counted worthy to suffer any thing for the Name of Christ.

Gouch and
Alice Driver
carried to
Ipswich.

After the Assize at Bury, they were carried to Melton Gaol again, where they remained a time. This Alexander Gouch was a Man of the age of 36 years, or thereabouts, and by his occupation was a Weaver of Shredding Coverlets, dwelling at Woodbridge in Suffolk, and born at Usford in the same County, Drivers Wife was a Woman about the age of 30 years, and dwelt at Grosborough where they were taken, in Suffolk. Her Husband died a good Husbandry. These two were carried from Melton Gaol to Ipswich, where they remained and were examined. The which their examination, as it came to our hands, hereafter followeth.

The Examination of Drivers Wife, before Dr. Spenser the Chancellor of Norwich.

Dr. Spenser after the death of Dr. Dunning who dyed suddenly in prison, was Chancellor under R. Hooper.

I first, the coming into the place where she should be examined, with a smiling Countenance, *Dr. Spenser* said, Why Woman, dost thou laugh us to scorn?

Drivers Wife Whether I do or no, I might well enough, to see what fools ye be.

Dost. Spenser. Then the Chancellor asked her wherefore she was brought before him, and why she was laid in Prison.

Dri. Wherefore? I think I need not tell you: for ye know it better than I.

Spens. No by my Troth, Woman, I know not why.

Dri. Then have ye done me much wrong, (quoth she) thus to Imprison me, and know no cause why: for I know no evil that I have done, I thank God, and I hope there is no man that can accuse me of any Notorious Fact that I have done, justly.

Spens. Woman, Woman, what sayst thou to the blessed Sacrament of the Altar? Dost thou not believe that it is very Flesh and Blood, after the words be spoken of Consecration?

Drivers Wife at those words held her peace, and made no answer. Then a great chuff-headed Priest that stood by, spake, and asked her why she made not the Chancellor answer. With that, the said *Drivers Wife* looked upon him austere, and said, Why Priest, I come not to talk with thee, but I come to talk with thy Master: but if thou wilt I shall talk with thee, command thy Master to hold his peace. And with that the Priest put his Nose in his cap, and spake never a word more. Then the Chancellor bid her make answer to that he demanded of her.

Dri. Sir (said she) pardon me though I make no answer, for I cannot tell what you mean thereby: for in all my life I never heard nor read of any such Sacrament in all the Scriptures.

Spens. Why, what Scriptures have you read, I pray you?

Dri. I have (I thank God) read Gods Book.

Spens. Why, what manner of Book is that you call Gods Book?

Dri. It is the Old and New Testament. What call you it?

Spens. That is Gods Book indeed, I cannot deny.

Dri. That same Book have I read thoroughout, but yet never could find any such Sacrament there: and for that cause I cannot make you answer to that thing I know not. Notwithstanding, for all that, I will grant you a Sacrament, called the Lords Supper: and therefore seeing I have granted you a Sacrament, I pray you shew me what a Sacrament is.

Spens. It is a sign. And one *Dr. Gascoine* being by, confirmed the same, that it was the sign of a holy thing.

Dri. You have said the truth, Sir, said she. It is a sign indeed, I must needs grant it: and therefore seeing, it is a sign, it cannot be the thing signified also. Thus far we do agree: for I have granted your own saying. Then stood up the said *Gascoine*, and made an Oration with

many fair words, but little to purpose, both offensive and odious to the minds of the godly. In the end of which long tale, he asked her if she did not believe the Omnipotency of God, and that he was Almighty, and able to perform that he spake. She answered, Yes, and said, I do believe that God is Almighty, and able to perform that he spake and promised.

Gascoine Very well. Then he said to his Disciples, Take, and Eat, This is my Body: Ergo, it was his Body. For he was able to perform that he spake, and God useth not to lye.

Dri. I pray you did he ever make any such promise to his Disciples, that he would make the Bread his Body?

Gascoine Those be the words. Can you deny it.

Dri. No, they be the very words indeed, I cannot deny it, but I pray you, was it not Bread that he gave unto them?

Gascoine No, it was his Body.

Dri. Then was it is Body that they did Eat over night?

Gascoine Yea; it was his Body.

Dri. What Body was it then that was Crucified the next day?

Gascoine It was Christs Body.

Dri. How could that be, when the Disciples had eaten him over night? except he had two Bodies, as by your Argument he had; one they did eat over night, and he was Crucified the next day. Such a Doctour, such Doctrine. Be you not ashamed to teach the People, that Christ had two Bodies? In the 22. of Luke, He took Bread and brake it to his Disciples, saying; Take, &c. and do this in remembrance of me Saint Paul faith, 1 Cor. 11. Do this in remembrance of me: for as often as ye shall Eat this Bread, and Drink this Cup, ye shall show the Lords Death till he come: and therefore I marvel you blush not before all this people; to lye so manifestly as ye do. With that *Gascoine* held his peace, and made her no answer: for, as it seemed, he was ashamed of his doings. Then the Chancellor lift up his head off from his cushion, and commanded the Gaoler to take her away.

Dri. Now (said he) ye be not able to resist the Truth, ye command me to Prison again. Well, the Lord in the end shall judge our cause, and to him I leave it. I will, I will, this gear will go for no payment then: So went she with the Gaoler away.

The second Examination of Alice Driver.

The next day she came before them again, and the Chancellor then asked her, what she said to the blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

Dri. I will say nothing to it: for you will neither believe me nor your selves. For yesterday I asked you what a Sacrament was, and you said, it was a sign, and I agreed thereto, and said, it was the Truth, confirming it by the Scriptures, so that I went not from your own words; and now ye come and ask me again of such a Sacrament as I told you I never read of in the Scriptures.

Spens. Thou lyest, naughty Woman, the did not say that it was a sign.

Dri. Why Masters, be ye not the Men that you were yesterday? Will ye eat your own words? Are ye not ashamed to lye before all this multitude here present; who heard you speak the same?

Then stood up *Dr. Gascoine*, and said; the was de. *Gascoine* received: for there are three Churches, the Malignant Church, the Church Militant, and the Church triumphant. So he would fain have made matter; but he could not tell which way.

Dri. Sir, is there mention made of so many Churches in the Scripture.

Gascoine Yea.

Dri. I pray you where find you this word (Church) written in the Scripture?

Gascoine It is written in the New Testament.

Dri. I pray you, Sir, shew the place where it is written.

R r t

Gascoine

Dr. Gascoine
Oration
made to
the people.Dr. Gascoine
Driver and
Dr. Gascoine.Christ had
but one Body,
and that
Body was
crucified over
night, what Body
then was
crucified the
next day?
1 Cor. 11:2Gascoine
mouth stopp'd
his peace.Another examination
of Alice Driver
before Dr.
Spenser, and
Gascoine,
Driver up
with his Sacrament
of the Altar
signs.de. Gascoine
gain saith
the matter
in hand.
3 Churches.No Sacrament
of the Altar is
found in
Gods Book.Dr. Gascoine
persecutor.
What a Sacrament is.

Gase. I cannot tell the place, but there it is. With that he desired him to look in his Testament. Then he fumbled and fought about him for one: but at that time he had none, and that he knew well enough, though he seemed to search for it. At the last he said, Have ye none here Sir?

Gase. No.

Gase. He-
re acquir-
ed with the
new Testa-
ment.

Dri. I thought so much indeed, that ye were little acquainted withal. Surely, you be a good Doctor. You say you sit here to Judge according to the Law, and how can you give Judgment, and have not the Book of the Law with you? At which words *Gase* was out of countenance, and asked her if she had one.

Dri. No, said she.

Gase. Then said he, I am as good a Doctor as you.

Dri. Well Sir, I had one, but you took it from me (as you would take me from Christ, if you could) and since would ye not suffer me to have any Book at all; so burning is your charity. But you may well know (I thank God) that I have exercised the same; else could I not have answered you (to Gods glory be it spoken) as I have. Thus she put them all to silence, that one looked on another, and had not a word to speak.

The Papist
put to silence
by a
simple
Woman.

Dri. Have you no more to say? God be honoured. You be not able to resist the Spirit of God in me poor Woman. I was an honest poor Mans Daughter, never brought up in the University as you have been, but I have driven the Plough before my Father many a time (I thank God); yet notwithstanding in the defence of Gods Truth, and in the cause of My Master Christ, by his grace I will set my foot against the foot of any of you all, in the maintenance and defence of the same, and if I had a thousand Lives, they should go for payment thereof. So the Chancellor rose up, and read the Sentence in Latin of Condemnation, and committed her to the secular power, and so went she to Prison again as joyful as the bird of day, praising and glorifying the name of God.

Alice Driver
brought up
at her Fa-
thers plough.

Spencer re-
sists Sen-
tence against
Alice Driver.

Alexander Gouch, Martyr.

AT which time *Alexander Gouch* also was examined, who was taken with her, as before is said, whose Examination hereafter followeth.

The Arti-
cles where-
upon *Gouch*
was conden-
ned.
The Mar-
tyrdom of
Gouch and
Alice Driver
at Ipswich,
A.D. 1558.
Novem. 4.

This *Alexander Gouch* was examined chiefly of the Sacrament and other Ceremonies of the Popish Church. And for that his belief was, that Christ was Ascended into Heaven, and there remaineth, and that the Sacrament was the remembrance of his death and passion, and for refusing the Mass, and the Pope to be Supreme Head of Christs Church, for these causes, was he condemned, and dyed with *Alice Driver* at Ipswich, the 4. of November. which was the Monday after All-Saints 1558. Dr. Miles *Spencer* being Chancellor, they both ending their Lives earnest zeal, nothing fearing to speak their Conscience when they were commanded to the contrary.

Gouch and
Alice Driver
brought to
the stake.

These two godly persons being come to the place where the stake was set, by seven of the Clock in the morning, notwithstanding they came the self-same morning from *Melton Gaol*, which is six miles from Ipswich, being in their prayers, and singing of Psalms both of them together, Sir *Henry Dowell*, then being Sheriff, was very much offended with them, and willed the Bailiffs of Ipswich to bid them make an end of prayers, they kneeling upon a broom Fagot, one of the Bailiffs, whose name was *Richard Smari*, commanded them to make an end, saying, On, on, have done; make an end, nail them to the stake; yet they continued in prayer.

Then Sir *Henry* sent one of his Men, whose name was *Richard Cove*, that they should make an end.

Then *Gouch* stood up and said unto the Sheriff, I pray you Mr. Sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here.

Then said the Bailiff, Come off, have them to the fire.

Then the said *Gouch* and *Alice Driver* said, Why Master Sheriff, and Master Bailiff, will you not suffer us to pray?

The Mar-
tyrs not
suffering to
pray.

Away, said Sir *Henry*, to the stake with them.

Gouch answered, Take heed Mr. Sheriff. If you forbid prayer, the Vengeance of God hangeth over your Heads. Then they being tyed to the stake, and the Iron Chain being put about *Alice Drivers* neck, O (said she) here is a goodly Neckerchief, blessed be God for it.

Then divers came and took them by the hands as they were bound standing at the stake. The Sheriff cried, Lay hands on them, lay hands on them. With that a great number ran to the stake. The Sheriff seeing that, let them all alone, so that there was not one taken.

There was one *Bate* a Barber, a busie doer about them, who having then a freeze Gown upon him, sold it immediately, saying, It stunk of Hereticks, with other foul words more. After this, within three or four weeks, Gods hand was upon him, and so he dyed very miserably in Ipswich.

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1558.

Bate a reli-
gious per-
fector.
Example of
Gods judg-
ment upon
persecutors.

The Martyrdom of three which were burned at Bury, for the True Testimony of Jesus Christ.

ALTHOUGH our History hasteth apace (the Lord be praised) to the happy Death of *Queen Mary*, yet she dyed not so soon, but some there were burned before, and more should have been burned soon after them, if Gods Provision had not prevented her with Death. In the number of them which suffered in the same Month when *Queen Mary* dyed, were three that were burned at Bury, whose names were these:

Philip Humphrey.

John David.

Henry David, his Brother.

Concerning the burning of these three, here is to be noted, that Sir *Clement Higbam*, about a fortnight before the *Queen* dyed, did sue out a writ for the burning of these three afore said godly and blessed Martyrs, notwithstanding that the *Queen* was then known to be pained remedy of her sickness.

Sir *Clement*
Higbam per-
secutor.

The Trouble and Martyrdom of a godly Poor Woman which suffered at Exeter.

ALTHOUGH in such an innumerable company of godly Martyrs, which in sundry quarters of this Realm were put to torments of fire in *Queen Mariess* time, it burned as hard so exactly to recite every particular person that suffered, but that some escape us either unknown, or time omitted; yet I cannot pass over a certain Poor Woman, and a silly Creature, burned under the said *Queens* Reign, in the City of *Exeter* (whose name I have not yet learned:) who dwelling sometime about *Cornwall*, having a Husband and Children there, much addicted to the superstitious sect of Popery, was many times rebuked of them, and driven to go to the Church, to their Idols and Ceremonies, to shrift, to follow the Cross in procession, to give thanks to God for restoring Antichrist again in this Realm, &c. Which when her Spirit could not abide to do, she made her prayer unto God, calling for help and mercy, and so at length lying in her bed, about midnight, she thought there came to her a certain motion and feeling of singular comfort. Whereupon in short space, she began to grow in contempt of her Husband and Children, and so taking nothing from them, but even as she went, departed from them, seeking her living by labour and spinning as well as she could, here and there for a time. In which time notwithstanding the never ceased to gain utter her mind as well as she durst; howbeit she at that time was brought home to her Husband again. Where at the poor last she was accused by her neighbors, and so brought up to *Exeter*, to be presented to the Bishop and his Clergy. The name of the Bishop which had her in examination, was Dr. *Troubleville*. His Chancellor (as I gather) was *Blackstone*. The chiefest matter whereupon she was charged and condemned, was for the Sacrament (which they call of the Altar) and for speaking against Idols, as by the declaration of those which were present, I understand, which report the talk between her and the Bishop on this wise.

Her depar-
ting from her
Husband &c.
returning a-
gain.

At the poor
last she was
brought up to
Exeter, to be
presented to
the Bishop and
his Clergy.

Bishop.

Anno 1558. *Bishop.* Thou foolish Woman, quoth the Bishop, I hear say, that thou hast spoken certain words against the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, the Body of Christ. Fie for shame. Thou art an unlearned person, and a Woman: Wilt thou meddle with such high matters, which all the Doctors of the world cannot define? Wilt thou talk of so high Mysteries? Keep thy work, and meddle with that thou hast to do. It is no Womans matter, at Cards and Tow to be spoken of. And if it be as I am informed, thou art worthy to be burned.

Talk between the Woman and the Bishop.

Woman. My Lord, said she, I trust your Lordship will hear me speak.

Bish. Yea marry, quoth he, therefore I sent for thee.

Woman. I am a poor Woman, and do live by my hands, getting a penny truly, and of that I get, I give part to the Poor.

Bish. That is well done. Art thou not a mans Wife?

And here the Bishop entered into talk of her Husband.

To whom the answered again, declaring that she had a Husband and Children; and had them not. So long as she was at liberty, she refused neither Husband nor Children: But now standing here as I do, said she, in the cause of Christ and his Truth, where I must either forsake Christ, or my Husband, I am contented to stick only to Christ my heavenly Spouse, and renounce the other.

The Wife renouncing her Husband for Christs sake.

And here the making mention of the words of Christ, *He that leaveth not Father or Mother, Sister or Brother, Husband, &c.* The Bishop inferred, that Christ spake that of the holy Martyrs, which dyed because they would not do sacrifice to the false gods.

Woman. Surely, Sir, and I will rather die than I will do any worship to that foul Idol, which with your Mass you make a god.

Bish. Yea, you Callet, will you say that the Sacrament of the Altar is a foul Idol?

The Sacrament of the Altar made an Idol.

Woman. Yea truly, quoth she, there was never such an Idol as your Sacrament is made of your Priests, and commanded to be worshipped of all men, with many fond Phantasies, where Christ did command it to be eaten and drunken in remembrance of his most blessed Passion for our redemption.

Bish. See this prating Woman. Dost thou not hear, that Christ did say over the Bread, *This is my Body*, and over the Cup, *This is my Blood*?

Woman. Yes, forsooth he said so, but he meant that it is his Body and blood, not carnally, but Sacramental.

Bish. Lo, she hath heard prating among these new Preachers, or heard some pievish Book. Alas poor Woman, thou art deceived.

Woman. No, my Lord, that I have learned was of godly Preachers, and of godly Books which I have heard read. And if you will give me leave, I will declare a reason why I will not worship the Sacrament.

Bish. Marry say on, I am sure it will be goodly gear.

Woman. Truly such gear as I will lose this poor life of mine for.

Bish. Then you will be a Martyr good Wife.

Woman. Indeed, if the denying to worship that Bread God be my Martyrdom, I will suffer it with all my heart.

Bish. Say thy mind.

Woman. You must bear with me a poor Woman, quoth she.

Bish. So I will, quoth he.

Woman. I will demand of you, whether you can deny your Creed, which doth say, that Christ perpetually doth sit at the right hand of his Father, both Body and Soul, until he come again; or whether he be there in Heaven our Advocate, and do make prayer for us unto God his Father? If it be so, he is not here in the earth in a piece of Bread. If he be not here, and if he do not dwell in Temples made with hands, but in Heaven, whither shall we seek him here? if he did offer his Body once for all, why make you a new offering? if with once offering he made all perfect, why do you with a false

Reasons showing why the Sacrament of the Lords Body is not to be worshipped.

offering make all unperfect? If he be to be worshipped in Spirit and Truth, why do you worship a piece of Bread? if he be eaten and drunken in Faith and Truth, if his flesh be not profitable to be among us, why do you say, you make his Body and flesh, an offering it is profitable for Body and Soul? Alas, I am a poor Woman but rather then I would do as you do, I would live no longer. I have said Sir.

Bish. I promise you, you are a jolly Protestant. I pray you in what Schools have you been brought up?

Woman. I have upon the *Sundays* visited the Sermons, and there have I learned such things as are so fixed in my breast, that death shall not separate them.

Bish. O foolish Woman! who will wait his breath upon thee or such as thou art? But how chanceth it that thou wentest away from thy Husband? if thou wert an honest Woman, thou wouldst not have left thy Husband and Children, and run about the Country like a Fugitive.

Woman. Sir, I laboured for my living; and as my Master Christ counseleth me, when I was persecuted in one City, I fled into another?

Bish. Who persecuted thee?

Woman. My Husband and my Children. For when I would have them to leave Idolatry, and to worship God in Heaven, he would not hear me, but he with his Children rebuked me, and troubled me. I fled not for Whoredom, nor for Theft, but because I would be no partaker with him and his, of that foul Idol the Mass. And whereforever I was, as oft as I could upon *Sundays* and *Holi-days*, I made excuse not to go to the Popish Church.

The Wife persecuted by her Husband and Children.

Bish. Belike then you are a good Huswife, to flee from your Husband and also from the Church.

Woman. My Huswifery is but small; but God give me grace to go to the true Church.

Bish. The true Church; what dost thou mean?

Woman. Not your Popish Church full of Idols and Abominations, but where two or three are gathered together in the name of God, to that Church will I go as long as I live.

Bish. Belike then you have a Church of your own. Well, let this mad Woman be put down to Prison; until we send for her Husband.

Woman. No, I have but one Husband, which is here already in this City and in Prison with me (from whom I will never depart) and so their communication for that day brake off. *Blackstone* and others perswaded the Bishop that she was a mazed Creature, and not in her perfect wit, (which is no new thing, for the wisdom of God to appear foolishness to carnal men of this world) and therefore they consulted together, that she should have liberty, and go at large. So the Keeper of the Bishops Prison had her home to his house, where she fell to spinning and carding, and did all other work as a Servant in the said Keepers house, and went about the City, when and whither she would, and divers had delight to talk with her. And ever the continued talking of the Sacrament of the Altar, which of all things they could least abide. Then was her Husband sent for, but she refused to go home with him, with the blessing of the Cause and Religion, in defence whereof she there stood before the Bishop and the Priests.

Then divers of the Priests had her in handling, perswading her to leave her wicked Opinion about the Sacrament of the Altar, the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ. But she made them answer, that it was nothing but very Bread and Wine, and that they might be ashamed to say, that a piece of Bread should be turned by a man into the natural Body of Christ, which Bread doth vinow, and Mice oftentimes do eat it, and it doth mould, and is burned: And, said she, Gods own Body will not be handled, nor kept in Prison, or Boxes, or Ambries. Let it be your god, it shall not be mine; for my Saviour sitteth on the right hand of God, and doth pray for me. And to make that Sacramental or significative Bread instituted for a remembrance, the very Body of Christ, and to worship it, it is very foolishness and Devilish deceit.

Talk between the Woman and the Priests about the Sacrament.

Now truly, said they, the Devil hath deceived thee.

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No faith she, I trust the living God hath opened mine eyes, and caused me to understand the right use of the blessed Sacrament, which the true Church doth use, but the false Church doth abuse.

Then stepped forth an old Friar, and asked her what she said of the holy Pope.

I (said she) say, that he is Antichrist and the Devil.

Then they all laughed.

Talk between the Woman and a Friar.

Nay, said she, you have more need to weep than to laugh, and to be sorry that ever you were born, to be the Chaplains of that Whore of *Babylon*, I desire him and all his Fellowship; and get you away from me, you do but trouble my Conscience. You would have me follow your doings; I will first lose my life. I pray you depart.

Why, thou foolish Woman, said they, we come to thee for thy profit and Souls health.

O Lord God, said she, what profit riseth by you that teach nothing but Lies for Truth? how save you Souls, when you preach nothing but damnable Lies, and destroy Souls?

How provest thou that (said they)?

Do you not damn Souls, said she, when you teach the People to worship Idols, Stocks and Stones, the works of mens hands? and to worship a false God of your own making of a piece of Bread, and teach that the Pope is Gods Vicar, and hath power to forgive sins? and that there is a Purgatory, when Gods Son hath by his Passion purged all? and say, you make God, and sacrifice him, when Christs Body was a Sacrifice once for all? Do you not teach the People to number their sins in your ears, and say they be damned, if they confess not all: when Gods Word saith, *Who can number his sins?* Do you not promise them Trentals and Diriges, and Masses for Souls, and sell your Prayers for Money, and make them buy Pardons, and trust to such foolish inventions of your own Imaginations? Do you not altogether against God? Do ye not teach us to pray upon Beads, and to pray unto Saints, and say they can pray for us? Do you not make Holy-Water and Holy-Bread to fray Devils? Do you not a thousand more Abominations? And yet you say, you come for my profit and to save my Soul. No, no, one hath saved me. Farewell you with your salvation. Much other talk there was between her and them, which here were too tedious to be expressed.

False Doctrine of the Papists, improved.

In the mean time during this her Months liberty granted to her by the Bishop, which we spake of before it happened that the entering into Saint Peters Church, beheld there a cunning Dutchman, how he made new Noses to certain fine Images which were figured in King Edwards time; What a mad man art thou (said she) to make them new Noses, which within a few days shall all lose their Heads? The Dutchman accused her, and laid it hard to her charge. And she said unto him, Thou art accursed, and so are thy Images. He called her Whore. Nay, said she, thy Images are Whores, and thou art a Whore-hunter; for doth not God say, You go a whoring after strange gods, figures of your own making? and thou art one of them. Then was she sent for and clapped fast, and from that time she had no more liberty.

The reviling of one Ennui a Minister, from the Gospel to Poverty in 2. Marins time.

During the time of her Imprisonment, divers resorted to her to visit her, some sent of the Bishop, some of their own voluntary will; amongst whom was one Daniel a great doer and preacher sometimes of the Gospel, in the Days of King Edward, in those parts of Cornwall and Devonshire: whom after that she perceived by his own confession to have revolted from that which he preached before, through the grievous Imprisonments, as he said, and fear of persecution which he had partly sustained by the cruel Justices in those parts, earnestly exhorted him to repent with Peter, and to be more constant in his Profession.

Moreover, there resorted to her a certain worthy Gentlewoman, the Wife of one Walter Rawly, a woman of noble wit, and of a good and godly Opinion; who coming to the Prison, and talking with her, she said her Creed to the Gentlewoman, and when she came to the Article, *He ascended*, there she said, and bade the Gentlewoman to seek his blessed Body in heaven, not in Earth, and told her plainly that God dwelleth not in

Temples made with hands, and that Sacrament to be nothing else but a remembrance of his blessed Passion and yet (said she) as they now use it, it is but an Idol, and far wide from any remembrance of Christs Body; which, said she, will not long continue, and so take it good Mrs. So that as soon as she came home to her Husband, she declared to him, that in her life she never heard a Woman (of such simplicity to see to) talk so godly, so perfectly, so sincerely, and so earnestly; inasmuch, that if God were not with her, she could not speak such things, to the which I am not able to answer her, said she, who can read, and she cannot.

Also there came to her one William Kede, and John his Brother, not only Brethren in the flesh, but also in the Truth, and men in that Country of great credit, whose Father R. Kele all his life suffered nothing but trouble for the Gospel. These two good and faithful Brethren were present with her, both in the Hall, and also at the Prison, and (as they reported) they never heard the like Woman, of so godly talk, so faithful or so constant; and as godly Exhortations she gave them.

Thus this good Matron, the very Servant and Hand-maid of Christ, was by many ways tried, both by hard Imprisonment, threatnings, taunts and scorn, called an Anabaptist, a mad Woman, a Dunkard, a Whore, a Runnagate. She was proved by liberty to go whither she would; she was tried by flattery, with many fair promises; she was tried with her Husband, her goods and Children; but nothing could prevail, her heart was fixed, she had cast her Anchor, utterly condemning this wicked world; a rare example of constancy to all Professors of Christs Gospel.

In the Bill of my Information, it is so reported to me, that albeit she was of such simplicity, and without learning, yet you could declare no place of Scripture, but she would tell you the Chapter; yea, she would recite you the names of all the Books of the Bible. For which cause one Gregory Bessler, a rank Papist, said she was out of her wit, and talked of the Scripture, as a Dog rangeth far off from his Master when he walketh in the fields, or as a stolen Sheep out of his Masters hands, the wilest not whereat, as all Heretics do; with many other such taunts, which she utterly defied. Whereby as Almighty God is highly to be praised, working so mightily in such a weak Vessel, so men of stronger and flouter nature, have also to take example how to stand in like case; when as we see this poor Woman, how manfully she went through with such constancy and patience.

At the last, when they perceived her to be past remedy, and had consumed all their threatnings, that neither by prisonment nor liberty, by menaces nor flattery, they could bring her to sing any other Song, nor win her to their vanities and superstitious doings, then they cried out, *An Anabaptist, an Anabaptist*. Then at that day they brought her from the Bishops Prison to the Guild-Hall, and after that delivered her to the Temporal Power, according to their custom, where she was by the Gentlemen of the Country exhorted yet to call for grace, and to leave her fond Opinions; and go home to thy Husband, said they, thou art an unlearned Woman, thou art not able to answer to such high matters. I am not, said she, yet with my death I am content to be a witness of Christs death: and I pray you will make no longer delay with me; my heart is fixed, I will never otherwise say, nor turn to their superstitious doings.

Then the Bishop said, the Devil did lead her. No, my Lord, said she, it is the Spirit of God which leadeth me, and which called me in my Bed, and at midnight opened his Truth to me. Then was there a great shout and laughing among the Priests and other.

During the time that this good poor Woman was thus under these Priests hands, amongst many other baitings and sore conflicts which she sustained by them, here is moreover not to be forgotten, how that Master Blaxton aforesaid, being the Treasurer of the Church, had a Concubine, which sundry times resorted to him, with other of his Gossips; so that always when they came, this said good Woman was called forth to his House, there to make his Minion with the rest of the Company some mirth, he examining her with such mocking and gins, devising the Truth, that it would have vexed any Christian.

The constancy of this Woman, tried, many ways.

The constancy of this Woman, and Martyr to her recant.

The Woman brought from the Bishops Prison to the Guild-Hall, exhortations to leave her recant.

The constancy of this Woman.

Blasphemy of the Bishop, and how God revealed his Truth unto her.

Anno
1558.

Christian heart to have seen it. Then when he had long used his foolishness in this sort, and had sported himself enough in deriding this Christian Martyr; in the end he sent her to Prison again, and there kept her very miserably, saying that sometimes he would fend for her, when his aforesaid guest came to him, to use with her his accustomed folly aforesaid. But in fine, these vile wretches (after many combats and scoffing persuasions) when they had played the part of the Cat with the Mouse, at length condemned her, and delivered her over to the Secular Power.

Judgment
given against
this good
Woman.

Then the Indictment being given and read, which was, that she should go to the place whence she came, and from thence to be led to the place of execution, then and thereto be burned with flames till she should be con-

fumed; she lifted up her voice and thanked God, saying, I thank thee my Lord my God; this day have I found that which I have long sought. But such out-cries as there were again, and such mockings were never seen upon a poor silly Woman: All which she most patiently took. And yet this favour they pretended after her Judgment, that her life should be spared, if she would turn and recant. Nay, that will I not (said she:) God forbid that I should lose the life eternal for this carnal and short life. I will never turn from my Heavenly Husband, to my Earthly Husband; from the fellowship of Angels to mortal Children: And if my Husband and Children be faithful, then am I theirs; God is my Father, God is my Mother, God is my Sister, my Brother, my Kinsman, God is my Friend most faithful.

she thanked
God for her
Judgment
given.

The patient Martyrdom of a poor woman at Exeter, being one Preits wife.



The Woman
delivered to
the Sheriff,
and led to
the place of
execution.

Then was she delivered to the Sheriff, and innumerable People beholding her, she was led by the Officers to the place of execution, without the Walls of Exeter, called *Sotthenby*, where again these superstitious Priests assaulted her; and she prayed them to have no more talk with her, but cryed still; God be mercifull to me a sinner, God be mercifull to me a sinner. And so whilst they were tying her to the stake, thus still she cryed, and would give no answer to them, but with much patience took her cruel death, and was with the flames and fire consumed; and so ended this mortal life, as constant a Woman in the Faith of Christ, as ever was upon the Earth. Shee was as simple a Woman to see to as any Man might behold; of a very little and short stature, somewhat thick, about 54. years of age. She had a cheerful countenance, so lively, as though she had been prepared for that day of her Marriage to meet the Lamb; most patient of her words and answers; sober in apparel, meat and drink, and would never be idle; a great comfort to as many as would talk with her; good to the poor; and in her trouble, moony, she said, she would take none; for she said, I am going to a City, where many beareth no malice; whilst I am here God hath promised to feed me. Thus was her mortal life ended. For whose constancy God be everlastingly praised, Amen.

Touching the name of this Woman (as I have now learned) she was the Wife of one called *Preit*, dwelling in the Diocess of *Exeter*, not far from *Launceston*.

Two godly Martyrs burned at Bristol Anno 1557.



The persecution and Martyrdom of three godly men burnt at Bristol, about the latter years of Q. Mary's Reign.

In writing of the blessed Sins which suffered in the Bloody days of *Queen Mary*, I had almost overlooked the names and story of three godly Martyrs, which with their Blood gave Testimony likewise to the Gospel of Christ, being condemned and burnt in the Town of *Bristow*. The names of whom were these:

Richard Sharpe,
Thomas Benion, Martyrs.
Thomas Hale.

First, *Richard Sharp Weaver of Bristow*, was brought the ninth day of *March*, Anno 1556. before *Master Dalby*, Chancellor of the Town or City of *Bristow*, and after examination concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, was persuaded by the said *Dalby* and others to recant, and the twenty ninth of the same Month was enjoined to make his recantation before the Parishioners in his Parish Church. Which when he had done, he felt in his Conscience such a tormenting Hell, that he was not able quietly to work in his occupation, but decayed and changed both in colour and liking of his Body. Who shortly after upon *Sunday* came into his Parish Church, called *Temple*, and after high Mass, came to the Quire Door, and said with a loud voice; Neighbours, bear me record that yonder Idol (and pointed to the Altar) is the greatest and most abominable that ever was; and I am sorry that ever I denied my Lord God. Then the Constables were commanded to apprehend him, but none stepped forth, but suffered him to go out of the Church. After, by night he was apprehended

The story of
3 Martyrs
which I have
treated at
Bristol.

R. h. Sharp
Martyr
Mr. Dalby
Chancellor
of Bristow,
persecutor.

R r r 3

and

*Th. Sharp
condemned*

and carried to *Newgate*, and shortly after he was brought before the Lord Chancellor, denying the Sacrament of the Altar to be the Body and Blood of Christ, and said, it was an Idol, and therefore was condemned to be burnt by the said *Dalby*. He was burnt the seventh of May 1557. and died godly, patiently, and constantly, confuting the Articles of our Faith.

Thomas Hale, Martyr.

*Th. Hale
Martyr.*

THe Thursday in the night before Easter; Anno 1557. came one Mr. David Harris Alderman, and John Stone, to the House of one Thomas Hale, a Shoemaker of *Bristow*, and caused him to rise out of his Bed, and brought him forth of his door. To whom the said Thomas Hale said, You have sought my Blood these two years, and now much good do you with it. Who being committed to the Watchmen, was carried to *Newgate* the twenty fourth of April, the year aforesaid, was brought before Mr. Dalby the Chancellor, committed by him to Prison, and after by him condemned to be burnt, for saying the Sacrament of the Altar to be

an Idol. He was burned the seventh of May with the fore said Richard Sharp, and godly, patiently, and constantly embraced the Fire with his arms. Anno 1558.

Richard Sharp and Thomas Hale were burnt both together in one fire, and bound back to back.

Thomas Benion.

Thomas Benion a Weaver, at the Commandment of the Commissioners, was brought by a Constable, the thirteenth day of August Anno, 1557. before Master Dalby Chancellor of *Bristow*, who committed him to Prison for saying there was nothing but Bread in the Sacrament, as they used it. Wherefore, the twentieth day of the said August he was condemned to be burnt by the said Dalby, for denying s. of their Sacraments, and affirming two, that is the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, and the Sacrament of Baptism. He was burnt the 27. of the said month and year, and died godly, Constantly, and patiently, with confessing the Articles of our Christian Faith.

Thomas Benion burnt at Bristoll Aug. 27. 1557.



The Martyrdoms of five goodly Martyrs at Canterbury Anno 1558. November 10.



The Martyrdom of five constant Christians, which suffered the last of all other in the time of Queen Mary.

Novemb. 10. The last that suffered in Queen Mary's time, were five at *Canterbury* burned about six days before the death of Queen Mary, whose names Follow here under written.

John Cornesford, of Worthing.
Christopher Brown, of Maidstone.
John Herft, of Ashford.
Alice Smith.
Katherine Knight, otherwise called Katherine Tynley, an aged Woman.

These five, to close up the final Rage of Queen Mary's Persecution, for the testimony of that Word, for which so many had died before, gave up their lives meekly and patiently, suffering the violent malice of the Papists. Which Papists, although they then might have either well spared them, or else deferred their death, knowing of the sickness of Queen Mary; yet such was the implacable despatch of that Generation, that some there be that say, the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* the same time being at *London*, and understanding the dan-

ger of the Queen, incontinently made all post-haste home to dispatch these, whom before he had then in his cruel custody.

The matter why they were judged to the Fire, was for believing the Body not to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, unless it be received; saying moreover, that we receive another thing also besides Christ's Body, which we see, and is a temporal thing, according to St. Paul, *The things that be seen, be temporal, &c.*

Item, for confessing that an evil man doth not receive Christ's Body, *Because no man hath the Son, except it be given him of the Father.*

Item, that it is Idolatry to creep to the Cross, and St. John forbidding it, *saith, Beware of Images.*

Item, for confessing that we should not pray to our Lady, and other Saints, because they be not Omnipotent.

For these and other such Articles of Christian Doctrine, were these five committed to the Fire. Against whom when the Sentence should be read, and they excommunicate, after the manner of the Papists, one of them, John Cornesford by Name, stirred with a vehement spirit of the Zeal of God, proceeding in a more true Excommunication against the Papists, in the name of them all, pronounced Sentence against them, in these words as follow:

An example of Gods works to be used.

In

Anno
1558.

In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the most mighty God, and by the power of his Holy Spirit, and the Authority of his Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church, we do here give into the Hands of Satan to be destroyed, the Bodies of all those Blasphemers and Hereticks, that do maintain any error against his most holy Word, or do condemn his most holy Truth for Herefie, to the maintenance of any false Church or feigned Religion, so that by this thy just judgement, O most mighty God, against thy Adversaries, thy True Religion may be known to thy great glory and our comfort, and to the edifying of all our Nation. Good Lord so be it, Amen.

The cruel
dealing of
Mr. Harpo-
field, the
Archdeacon
at Cant.

This Sentence of Excommunication being the same time openly pronounced and registred, proceeding so, as it seemeth, from an inward Faith and hearty zeal to Gods Truth and Religion, took such effect against the enemy, that within six days after Queen Mary dyed, and the Tyranny of all English Papists with her. Albeit, notwithstanding the Sicknes and Death of that Queen, wherof they were not ignorant; yet the Archdeacon, with other of Canterbury, thought to dispatch the Martyrdom of these Men before.

In the which fact, the tyranny of this Archdeacon seemeth to exceed the cruelty of Boner; who notwithstanding he had certain the same time under his custody, yet he was not so impurine in halting them to the fire, as appeareth by Father Lining and his Wife, and divers other, who being the same time under the custody and danger of Boner, were delivered by the death of Queen Mary, and remain yet some of them alive.

These godly Martyrs in their prayers which they made before their Martyrdom, desired God that their Blood might be the last that should be shed, and so it was.

This Katherine Tinley was the Mother of one Robert Tinley, now dwelling in Maidstone, which Robert was in trouble all Queen Marys time. To whom his Mother, coming to visit him, asked him how he took this place of Scripture which he had seen, not by reading of the Scripture (for he had yet in manner no taste of Religion) but had found it by chance in a Book of prayers, *I will pour out my Spirit upon all Flesh, and your Sons and your Daughters shall prophesie: your Old Men shall dream dreams, and your Young Men shall see Visions. And also upon the Servants, and upon the Maids in those days will I pour my Spirit, &c.* Which place after that he had expounded to her, she began to take hold on the Gospel, growing more and more in zeal and love thereof, and so continued unto her Martyrdom.

A note of
Alice Smith.

Among such young Women as were burned at Canterbury, it is recorded of a certain maid, and supposed to be this Alice Smith here in this story mentioned, or else to be Agnes Smith above storied, (for they were both burned) that when she was brought to be executed, she being at the Stake, calling for her Godfather and Godmothers. The Justice, hearing her, sent for them, but they durst not come. Notwithstanding the Justice willed the messenger to go again, and to shew them that they should incur no danger thereof.

Hereby Bp.
Boner may
see that the
Martyrs died
in the same
Faith, where-
in they were
Baptized by
their God-
fathers and
Godmothers.

Then, they hearing that, came to know the matter of their kending for. When the maid saw them, she asked them what they had promised for her, and so she immediately rehearsed her Faith, and the commandments of God, and required of them, if there were any more that they had promised in her behalf, and they said, No.

Then, said she, I die a Christian Woman, bear witness of mee, and so cruelly in fire was she consumed, and gave joyfully her life up for the Testimony of Christs Gospel, to the terrour of the wicked, and comfort of the godly, and also to the stopping of the slanderous mouths of such, as falsely do quarrel against the faithful Martyrs, for going from that Religion wherein by their Godfathers and Godmothers they were first Baptized.

The Story and Condemnation of John Hunt, and Richard White, ready to be burnt, but by the Death of Q. Mary escaped the fire.

The story
of J. Hunt,
and Richard
White.

Besides these Martyrs above named, divers there were in divers other places of the Realm imprisoned,

whereof some were but newly taken and not yet examined, some begun to be examined, but were not yet condemned, certain were both examined and condemned, but for lack of the Writ escaped.

Other there were also, both condemned, and the Writ also was brought down for their burning, and yet by the death of the Chancellor, the Bishop, and of Queen Mary happening together about one time, they most happily and marvellously were preserved, and lived many years after. In the number of whom was one John Hunt and Richard Whites, imprisoned at Salisbury. Touching which history something here is to be shewed.

First, these two good Men and faithful Servants of the Lord above named, to wit, John Hunt, and Richard White; had remained long time in Prison at Salisbury and other places thereabout, the space of two years and more. During which time, oft times they were called to examination, and manifold ways were impugned by the Bishops and the Priests. All whole examinations, as I thought not much needful here to prosecute or to search out, for the length of the Volume; so neither again did I think it good to leave no Memory at all of the same, but some part to express, namely of the Examination of Richard White before the B. of Salisbury, the B. of Gloucester, with the Chancellor and other Priests, not unworthy perchance to be rehearsed.

The Examination of Richard White, before the Bishop of Salisbury in his Chamber in Salisbury the 26. day of April, Anno 1557.

The Bishop of Salisbury at that time was Doctor Capon. The Bishop of Gloucester was Doctor Brookes. These with Doctor Geffery the Chancellor of Salisbury, and a great number of Priests sitting in judgement, Richard White was brought before them. With whom first the Bishop of Gloucester, which had the examination of him, beginneth thus.

Bishop Brookes. Is this the prisoner?

The Chancellor. Yes, my Lord.

Brookes. Friend, wherfore camest thou hither?

White. My Lord, I trust to know the cause: for the Law saith; In the Mouth of two or three witnesses things must stand.

Doctor Capon. Did not I examine thee of thy Faith when thou camest hither?

White. No, my Lord, you did not examine me, but commanded me to the Lollards Tower, and that no man should speak with me. And now I do require mine accuser.

Then the Register said; The Maior of Marlborough did apprehend you for words that you spake there; and for that I commanded you to be conveyed hither to Prison.

White. You had the examination of me in Marlborough. Say what I have said. And I will answer you.

Geffery. Thou shalt confess thy Faith ere thou depart; and therefore say thy mind freely, and be not ashamed so to do.

White. I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God to Salvation unto all that believe: and S. Peter saith; If any man do ask thee a reason of the hope that is in thee, make him a direct answer and that with meeknes. Who shall have the examination of me?

Chanc. My Lord of Gloucester shall have the examination of thee.

White. My Lord, will you take the pains to wet your coat in my Blood? be not guilty thereof; I warn you before hand.

Brookes. I will do nothing contrary to our Law.

White. My Lord, what is it that you do request at my hands?

Brookes. I will appose thee upon certain Articles, and principally upon the Sacrament of the Altar: How dost thou believe of the blessed Sacrament of the Altar?

Believest thou not the real, carnal, and corporal presence of Christ in the same, even the very same Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was hanged on the Cross and that suffered for our sins? (and at these words they all put off their caps, and bowed their Bodies.)

Examination
of Richard
White.

The Maior
of Marl-
borough
persecutor.

The Sacra-
ment of the
Altar.

White.

White. My Lord, what is a Sacrament?
Brooks. It is the thing it self the which it representeth.

White. My Lord, that cannot be; for he that representeth a Prince, cannot be the Prince himself.

Bro. How many Sacraments findeth thou in the Scriptures called by the name of Sacraments?

White. I find two Sacraments in the Scriptures, but not called by the names of Sacramenta. But I think St. *Augustine* gave them the first name of Sacraments.

Brooks. Then thou findest not that word Sacrament in the Scriptures.

White. No, my Lord.

Brooks. Did not Christ say, This is my Body? and are not his words true?

White. I am sure the words are true; but you play by me as the Devil did by Christ: for he said, *If thou be, Mar. 4. For, it is, &c. P[er] al. 91.* But the words that followed after be clean left out, which are these: *Thou shalt walk upon the Lion and Asp, &c.* These words the Devil left out, because they were spoken against himself; and even so do you recite the Scriptures.

Brooks. Declare thy Faith upon the Sacrament.

White. Christ and his Sacraments are like, because of the Natures; for in Christ are two Natures, a divine and an humane Nature; so likewise in the Sacraments of Christ's Body and Blood there be two Natures, the which I divide into two parts, that is, external and internal. The external part is the Element of Bread and Wine, according to the saying of Saint *Augustine*. The internal part is the invisible Grace, which, by the same is represented. So is there an external receiving of the same Sacrament, and an internal. The external is with the hand, the eye, the mouth, and the ear. The internal is by the Holy Ghost in the heart, which worketh in me Faith. Whereby I apprehend all the merits of Christ, applying the same wholly unto my Salvation. If this be truth, believe it; and if it be not, reprove it.

Dr. Hoskins. This is *Oecolampadius* Doctrine, and Hooper taught it the people.

Brooks. Dost thou not believe, that after the words of Consecration there is the natural Presence of Christ's Body?

White. My Lord, I will answer you, if you will answer me to one question. Is not this Article of our belief true; *He sitteth at the Right hand of God the Father Almighty*: If he be come from thence to judgment, say so.

Brook. No. But if thou wilt believe the Scriptures, I will prove to thee that Christ was both in Heaven and in earth at one time.

White. As he is God, he is in all places; but as for his manhood, he is but in one place.

Brooks. St. Paul saith, *1 Cor. 15. Last of all he was seen of me, &c.* Here St. Paul saith he saw Christ, and St. Paul was not in Heaven.

White. St. Paul's chief purpose was by this place to prove the Resurrection. But how do you prove that Christ, when he appeared to St. Paul, was not still in Heaven; like as he was seen of *Stephen*, sitting at the Right Hand of God? St. *Augustine* saith, the Head that was in Heaven, did cry for the Body and members which were on the Earth, and said; *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* And was not Paul taken up into the third Heaven, where he might see Christ? as he witnesseth, *1 Cor. 15.* For there he doth but only say he saw Christ, but concerning the place he speaketh nothing. Wherefore this place of Scripture proveth not that Christ was both in Heaven and Earth at one time.

Brook. I told you before he would not believe. Here be three opinions, the Lutherans, the *Oecolampadians*, and we the Catholics. If you the *Oecolampadians* have the truth; then the Lutherans and we the Catholics be out of the way. If the Lutherans have the truth, then you the *Oecolampadians* and we the Catholics be out of the way. But if we the Catholics have the truth, as we have indeed, then the Lutherans and you the *Oecolampadians* are out of the way, as you are indeed, for the Lutherans do call you Heretics.

White. My Lord, ye have troubled me greatly with the Scriptures.

Brooks. Did I not tell you it was not possible to remove him from his error? Away with him to the *Lehards Tower*, and dispatch him as soon as ye can.

This was the effect of my first Examination. More Examinations I had after this, which I have no time now to write out.

Amongst many other examinations of the forehead *Richard White*, at divers and sundry times sustained, it happened one time, that Doctor *blackstone* Chancellor of *Exeter* fate upon him, with divers other; who alledging certain Doctors, as *Chrysostome*, *Cyprian*, *Tertullian*, against the said *Richard*, and being false patching of the Doctors, reproved by him for his fell in such a quaking and shaking (his Confidence belike remorsing him) that hee was fain, stooping down, to lay both his hands upon his knees to flay his Body from trembling.

Then the said *John Hunt* and *Richard White*, after many examinations and long captivity, at length were called for, and brought before Doctor *Geffrey* the Bishops Chancellor, there to be condemned, and so they were. The high Sheriff at that present was one named *Sir Anthony Hungerford*, who being then at the Sessions, was there charged with these two condemned persons, with other malefactors there condemned likewise the same time, to see the execution of Death mislaid unto them.

In the mean time Master *Clifford* of *Bejco* in *Wiltshire*, Son-in-law to the said *Sir Anthony Hungerford* the Sheriff, cometh to his Father, exhorting him and counselling him earnestly in no case to meddle with the Death of these two innocent persons; and if the Chancellor and Priests would needs be inflamed upon him, yet he should first require the Writ to be sent down *De cumbarendo* for his discharge.

Sir Anthony Hungerford hearing this, and understanding Justice *Brown* to be in the Town the same time, went to him to ask his advice and Counsel in the matter: who told him that without the Writ sent down from the Superiour Powers, he could not be discharged, and if the Writ were sent, then he must by the law do his charge.

The Sheriff understanding by Justice *Brown* how far he might go by the Law, and having at that time no Writ for his warrant, let them alone, and the next day after taking his Horse, departed.

The Chancellor all this while marvelling what the Sheriff meant, and yet disdaining to go unto him, but looking rather the other should have come first to him, at last hearing that hee was ridden away, taketh his Horse and rideth after him; who, at length overtaking the said Sheriff, declared unto him how he had committed certain condemned prisoners to his hand, whose duty had been to have seen execution done, the matter he said was great, and therefore willed him to look well unto it how he would answer the matter. And thus began he fiercely to lay to his charge.

Wherein note (gentle Reader) by the way, the close and covert hypocrisie of the Papists in their dealings. Who in the form and stile of their own Sentence Condemnatory, pretend a Petition unto the Secular Power, *In visceribus Jesu Christi, ut iuris rigor mitigetur, atque ut parcatur vis.* That is, that the rigour of the Law may be mitigated, and that their life may be spared. And how standeth this now with their own doings and dealings, when this Chancellor (as ye see) is not only contented to give Sentence against them, but also hunteth after the Officer, not suffering him to spare them, although he would? What dissimulation is this of Men, going and doing contrary to their own words and profession? But let us return to our matter again.

The Sheriff hearing the Chancellors words, and seeing him so urging upon him, told him again that hee was no Babe, which now was to be taught of him. If he had any Writ to warrant and discharge him in burning those Men, then he knew what he had to do. Why, saith the Chancellor, did not I give you a Writ, with my hand and eight more of the Close set unto the same? Well, quoth the Sheriff, that is no sufficient discharge for me; and therefore as I told you, if ye have a sufficient Writ and Warrant from the Superiour Powers, I know then what I have to do in my office: otherwise, if ye have

The name Sacrament not found in the Scriptures. How the Papists play with Scriptures, as the Devil did when he tempted Christ. Writs opinion of the Sacrament.

Double receiving of the Sacrament, external, internal.

A popish paradox: Christ's Body both in Heaven and in Earth at one time.

How St. Paul saw Christ. Supra. T. 1. 24.

Th. Trause leaveth the Scripture, and proveth the Sacrament by other matter.

Ann. 1558.

The trembling and shaking of Richard White at the examination of his forehead.

Condemnation of John Hunt and R. White.

The Christian zeal of Mr. Clifford.

Example of Christian piety in a Sheriff to be noted.

A note to be observed concerning the Papists' dealings.

The Papists charged with manifest dissimulation.

1558. no other Writ but that, I tell you, I wil neither burn them for you nor any of you all, &c.

Where note again (good Reader) how by this it may be thought and supposed, that the other poor Saints and Martyrs of God, such as had been burned at *Salisbury* before, were burned belike without any authorised or sufficient Writ from the Superiors, but only upon the information of the Chancellor and of the Close, through the uncircumspect negligence of the Sheriffs, which should have looked more substantially upon the matter. But this I leave and refer unto the Magistrates. Let us return to the story again.

Doſor Geftery the Chancellor thus sent away from the Sheriff, went home, and there fell sick upon the same (for anger belike) as they signified unto me, which were the parties themselves, both godly and grave persons, who were then condemned, the one of them, which is *Richard White*, being yet alive.

The under Sheriff to this Sir *Anthony Hungerford* above named, was one *Maſter Micchell*, likewise a right and a perfect godly Man. So that not long after this came down the Writ to burn the above named *Richard White*, and *John Hunt*, but the under Sheriff receiving the said Writ laid; I will not be guilty (quoth he) of their Mens Blood, and immediately burnt the writing, and departed his way. Within four days after the Chancellor died. Concerning whose Death this cometh by the way to be noted, that these two foresaid, *John Hunt*, and *Rich. White*, being the same time in a low and dark Dungeon, being *Saturday*, toward evening (according to their accustomed manner) fell to evening prayer. Who kneeling these together, as they should begin their prayer: suddenly fell both to such a strange weeping and tenderness of heart (but how they could not tell) that they could not pray one word, but so continued a great space, burſting out in tears. After that night was past, and the morning come, the first word they heard, was that the Chancellor their great enemy was dead. The time of whose death they found to be the same hour, when as they fell in such a sudden weeping. The Lord in all his works be prayed, Amen. Thus much concerning the death of that wicked Chancellor.

This *Rich. White* and the said *John Hunt*, after the death of the Chancellor, the Bishop also being dead a little before, continued still in Prison till the happy coming in of Queen *Elizabeth*: and so were at liberty.

The Martyrdom of a young lad of eight years old, scourged to death in Bishop Boners House in London.

IF bloody Torments and cruel Death of a poor Innocent, suffering for no cause of his own, but in the Truth of Christ and his Religion, do make a Martyr, no less deserving the Child of one *John Fetty* to be reputed in the Catalogue of Holy Martyrs, who in the house of *Bp. Bomer* unmercifully was scourged to death, as by the sequel of this story here following may appear.

Amongst those that were persecuted and miserably imprisoned for the profession of Christs Gospel, and yet mercifully delivered by the providence of God, there was one *John Fetty*, a simple and godly Poor Man, dwelling in the Parish of *Clerkenwel*, and was by vocation a Taylor, of the age of 24. years or thereabout, who was accused and complained of unto one *Brokenbury* a Priest and Parson of the same Parish, by his own Wife, for that he would not come unto the Church, and be partaker of their Idolatry and Superstition; and therefore, through the said Priests procurement, he was apprehended by *Richard Tanner* and his fellow Constables there, and one *Martin* the Headborow. Howbeit immediately upon his apprehension, his Wife (by the just judgment of God) was stricken mad, and distracted of her wits; which declared a marvellous example of the justice of God against such unfaithful and most unnatural treachery. And although this example perhaps for lack of knowledge and instruction in such cases little moved the Consciences of these simple Poor Men to furcise their persecution; yet natural pity towards that ungrateful Woman wrought so in

their hearts, that for the preservation and sustentation of her and her two Children (like otherwise to perish) they for that present let her Husband alone, and would not carry him to Prison, but yet suffered him to remain quietly in his own house. During which time, he as it were forgetting the wicked and unkind fact of his Wife, did yet so cherish and provide for her, that within the space of three weeks (through Gods merciful providence) she was well amended, and had recovered again some Ray of her wits and senses.

But such was the power of Sathan in the malicious heart of that wicked Woman, that notwithstanding his gentle dealing with her, yet she so soon as he had recovered some health, did again accuse her Husband; whereupon he was the second time apprehended, and carried unto Sir *John Mordant* Knight, one of the Queens Commissioners, and he upon examination sent him by *Clany* the Bishops Sumner, unto the *Lollards Tower*: where he was (even at the first) put into the painful Stocks, and had a dish of water set by him, with a stone put into it. To what purpose God knoweth, except it were to show that he should look for little other succourance. Which is credible enough, if we consider their like practices upon divers before mentioned in this history, as amongst other, upon *Richard Smith*, who died through their cruel imprisonment; Touching whom, when a godly Woman came to Dr. *Story*, to have leave that he might bury him, he asked her if he had any straw or Blood in his Mouth; but what he meant thereby, I leave to the judgment of the godly Wit.

After the foresaid *Fetty* had thus lain in the Prison by the space of 15. days, hanging in the stocks, sometime by the one leg, and the one Arm, sometime by the other, and otherwhiles by both, it hapned that one of his Children (a boy of the age of 3. or 9. years) came unto the Bishops house to see if he could get leave to speak with his Father. At his coming thither, one of the Bishops Chaplains met with him, and asked him what he lacked and whom he would have. The Child answered, that he came to see his Father. The Chaplain asked again who was his Father. The boy then told him, and pointing towards *Lollards Tower*, shewed him that his Father was there in Prison. Why (quoth the Priest) thy Father is an Heretic. The Child being of a bold and quick Spirit, and also godly brought up, and instructed by his Father in the knowledge of God, answered and said; My Father is no Heretic: For you have *Balaams* Mark.

With that the Priest took the Child by the hand, and carried him into the Bishops house (whether to the Bishop or not, I know not, but like enough he did) and there amongst them they did most shamefully and without all pity so whip and scourge, being naked, this tender Child, that he was all in a gore Blood, and then in jolly brag of their Catholick Tyranny, they caused *Clany*, having his Coat upon his Arm to carry the Child in his shirt unto his Father being in Prison, the Blood running down by his heels.

At his coming unto his Father the Child fell down upon his knees, and asked him blessing. The Poor Man then beholding his Child, and seeing him so cruelly arrayed, cried out for sorrow, and said; Alas *Will*, who hath done this to thee? The Boy answered, that as he seeking how to come to see his Father, a Priest with *Balaams* Mark took him into the Bishops house, and there was he so handled. *Clany* therewith violently plucked the Child away out of his Fathers Hands, and carried him back again into the Bishops house, where they kept him three days after.

And at the three days end, *Boner* (minding to make the matter whole, and somewhat to appease the Poor Man, for this their horrible fact) determined to release him; and therefore caused him early in a morning to be brought out of *Lollards Tower* into his bed-chamber, where he found the Bishop bathing of himself against a great fire, and at his first entering into the chamber, *Fetty* said, God be here and peace. God be here and peace (quoth *Boner*) that is neither God speed, nor good morrow. If ye kick against this peace (said *Fetty*) then this is not the place that I seek for.

The Wife persecuting her Husband, John Fetty again apprehended. The drake handling of Sir John Mordant.

Rich. Smiths death in prison through cruel handling.

The cruel handling & scourging of John Fettys Child.

The miserable tyranny of the Papists in scourging a Child.

The Child all bloody brought to his Father in prison.

They carry the boy again to the B. house.

The words between Boner and John Fetty.

A Chaplain of the Bishops standing by turned the Poor Man about, and thinking to deface him, said in mocking wise; What have we here? A player? whilst this Feiry was standing in the Bishops Chamber, he espied hanging about the Bishops Bed a great pair of Black Beads: whereupon he said; My Lord, I think the Hangman is not far off; for the Halter (pointing to the Beads) is here already. At which words the Bishop was in a marvellous rage.

Then immediately after he espied also standing in the said Bishops Chamber in the Window a little Crucifix; (before which belike Boner used to kneel in the time of his hypocritical prayers.) Then he asked the Bishop what it was, and he answered that it was Christ. Was he handled so cruelly as he is here pictured, quoth Feiry? Yea, that he was, said the Bishop.

And even so cruelly will you handle such as come before you. For you are unto Gods People as Capbas was unto Christ.

The Bishop being in a great fury, said; Thou art a vile Heretick, and I will beat thee, or else I will spend all that I have unto my gown.

Nay, my Lord, said Feiry, ye were better to give it a Poor Body, that he may pray for you. But yet Boner betlinking in himself of the danger that the Child was in by their whipping, and what peril might ensue thereupon, thought better to discharge him; which thing was accomplished.

Whereupon, after this and such like talk, the Bishop at last discharged him, willing him to go home, and carry his Child with him; which he so did, and that with a heavy heart to see his Poor Boy in such extreme pain and grief. But within fourteen days after the Child died, whether through his cruel scourging, or any other infirmity, I know not; and therefore I refer the truth thereof unto the Lord, who knoweth all secrets, and also to the discreet judgment of the wise Reader. But howsoever it was, the Lord yet used their cruel and detestable fact, as a means of his providence for the delivery of this good Poor Man and faithful Christian, his name be ever prayed therefore, Amen.

The cruel handling and burning of Nicholas Burton, Englishman and Merchant in Spain.

Forasmuch as in our former Book of Acts and Monuments mention was made of the Martyrdom of Nicholas Burton, I thought here also not to omit the same story, being such as is not unworthy to be known, as well for the profitable example of his singular constancy, as also for the noting of the extreme dealing and cruel revenging of those Catholick Inquisitors of Spain, who under the pretended vifor of Religion, do nothing but seek their own private gain and commodity, with crafty riling and fjoying of other Mens goods, as by the noting of this story may appear.

The fifth day of the Month of November, about the year of our Lord God, 1560, this Nicholas Burton, Citizen sometime of London and Merchant, dwelling in the Parish of little Saint Bartholomew, peaceably and quietly following his traffique in the trade of Merchandife, and being in the City of Cadix, in the party of Andalusia in Spain, there came into his lodging a Judas (or as they term them) a Familiar of the Fathers of the Inquisition. Who asking for the said Nicholas Burton, fained that he had a letter to deliver to his own hands; by which means he shoke with him immediately. And having no letter to deliver to him, then the said Promoter or Familiar, at the motion of the Diwel his Master, whose messenger he was, invented another lie, and said, that he would take lading for London in such ships as the said Nicholas Burton had fained to lade; if he would let any; which was partly to know where he laded his goods, that they might attach them, and chiefly to detain the time until the Alguisil or Sergeant of the said Inquisition might come and apprehend the Body of the said Nicholas Burton; which they did continually.

Who then, well perceiving that they were not able to lade nor charge him that he had witten, spoken, or done any thing there in that Country against the Ecclesiastica, or Temporal Laws of the same Realm, boldly

asked them what they had to lay to his charge that they did so arrest him and bade them to declare the cause, and he would answer them. Now justifying they answered nothing, but commanded him with cruel threatening words to hold his peace, and not to speak one word to them.

And so they carried him to the cruel and filthy common Prison of the Town of Cadix, where he remained in Irons fourteen days amongst thieves.

At which time he so instructed the poor Prisoners in the Word of God, according to the good talent which God had given him in that behalf, and also in the Spanish Tongue to utter the same, that in short space he had well reclaimed sundry of those Superstitious and Ignorant Spaniards to embrace the Word of God, and to reject their Popish Traditions.

Which being known unto the Officers of the Inquisition, they conveyed him laden with Irons from thence to a City called Sivill, into a more cruel and ftraiter Prison called Triana, where the said Fathers of the Inquisition proceeded against him secretly according to their accustomable cruel tyranny, that never after he could be suffered to write or to speak to any of his nation; so that to this day it is unknown who was his accuser.

Afterward, the 20. day of December, in the foresaid year, they brought the said Nicholas Burton, with a great number of other prisoners, for professing the true Christian Religion, into the City of Sivill, to a place where the said Inquisitors fate in judgment, which they called Autos, with a Canvas Coat, whereupon in divers parts was painted the figure of a huge Diwel, tormenting a Soul in a flame of fire, and on his head a copping tank of the same work.

His tongue was forced out of his mouth with a cloven stick fastened upon it, that he should not utter his Conscience and Faith to the People, and so he was fet with another English Man of Southhampton, and divers other condemned Men for Religion, as well French Men, as Spaniards, upon a Scaffold over against the said Inquisition, where their Sentences and judgments were read and pronounced against them.

And immediately after the said Sentences given, they were carried from thence to the place of execution without the City, where they most cruelly burned him, for whose constant Faith, God be praised.

This Nicholas Burton by the way, and in the flames of the fire made so cheerful a Countenance, embracing Death with all patience and gladness, that the tormentors and enemies which stood by, said that the Diwel had his Soul before he came to the fire; and therefore they said his senses of feeling were past him.

It hapned that after the arrest of this Nicholas Burton aforesaid, immediately all the goods and merchandife which he brought with him into Spain by the way of traffick, were (according to their common usage) seized, and taken into the Sequefter; among the which they also rolled up much that appertained to another English Merchant, wherewith he was credited as Factor. Whereof so soon as news was brought to the Merchant as well of the imprisonment of his Factor, as of the arrest made upon his goods, he sent his Attorney into Spain with Authority from him, to make claim to his goods, and to demand them; whose name was John Frowton, Citizen of Brisfow.

When his Attorney was landed at Sivill, and had shewed all his Letters and writings to the Holy House, requiring them that such goods might be delivered into his possession, answer was made him that he must sue by Bill, and retain an Advocate (but all was doubtless to delay him) and they forsooth of courtesie assigned him one to frame his Supplication for him, and other such Bills of petition, as he had to exhibit into their Holy Court, demanding for each Bill 8. Rials, albeit they stood him in no more stead, than if he had put up none at all. And for the space of three or four Months this fellow missed not twice a day, attending every morning and after-noon at the Inquisitors Palace, suing unto them upon his knees for his dispatch, but especially to the Bishop of Tarragon, who was at that very time chief in the Inquisition at Sivill, that he of his absolute Authority would command restitution to be made thereof;

Anno

1558.

W

Nic. Burton said in prison, they having no cause to charge him with.

Nic. Burton carried to Sivill.

Nic. Burton brought to judgment after a disguised manner.

Nic. Burton with another King's man of Southhampton condemned.

The trouble of Jo. Frowton, Citizen of Brisfow in Spain.

but

Anno
1558.

The manner of the Popish Spaniards in carrying Nicholas Burton a blessed Martyr of Christ after most spitefull sort to the burning.



but the Booty was so good and so great, that it was very hard to come by it again.

At the length, after he had spent whole four Months in suits and requests, and also to no purpose, he received this Answer from them, that he must shew better evidence, and bring more sufficient Certificates out of England, for proof of this matter, than those which he had already presented to the Court. Whereupon the party forthwith posted to London, and with all speed returned to Spain again with more ample and large Letters Testimonial and Certificates, according to their requests, and exhibited them to the Court.

Notwithstanding the Inquisitors still shifted him off, excusing themselves by lack of leisure, and for that they were occupied in greater and more weighty Affairs, and with such Answers delayed him other four Months after.

At the last, when the party had well-nigh spent all his Money, and therefore sued the more earnestly for his dispatch, they referred the matter wholly to the Bishop. Of whom, when he repaired unto him, he made this Answer, That for himself, he knew what he had to do; howbeit he was but one man, and the determination of the matter appertained unto the other Commissioners as well as unto him: and thus by posting and passing it from one to another, the party could obtain no end of his Suit. Yet, for his importunity sake, they were resolved to dispatch him, it was on this sort: One of the Inquisitors called Gasco, a man very well experienced in these practices, willed the party to resort unto him after Dinner.

The Fellow being glad to hear these News, and supposing that his goods should be restored unto him, and that he was called in for that purpose to talk with the other that was in Prison, to confer with him about their Accounts, the rather through a little misunderstanding, hearing the Inquisitors cast out a word, that it should be needful for him to talk with the Prisoner, and being thereupon more than half perswaded, that at the length they meant good Faith, did so, and repaired thither about the Evening. Immediately upon his coming, the Gaoler was forthwith charged with him, to shut him up close in such a certain Prison, where they appointed him.

The party hoping at the first that he had been called for about some other matter, and seeing himself contrary to his expectation cast into a dark Dungeon, perceived at the length that the world went with him far otherwise than he supposed it would have done.

But within two or three days after, he was brought forth into the Court, where he began to demand his goods; and because it was a device that well served their turn, without any more circumstance they bade him say his Ave Maria. The party began and said it after this manner; Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus, Amen.

The same was written word by word as he spake it, and without any more talk of claiming his goods, because it was bootless, they command him to Prison again, and enter an Action against him as an Heretick, inasmuch as he did not say his Ave Maria after the Romish fashion, but ended it very suspiciously, for he should have added moreover; Sancta Maria mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus; by abbreviating whereof, it was evident enough (said they) that he did not allow the mediation of Saints.

Thus they picked a quarrel to detain him in Prison a longer season, and afterwards brought him forth into their Stage disguised after their manner: where Sentence was given, that he should lose all the goods which he sued for, though they were not his own, and besides this suffer a years Imprisonment.

The Martyrdom of another Englishman in Spain.

AT what time this blessed Martyr of Christ suffered, which was the year of our Lord 1560. December 22. there suffered also another Englishman, with other thirteen, one of them being a Nun, another a Prier, both constant in the Lord, of which thirteen read before.

John Baker, and William Burgate, Martyrs.

John Baker and William Burgate, both Englishmen in Castile, in the Country of Spain, were apprehended, and in the City of Sivill burned the second day of November.

Mark Burges, and William Hoker, Martyrs.

Mark Burges, an Englishman, Master of an English Ship called the *Mimion*, was burned in Lisbon, a City in Portugal, Anno 1560.

William

Note the
evening
exhortation of
these Inqui-
sitors.

The vile
proceedings
of the In-
quisitors of
Spain.

J. Fronton
imprisoned
by the Spa-
nish Inqui-
sitors for
asking his
own goods.

J. Fronton
judged for
an Heretick,
for not ad-
ding to
Ave Maria,
more than
the Scrip-
ture hath.

A quarrel
picked a-
gainst the
English
Merchant
to spoil him
of his
goods.

Another
Englishman
burnt in
Spain, read
before.

John Baker,
W. Burgate,
Martyrs in
Spain.

Mark Burges
burnt in
Lisbon.

W. Hoker
stoned to death
Sivil.

William Hoker a young man, about the age of Sixteen years, being an Englishman, was stoned to death of certain young men there in the City of *Sivil*, for the Confession of his Faith. Anno 1560.

But of these and such other acts and matters past in Spain, because they fell not within the compass of *Q. Maryes* Reign, but since her time, another place shall serve hereafter (the Lord willing) to intreat more at large of the same, when we come to the years and reign of the Queen that now is, where we have more conveniently to infer not only of these matters of the Martyrs (whereof somewhat also hath been touched before) but also of the whole Inquisition of Spain and *Plackarde of Flawnders*, with the tragical tumults and troubles happening within the last memory of these our later days, according as it shall please the mercy of the Lord to enable our endeavour with grace and space to the accomplishment thereof.

A Chapter or Treatise concerning such as were Scourged and Whipped by the Papists in the true Cause of Christs Gospel.

A Chapter
concerning
such as
were Scourged for Religion.

Of this State read before.

And thus through the merciful assistance and favourable aid of Christ our Saviour, thou hast as in a general Register (good Reader) the story collected, if not of all, yet of the most part, or at least, not many I trust omitted of such good Saints and Martyrs as have lost their Lives, and given their Blood, or died in Prison for the Testimony of Christs true Doctrine and Sacraments, from the time of the cruel Statute first given out by King Henry the fourth *Ex officio*, unto this present time, and especially under the Reign of *Q. Mary*. Now after this bloody laughter of Gods good Saints and Servants thus ended and discurfed, let us proceed (by the good pleasure of the Lord) somewhat likewise to intreat of such as for the same cause of Religion have been, although not put to death, yet Whipped and Scourged by the Adversaries of Gods Word, first beginning with *Richard Wilmot* and *Thomas Fairfax*, who about the time of *Anne Askew*, were pitifully rent and tormented with Scourges and Stripes for their faithful standing to Christ, and of his Truth, as by the story and examination both of the said *Richard Wilmot*, and of *Thomas Fairfax* now following may appear.

The Scourging of Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax.

The Scourging of Rich. Wilmot and T. Fairfax. Dr. Cromes Sermons.

After the first Recantation of Doctor Cromes for his Sermon which he made the fifth Sunday in Lent at Saint Thomas Acrees, being the *Mercers Chappell*, his Sermon was on the Epistle of the same day, written in the Tenth Chapter to the *Hebrews*; wherein he proved very learnedly by the same place of Scripture and others, that Christ was the only and sufficient Sacrifice unto God the Father for the sins of the whole world, and that there was no more Sacrifice to be offered for sin by the Priests, forasmuch as Christ had offered his Body on the Crosse, and shed his Blood for the sins of the People, and that once for all. For the which Sermon he was apprehended of *Boner*, and brought before *Stephen Gardiner* and other of the Council where he promised to recant his Doctrine at *Pauls-Crosse*, the second Sunday after *Easter*. And accordingly he was there and preached, *Boner* with all his Doctors sitting before him: but he so preached and handled his matter, that he rather verified his former saying, than denied any part of that which he before had preached. For the which the Protestants praised God, and heartily rejoiced.

D. Cromes Recantation.

But Bishop *Boner* with his Champions were not therewith pleased, but yet notwithstanding they had him home with them, and so handled him among the Wolfish generation, that they made him come to the Crosse again the next Sunday.

Dr. Cromes caused to recant the second time.

And because the Magistrates should now hear him, and be witnesses of this Recantation which was most blasphemous, to deny Christs Sacrifice to be sufficient for penitent sinners, and to say that the Sacrifice of the Mass was good, godly, and a holy Sacrifice, propitiatory

and available both for the quick and the dead: Because Anno (I say) that they would have the Nobles to hear this blasphemous Doctrine, the vicious generation procured all the chief of the Council to be there present.

Now to come to our matter; at this time, the same week, between his first Sermon and the last, and while Doctor Cromes was in durance, one *Richard Wilmot* being Apprentice in *Bow-Lane*, being of the age of 18 in *Ben Lane*. R. Wilmot Apprentice in Ben Lane. and sitting at his work in his Masters Shop, the Tuesday, in the month of July, one *Lewes* a Welchman, being one of the Guard, came into the Shop, having things to do for himself.

One asked him what News at the Court, and he answered, that the old Heretick Dr. Cromes had recanted the now indeed before the Council, and that he should on Sunday next be at *Pauls-Crosse* again, and there declare it.

Then *Wilmot* sitting at his Masters Work, and hearing him speak these words, and rejoicing in the same, began to speak unto him, saying, that he was sorry to hear these News. For (said he) if Cromes should say otherwise than he had said, then is it contrary to the Truth of Gods Word, and contrary to his own Conscience, which shall before God accuse him.

Lewes answered and said, that he had preached and taught Heresie; and therefore it was meet that he should in such a place revoke it.

Wilmot told him that he would not so say, neither did he hear him preach any Doctrine contrary to Gods Word written, but that he proved his Doctrine, and that sufficiently by the Scriptures.

Lewes then asked him how he knew that. *Wilmot* answered, by the Scriptures of God, wherein he shall find Gods will and pleasure, what he willeth all men to do, and what not to do; and also by them he should prove and try all Doctrines, and the false Doctrine from the true.

Lewes said, it was never merry since the Bible was in English: and that he was both an Heretick and a Traitor that caused it to be translated into English (meaning *Cromwel*) and therefore was rewarded according to his deserts.

Wilmot answered again, what his deserts and offences were to his Prince a great many do not know, neither doth it force whether they do or no; Once, he was sure that he lost his life for offending his Prince, and the Law did put it in execution; Adding moreover concerning that man, that he thought it pleased God to raise him up from a low estate, and to place him in high Authority, partly unto this, that he should do that which all the Bishops in the Realm yet never did, in restoring again Gods holy Word, which being laid long before from the People in a strange Tongue, and now coming abroad amongst us, will bring our Bishops and Priests, said he, in less estimation among the People.

Lewes asked why so? *Wilmot* said, because their doctrine and living was not according to his Word.

Then said *Lewes*, I never heard but that all men should learn of the Bishops and Priests, because they are Learned men, and have been brought up in Learning all the days of their lives. Wherefore they must needs know the Truth, and our Fathers did believe their Doctrine and Learning, and I think they did well, for the world was far better then, than it is now.

Wilmot answered, I will not say so: For we must not believe them because they are Bishops, neither because they are Learned, neither because our Fathers did follow their Doctrine. For I have read in Gods Book, how that Bishops and Learned men have taught the People false Doctrine, and likewise the Priests from time to time and indeed those People our Fore-fathers believed as they taught, and as they did think, so did the People think. But for all this, Christ calleth them false Prophets, Thieves, and Murderers, blind leaders of the blind, willing the People to take heed of them, lest they should both fall into the Ditch.

Moreover we read, that the Bishops, Priests, and Learned men have been commonly resistors of the Truth from time to time, and have always persecuted the Prophets in the old Law, as their Successors did persecute

OUT

ANNO our Saviour Christ and his Disciples in the new Law. We must take heed therefore that we credit them no further than God will have us, neither follow them nor our Forefathers otherwise than he commandeth us. For Almighty God hath given to all People, as well to Kings and Princes, as Bishops, Priests, learned and unlearned men, a Commandment and Law, unto the which he willeth all men to be obedient. Therefore if any Bishop or Priest preach or teach, or Prince or Magistrate command any thing contrary to his commandment, we must take heed how we obey them. For it is better for us to obey God than man.

Marry Sir, quoth *Lewes*, you are an holy Doctor indeed. By Gods Blood if you were my man, I would fet you about your business a little better, and not suffer you to look upon Books, and so would your Master if he were wife. And with that in came his Master, and a young man with him, which was Servant with Mr. *Dawney* in *Walling-fee*.

His Master asked what the matter was, *Lewes* said, that he had a Knaveish Boy here to his Servant, and how that if he were his, he would rather hang him, than keep him in his house.

Then his Master, being somewhat moved, asked his fellows what the matter was.

They said, they began to talk about Dr. *Crome*, Then his Master asked him what he had said, swearing a great Oath, that he would make him to tell him.

He said, that he trusted he had said nothing, whereby either he or Master *Lewes* may justly be offended. I pray (quoth *Wilmet*) ask him what he said.

Marry (said *Lewes*) this he said, that Dr. *Crome* did preach and teach nothing but the Truth, and how that if he recant on *Sunday* next, he would be sorry to hear it, and that if he do, he is made to do it against his Conscience. And more he said, that we must not follow our Bishops Doctrine and preaching: For, said he, they be hinderers of Gods Word, and persecutors of that; and how *Cromwel* did more good (that Traytor) in setting forth the Bible, than all our Bishops have done these hundred years: thus reporting the matter worse then he had said.

Then said *Wilmet*, that in many things he made his Tale worse than it was. His Master hearing of this, was in a great fury, and rated him, saying, that either he would be hanged or burned, swearing that he would take away all his Books and burn them.

The young man (Mr. *Dawneys* Servant) standing by hearing this, began to speak on his part unto *Lewes*; and his talk confirmed all the sayings of the other to be true.

This young man was learned, his name was *Thomas Fairfax*. *Lewes* hearing this mans talk as well as the others went his way in a rage unto the Court.

On the morrow they heard news, so that the said *Wilmet* and *Thomas Fairfax* were sent for, to come to the Lord Mayor. The Messenger was Mr. *Smart*, Swordbearer of *London*. They came before dinner to the Mayors house, and were commanded to sit down at dinner in the Hall, and when the dinner was done, they were both called into a Parlour, where the Mayor and Sir *Roger Cholmley* was, who examined them severally, the one not hearing the other.

The effect of their talk with them was this; Sir *Roger Cholmley* said unto the foresaid *Wilmet*, that my Lord Mayor and he had received a Commandment from the Council, to fend for him and his Company, and to examine them of certain things which were laid unto their charge.

Then said Master *Cholmley* to him, Sirra, what Countryman art thou? He answered, that he was born in *Cambridge-shire*, and in such a Town. Then he asked him, how long he had been in the City. He told him.

Then he asked what learning he had. He said, little learning and small knowledge. Then (deridingly) he asked how long he had known Doctor *Crome*. He said, but a while, about two years. He said that he was a lying Boy; and said that he the said *Wilmet* was his Son.

The other said unto him, that was unlike, for that he never saw his Mother, nor the him. *Cholmley* said he lied. *Wilmet* said he could prove it to be true. Then he asked him how he liked his Sermon that he made at *Saint Thomas Acre* Cappel in *Lent*. He said that indeed he heard him not. He said, yes, and the other, nay. Then said he, what say you to his Sermon made at the *Crofs* the last day, heard you not that?

Wilmet. Yes, and in that Sermon he deceived a great number of People.

Cholmley. How so?

Wil. For that they looked that he should have recanted his Doctrine that he taught before, and did not, but rather confirmed it.

Cholm. Yea Sir, but how say you now to him? for he hath recanted before the council: and hath promised on *Sunday* next to be at the *Crofs* again, how think ye in that?

Wil. If he so did, I am the more sorry to hear it; and said, he thought he did it for fear and fainguard of his life.

Cholm. But what say you? was his first Sermon Heretic or not?

Wilmet. No, I suppose it was no Heretic. For if it *S. Pauls* were, *Saint Pauls* Epistle to the *Hebrews* was Heretic, *Doctrine* and *Paul* an Heretic that preached such Doctrine, but he with the God forbid that any Christian man should so think of the holy Apostle; neither do I so think.

Cholm. Why, how knowest thou that *Saint Paul* wrote those things that are in English now, to be true, whereas *Paul* never wrote English or Latin?

Wilmet. I am certified that Learned men of God, that did seek to advance his Word, did translate the same out of the Greek and Hebrew into Latin and English, and that they durst not presume to alter the sense of the Scripture of God, and last Will and Testament of Christ Jesus.

Then the Lord Mayor, being in a great fury, asked him what he had to do to read such Books, and said, that it was pity that his Master did suffer him so to do, and that he was not set better to work; and in fine said unto him, that he had spoken evil of my Lord of *Winchester* and *Boner*, those Reverend and Learned Fathers and Counsellors of this Realm, for the which his fact he saw no other but he must suffer, as was due to the time. And Mr. *Cholmley* said, yea my Lord, there are such a sort of Heretics and traitorly Knaves taken now in *Ellex* by my Lord *Rich*, that it is too wonderful to hear. They shall be sent to the Bishop shortly; and shall be hanged and burned all.

Wilmet. I am sorry to hear that of my Lord *Rich*, for that he was my Godfather, and gave me my name at my Baptism.

Cholm. asked him when he spake with him. He said; not these 12. years.

Cholm. If he knew that he were such a one, he would do the like by him, and in so doing he should do God great Service.

Wilmet. I have read the same saying in the Gospel, that Christ said to his Disciples, *The time shall come* (saith he) *that whosoever killeth you, shall think that he shall do God high Service.*

Well Sir, said *Cholmley*, because you are so full of your Scripture, and so well learned, we consider you lack a quiet place to study in. Therefore you shall go to a place where you shall be most quiet, and I would will you to study how you will answer to the Council of those things which they have to charge you with; for else it is like to cost you your best joynt. I know my Lord of *Winchester* will handle you well enough, when he heareth thus much. Then was the Officer called in, to have him to the Counter in the *Pauletry*, and the other to the other Counter, not one of them to see another; and thus remained they eight days. In the which time their Masters made great labour unto the Lord Mayor, and to Sir *Roger Cholmley*, to know their Offences, and that they might be delivered.

At length they procured the Wardens of the Company of *Drapers* to labour with them in their suit to the Mayor. The Mayor went with them to the Council: but at that time they could find no grace at *Winchesters* hand,

S f f

and

Learned men how far they are to be credited.

Wilmet complained of to his Master.

Mr. *Dawneys* Servant called T. *Fairfax* is called *Wilmet* part.

Wilmet and T. *Fairfax* sent for to the Lord Mayor.

R. *Wilmet* and T. *Fairfax* were examined before the Lord Mayor, and Mr. *Cholmley*.

Wilmet and T. *Fairfax* were committed to Prison.

Sizes made by the company of *Drapers* for R. *Wilmet* and T. *Fairfax*.

and Sir Anthony Browne, but that they had deserved death, and that they should have the Law.

At length through intreatance, he granted them thus much favour, that they should not die as they had deserved, but should be tied to a Carts Tail, and be whipped three Market days thorow the City. Thus they came home that day, and went another day, and the Mayor and the Wardens of the Company kneeled before them to have this open punishment released, forasmuch as they were Servants of so worshipful a Company, and that they might be punished in their own Hall before the Wardens and certain of the Company. At length it was granted with condition, as some said, as shall be hereafter declared.

Mr. Brookes
Misther of
the Compa-
ny of Dra-
pers.

Then were they sent before the Masters the next day to the Hall, both their Masters being also present, and there were laid to their charge the hainous offences by them committed, how they were both Hereticks and Traytors, and have deserved death for the same, and this was declared with a long proces by the Master of the Company, whose name was Master Brookes, declaring what great labour and suit the Mayor and the Wardens had made for them, to save them from death, which they (as he said) had deserved, and from open shame which they should have had, being judged by the Council to have been whipped three days through the City at a Carts Tail, and from these two dangers had they laboured to deliver them, but not without great suit and also charge. For (saith he) the Company hath promised unto the Council for this their mercy and favour shewed towards them, being of such a worshipful Company, a hundred pounds, notwithstanding we must see them punished in our Hall within our selves for those their offences. After these and many other words he commanded them to address themselves to receive their punishment.

R. Wilmot,
and Thomas
Yarleson
scourged in
Draperies
Hall.

Then were they put asunder, and stripped from the Waist upward one after another, and had into the Hall, and in the midst of the Hall, where they use to make their fire, there was a great ring of Iron, to the which there was a rope tied fast, and one of their Feet thereto fast tied.

Brookes a
cruel Ty-
rant.

Then came two men down, disguised in Mummers Apparel, with Vifors on their Faces, and they beat them with great Rods until the Blood did follow in their Bodies. As concerning this Wilmot, he could not lye in his Bed six nights after, for Brookes played the Tyrant with them. So it was, that with the beating and fright and fear, they were never in health since, as the said Wilmot with his own mouth hath credibly ascertained us, and we can no less but tell the same.

Thus have we briefly rehearsed this little tragedy, wherein we may note the malice of the enemies at all times to those which profess Christ, and take his part, of what estate or degree sever they be, according to the Apostles saying, *It is given unto you not only to believe, but also to suffer with him.* To whom be honour and glory, Amen.

Next after these two above specified, followeth the beating of one Thomas Green; who, in the time of Queen Mary, was caused likewise to be scourged and beaten by Dr. Story. What the cause was, here followeth in Story and Examination to be seen, which he penned with his own hand, as the thing it self will declare to the Reader. The Copy and words of the same, as he wrote them, here follow. Wherein as thou mayst note (gentle Reader) the simplicity of the one, I pray thee, mark the cruelty of the other part.

The Scourging of Thomas Green.

The scour-
ging of Tho-
mas Green.
The Master
promoteth
the Servant.

IN the Reign of Queen Mary, I Thomas Green being brought before Doctor Story by my Masters, whose name is John Wayland a Printer, for a Book called *Antichrist*, the which had been distributed to certain honest men; He asked me where I had the Book, and said I was a Traytor. I told him I had the Book of a French Man. Then he asked me more questions, but I told him I would tell him no more, nor could not. Then he said, It was no Heretic, but Treason, and that I should be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and so he called for

Cluny, the Keeper of the Lollards-Tower, and bade him fet me fast in the Stocks.

I was not in the Lollards-Tower two hours; but Cluny came and took me out, and carried me to the Cole-house, and there I found a French man lying in the Stocks, and he took him out, and put on my right leg a Bolt and a Fetter, and on my left hand another, and so he fet me cross-fettered in the Stocks, and took the French man away with him, and there I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after, he came and said, let us shift your hand and your leg, because you shall not be lame; and he made as though he pitied me, and said, tell me the Truth and I will be your Friend.

And I said, I had told the Truth, and would tell no other. Then he put no more but my leg in the Stocks, and so went his way, and there I remained six days, and could come to no answer.

Then Doctor Story sent for me, and asked whether I would tell him the Truth, where I had the Book. I said I had told him, of a French man. He asked me where I came acquainted with the French man, where he dwelt, and where he delivered me the Book. I said, I came acquainted with him in Newgate, I coming to my Friends which were put in for Gods Word and Truths sake, and the French man coming to his Friends also, there we did talk together, and became acquainted one with another, and did eat and drink together there with our Friends in the fear of God.

Then Story scoffed at me and said, then there was, Brother in Christ, and Brother in Christ, and reviled me, and called me an Heretic, and asked me if I had the Book of him in Newgate. I said no, and I told him; as I went on my business in the Street I met him, and he asked me how I did, and I him also; so falling in communication, he shewed me that Book, and I desired him that he would let me have it.

In this Examination Story said, it was a great Book, and asked me whether I bought it or had it given me. I told him I bought it. Then said he, I was a Thief, and had stoln my Masters money. And I said, a little money served, for I gave him but four pence, but I promised him, that at our next meeting I would give twelve pence more. And he said, that was boldly done, for such a Book as spake both Treason and Heresie.

Then Story required me to bring him two Sureties, and watch for him that I had the Book of, and I should have no harm. I made him answer, I would bring no Sureties, nor could I tell where to find them. Then said he, this is but a lie, and so called for Cluny, and bade him lay me fast in the Cole-house, saying, he would make me tell another Tale at my next coming; and so I lay in the Stocks day and night, but only when I eat my meat, and there remained ten days before I was called for again.

Then Dr. Story sent for me again, and asked if I would yet tell him the Truth I said, I could tell him no other Truth than I had, nor would. And while I was there standing, there were two brought which I took to be Prisoners.

Then Mrs. Story fell in a rage, and swore a great Oath, that it were a good deed to put a hundred or two of these Heretic Knaves in an house, and I my self (said she) would set in on fire. So I was committed to Prison again, where I remained fourteen days, and came to no answer.

Then Story sent for me again, and called me into the Garden, and there I found with him my Lord of Windsors Chaplain, and two Gentlemen more, and he told them all what they had said and done. They said, the Book was a wondrous evil Book, and had both Treason and Heresie in it. Then they asked me what I said by the Book. And I said, I know no evil by it.

At which words Story chafed, and said he would hang me up by the hands with a rope, and said also he would cut out my Tongue, and mine ears also from my head. After this they alleged two or three things unto me out of the Book. And I answered, I had not read the Book thorowout, and therefore I could give no judgment of the Book.

Then my Lord of Windsors Chaplain and the other two Gentlemen took me aside, and intreated me very gently, saying, tell us where you had the Book, and of whom

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T. Green
put in the
Stocks.

I. T. Green ex-
amined be-
fore Doctor
Story.

D. Story foot-
leth as
Christis sic-
vent.

Another ex-
amination
of T. Green
before Dr.
Story.

Mrs. Story
threateth her
Charitable
heart.

Green again
examined
before Dr.
Story.

anno
1558.

Green ex-
amined of his
Belief.

Dr. Story's
blasphemous
stuffing in
matters of
our Faith.

The Maf.

Green sent
again to the
Cole-house.

The fraile
huddling of
Prison.

Talk be-
tweene The
Green and B.
Beane.

Two Prison-
ers brought
to B. Beane's
Cole-house.

Croachy
scurved upon
Prisoners
for singing
Psalms.

whom, and we will give you harmles. I made them answer, I had told all that I could to Doctor Story and began to tell it them again : but they said, they knew that already ; so they left that talk, and went again to Story with me.

Then Story burdened me with my Faith, and said I was an Heretick. Whereupon the Chaplain asked me how I did believe. Then I began to rehearse the Articles of my Belief, but he bade me let that alone. Then he asked me how I believed in Christ. I made him answer, that I believed in Christ which died and rose again the third day, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father.

Whereupon Story asked me mockingly, what is the right hand of God ? I made him answer, I thought it was his glory. Then said he, so they say all. And he asked me when he would be weary of sitting there. Then inferred my Lord of Windsor's Chaplain, asking me what I said by the Maf. I said, I never knew what it was, nor what it meant, for I understood it not, because I never learned any Latin, and since the time that I had any knowledge, I had been brought up in nothing but in reading of English, and with such men as have taught the same ; with many more questions, which I cannot rehearse.

Moreover he asked me if there were not the very Body of Christ, Flesh, Blood and Bone in the Maf, after the Priest had consecrated it. And I made him answer ; as for the Maf I cannot understand it ; but in the New Testament I read, that as the Apostles stood looking after the Lord when he ascended up into Heaven, an Angel said to them, *Even as you see him ascend up, so shall he come again.* And I told them another Sentence, where Christ saith, *The poor shall you have always with you, but me ye shall not have always.*

Then Mr. Chaplain put to me many questions more, to the which I could make him no answer. Among all other, he brought Chrysostom and Saint Hierome for his purpose. To whom I answered, that I neither minded nor was able to answer their Doctors, neither knew whether they alleged them right, or no, but to that which is written in the New Testament I would answer. Here they laughed me to scorn, and called me Fool, and said, they would reason no more with me.

Then Doctor Story called for Cluny, and bade him take me away, and let me fast, and let no man speak with me. So was I sent to the Cole-house ; where I had not been a week, but there came in 14. Prisoners : but I was kept still alone without company, in a Prison called Salt-house, having upon my Leg a Bolt and a Petter, and my hands manacled together with Irons, and there continued ten days, having nothing to lye on, but bare stones or a Board.

On a time whilst I lay there in Prison, the Bishop of London coming down a pair of Stairs on the backside untruss, in his hose and Dubler, looked in at the Grate, and asked wherefore I was put in, and who put me in.

I made him answer, that I was put in for a Book called Antichrist, by Dr. Story. And he said, you are not ashamed to declare wherefore you were put in, and said it was a very wicked Book, and bade me confess the Truth to Story. I said, I had told the Truth to him already, and desired him to be good unto me, and help me out of Prison, for they had kept me there long. And he said, he could not meddle with it ; Story hath begun it, and he must end it.

Then I was removed out of the Salt-house to give place to two women, and carried to the Lollards-Tower, and put in the Stocks ; and there I found two Prisoners, one called Lion a Frenchman, and another with him : and so I was kept in the Stocks more than a month both day and night, and no man to come to me, or to speak with me, but only my Keeper which brought me meat.

Thus we three being together, Lyon the Frenchman sung a Psalm in the French Tongue, and we sang with him, so that we were heard down into the Street, and the Keeper coming up in a great rage, swore that he would put us all in the Stocks, and so took the Frenchman and commanded him to kneel down upon his knees, and put both his hands in the Stocks, where he remained all that night till the next day.

After this, I being in the Lollards-Tower 7 days, at

my last being with Story, he swore a great Oath, that he would rack me, and make me tell the Truth. Then Story intending for me, commanded me to be brought to Wall-broke, where he and the Commissioners dined ; and by the way my Keeper told me that I should go to the Tower and be racked. So when they had dined, Story called for me in, and so there I stood before them, and some said I was worthy to be hanged for having such Heretical Books. After I had staid a little while before them, Story called for the Keeper, and commanded him to carry me to the Lollards-Tower again, and said ; I have other matters of the Queens to do with the Commissioners, but I will find another time for him. Whilst I lay yet in the Lollards-Tower, the Woman which brought the Books over, being taken, and her Books, was put in the Clink in Southwark by Hufsey, one of the Arches ; and Thomas Green testifie before God, now, that I neither defied the man nor the Woman, the which I had the Books of.

Then I lying in the Lollards-Tower, being sent for by T. Green before Mr. Hufsey, he required of me, wherefore I was put into the Lollards-Tower, and by whom. To whom I made answer, that I was put there by Doctor Story for a Book called Antichrist. Then he made as though he would be my Friend, and said he knew my Friends, and my Father and Mother, and bade me tell him of whom I had the Book, and said, Come on, tell me the Truth. I told him as I had told Dr. Story before.

Then he was very angry and said, I love thee well, and therefore I sent for thee, and looked for a further Truth : but I would tell him no other ; whereupon he sent me again to the Lollards-Tower. At my going away he called me back again, and said that Dixon gave me the Books being an old man, dwelling in Birch-lane : and I said he knew the matter better than I. So he sent me away to the Lollards-Tower, where I remained seven days and more.

Then Mr. Hufsey sent for me again, and required of me to tell him the Truth. I told him I could tell him no other Truth than I had told Dr. Story before.

Then he began to tell me of Dixon of whom I had the Books, the which had made the matter manifest afore ; and he told me of all things touching Dixon and the Books, more then I could my self, inasmuch that he told me how many I had, and that he had a sack full of the Books in his house, and knew where the Woman lay, better then I my self. Then I saw the matter so open and manifest before my face, that it profited not me to stand in the matter. He asked me where I had done the Books, and I told him I had but one, and that Dr. Story had. He said I lied, for I had three at one time, and he required me to tell him of one.

Then I told him of one that John Beane had of me being Prentice with Mr. Tottle. So he promised me before and after, and as he should be saved before God, that he should have no harm. And I kneeling down upon my knees, desired him to take my Blood, and not to hurt the young man. Then he said, because you have been so stubborn, the matter being made manifest by other and not by you, being so long in Prison, tell me if you will stand to my judgment. I said, yes, take my Blood, and hurt not the young man.

Then he made me answer, I should be whipped like a Thief and a Vagabond ; and so I thanked him, and went my way with my Keeper to the Lollards-Tower, where I remained two or three days, and so was brought by the Keeper Cluny, by the commandment of the Commissioners, to Christ's-Hospital, sometime the Gray-Friers, and accordingly had there for the time the correction of Thieves and Vagabonds, and so was delivered to Trinius Street, the Porter, and put into a stinking Dungeon.

And after a few days, I finding friendship, was let out of the Dungeon, and lay in a bed in the night, and walked in a yard by the Dungeon in the day time, and so remained Prisoner a month and more.

Whither at length Dr. Story came and two Gentlemen with him, and called for me, and so I was brought into a Counting-house before them. Then he said to the Gentlemen, here cometh this Heretick, of whom I had the Book called Antichrist, and began to tell them how many times I had been before him, and said, I have

T. Green brought before B. Beane and the Countess's house.

This Woman was one Young Wife.

T. Green said before Mr. Hufsey.

Dixon did Birch-lane.

J. Beane Prentice with Mr. Tottle.

T. Green adjudged to be whipped.

T. Green brought to the Gray-Friers.

T. Green again appeared before B. Beane and two Gentlemen.

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them before beating, some with Nettles, drawing some through bushes of Nettles naked, and some they made leap into the Thames to save themselves, that it was marvel they were not drowned.

Now as the Children for fear did cry, and as this skirmishing was between them, immediately came a greater Lad thither, to know what the matter meant that the Boys made such a noise. Whom when the Bishop espied, he asked him whether he would maintain them in their doings or no. Unto whom the young Fellow made answer stoutly, Yea. Then the Bishop commanded him to be taken also; but he ran away with speed, and there avoided the Bishops blessing. Now when the Bishop saw him to flee away, and another man sitting upon a Rail in the way where he ran, he willed him likewise to stop the Boy: and because he would not, he commanded his man to fetch that man to him also; but he hearing that, ran away as fast as he could, and by leaping over the Ditch, escaped the Bishop in like manner.

Then the Bishop, seeing the success of his battel to prove no better, cried to a couple of Ferry-Boys to run and hold him that last ran away. And for that they said they could not (as indeed it was true) therefore he caused his men by and by to take and beat them. The Boys hearing that, leapt into the Water to save themselves; notwithstanding they were caught, and in the Water by the Bishops men holden and beaten.

Now, after the end of this great skirmish, the Bishops men returned to their Master again into the Barge, and he and Harpsfield his Chaplain went to their Evening stroll where they left, and so forthwith the rest of their Service, as clean without malice, as an egg without meat. The Lord give him repentance (if it be his will) and grace to become a new man, Amen.

The Whipping of a Beggar at Salisbury

A poor Beggar whipped at Salisbury, for not receiving with the Papists at Easter.

Unto these above specified, is also to be added the miserable whipping of a certain poor starved Beggar, who, because he would not receive the Sacrament at Easter in the Town of Colmehorow, was brought to Salisbury with Bills and gloves to the Chancellor Dr. Gessery, who cast him into the Dungeon, and after caused him miserably to be whipped of two Catch-poles. The fight whereof made all godly hearts to rue it, to see such tyranny to be shewed upon such a simple and silly Wretch: for they which saw him have reported, that they never saw a more simple Creature. But what pity can move the hearts of merciless Papists?

Besides these abovemented, divers others also suffered the like Scourgings and Whippings in their bodies for their faithful standing in the Truth. Of whom it may be said, as it is written of the Apostles in the Acts. Which departed from the Council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for the Name of Jesus.

Another Treatise of such as being pursued in Queen Maries time, were in great danger, and yet through the good Providence of God, mercifully were preserved.

Although the secret purpose of Almighty God, which disposeth all things, suffered a great number of his faithful Servants both Men and Women, and that of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemies hands, and to abide the brunt of this persecution, to be tried with Rods, with Whips, with Racks, with Fetters, Famine, with burning of Hands, with plucking off Beards, with burning also both Hand, Beard, and Body, &c.

Yet notwithstanding those there were again, and that a great number, who miraculously by the merciful providence of God, against all mans expectation, in safety were delivered out of the fiery rage of this persecution, either by voyding the Realm, or shifting of place, or the Lord so blinding the eyes of the Persecutors, or disposing the opportunity of time, or working some such means or other for his Servants, as not only ought to stir them up to perpetual thanks, but also may move all men both to behold and magnifie the wondrous works of the Almighty.

A Treatise of Gods mercy and providence in preserving good men and Women, in the time of this Persecution.

About what time it began to be known that Queen Mary was sick, divers good men were in hold in divers quarters of the Realm, some at Bury, some at Salisbury, as John Hunt, and Richard White, of whom we have storied before, and some at London, amongst whom was William Living with his Wife, and John Lithal, of whom something remaineth now compendiously to be touched.

The Trouble and deliverance of William Living with his Wife, and of John Lithal, Ministers.

About the time of the latter end of Queen Mary, she then being sick, came one Cox a Promoter, to the house of William Living, about fix of the Clock, accompanied with one John Launce of the Gray-Hound. They being not ready, they demanded for Buttons, saying, they should be as well paid for them, as ever was any; and he would come about three hours after again for them.

In the mean while he had gotten the Constable called Mr. Dean, and George Hancock the Beadle of that Ward, and searching his Books, found a Book of Astronomy, called the work of Joannes de Sacro Bosco de Sphaera, with figures some round, some triangle, some quadrate: which Book because it was gilt, seemed to him the chiefest Book there, and that he carried open in the street, saying I have found him at length. It is no marvel the Queen be sick, seeing there be such Conjurers in privy corners; but now, I trust he shall conjure no more, and so brought him and his Wife from Shoe-Lane thorough Fleet-street into Pauls Church-yard, with the Constable, the Beadle, and two other following them, till they were entred into Darbshires house, who was Bishop Boners Chancellor: And after the Constable and they had talked with Darbshire, he came forth and walked in his Yard saying these words.

Darbshire. What is your Name?

Living. William Living.

Darb. What are you? a Priest?

Living. Yea.

Darb. Is this your Wife that is come with you?

Living. That she is.

Darb. Where were you made Priest?

Living. At Osbourne.

Darb. In what Bishops days?

Living. By the Bishop of Lincoln, that was King Henries Ghostly Father in Cardinal Wolfes time.

Darb. You are a Schismatick and a Traitor.

Living. I would be sorry that were true. I am certain I never was Traitor, but always have taught obedience according to the tenour of Gods Word; and when Tumults and Schisms have been stirred, I have preached Gods Word, and swaged them as in the time of King Edward.

Darb. What, you are a Schismatick. You be not in the unity of the Catholick Church: for you pray not as the Church of Rome doth: you pray in English.

Living. We are certain we be in the true Church.

Darb. There be that doubt thereof, forso much as there is but one true Church.

Well, you will learn against I talk with you again, to know the Church of Rome, and to be a Member thereof.

Living. If the Church of Rome be of that Church, whereof Christ is the Head, then am I a Member thereof: for I know no other Church but that.

Darb. Well, Clumy, take him with thee to the Cole-house.

Then called he Clumy again, and spake secretly to him, what I know not.

Then said Clumy, wilt thou come? and so plucked me away violently, and brought me to his own House in Pater-Noster-Row; where he robbed me of my Purse, my Girdle, and my Pflaster, and a New Testament of Geneva, and then brought me to the Cole-house to put me in the Stocks, saying, put in both your Legs and your Hands also, and except you fine with me, I will put a Collar about your Neck. What is the fine, quoth I? Forty shillings, quoth he: I am never able to pay it, said I.

The deliverance of W. Living, his Wife, and of J. Lithal.

Diane Constable, Hancock, Beadle, and Secutors

Talk between Darbshire and W. Living, Priest.

Clumy play, and the Priest.

Note the
covenant
dealing of
these Pa-
pists.

Then, said he, you have Friends that be able. I denied it; and so he put both my Legs into the Stocks till Supper time, which was six of the Clock, and then a Cousin of my Wifes brought me Meat, who seeing me to sit there, said, I will give you forty Pence, and let him go at liberty: and he took her money, and presently let me forth in her sight, to eat my Supper. And at seven of the Clock, he put me into the Stocks again, and so I remained till two of the Clock the next day, and so he let me forth till Night. This Woman above-mentioned, was Griffins first Wife, a Brother dwelling then in Alder-mansbury, and yet alive in Cheapside.

W. Living
said in the
Lollards-
Tower.

The Thursday following at Afternoon was I called to the Lollards-Tower, and there put in the Stocks, having the favour to put my Leg in that Hole that Mr. John Philips Leg was in, and so lay all that Night, no Body coming to me either with Meat or Drink.

W. Living
delivered.

At 11. of the Clock on the Friday, Cluny came to me with Meat, and let me forth, and about one of the Clock he brought me to Darbysheires House, who drew forth a froll of Names, and asked me if I knew none of them: I said, I know none of them but Foster. And so I kneeled down upon my knees, and prayed him that he would not enquire thereof any farther. And with that came forth two godly Women, which said, Mr. Darbysheire, it is enough, and so became Sureties for me, and paid to Cluny 15 s. for my Fees, and bade me go with them.

And thus much concerning William Living. After this came his Wife to Examination, whose Answers to Darbysheire the Chancellor, here likewise followeth.

The Examination of Julian Living, Wife to William Living.

Talk be-
tween Dar-
bysheire and
Living wife.

Darbysheire. Ah Sirrah; I see by your going you be one of the Siffers.

Julian. I wear not my Gown for Sisterhood, neither for Nunnerly, but to keep me warm.

Darb. Nun? No, I dare say you be none: Is that Man your Husband?

Julian. Yea.

Darb. He is a Priest.

Julian. No, he saith no Mass.

Darb. What then? he is a Priest. How darest thou marry him?

Then he shewed me a Roll of certain Names of Citizens.

To whom I answered, I knew none of them.

Then said he, you shall be made to know them.

Then said I, Do no other but justice and right, for the day will come, that you shall answer for it.

Darb. Why Woman, thinkest thou not that I have a Soul?

Julian. Yes, I know you have a Soul: but whether it be to salvation or damnation, I cannot tell.

Living wife
commanded
to the Lol-
lards-Tower.

Darb. Ho Cluny, have her to the Lollards-Tower. And one Dale a Promoter, which said to me, Alas good Woman, wherefore be you here?

What is that to you, said I.

Dale a Pro-
moter.

You be not ashamed, quoth Dale, to tell wherefore you came hither.

No, quoth I, that I am not: for it is for Christs Testament.

Christs Testament, quoth he? it is the Devils Testament.

O Lord, quoth I, God forbid that any man should speak any such word.

Mark the
hope of the
Papists.

Well well, quoth he, you shall be ordered well enough. You care not for burning, quoth he. Gods blood, there must become other means found for you.

What, quoth I, will you find any worse than you have found?

Well, quoth he, you hope, and you hope: but your hope shall be slope. For though the Queen sail, the that you hope for shall never come at it: For there is my Lord Cardinals Grace, and many more between her and it.

Then, quoth I, my hope is in none but God.

Then said Cluny, Come with me: and so went I to the Lollards-Tower. On the next day Darbysheire sent for

me again, and enquired again of those Citizens that he enquired of before.

I answered, I knew them not.

Where were you, quoth he, at the Communion on Sunday was fortnight?

And I said, in no place.

Then the Constable of St. Brides being there, made suit for me.

And Darbysheire demanded of him, if he would be bound for me.

He answered, Yea. And so he was bound for my Appearance betwixt that and Christmas.

Then Darbysheire said, You be Constable, and should give her good counsel.

So do I, quoth he. For I bid her go to Mass, and to say as you say: For by the Mass, if you say the Crow is white, I will say so too.

And thus much concerning the Examination of William Living and his Wife, whom although thou seest here delivered through the request of Women, his Sureties: yet it was no doubt, but that the deadly sickness of Queen Mary abated and bridled then the cruelty of those Papists, which otherwise would never have let them go.

The Trouble and Deliverance of John Lithall.

AT the taking of William Living, it hapned that certain of his Books were in the custody of one John Lithall; which known, the Constable of the Ward of Southwark, with other of the Queens Servants, were sent to his house, who breaking up his Doors and Chests, took away not only the Books of the said William Living, but also all his own Books, Writings, and Bills of Debts, which he never had again. All this while Lithall was not at home.

The next Saturday after, as he was returned, and known to be at home, John Avoles and certain of the Queens Servants beset his house all the night, with such careful Watch, that as he in the Morning issued out of doors, thinking to escape their hands, John Avoles bursting out upon him, cried, Stop the Traytor, Stop the Traytor. Whereat Lithall being amazed, looked back.

And so John Avoles came running to him, with other that were with him, saying, Ah Sirrah, you are a pretty traitorly Fellow indeed, we have had somewhat to do to get you. To whom he answered, that he was a truer man to the Queens Majesty than he. For you (said he) are commanded by God to keep holy the Sabbath-day, and you seek to shed your Neighbours Blood on the Sabbath-day. Remember that you must answer therefore to God. But he said, Come on you Villain, you must go before the Council. So was Lithall brought into Pauls-Churchyard to the Bishops Chancellor, by John Avoles, saying, that he had there caught the Captain of these Fellows, and so caused him to be called to Examination before Dr. Darbysheire, who entred talk with him in this wise:

Chan. What Countryman are you?

Lith. I am an Englishman, born in Staffordshire.

Chan. Where were you brought up?

Lith. In this our Country of England.

Chan. In what University?

Lith. In no University, but in a Free-School.

Chan. We had certain Books from your House, and Writings, wherein is both Treason and Heresie.

Lith. Sir, there is neither Treason nor Heresie in them.

Chan. Then he asked for certain other men that I knew.

Lith. If you have ought to lay to my charge, I will answer it: but I will have no other mans Blood upon my head.

Chan. Why come you not to the Church? Of what Church be you, that you come not to your own Parish Church?

Lith. I am of the Church of Christ, the Fountain of all goodness.

Chan. Have you no Ministers of your Church, but Christ?

Lith. We have others.

Chan. Where be they?

Lith.

And
1558.

The Con-
stable of
St. Brides
Jury for
Julian Li-
ving.

Living and
his Wife
delivered
by the
Death of
Q. Mary.

John Lithall
brought to
examination
by John
Avoles.

Lithall
brought be-
fore Dr.
Darbysheire,
Chancellor.

Talk be-
tween
Lithall and
the Chan-
cellor.

Anno 1558. *Lith.* In the whole world, dispersed, preaching and professing the Gospel and Faith only in our Saviour Jesus, as he commanded them.

Chan. You boast much every one of you of your Faith and Belief: let me here therefore the effect how you believe.

Lith. I believe to be justified really by Christ Jesus, according to the saying of St. Paul to the Ephesians, without either deeds or works, or any thing that may be invented by Man.

Chan. Faith cannot save without Works.

Lith. That is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostles.

Chan. John Auales, you and the Keeper have this Fellow to Prison.

Cluny and John Auales. Then John Auales and Cluny the Keeper had me into Pauls, and would have had me seen the Apostles Maf.

Lith. I know none the Apostles had, and therefore I will see none.

Cluny and John Auales. Come and kneel down before the Rood, and say a Paternoster, and an Ave in the worship of the five wounds.

Lith. I am forbidden by Gods own mouth to kneel to any Idol or Image: therefore I will not.

Then they pulled me, with great extremity, the one having me by one Arm, and the other by the other; but God gave me at that present time more strength than both thes, his Name be praised for it.

Then when they could not make me to kneel before the Rood, neither to see the Maf, there gathered a great Company about us, and all against me. Some spit on me, and said, Fie on thee Heretick; and others said, it was pity I was not burned already.

Then they carried me to *Lollards-Tower*, and hanged me in a great pair of Stocks, in which I lay three days and three nights, till I was so lame that I could neither stir nor move.

Then I offered the Keeper certain Mony and Gold that I had about me, to release me out of the Stocks: and he said, I would not be ruled by him, either to see Maf, or to kneel before the Rood, and therefore I should lie there still. But I said, I would never do the thing that should be against my Conscience: and though you have lamed my Body, yet my Conscience is whole, I praise God for it. So shortly after he let me out of the Stocks, more for the love of my Mony (as it may be thought) than for any other affection, and within four or five days my Wife got leave of Mr. Chancellor to come to me, to bring me such things as were needful for me, and there I lay five weeks and odd days. In the which time divers of my Neighbours and Friends made suit to the Chancellor for my deliverance: the Bishop, as they said, at that time being at *Fulham* sick. So my Neighbours being there, about twenty of them, the Chancellor sent for me out of the *Lollards-Tower* to his own house, and said as followeth:

Chan. Lithall, here be of thy Neighbours which have been with me to intreat for thee, and they have informed me, that thou hast been a very honest and quiet Neighbour among them, and I think it be Gods will that I should deliver thee before my Lord come home. For if he come, and thou go home again, I will be burned for thee: for I know his mind already in that matter.

Lith. I give you hearty thanks for your gentleness, and my Neighbours for their good report.

Chan. Lithall, if thy Neighbours will be bound for thy forth-coming whensoever thou shalt be called for; and also if thou wilt be an obedient Subject, I shall be content to deliver thee.

Neigh. If it please your Worship, we will be bound for him in Body and Goods.

Chan. I will require no such Bond of you; but that two of you will be bound in twenty Pound a piece, that he shall come to answer when he shall be called.

Lith. Where find you, Mr. Chancellor, in all the Scriptures, that the Church of God did bind any man for the profession of his Faith? which Profession you have heard of me, that all our Justification, Righteousness, and Salvation cometh only and freely by the merits

of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and all the inventions and works of men, be they never so glorious, be altogether vain, as the Wise man saith.

Chan. Lo, where he is now. I put no such matter to you; for in that I believe as you do: but yet St. James saith, That a man is justified by works.

Lith. St. James spake to them that boasted themselves of Faith, and shewed no works of Faith: But O, Mr. Chancellor, remember I pray you, how all the Promises and Prophecies of the holy Scripture, even from the first Promise that God made to Adam, and so even to the latter end of the Revelation of St. John, do testify that in the Name of Jesus, and only by his Merits, all that believe shall be saved from all their sins and offences.

Esay saith, Chap. 65. I am found of them that sought me not, and am manifest to them that asked not after me: but against Israel he saith, All day long have I stretched out my hand to a People that believe not. And when the Jaylor asked St. Paul, what he should do to be saved, the Apostle said, Acts 16. Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, and all thy household.

Again, St. John saith in the Revelation, that there was none, neither in Heaven nor in Earth, neither under the Earth, that was able to open the Book nor the Seals thereof, but only the Lamb Jesus our only Saviour. And St. Paul saith, Hebr. 9. With one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified.

Chan. With vain glory you rehearse much Scripture, as all the sort of you do: but you have no more understanding than a many of Sheep. But to the purpose. Will you that your Neighbours shall enter into bonds for you, or not?

Lith. By my mind they shall not. Wherefore I desire you that you would not bind me, but let me serve God with my Conscience freely. For it is written, *Apoc. 13. They that lead into Captivity, shall go into Captivity, and they that strike with the Sword shall perish with the Sword.*

Also it is written in the Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, *That whose doth offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a Millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the depth of the Sea, Matth. 18.* Of the which I am assured by his holy Spirit that I am one. Wherefore be you well assured that such mercy as you shew, unto me you shall be shewed the like.

Chan. You are a mad man. I would not bind you, but that I must needs have somewhat to shew for your deliverance. Then he called two of my Neighbours, *Thomas Daniel* and *Saunders Mayne*, which offered themselves to be bound, and called me before them, and said, I have a Letter of his own hand writing, with his Name and Seal at it, with a Book also against the Regiment of Women, for the which I could make him to be hanged, drawn and quartered; but no my Faith I will him no more hurt than I mean to my own Soul.

Lith. I desire you that be my Neighbours and Friends, that you will not enter into bonds for me: for you know not the danger thereof, neither I my self: it goeth against my Conscience that ye should so do.

Chan. Why; I will not bind you to do any thing against your Conscience.

Neigh. Then they made the Bond and sealed to it, and willed me that I should seal to it also; and I said that I would not, neither could I observe the Bond, and therefore I would not set to my hand.

Chan. It is pity that thou hast so much favour shewed thee: yet for these honest mens sakes I will discharge thee.

Notwithstanding all these dissembling words of Mr. Darbyshire, pretending for favour of his Sureties, to set him at liberty, it was no such thing, nor any zeal of charity that moved him so do; but only fear of the time, understanding the dangerous and unrecoverable sickness of Queen Mary, which then began somewhat to affrage the cruel proceeding of these Persecutors, where by they durst not do that they would: for else Lithall was not like to have escaped so easily.

Edward Grew.

Moreover, there was one *Edward Grew* Priest, and *Appline*, his Wife, compelled to fly from their dwelling at a Town called *Broke*; and the man being very aged, travelled abroad to keep a good Conscience.

At the last he was taken and laid in *Colchester Castle*, where he remained till *Q. Elizabeth* came to her Regal Seat, and by the alteration of Religion he was delivered. His Wife, good Woman, was in great care for him, and to her power did what she could to succour him.

William Browne.

Mr. Brown of Suffolk.

William Browne, Parson of little *Stranham*, in the County of *Suffolk*, made a Sermon in the said Town, incontinently after the burial of our good King *Edward*, and in his Sermon he said, There goeth a report that our good King is buried with a *Mals* by the Bishop of *Winchester*, he having a Mitre upon his head. But if it were so, faith he, they are all Traytors that so do, because it is both against the Truth, and the Laws of this Realm, and it is great Idolatry and Blasphemy, and against the glory of God; and they are no Friends either to God, the King, or yet unto the Realm, that so do. For this his preaching one *Robert Blomefield*, an Adversary to the Truth, being then Constable of the Town, and Bayliff unto Sir *John Jerningham* Knight (the Chief Lord of the Town) immediately rode forth, and brought home with him one *Edward Golding*, which was then under-sheriff, Sir *Thomas Cornwallis* being then high Sheriff.

Rob. Blomefield, Persecutor.

Edw. Golding under Sheriff Cornwallis high Sheriff.

So the said *Golding* and *Blomefield* sent for certain men of the said Town, and examined them for the Sermon. Whereunto they made but a small answer. Then the Sheriff made a bill, and so feared the men, that two or three of them set to their hands, and one of them never joyed after but it was a grief to him till he died.

Mr. Browne persecuted and taken.

Then did they take men with them unto the Parsons house, and in the night they took him and with Watchmen kept him until it was day. Then should he have been carried the next day to the Council; but the said *Robert Blomefield* was taken so sick, that he was like to die: so that he could not carry him for his life.

Mr. Browne delivered.

Then the said Sheriff sent him to *Ipswich* again and there he was for a time. Then he was sent to *Bury Prison*, and from thence to the Council, and then into the Fleet: and so he lay in Prison from the beginning of harvest till it was nigh *Christmas*; and said, God gave him such answers to make when he was examined, that he was delivered with quietness of Conscience. And having his liberty, he came again unto the fore-said Town; and because he would not go to *Mals*, his living was taken away, and he and his Wife were constrained to fly here and there for his life and Conscience. In the last year of Queen *Maries* Reign God did take him out of this life in peace.

Example of Gods punishment upon a Persecutor.

Where moreover is to be noted, that this *Robert Blomefield* abovenamed, immediately after he had apprehended the said *Brown*, fell very sick: And although at that time he was wealthy Man and of great substance (beside his land which was better than twenty pound a year) after this time, God so plagued his household, that his eldest Son died, and his Wife had a pining sickness till she departed this life also.

Then married he another, a Rich Widdow: but all would not help, and nothing would prosper: For he had a fore pining sickness, being full of Botches and Sores, whereby he walked away both Body and Goods, till he died.

So when he died, he was above nine score pounds in debt, and it was never heard of any repentance he had. But a little before his death he bragged, and threatened a good Man, one *Simon Hariston*, to put him forth to the officers, because he did wear no Surplus when he said Service.

Wherefore it is pity such Baits of Popery are left to the enemies to take Christians in. God take them away, or ease us from them: for God knoweth they be the cause of much blindness and strife amongst Men.

Furthermore, out of the said Town were constrained to fly *Robert Boela* and *John Trapne*, because they would not go to *Mals* and receive their Sacrament of the Altar.

Anno 1558.

Elizabeth Young.

YE heard before in the treatise of the scourging of *Thos. Greene*, how he was troubled and beaten by *Dr. Story*, for a certain Book called *Antichrist*, which he received of a Woman, because in no case he would detect her.

This Woman was one *Elizabeth Young*, who coming from *Emden* to *England*, brought with her divers Books, and sparfed them abroad in *London*; for the which she, being at length espied and layd fast, was brought to examination, 13. times before the Catholick Inquitors of Heretical pravity. Of the which her examinations, nine have come to our hands.

Wherein how fiercely she was assaulted, how shamefully she was reviled, how miserably handled, and what answers she made unto the Adversaries in her own defence, and finally after all this, how she escaped and passed through the Pikes, (being yet, as I hear say, alive) as I thought to give the Reader here to see and understand.

The first Examination of Elizabeth Young, before Mr. Huffy.

WHO examined her of many things: First, where she was born, and who was her Father and Mother.

The Examination of Eliz. Young.

Eliz. Young. Sir, all this is but vain talk, and very superfluous. It is to fill my head with fantasies, that I should not be able to answer unto such things as I came for. Ye have not (I think) put me in Prison to know who is my Father and Mother. But I pray you go to the matter that I came hither for.

Mr. Huffy. Wherefore wentest thou out of the Realm?

Eliz. To keep my Conscience clean.

Huf. When wast thou at *Mals*?

Eliz. Not these three years.

Huf. Then wast thou not there three years before that?

Eliz. No Sir, nor yet three years before that: for if I were I had evil luck.

Huf. How old art thou?

Eliz. Forty and upwards.

Huf. Twenty of those years thou went to *Mals*.

Eliz. Yea and twenty more I may, and yet come home as wife as I went thither first, for I understand it not.

Huf. Why wilt thou not go to the *Mals*?

Eliz. Sir, my Conscience will not suffer me: for I had rather all the world should accuse me, than mine own Conscience.

Huf. What if a louse, or a flea stick upon thy skin, and bite thy flesh? thou must make a Conscience in taking her off; is there not a Conscience in it?

Eliz. That is but an easie Argument to displace the Scriptures, and especially in such a part as my Salvation dependeth upon: for it is but an easie Conscience that a Man can make.

Huf. But why wilt thou not swear upon the Evangelists before a Judge?

Eliz. Because I know not what a Book-Oath is.

Huf. Then he began to teach her the Book-Oath.

Eliz. Sir, I do not understand it, and therefore I will not learn it.

Huf. Then said he, thou wilt not understand it, and with that rose up and went his way.

The second Examination before Doctor Martin.

WHO said to her, Woman, thou art come from beyond the Sea, and hast brought with thee Books of Heresie and Treason, and thou must confesse to us who translated them, printed them, and who sent them over (for once I knew thee to be but a messenger, and in so doing the Queens Highness will be good to thee (for she hath forgiven greater things than this) and thou shalt find

1558. as much favour as is possible. But if thou be stubborn, and wilt not confesse, thou wilt be wondrous evil handled: for we know the Truth already, but this we do, only to see whether thou wilt be true of thy word or no.

Eliz. Sir, ye have my Confession, and more than that I cannot say.

M. Thou must say more, and shalt say more. Dost thou think that we will be fully answered by this Examination that thou hast made? Thou Rebel Whore and Traitor Heretick, thou dost refuse to swear upon the Evangelist before a Judge, I hear say. Thou shalt be racked Inch-meal, thou traitor Whore and Heretick, but thou shalt swear before a Judge before thou go: yea, and thou shalt be made to confesse how many booksthou hast fold, and to whom.

Eliz. Sir, I understand not what an Oath is, and therefore I will take no such thing upon me. And no man hath bought any Books of me as yet, for those Books that I had, your Commissioners have them all.

Martin. Thou traitor Whore, we know that thou hast fold a number of Books, yea, and to whom: and how many times thou hast been here, and where thou layest, and every place that thou hast been in: Dost thou think that thou hast Fools in hand?

Eliz. No Sir, ye be too wife for me; for I cannot tell how many places I have been in myself but if we in Turkey, I should have meat, and drink and lodging for my money.

Martin. Thou Rebel Whore, thou hast spoken evil words by the Queen, and thou dwellest amongst a fort of Traitors and Rebels that cannot give the Queen a good word.

Eliz. I am not able to accuse any man thereof, neither yet is there any man that can prove any such things by me, as ye lay unto my charge. For I know by Gods Word, and Gods Book hath taught me what is my duty to God, and unto my Queen, and therefore (as I said) I am assured that no man living upon the earth, can prove any such things by me.

Mart. Thou Rebel and traitor Whore, thou shalt be so racked and handled, that thou shalt be an Example to all such traitor Whores and Hereticks; and thou shalt be made to swear by the holy Evangelists, and confesse to whom thou hast fold all and every of these heretical Books that thou hast fold: for we know what number thou hast fold, and to whom; but thou shalt be made to confesse it in spite of thy Blood.

Eliz. Here is my Carcase; do with it what you will and more there that you cannot have. M. Martin, ye can have no more but my Blood.

Th en fared he, as though he had been stark mad, and said, Martin? Why callest thou me Martin?

Eliz. Sir, I know well enough, for I have been before you ere now. Ye delivered me once at Westminster.

Mart. Where didst thou dwell then?

Eliz. I dwelled in the Minories.

Mart. I delivered thee and thy Husband both,; and I thought then that thou wouldst have done otherwise than thou dost now. For if thou hadst been before any Bishop in England, and said the words, that thou didst before me, thou hadst fied a Pagot: and though thou didst not burn then, thou art like to burn or hang now.

Eliz. Sir, I promised you then, that I would never be fed with an unknown Tongue, and no more will I yet.

Mart. I shall feed thee well enough. Thou shalt be fed with that (I warrant thee) which shall be finally to chine calf.

Eliz. Do what God shall suffer you to do: for more ye shall not. And then he arose, and so departed, and went to the Keepers house, and said to the Wife. Whom hast thou suffered to come to this vile traitor Whore and Heretick to speak with her? Then said the Keepers Wife, as God receive my Soul, here came neither Man, Woman, nor Child, to ask for her.

Martin. If any Man, Woman, or Child, come to ask for her, I charge thee in pain of death, that they be laid full, and give her one day Bread, and another day Water.

Eliz. If ye take away my meat, I trust that God will take away my hunger: and so he departed and said, that was too good for her: and then was she shut up under two locks in the Clink where she was before.

The third Examination before Dettor Martin again.

Then was she brought before him in his Chamber, within my Lord Chancellors house. Who asked her, saying; Elizabeth, wilt thou confesse these things that thou hast been examined upon? For thou knowest that I have been thy Friend, and in so doing, I will be thy Friend again; giving her many fair words, and then many demanding of her how many Gentlemen were beyond the Seas.

Eliz. It is too much for me to tell you how many are on the other side.

Mart. No, I mean but in Frankford and Emden, where thou hast been.

Eliz. Sir, I did never take account of them, it is a thing that I look not for.

Mart. When shall I have a true word come out of thy mouth?

Eliz. I have told you the Truth, but because that it soundeth not to your mind, therefore ye will not credit it.

Mart. Wilt thou yet confesse? and if thou wilt, that I have promised, I will do: and if thou wilt not, I promise thee thou must go even hence to the Rack, and therefore confesse.

Eliz. I can say no more than I have said.

Mart. Well, so much as she will confesse no more, have her away to the Rack, and then she will be married. Then answered a Priest that sat there, and said, Woman, take an Oath, and confesse. Wilt thou be hurt for other men?

Eliz. I can confesse no more than I have. Do with my Carcase what ye will.

Mart. Did ye ever hear the like of this Heretick? What a stout Heretick is this? We have the Truth, and we know the Truth, and yet look whether she will confesse. There is no remedy, but she must needs to the Rack, and therefore away with her, and so commanded her out of the Door, and called her Keeper unto him, and said to him: There is no remedy but this Heretick must be racked; and talked with him more, but what it was he heard not.

Then he called her in again, and said, Wilt thou not confesse, and keep thee from the Rack? I advise thee so to do: for if thou wilt not, thou knowest not the pain yet, but thou shalt do.

Eliz. I can confesse no more. Do with my Carcase what ye will.

Mart. Keeper, away with her. Thou knowest what I said. Let her know the pain of the Rack. And so she departed, thinking no less, but that she should have gone to the Rack, till she saw the Keeper turn toward the Clink again. And thus did God alienate their hearts, and diminish their tyrannous power, unto the time of further Examinations; For she was brought before the Bishop, the Dean, and the Chancellor, and other Commissioners, first and last, 13. times.

The fourth Examination was before the Bishop of London, Sir Roger Cholmley, Dr. Cook, the Recorder of London, Dr. Roper of Kent, and Dr. Martin, as concerning her Faith, &c.

Left the being presented by Dr. Martin, before the Bishop of London, Dr. Martin began to declare against her, saying, The Lord Chancellor hath sent you here a Woman, which hath brought Books over from Emden, where all these Books of Heretic and Treason are printed, and hath therewith filled all the Land with Treason and Heretic, neither yet will the confesse who translated them, nor who printed them, nor yet who sent them over. Wherefore my Lord Chancellor committeth her unto my Lord of London, he to do with her as he shall think good. For she will confesse nothing, but that she bought these said Books in Amsterdams, and so brought them over to sell for gain.

Dr. Cook. Let her head be trusted in a small line, and make her to confesse.

Mart. The Book is called Antichrist, and so may be well called, for it speaketh against Jesus Christ and the Queen. Besides that, he hath a certain spark of the Anabaptists, for the refusal to swear upon the four Evangelists before a Judge: For I myself and Mr. Hussy have had her before us four times, but we cannot bring

The 3. Examination of Eliz. Young.

Eliz. Young again threatened with the Rack.

She again refused to swear to accuse others.

Eliz. Young commanded again to the Clink.

The 4. Examination of Eliz. Young. Dr. Martin presented her to the Commissioners.

The Book called Antichrist.

Dr. Martin threatened her with the Rack.

Eliz. Young charged for speaking against the Queen.

Eliz. Young and her Husband delivered by Dr. Martin.

bring her to swear. Wherefore my Lord Chancellor would that she should abstain and fast, for she hath not fasted a great while: For she hath lien in the *Clink* a good while, where she had too much her liberty.

Then said the Bishop, why wilt thou not swear before a Judge? that is the right trade of the Anabaptists.

Eliz. My Lord, I will not swear that this hand is mine.

No, said the Bishop? and why?

Eliz. My Lord, Christ said; That whatsoever is more than yes, or nay, nay, it cometh of evil, And moreover, I know not what an Oath is: and therefore I will take no such thing upon me.

Then said *Cholmley*, twenty pounds, it is a Man in a Womans Clothes, twenty pounds, it is a Man.

Bemer. Think you to my Lord?

Chol. Yea, my Lord, &c.

Eliz. My Lord, I am a Woman.

Bish. Swear her upon a Book, seeing it is but a question asked.

Then said *Cholmley*, I will lay twenty pounds, it is a Man.

Then *Dr. Cooke* brought her a Book, commanding her to lay thereon her hand.

Eliz. No, my Lord, I will not swear: for I know not what an Oath is. But I say that I am a Woman, and have Children.

Bish. That know not we: wherefore swear.

Cholm. Thou hast favoured Whore, lay thy hand upon the Book; I will lay on mine: and so he laid his Hand upon the Book.

Eliz. So will not I mine.

Then the Bishop spake a word in Latine, out of *St. Paul*, as concerning swearing.

Eliz. My Lord, if you speak to me of *St. Paul*, then speak English, for I understand you not.

Bish. I dare swear that thou dost not.

Eliz. My Lord, *St. Paul* said, that five words spoken in a language that may be understood, are better than many in a forain or strange tongue which is unknown.

Dr. Cooke. Swear before us, whether thou be a Man or a Woman.

Eliz. If ye will not believe me, then send for Women into a secret place, and I will be tried.

Cholm. Thou art an ill favored Whore.

Then said the Bishop, How believest thou in the Sacrament of the Altar?

Eliz. My Lord, if it will please you that I shall declare mine own Faith, I will.

The Bishop. Tell me, how believest thou in the Sacrament of the Altar?

Eliz. Will it please you that I shall declare my Faith? And if it be not good, then teach me a better, and I will believe it.

Dr. Cook. That is well said, declare thy Faith.

Eliz. I believe in God the Father almighty, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God. I believe all the Articles of my Creed. I believe all things written in the holy Scripture, and all things agreeable with the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghost unto the Church of Christ, set forth and taught by the Church of Christ. I believe that Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, that immaculate Lamb, came into the world to save sinners; and that in him, by him, and through him I am made clean from my sins, and without him I could not. I believe that in the Holy Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, which he did institute and ordain, and left among his Disciples that night before he was betrayed, when I do receive this Sacrament in Faith and Spirit, I do receive Christ.

Bish. No more, I warrant you, but the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, received but in Spirit and Faith, with those Hereticks.

Chol. Ah Whore, Spirit and Faith, Whore?

Eliz. This Sacrament never Man could or did make, but only he, that did what no Man could do.

Mart. Then thou must allow that grais is a Sacrament; for who could make grais but he only?

Eliz. Sir, he hath suffered, and made a sufficient Sacrifice once for all, and so hath he made his Sacrament

sufficient once for all: for there was never Man that could say, *Take, eat, this is my Body, that is broken for you*, but only Jesus Christ, who had his Body broken for the sins of the world; which Sacrament he hath left here amongst us for a Testimonial of his Death, even to the worlds end.

Mart. Who taught thee this Doctrine? did *Scory*?

Eliz. Yea, Bishop *Scory* and other that I have heard.

Bish. Why, is *Scory* Bishop now?

Eliz. If that do offend you, call him *Dr. Scory*, if ye will *Roper* knew when he was but a poor Doctor.

Mart. What do ye call *Scory*?

Eliz. Our Superintendent,

Bish. Loe! their Superintendent.

Mart. And what are ye called?

Eliz. Christs Congregation.

Bish. Loe! Christs Congregation, I warrant you.

Dr. Cooke. What living hath *Scory*?

Eliz. Sir, as far as I do know, he liveth by his own, for I know no Man that giveth him ought.

Recorder. Yes, I warrant you, he hath enough sent him out of *England*.

Eliz. Sir, I know no such thing.

Cholm. Hark Whore, hark; hark, how I do believe.

Eliz. My Lord, I have told you my belief.

Chol. Hark, thou art favored whore, how I do believe. When the Priest hath spoken the words of Consecration, I do believe that there remaineth the very Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, was hanged on the Cross, was Dead and Buried, and Descended into Hell, and Rose again on the third day, and Ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the Right hand of God. The same Body when the Priest hath spoken the words, cometh down, and when the Priest lifteth up his Body on this wife (he lifting up his Hands, said) there it is.

Eliz. I have told you also how I do believe.

Mart. Away with her.

Cholm. Ah evil favoured Whore! nothing but Spirit and Faith, Where?

Mart. Away with her, we have more to talk withall.

Then was she carried into the *Colehouse*, and searched for Books, and then put into the *Stockhouse*, and her knife, girdle, and apron taken from her.

The fifth Examination before the Bishop of London Chancellor.

Then was she brought out of the *Stockhouse*, and brought before the Bishops Chancellor, who required of her, what age she was of.

Eliz. Sir, forty years and upwards.

The Chan. Why, thou art a Woman of a fair years; what shouldst thou meddle with the Scriptures? it is necessary for thee to believe, and that is enough. It is more fit for thee to meddle with thy distaff, than to meddle with the Scriptures. What is thy Belief? I would hear it: for it cannot be good, in that thou art brought into Prison.

Eliz. Sir, if it will please you to hear, I will declare it unto you. But I pray you that you will take your pen and write it, and then examine it; and if ye find any thing therein that is not fit for a Christian Woman, then teach me better, and I will learn it.

Chan. Well said. But who shall judge between thee and me?

Eliz. The Scripture.

Chan. Wilt thou stand by that?

Eliz. Yea Sir.

Chan. Well go thy way out at the door a little while, for I am busy, and I will call for thee anon again.

Then he called me again and said, Now Woman, the time is too long to write. Say thy mind, and I will bear it in my head.

Then *Elizabeth* began, and declared her Faith to him as she had done before the Bishop.

Chan. Woman, Spirit and Faith I do allow, but dost thou not believe that thou dost receive the Body of Christ, really, corporally, and substantially?

Eliz.

Eliz. Young
great while
in the *Clink*

Eliz. Young
refused to
swear, and
why.

Eliz. Young
thought to
be no Wo-
man.

Sacrament
of the Altar.

The Con-
fession of
Eliz.
Young.

The Sacra-
ment to be
received in
Spirit and
Faith:

Cholmley
cannot divide
Spirit and
Faith.

Institution
of the Sacra-
ment by
Christ only
once for all.

Anno
1558.

Confession of
Cholmley
Faith.

Eliz. Young
carried into
the Stock-
house.

The Exam-
nation of
Eliz. Young.

Eliz. Young
offered again
to declare
her Belief.

Anno
1558.

Faith cometh of God
Jrgs. no untruth ought to be believed.
Christ is flesh of our flesh, but not in our flesh.
Johs. 6.

This Man dare not expound the Scripture, yet he dare judge upon Scripture.

The Papists dare not ascribe themselves to have the Holy Ghost.
The Capernaites faith.

The flesh of John. cap. 6, expounded how Christs flesh is meat.

Christs flesh is meat for our flesh, say the Papists.

Christs flesh is meat for our Soul, say the Calvinists.

Eliz. These words, really and corporally, I understand not; as for substantially, I take it, ye mean I should believe that I should receive his humane Body (which is upon the right hand of God, and can occupy no more places at once) and that believe not I.

Chan. Thou must believe this, or else thou art damned.

Eliz. Sir, can ye give me Belief or Faith?

Chan. No, God must give it thee.

Eliz. God hath given me no such Faith or Belief. The Chancellor then declared a text of S. Paul in Latin, and then in English, saying, I could make thee believe, but that thou hast a cankered Heart, and wilt not believe. Who then can make thee to believe?

Eliz. You said even now, that faith or belief cometh of God, and ye believe I, and then may not I believe an untruth to be a truth.

Chan. Dost thou not believe that Christs Flesh is Flesh in thy Flesh?

Eliz. No Sir, I believe not that; for my Flesh shall putrifie and rot.

Chan. Christ said, my Flesh is Flesh in Flesh.

Eliz. Who so receiveth him fleshly, shall have a fleshly resurrection.

Chan. Christ faith in the 6. of John, My Flesh is meat indeed, and my Blood is drink indeed.

Eliz. Christ preached to the Capernaites, saying; Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye shall not have life in you: And the Capernaites murmured, at it. And his Disciples also murmured, saying among themselves, This is an hard saying, and who can abide it? Christ understood their meaning, and said; Are ye also offended? Will ye also go away? What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up to Heaven, from whence he came? will that offend you? It is the Spirit that quickneth, the Flesh profiteth nothing. I pray you Sir, what meaneth Christ by that?

Chan. O God forbid. Would ye have me to interpret the Scriptures? We must leave that for our old ancient Fathers, which have studied Scriptures a long time, and have the Ghost given unto them.

Eliz. Why Sir, have you not the Holy Ghost given and revealed unto you?

Chan. No, God forbid that I should so believe; but I hope, I hope: But yet say, ye are of the Spirit. Will you say that ye have no profit in Christs Flesh?

Eliz. Sir, we have our profit in Christs Flesh, but not as the Capernaites did understand it: For they understood that they must eat his Flesh as they did eat Ox Flesh and other, and drink his Blood, as we drink wine or beer out of a bowl. But to we must not receive it. But our profit that we have by Christ, is to believe that his Body was broken upon the Crofs, and his Blood shed for our sins; that is the very meaning of Christ, that to we should eat his Flesh, and drink his Blood, when he said; My Flesh is meat indeed, and my Blood is drink indeed.

Chan. How doth thy Body live, if Christs Flesh is not Flesh in thy Flesh?

Eliz. Sir, I was a Body before I had a Soul; which Body God had created, and yet it could not live, till God had breathed life into me, and by that life doth my Body live. And when it shall please God to dissolve my life, my Flesh will offer it self unto the place from whence it came, and through the merits of Christ my Soul will offer it self to the place from whence it came.

Chan. Yea, but if thou do not believe that Christs Flesh is Flesh in thy Flesh, thou canst not be saved.

Eliz. Sir, I do not believe that.

Chan. Why doth not Christ say, My Flesh is meat indeed, and my Blood is drink indeed? Canst thou deny that?

Eliz. I deny not that; for Christs Flesh and Blood is meat and drink for my Soul, the food of my Soul. For whosoever believeth that Jesus Christ the Son of God hath dyed and shed his Blood for his sins, his Soul feedeth thereon for ever.

Chan. When thou receivest the Sacrament of the Altar, dost thou not believe that thou dost receive Christs Body?

Eliz. Sir, when I do receive the Sacrament which Christ did institute and ordain the night before he was betrayed, and left among his Disciples, as often I say as I receive it, I believe, that spiritually and by Faith I receive Christ. And of this Sacrament, I know Christ himself to be the Author, and none but he. And this same Sacrament is an establishment to my Conscience, and an augmenting to my Faith.

Chan. Why, did not Christ take Bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, and said; Take, eat, this is my Body that is given for you? Did he give them his Body, or not?

Eliz. He also took the cup, and gave thanks to his Father, and gave it unto his Disciples, saying Drink ye all of this: for this is the cup of the New Testament in my Blood, which shall be shed for many. Now I pray you Sir, let me ask you one question. Did he give the cup the name of his Blood, or else the wine that was in the cup?

Then was he very angry, and said; Dost thou think that thou hast an hedge-Priest in hand?

Eliz. No Sir, I take you not to be an hedge-Priest. I take you for a Doctor.

Chan. So me thinketh. Thou wilt take upon thee to teach me.

Eliz. No Sir: But I let you know what I know; and by argument one shall know more.

Christ said; As oft as ye do this, do it in the remembrance of me; but a remembrance is not of a thing present, but absent. Also S. Paul faith; So oft as ye shall eat of this Bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew forth the Lords Death till he come: Then we may not again look for him here, until his coming again at the latter day. Again is not this Article of our belief true, He that is at the Right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead? But if he shall not come before he come to judgment, then how is he here present in your Sacrament of the Altar? Wherefore I believe that the Humane Body of Christ occupieth no more but one place at once; for when he was here, he was not there.

The sixth Examination before the said Chancellor.

W Ho said unto her; Woman, the last time that thou wast before me, our talk was concerning the Sacrament.

Eliz. Sir, true it is, and I trust that I said nothing that ye can deny by the Scriptures.

Chan. Yea, thou wilt not believe that Christs Flesh is Flesh in thy Flesh.

Eliz. No Sir, God hath given me no such belief; for it cannot be found by the Scriptures.

Chan. Wilt thou believe nothing but what is in the Scripture? Why, how many Sacraments dost thou find in the Scripture?

Eliz. The Church of Christ doth set down twain.

Chan. I will as well find seven by the Scripture, as thou shalt find twain.

Eliz. Sir, I talk not to you thereof, but I say that the Church of Christ setteth out twain, and I have been taught no more.

Chan. What are those twain?

Eliz. The Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, and the Sacrament of Baptism.

Chan. What saith thou by the Sacrament of Wedlock?

Eliz. I have not heard it called a Sacrament, but the Holy Estate of Matrimony, which ought to be kept of all Men that take it upon them.

Chan. How saith thou by Priests? Is it good that they should marry? is it to be kept of them?

Eliz. I come not hither to reason any such matters, for I am no Divine, and also it is no part of my Faith.

Chan. Can ye not tell? ye shall tell or ever you go.

Eliz. Sir, then must ye keep me a good while: for I have not studied the Scriptures for it.

Chan. No? why, ye will not be allamed to flee unto the highest mystery, even to the Sacrament at the first dash and ye are not afraid to argue with the best Doctor in the land.

In the Sacrament ministered and received according to Christs institution, we receive Christ.

A question asked by another.

There Sacrament a witness both of Christs death and of his coming again.

Christs Body occupieth but one place at once.

He said that the sixth examination of Elizabeth Young.

The fleshy nature of the Papists.

Name of Sacraments given by the Church. Two Sacraments.

Priests marriage.

Eliz.

Eliz. Gods mysteries I will not meddle with, but all things that are written, are written for our edification.

Chan. What say you by prayer for the dead? it is not meet that if a Mans Friend be dead, his Friend commend his Soul unto God?

Eliz. There is no Christian Man that will commend his Friend nor his foe unto the Devil. And whether it be good for him when he is dead or no, sure I am, that it is good when he is alive.

Chan. Then thou allowest not prayer to bee good for them when they be dead, and lying in Purgatory. Is it not meet that prayer be made unto God for them?

Eliz. Sir, I never heard in the Scriptures of Purgatory, but in the Scripture I have heard of Heaven and Hell.

Chan. Why, ye have nothing but the Skimming of the Scriptures. Our ancient Fathers could find out in the bottom of the Scriptures that there is a Purgatory. Yea, they could find it in the New Testament, that a Priest shall take the Sacrament, and go to the Altar, and make an Oblation, and offer it up every day.

Eliz. Sir, that could never be found in the Bible nor Testament, as far as ever I could hear.

Chan. Whom dost thou hear read either the Bible or Testament, but a sort of Schismatics, bawdy Bishops, and hedge-Priests (which have brought into the Church a stinking communion, which was never heard of in any place in the world, but here in England) which have deceived the King and all the Nobility, and all the whole Realm?

Eliz. Sir, it is a vile name that ye give them all.

Chan. Where are all the hedge-knaves become now, that they come not to their Answer?

Eliz. Answer Sir? why, they have answered both with the Scriptures, and also with their Bloody; and then where were you that ye came not forth to answer in their times? I never knew any of you that were troubled, but twain, and that was not for Gods Word, it was for their disobedience.

Chan. No, I pray you? did ye not know that we were killed, hanged, burned, and headed.

Eliz. Sir, I never knew that any of you ever was either hanged, killed, burned, or headed.

Chan. No? did ye never hear that the Bp. of Rochester lost his head for the Supremacy of the Bishops of Rome?

Eliz. Then he died not for Gods Word.

Chan. Well, thou wilt believe nothing but that which is written in Gods Word. Where canst thou find the Sabbath written in the Scripture, by the name of the Sabbath? For the right Sabbath day will I prove to be Saturday. Or where canst thou find the Articles of the Creed in the Scripture by the name of the Articles? Or where canst thou find in the Scripture, that Christ went down into Hell?

Eliz. What place or part in the Scripture can ye find to disprove any of these things?

Chan. What Priest hast thou lien withal that thou hast so much Scripture? Thou art some Priests Woman, I think, for thou wilt take upon thee to reason, and teach the best Doctor in all the land, thou.

Eliz. I was never yet Priests Wife, nor yet Priests Woman.

Chan. Have I touched your Conscience?

Eliz. No Sir, ye have not touched my Conscience, but beware ye hurt not your own.

Chan. Thou hast read a little in the Bible or Testament and thou thinkest that thou art able to reason with a Doctor that hath gone to school thirty years; and before God, I think if I had talked thus much with a Jew, as I have done with thee, he would have turned ere this time. But I may say by you as Christ said by Jerusalem, saying; O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how oft would I have gathered thee together, even as a Hen gathereth her chickens, but thou wouldest not. And so would we gather you together in one Faith, and ye will not: and therefore your own Blood be upon your own heads; for I can do no more but teach you. Thou art one of the rankest Hereticks that ever I heard; for thou believest nothing but what is in the Scripture: and therefore thou art damned.

Eliz. I do believe all things written in the Scripture, and all things agreeable with the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghost unto the Church of Christ, set forth and taught by the Church of Christ, and shall I be damned because I believe the Truth, and will not believe an untruth?

Then the Chancellor called the Keeper, saying; Carry take her away, thou knowest what thou hast to do with her. And so she departed, and was brought again to the stock-house, and there she lay certain days, and both her hands manacled in one iron; and afterward she was removed into the *Lollards Tower*, and there she remained with both her feet in the stocks and irons till the next time of examination.

The seventh Examination before the Chancellor and the Bishops Scribe.

When she was brought before the said Chancellor and the Scribe, the Chancellor said unto her; Woman, thou hast been twice before me, but thou and I could not agree, and here be certain Articles that my Lord the Bishop of London would that thou shouldst make answer unto, which are these: First, how many Sacraments thou dost allow?

Eliz. Sir, as many as Christs Church doth allow; and that is twain.

Then said the Scribe. Thou wast taught seven before King Edwards daies.

Chan. Which two Sacraments be those that thou dost allow?

Eliz. The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and the Sacrament of Baptism.

Chan. Dost thou not believe that the Pope of Rome is the Supreme Head of the Church, immediately under God in Earth?

Eliz. No Sir, no Man can be the Head of Christs Church; for Christ himself is the Head, and his Word is the Governor of all that be of that Church, wherefore they be scattered abroad.

Chan. Dost thou not believe that the Bishop of Rome can forgive thee all thy sins Heretical, detestable, and damnable, that thou hast done from thine infancy unto this day?

Eliz. Sir, the Bishop of Rome is a sinner as I am, and no man can forgive me my sins, but he only that is without sin, and that is Jesus Christ which dyed for my sins.

Chan. Dost thou not know that the Pope sent over his Jubilee, that all that ever would fast and pray, and go to the Church, should have their sins forgiven them?

The Scribe. Sir, I thing that she was not in the Realm then.

Chan. Hast thou not desired God to defend thee from the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities?

Eliz. Yes that I have.

Chan. And art thou not sorry for it?

Eliz. No Sir, not a whit.

Chan. Hast thou not said, that the Mass was wicked, and the Sacrament of the Altar most abominable?

Eliz. Yes that I have.

Chan. And art thou not sorry for it?

Eliz. No Sir, not a whit.

Chan. Art thou not content to go to the Church, and hear Mass?

Eliz. I will not go to the Church, either to Mass or Mattens, till I may hear it in a tongue that I can understand: for I will be fed no longer in a strange language. And always the Scribe did write every of these Articles, as they were demanded, and answered unto.

Then the Scribe asked her from whence she came.

The Chancellor said, this is the that brought over all these Books of Heresy and Treason.

Then said the Scribe to her; Woman, where hadst thou all these Books?

Eliz. I bought them in Amsterdam, and brought them over to sell, thinking to gain thereby.

Then said the Scribe, What is the Name of the book?

Eliz. I cannot tell.

Praying for the dead.

Oblation for the dead.

Purgatory.

The holy communion blasphemed.

So many martyrs have been slain, and yet the Faithful bring as though none will come forth to answer them.

Wife of Rochester.

Nothing to be received to salvation but only that which is found in Scripture.

But we read not that Christ did draw them into prisons, and condemned them to be burnt that would not come.

Ann 1558.

Eliz. Young deemed an Heretic, because she believeth all things written and agreeable to the Scripture, and nothing else. *Eliz.* Young had to the stock house, and then to the Lollards Tower.

The seventh examination of *Eliz. Young*.

Two Sacraments.

Head of the Church.

Bishop of Rome.

From the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities.

Dean. Then ye would stand in disputation how many Bodes Christ had.

Eliz. Sir, indeed that question ye did ask me.

Dean. Who shall be the Sureties that thou wilt appear before my Lord of London and me upon Friday next?

Eliz. Sir, I have no Sureties, nor know I where to have any.

Two Women
Sureties for
Eliz. Young

Then spake the Dean unto two Women that stood there, who had earnestly sued for her, saying: Women, will ye be her Sureties, that she shall appear before my Lord of London and me upon Friday next?

The Women. Yea Sir, and it please you.

Dean. Take heed that I find you no more a Brabler in the Scripture.

Eliz. Sir, I am no brabler in the Scripture, nor yet any Man can burthen me therewith.

Dean. Yes, I have heard of you well enough what ye are.

Then said he to the two Women, What if a Man should touch your Conscience, do ye not smell a little of Heresie also?

The Women. No, Sir.

Dean. Yes, a little of the Frying-pan, or else wherefore have ye twain so earnestly sued for her?

The one Woman answered, because that her Children were like to perish, and therefore God put me in mind to sue for her.

Then said the other Woman; And I gate her Child a Nurse, and I am threatned to stand to the keeping of her Child; and therefore it standeth me in hand to sue to have her out.

Eliz. Young
upon Sure-
ties deliver-
ed.

Dean. Woman, give thanks unto these honest Women, who have so earnestly sued for thee, and I promise thee so have I. These great Hereticks will receive nothing but in Spirit and Faith, and so he rose and departed.

Eliz. Sir, God be praised, and I thank you for your goodness and theirs also, and so he went away; and up in the Friday next, because she was accused, her two Sureties went thither, and were discharged.

Elizabeth Lawfon.

Eliz. Lawfon
Confessor.

IN the Town of Bedford, and in the County of Suffolk, was dwelling an antient Godly matron, named Elizabeth Lawfon, about the age of sixty years. This Elizabeth was apprehended as an Heretic by the Constables of the same Town, named Robert Kestrich, and Thomas Elas, in the year of our Lord 1556. because she would not go to Church to hear Mass, and receive the Sacrament, and believe in it.

Rob. Kestrich,
Th. Elas, Per-
secutors.

First, they laid her in a Dungeon, and after that she was carried unto Norwich, and from thence to Bury Goal, where at last she was condemned to be burnt. In the mean time Sir John Sylliard had her home unto his House, he being High Sheriff that year, where she was hardly kept, and wrapped in Irons, till at length, when they by no means could move her to recant, she was sent to Prison again with shameful revilings.

Sir John
Sylliard,
Sheriff.

Thus she continued in Prison the space of two years and three quarters. In the mean time there was burnt her Son and many more, whereby she would often say; Good Lord, what is the cause that I may not yet come to thee with thy Children? Well, good Lord, thy blessed will be done, and not mine.

Eliz. Lawfon
in Prison two
years &
three quar-
ters.
Eliz. Lawfon
sorrow that
she was not
burned.

Not long after this (most happily) followed the death of Queen Mary, after whom succeeded our Queen that now is. At which time this Elizabeth Lawfon remained yet still in Bury Prison, till at last she was bailed upon Sureties, or else she could not be delivered. For the being a condemned person, neither the Temporality, nor yet Spiritual Authority would discharge her without Sureties.

Now she being abroad and her Sureties made afraid by wicked Men, said, they would cast her again in Prison, except she would see them discharged.

Then she got a Supplication to go unto the Queens Majesty, and came to a friend of hers to have his Counsel therein; who willed her to stay a while, because she was old, the days short, and the expenses great, and Weather foul (for it was a little before Christmas) and to tarry until

Summer. In the mean time God brake the bond, and shortened her journey; for he took her home to himself out of this life in peace.

Anno
1558.

This good old Woman, long before she went to Prison, had the falling sickness, and told a friend of hers, one Simon Harlison, after she was apprehended, that she never had it more, but lived in good health and joy of heart, through our Lord Christ.

Eliz. Lawfon
prelerved
from perfo-
cation, en-
joyed her life
in peace.
Eliz. Lawfon
troubled
with the fall-
ling sick-
ness, after
her perfo-
cation never
sick it more.

She had a very unkind Man to her Husband; who while she was in Prison, sold away her raiment, and would not help her; and after she was out of Prison, she returned home unto him, yet would he shew her no kindness, nor help her neither; and yet the House and Land that he dwelt in he had by her: wherefore as long as she lived, she was found of the Congregation.

The said Elizabeth Lawfon also had a Sister, Wife to one Robert Hollon in Mickfield in the same County of Suffolk, which likewise was persecuted and driven out from House to House, and a young Man her Son with her, because they would not go to the Church to hear Mass, and receive the Sacrament of the Altar.

Thomas Christenmas and William Wats.

IN this perillous rage of Queen Maries Reign were two Men persecuted, one called Thomas Christenmas, the other William Wats of Tunbridge in Kent. As these travelled from place to place, not resting two nights together in one place, it happened them on a time to come to Rochester in Kent, where as they entering into the Town, even at the Towns end met with a little Damfel of eight years of age, but whither she went, they knew not. It was then night, and they weary, and faint therefore would have lien in the same Town, but could not tell where, they feared so the bloody Catholics. At last they devised to ask the Damfel whether there were any Hereticks in the Town, or no? and she said, Yea. They asked her where. She answered them; At such an Inn, telling them the name, and where the Inn was. Shortly after, as they were gone from her, they be thought themselves better, and God so moving their Hearts, they went to the Child again, and asked her how she knew that the Innkeeper (of whom she spake before) was an Heretic. Marry, quoth she, well enough, and his Wife also. How knowest thou, pretty Maiden, said they? I pray thee tell us. How know I, said she? Marry because they go to the Church; and those that will not hold up their hands there, they will present them, and he himself goeth from House to House, to compel them to come to Church. When these two Men heard this, they gave God praise, and avoided that House, taking the warning of that Maid (of good bringing up as it should seem) to be Gods marvellous providence towards them.

T. Christen-
mas, W.
Wats.

Gods provi-
dence upon
Thom. Chri-
stemas and
Wm. Wats.

Another escape of William Wats.

His foresaid William Wats, dwelling in Queen Maries days at Seal in Kent, the last year of her Reign save one, was apprehended by his enemies, and brought by the Constables before the Bishop and Justices at Tunbridge, where the Bishop and Justices would have persecuted him all they could, to turn from the truth: howbeit in vain, for they could not remove him, although they spent all the forenoon thereabout, with many flattering words; so merciful was the Lord unto him.

Wm. Wats
another time
delivered by
the Lords
providence;
Wm. Wats
apprehen-
ded and
brought be-
fore the Bi-
shop.

Now when dinner time was come, as they should rife, they committed the Prisoner to the Constables again, and so rose up to go to dinner. The Constables took Wats, and led him to a Victualling-House, where after they had well filled themselves, they fell asleep, supposing their Prisoner to be sure enough under their hands. Wats Wife being then in the House with her Husband, and very careful for his well doing, seeing the Constables thus fast asleep, desired her Husband to depart and go thence, forasmuch as the Lord had made such a way for him. Unto which her words he would not consent, although she perswaded him all that she could.

At the last (they replying one against another) a stranger heard them, and asked her what the matter was, that she was so earnest with her Husband. The Wife told him. Then said the stranger unto Wats these words; For-

Another ex-
ample of
the Lords pro-
vidence. For
ther,

Anno 1558. ther, go thy ways in Gods Name, and herry no longer: the Lord hath opened the way unto thee. Whereupon the said *Wats* went his way, and his Wife departed from him, and went home to her Houfe at *Seale*, thinking her Husband had gone another way. Now as she was going in at her door, telling her Friends of his deliverance, immediately came the said *Wats* in also, and they all being amazed thereat, willed him in all haile to get him away; for they thought there would be search for him immediately.

Then *Wats* said, he would eat meat first, and also pray; which he did, and afterward departed thence. So soon as he was out of the doors, and had hid himself in an holly bush, immediately came the said Constables with thirty persons into the said Houfe to search for him, where they pierced the Featherbeds, broke up his chests, and made such havock, that it was wonderful; and ever anon as they were searching, the Constable cried, I will have *Wats*, I will have *Wats*, I tell thee, I will have *Wats*; but (God be thanked) *Wats* could not be found. And when they saw it bootied not to search for him, in the end they took his Wife, and set her in a pair of Stocks where she remained two days, and she was very bold in the truth, and at the last delivered through the providence of God; whose name be glorified in all his works. Amen.

John Glover of Mancetter Gentleman.

What a Fatherly and manifest providence of the Lord likewise did appear in the preserving of Mr. *John Glover* in the Diocess of *Covenry* and *Lichfield*, in the Town of *Mancetter*, first, at the taking of *Robert* his Brother. At which time although the Commission came down for him, yet so God ordered the matter, that his Brother being sick was apprehended, and yet he being whole escaped, whereof mention is made before.

And again, another time how miraculously the merciful providence of the Lord wrought his escape out of his enemies hands, they being at his Chamber door, and drawing the latch to search for him; and how his Wife the same time was taken and sent to *Lichfield*, read before.

One Dabney.

There was at *London* a certain honest godly person, a Painter, Named *Dabney*, whom *John Avalles* in the time of *Queen Mary* had brought before *Boner* to be examined for his Faith. It happened the same time, as the said *Dabney* was there, that the Bishop was occupied with the Examination of other, so that he was bid to stand by, and to wait the Bishops leisure. Upon the same, or not long after, suddenly cometh word to the Bishop to prepare him in all speed, the general Procession tarried for him. The Bishop hearing that, setting all business apart, busied himself with all speed possible, to the Church, there to furnish Procession. By reason whereof *Dabney*, which newly came to the House, was there left alone, while every man else was busied in preparing and setting themselves forward, according as the case required.

To be short, as the time called on, *Boner* with his Household maketh haile, so fast as they can, out of the doors to the Procession. *Dabney* being left alone, cometh down to the outward Court next the gate, there walking with himself all heavy, looking for nothing less than to escape that danger. The Porter, who was only left at home, seeing the Man to walk alone, supposing he had been some Citizen there left behind, and waiting for opening the gate, went and opened the wicket, asking if he would go out. Yea, said he, with a good will, if ye will let me out. With all my Heart, quoth the Porter, and I pray you so do.

And thus the said *Dabney* taking the occasion offered of God, being let out by the Porter, escaped out of the Wolfs Mouth. The Procession being done, when the Bishop returned home, *Dabney* was gone, and could not be found. Whereupon prayer was wait for him; who after long searching, when he could not get him, at length received fifteen Crowns of his Wife to let him alone when he should see him, and so that good Man escaped.

Alexander Wimbush.

A Like example of God Almightyes goodness towards his afflicted Servants in that dangerous time of persecution, may also appear evidently in one *Alexander Wimbush* a Priest sometime of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*, and then the Popes own Knight, but since an earnest enemy to Antichrist, and a Man better instructed in the true fear of God: It happened that one had promoted him to *Boner* for Religion, upon what occasion I do not understand. According to the old manner in such cases provided, he sent forth *Robin Caly*, otherwise called *Robin Papist*, one of his whelps to bring in the game, and to cause this silly poor Man to appear before him. Little *Robin*, like a proper Man, bestirreth him in his business, and smelleth him out, and when he had gotten him, bringeth him along by *Cheapside*, not suffering him to talk with any of his acquaintance by the way, though they were of his old friends of *Oxford* that offered to speak unto him.

When they came into *Pauls*, it happened this *Alexander* to espy *Doctor Chadsey* there walking up and down. To whom, because he was able in such a case to do pleasure, and for that he had been of his old acquaintance in *Oxford*, he was very desirous to speak to him ere he went through. *Chadsey*, perceiving that *Robin Caly* did attend upon him, said that he durst not meddle in the matter. Yea (saith little *Robin*) you may talk with him if it please you Master *Doctor*. To be short, *Alexander* openeth his case, and in the end desireth, for old acquaintance sake, that he would find means he might be rather brought before *Doctor Marim* to be examined, than any other. Nay, saith he (alleging the words of Christ unto *Peter* in the last chapter of *S. John*.) You remember, Brother, what is written in the Gospel; When thou wast young, thou didst gird thy self, and wentest whither thou wouldest: but being aged, other Men shall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldest not. Thus abusing the Scripture to his private meaning, whereas notwithstanding he might easily have accomplished his final a request, if it had liked him.

Thence was he carried to *Story* and *Cook* Commissioners, there to learn what should become of him. Before them he did use himself boldly and stoutly, as they on the other side did urge him with captious questions very cruelly. When they had baited the poor Man their fill, they asked him where his whore was. She is not my whore (said he) but my lawful wife. She is thy whore, said they. She is not my whore (said he again) but my wife, I tell you. So when they perceived that he would not give place unto them, nor attributed to them so much as they looked for at his hand, according to the ordinary manner, they commanded him to Prison. And now mark well the providence of God in his preservation.

He was brought into *Clunies* House at *Pater-noster-row*, thence to be carried to *Lollards Tower* out of hand, but that *Cluny* (as it happened) his wife and his maid were so earnestly occupied about present business, that as then they had not leisure to lock up their Prisoner. In the Hall where *Alexander* fate was a strange Woman, whose Husband was then presently in trouble for Religion, which perceived by some one occasion or other, that this Man was brought in for the like cause. Alack good Man, saith she, if you will you may escape the cruel hands of your enemies, forasmuch as they be all away that should look unto you. God hath opened the way unto you for a deliverance, and therefore lose not the opportunity thereof, if you be wise. With those and such like words being then perswaded, he gate out of the doors, and went away without any haile making at all; so that if any had followed, he might have been easily recovered again. But undoubtedly, it was Gods will that he should so escape the fury of his adversaries, and be preserved from all dangers of death and imprisonment.

W. Wats delivered out of his enemies hands.

W. Wats taken for a spy.

W. Wats wife set in the Stocks.

Gods providence in preserving Mr. J. Glover, read before.

Another narrow escape of Mr. J. Glover, read before.

Alexander Wimbush, a Minister, delivered by Gods providence from his enemies.

Wimbush taken by Robert Caly.

Wimbush brought to D. Story, and D. Cook, Commissioners.

Wimbush commended to Prison.

Good counsel sent of God.

A way made by Gods providence to Alexander Wimbush to escape.

Bojomes Wife.

Bojomes wife.

As the Works of the Lord are not to be kept secret, whatsoever the Persons be in whom it pleaseth him to work; so cometh to remembrance the Story of one *Bojomes Wife*, not unworthy to be considered. This good Woman being at *Richmond* with her Mother, was greatly called upon, and urged to come to Church. At length, through importunate crying and calling upon, she granted unto them, and came. Being in the Church, and sitting with her Mother in the Pew, contrary in all things to the doings of the Papists, she behaved her self; to wit, when they kneeled, she stood, when they turned forward she turned backward, &c.

The behaviour of Bojomes wife in the Church.

Bojomes wife is summoned to appear at Kingston.

This being notorious in the Church, at length the Constable and Churchwarden, named *Sanders*, attached her in the Queens Name, charging her with her Mother, the next day to appear at *Kingston*. Who, at their command, so did.

Bojomes wife through Gods help escapes.

The next day, according as they were assigned, they came to *Kingston* to appear before the foresaid Officers, who at the same time (as it chanced) were going over the Ferry, and meeting them by the way, saluted them by their names, but at that time had no further power to speak unto them. Afterward, as they were in the Boat going over, they knockt their hands, stamp and stared, lamenting that they had let them so pass their hands. This the Ferry-man declared unto them, and what they said in the Boat. Whereupon the good Woman taking her Journey to *London*, escaped their cruelty, through the secret working (no doubt) of the Lord, who in all his works and evermore be praised, Amen.

Lady Knevett in Norfolk.

The Lady Anne Knevett.

Among the number of the godly that were kept under the Providence of the Lord in those perilous days, I may not forget an ancient good Lady of much worth, called *Lady Anne Knevett*, who till her death dwelt in *Norfolk*, in a Town named *Wimondham*, six miles from *Norwich*. Which said good Lady in *Q. Maryes* days being judged by the Common People to be more than an hundred years of Age, and by her own estimation well toward a hundred, kept her self from their Popish Church, or having any Papistical Trash ministered in her House, but only the Service that was used in the later days of *King Edward* the sixth, which daily she had said before her, either by one *Mr. Tollin*, who was then by Gods Providence preserved in her House, or else by one of her Gentlewomen or Household Servants, that could serve the place in the said *Mr. Tollins* absence.

Lady Knevett threatened by the Bishop.

Now this worshipful Lady continuing in this manner of true serving of God, she and her Family were many times threatened by Messengers, that the Bishop would visit her therefore. Unto which Messengers she would always answer, 'That if his Lordship sent word before what day he would come, he would thereafter be entertained at her hand. But God, whose Providence ruleth the raging Seas, never suffered them all that toiling time to molest her: Although oftentimes when she had Service before her, there were very great Enemies to the Truth, and of much Authority, that came in, and kneeled to Prayer among them, and yet had no power to trouble her therefore.

The great Age of the Lady Knevett.

This good Lady (gentle Reader) kept good Hospitality, as in that Country of her living. She also succoured many persecuted that came to her House in the said *Queen Maryes* days. Were they never so simple, they were esteemed of her as the Friends of the Gospel, and departed not from her without money and meat. Born she was long before *King Edward* the fourth died, and ended her life in the Lord Jesus's peace, about the beginning of the second year of our most Sovereign Lady *Queen Elizabeths* Reign, as one falling into a most sweet sleep.

Lady Elizabeth Vane a great reliever of Gods people.

Unto whom not unworthily may be compared the *Lady Elizabeth Vane*, who likewise, being a great Harbinger and Supporter of the afflicted Martyrs and Confessors of Christ, was in great hazards and dangers of the Enemies, and yet notwithstanding, through the merciful

Providence of the Lord, remained still untouched. Of Anno this *Lady Vane* thou shalt read before. 1558.

John Davis, of the Age of twelve years, and under.

Anno Dom. 1546. and the last year of *K. Henry* the eighth, *John Davis*, a Child of twelve years and under, who dwelling in the House of *Mr. Johnson* Apothecary, in the Town of *Worcester*, his Uncle, using sometimes to read of the Testament and other good English Books, was complained of by *Alice Johnson* his Mistress, which *Alice* being an obstinate person, consulted with one *Thomas Parson*, and one *Alice*, Wife to *Nicholas Brook* Organmaker, with certain of the Canons, and *Mr. Johnson* Chancellor to *Dr. Heath* their Bishop. The means whereby he was entrapped was wrought by the foresaid *Alice Brook*, who procured *Oliver* her Son, Schoolfellow with the said *John Davis*, to feign Friendship with him, and under pretence to be instructed to see his English Books, and especially to get something of his writing against the six Articles. Which being had, was soon brought to the Canons of the Church, and the Chancellor. Whereupon *Thomas Parson*, whether being sent, or of his own mind, came to apprehend him, and his Uncle was forced against his will, to bind the poor Boys Arms behind him; and so he was brought to the Officers of the Town, where he lay from the 14th of August, till the last of September. Then was he commanded to the *Freemans Prison*, where one *Richard Howbrough*, coming to persuade him from burning, willed him to prove first with a Candle: who then holding his finger, and the other a Candle under it a good space, yet (as the party himself to me assured) felt no burning thereof, neither would the other that held the Candle believe him a great while, till he had looked, and saw no scorching of the Candle at all appeared.

John Davis a Child under the Age of twelve years, called to be burned for the six Articles, and yet by Gods Providence preserved.

Then was the Child removed from thence to an inner Prison, called *Peepbole*, where the low Bayliff, called *Robert Towld*, laid upon him a pair of Bolts, so that he could not lift up his small Legs, but leaning on a staff, flipt them forward upon the ground, the coldness of which Irons he feeleth yet in his Ankles, and shall so long as he liveth: with these Bolts his lying was upon the cold ground, having not one lock of Straw nor Cloth to cover him, save only two Sheep-skins, neither durst Father or Mother, or any of his Friends come at him. Besides this, and many great threats of the Papists, there was a mad man put to him in the Prison, with a Knife about him, wherewith he oft times in his Frantick rage proffered to thrust him in.

After this came to him one *Joslyff* and *N. Taver*, two Canons, which had his Writings against the six Articles, and his Ballad, called, *Come down for all your shaven Crowns*, to see whether he would stand to that he had written. Which done, with many great raging words, not long after fate *Mr. Johnson* the Chancellor in the *Guildhall* upon the poor Lad. Where first were brought in his Accusers and sworn, then were sworn also twenty four men which went on his Quest, and found him guilty, but he never came before the Chancellor. Upon this he was sent to the common Goal among Thieves and Murderers, there to tarry the coming of the Judges, and so to be had strait to Execution. But the mighty mercy of the Lord, who helpeth the desolate and miserable when all other help is past, so provided for this filly condemned Lad, that the purpose of all his hard-hearted Enemies was disappointed: For before the Judges came, God took away *Henry* the eighth out of this life. By reason whereof the force of the Law was then staid, howbeit he was nevertheless arraigned, being holden up in a mans Arms at the Bar before the Judges, who were *Portman* and *Marven*. Which, when they perceived that they could not burn him, would have him presently whipped. But *Mr. Bourne* Esq; declared to the Judges how he had whipping enough. After that he had lain a week more in Prison, he had him home to his House, his Wife anointed his Legs her self with Ointment, which then were stiff and numb'd with Irons, till at length when *Mr. Bourne* and his Wife saw they could not win him to the belief of their Sacrament, they put him away, lest he should infect their Son *Anthony*, as they thought, with Heresie.

Thus

Anno 1558. Thus John Davis of the age aforesaid, in what danger he was for the Gospel ye see, and how the Lord preferred him, ye understand. He endured in Prison from the 14th day of August till within seven days of Easter, who is yet alive, and a profitable Minister this day in the Church of England: Blessed be the Lord, *qui facit mirabilia solus.*

Mrs. Roberts.

Furthermore, to both these may be also associate another Gentlewoman, to make the third, named Mrs. Roberts, yet living and dwelling (as I understand) in the Town of *Hawkhurst* in *Suffex*. She being earnestly addicted to the truth of Christs Gospel, and no less constant in that which she had learned therein, so kept her self during all the brunt of *Q. Maries* time, that she never came to their Popish Service, nor would pollute her Conscience with hearing their Idolatrous Mass. There dwelt the same time not far off a Justice, called Sir *John Gilford*, who being as fervent on the contrary side to set forward the proceedings of *Q. Mary*, thought to prove matters with this Gentlewoman, in forcing her into the Church. And first sending his wife, he attempted her by fair words and gentle persuasions to conform her self to the Princes Laws, and to come, as other Christian People did, to the Church. Notwithstanding, the constantly persisting in the sincerity of the Truth, would by no persuasions be won to do therein against her Conscience; and so kept at home a certain space, till again the second time, Mr. *Gilford* thinking not to give her over so, sent his Officers and Servants to her, by force and power to hale her out of her House to the Church, and so did. Where by the way, she for grief of Conscience fainted, and so of necessity was brought home again, and falling into an Ague, was for that time dispersed withal.

The third time, yet the unquiet spirit of Mr. *Gilford* being not contented, after the time that she recovered health again, he would needs come in his own person to compel her, with the, till she, to the Church. But (as the Proverb goeth) Who can let that God would have done? For when Mr. *Gilford* had purposed as pleased him, the Lord so disposed for his Servant, that as the said Mr. *Gilford* was coming up the stairs toward her Chambers, suddenly his old Disease the Gout took him, and terribly tormented him, that he could go no further: And so he, that purposed to carry her to the Church against her will, was him self to be carried home to his House to his pain; protesting and swearing that he would never from henceforth trouble that Gentlewoman more, and no more he did.

Mrs. Anne Lacy.

In the number of good Gentlewomen being in trouble and danger for Gods Word, is not to be omitted the memory of one Mrs. *Anne Lacy* widow in *Nottinghamshire*, who was in great danger in *Q. Maries* time, inasmuch that the Process was forth against her, and she ready to have been apprehended, being so nearly pursued, that she was driven to hide her Bible and other Books in a Dunghill. Mr. *Lacy* her Brother was then Justice of Peace: but to whom (as I have heard) she was but finally beholden. Nevertheless, where Kindred faileth, yet Gods Grace never faileth such as stick to him; for in this mean time, as the Process came out against her, *Q. Mary* died, and so she escaped.

Croftman's Wife.

One *Croftman's* Wife of *Tibham* Longrow in *Norfolk*, in *Q. Maries* time, for not going to Church, was sought for at her House by one *Barber* of the said Town, then Constable of the Hundred, who when he came to her House, she being at home with a Child sucking in her Arms, stepped into a corner on the one side of the Chimney, and they seeking the Chambers the Child never cried (although before they came it did) as long as they were there; and so by this means the Lord preferred her.

The Congregation at Stoke in Suffolk.

There was some likewise which avoided the violent rage of the Adversaries by means only of their number, and mutual concord in godliness, wherein they did so hold together, that without much ado none well could be troubled: whereof we have an example in a certain Town of *Suffolk* called *Stoke*. After the three sharp years of *Q. Maries* Persecution being past, yet notwithstanding the Inhabitants of the Town aforesaid, especially the women, came not to their Church to receive, after the Popish manner, the Sacrament. Who, if they had been but few, they could by no means have escaped Imprisonment. But because there were so many, the Papists thought it not best to lay hands upon them. Only they appointed them sixteen days respite after Easter, wherein as many as would, should receive the Sacrament; those that would not, should stand to the peril that would follow. Of this Company, which were many; giving their hands together, the chiefest doers were these:

Eve, an old woman of 60. years.
Alice Coker her daughter.
Elizabeth Foxe.
Agnes Cutting.
Alice Spencer.
Henry Canker.
Joan Fawke.
Agnes Spaulding.
John Steyre and his Brother.
John Foxe.

Confessors.

These, after the order was taken for their not coming to the Church, took advisement among themselves what was best to be done, and at length concluded by promise one to another, that they would not receive at all. Yet some of them afterward, being persuaded with fair promises that the Communion should be ministered unto them according to *K. Edwards* Book, gate them unto the Parish Priest (whose name was *Cotes*) and asked him after which sort he would minister the Sacrament. He answered to such as he favoured, that he would give it after the right sort; the rest should have it after the Papistical manner.

To be short, none did communicate so, but only *John Steyre* and *John Foxe*; of which the one gave his Wife leave to do as she thought best. The other went about with threats to compel his Wife, saying, that otherwise he would divorce himself from her. As for the rest, they did withdraw themselves from Church, resorting to their wonted Company. Only *Foxes* Wife tarried still at home, all in her dumps and heaviness; whose Husband practised with the Curate in the mean time, that the next day after he should give her the Sacrament, which was the 17 day after Easter. But the very same day, unknowing unto her Husband, she gate her self secretly to her Company, and with tears declared how violently her Husband had dealt with her. The other women bade her notwithstanding to be of a good cheer, and said that they would make their earnest Prayers unto the Lord, both for her and her Husband, and indeed when they had so done, the matter took very good success. For the next day after Goodman *Foxe* came of his own accord unto them, a far other man than he was before, and bewailed his own headiness and rashness, praying them that they would forgive him; promising ever after to be more strong in faith, to the great rejoicing both of them and his Wife.

About half a year after this, the Bishop of *Norwich* sendeth forth certain of his Officers or Apparitors thither, which gave them warning every one to come to the Church the next Sunday following. If they would not come, they should appear before the Commissary out of hand, to render account of their absence. But the women having secret knowledge of this before, kept themselves out of the way for the nonce, to avoid the summons or warning. Therefore when they were not at the Church at the day appointed, the Commissary did first suspend them, according to the Bishop of *Romes* Laws, and within three weeks after did excommunicate them. Therefore when they perceived that an Officer of the Town was set to take some of them, they conveying themselves privily out of the Town, escaped all danger.

The story of a Congregation at Stoke in Suffolk.

John Steyre and John Foxe revolted.

The Christians of Stoke were removed by the Bishop.

The effect of Christian Prayer.

John Foxe recovered again to the Truth by Prayer.

The women of Stoke were removed by the Bishop.

How the women of Stoke escaped.

The prefer-
vation of the
Congrega-
on at London.

NO less marvellous was the preservation of the Congregation in London, which from the first be-
ginning of Queen Mary, to the later end thereof, con-
tinued, notwithstanding whatsoever the malice, device,
searching and inquisition of men, or strictness of Laws
could work to the contrary. Such was the merciful hand
of the Lord, according to his accustomed goodness, ever
working with his People. Of this great bountiful good-
ness of the Lord, many and great examples appeared in
the Congregation which now I speak of. How oft, and
in what great danger did he deliver them?

The Con-
gregation at
the Lucas
House.

First, At the *Black-Friers*, when they should have re-
sorted to Sir *Thomas Carden* house, privy watch was
laid for them, but yet through the Lords vigilant Pro-
vidence the mischief was prevented, and they delivered.

The Con-
gregation
again deli-
vered.

Again, How narrowly did they escape about *Algate*,
where Spies were laid for them? and had not *Thom. Sim-
son* the Deacon espied them, and bid them disperse them-
selves away, they had been taken. For within two hours
the Constable coming to the House after they were gone,
demanded of the Wife what Company had been there.
To whom she, to excuse the matter, made answer again,
saying, That half a dozen good Fellows had been there
at breakfast, as they went a Maying.

The Con-
gregation
again deli-
vered.

Another time also about the great Conduit, they pas-
sing there through a very strait Alley, into a Clothwork-
ers loft, were espied, and the Sheriffs sent for: but be-
fore they came, they having privy knowledge thereof,
immediately shifted away out of the Alley, *John Avelles*
standing alone in the *Mercers Chappel* staring at them.

The Con-
gregation in
a Ship at
Billingsgate.

Another like escape they made in a Ship at *Billingsgate*,
belonging to a certain good man of *Leys*, where in the o-
pen sight of the People they were congregated together,
and yet through Gods mighty Power escaped.

The Con-
gregation in
a Ship be-
twixt Rat-
cliff and
Redriff.

Between *Ratcliff* and *Redriff*, in a Ship called *Jesus*
Ship, twice or thrice they assembled, having there closely,
after their accustomed manner, both Sermon, Prayer, and
Communion, and yet through the protection of the Lord
they returned, although not unspied, yet untaken.

The Con-
gregation in
a Coopers
House in
Pudding Lane.

Moreover, in a Coopers House in *Pudding Lane*, so
near they were to perils and dangers, that *John Avelles*
coming into the House where they were, talked with
the Goodman of the House, and after he had asked a ques-
tion or two, departed: God so working that either he had
no knowledge of them, or no power to apprehend them.

The Con-
gregation in
a House in
Thames-
street.

But they never escaped more hardly, than once in
Thames-street in the night time, where the House being
beset with Enemies, yet, as the Lord would, they were
delivered by the means of a Mariner, who being at that
present in the same Company, and seeing no other way
to avoid, plucked off his slops and swam to the next Boat,
and so rowed the Company over, using his shoes in stead
of Oars, and so the jeopardy was dispatched.

I have heard of one, who being sent to them to take
their Names, and to spy their doings, yet being in a-
mongst them, was converted, and cried them all mercy.

Another no-
table exam-
ple of Gods
merciful
Providence.

What should I speak of the extream and preci-
ous danger which that goodly Company was in at the taking of
Mr. Rough their Minister, and *Cuthbert Symson* their Dea-
con, had not the Lords Providence given knowledge be-
fore to *Mr. Rough* in his sleep, that *Cuthbert Symson* should
leave behind him at home the Book of all their Names,
which he was wont to carry about with him; whereof
mention is made before.

In this Church or Congregation there were sometime
forty, sometimes an hundred, sometimes two hundred,
sometimes more, and sometimes less. About the later
time of Queen Mary it greatly increased. From the first
beginning, which was about the first entry at Q. *Maries*
reign, they had divers Ministers; first *Mr. Scammer*, then
Thos. Foulle, after him *Mr. Rough*, then *Mr. Augustine*
Bernher, and last *Mr. Bentham*. Concerning the deliver-
ance of which *Mr. Bentham* (being now Bishop of *Co-
ventry and Lichfield*) Gods mighty Providence most no-
tably is to be considered. For how is it possible, by mans
chimation, for the said *Mr. Bentham* to have escaped, had
not the present power of the Lord, passing all mens ex-
pectation, been prest and ready to help his Servant in
such a freight. The story and case is this.

A Story of
Mr. Bentham.

At what time the seven last burned in *Smithfield*, men-

tioned in this Book before, were condemned and brought
to the Stake to suffer, came down in the name of the King
and Queen a Proclamation, being twice pronounced o-
penly to the People, first at *Newgate*, then at the Stake
where they should suffer, strictly charging and com-
manding, that no man should either pray for them, or
speak to them, or once say God help them.

It was appointed before of the godly there standing to-
gether, which was a great Multitude, that so soon as the
Prisoners should be brought, they should go to them to
embrace and to comfort them, and so they did. For as the
said *Marys* were coming towards the place in the Peo-
ples sight, being brought with Bills and Gleevs (as the
custom is) the godly Multitude and Congregation with a
general sway made toward the Prisoners, in such manner,
that the Bill-men and the other Officers, being all thrust
back, could nothing do, nor any thing come nigh. So the
godly People meeting and embracing, and kissing them,
brought them in their arms (which might as easily have
conveyed them clean away) unto the place where they
should suffer.

This done, and the People giving place to the Officers,
the Proclamation with a loud voice was read to the Peo-
ple, containing (as is before said) in the King and Queens
Name, that no man should pray for them, or once speak a
word unto them, &c. *Mr. Bentham* the Minister then of
the Congregation, not sparing for that, but as Zeal and
Christian Charity moved him, and seeing the fire set to
them, turning his eyes to the People, cried and said, We
know they are the People of God, and therefore we can-
not chuse but wish to them, and say, God strengthen them;
and so boldly he said, Almighty God, for Christs sake
strengthen them. With that all the People with a whole con-
sent and one voice followed and said, Amen, Amen. The
noise whereof was so great, and the cries thereof so many,
that the Officers could not tell what to say, or whom to
accuse. And thus much concerning the Congregation of
the Faithful assembling together at London in the time of
Queen Mary.

The said *Mr. Bentham* another time, as he passed through
S. Katherine, intending to walk and take the Air abroad,
was enforced by two or three men, approaching upon him,
needs to go with them to a place, whither they would lead
him. *Mr. Bentham* alighted at the suddenness of the matter,
and marvelling what the thing should be, required what
their purpose was, or whether they would have him. They
answered, that by the occasion of a man there found drown-
ed, the Coroners Quest was called and charged to sit upon
him, of the which Quest he must of necessity be one, &c.
He again loth to meddle in the matter, excused himself, al-
leging that in such kind of matters he had no skill, and
less experience; if it would please them to let him go, they
should meet with other more meet for their purpose. But
when with this they would not be satisfied, he alleged
further, that he was a Scholar of *Oxford*, and thereby was
priviledged from being of any Inquest. The Coroner de-
manded the sight of his Priviledge. He said, if he would
give him leave, he would fetch it. Then said the Coroner,
the Queen must be served without all delay, and so con-
strained him notwithstanding to be with them in hearing
the matter.

Being brought to the House where the Coroner and the
rest of the Quest were sitting, as the manner is, a Book was
offered to him to swear upon. *Mr. Bentham* opening the
Book, and seeing it was a Papistical Primer, refused to swear
thereupon, and declared moreover what Superstition in the
Book was contained. What? said the Coroner; I think
we shall have here an Heretick among us. And upon that,
after much reasoning amongst them, he was committed to
the custody of an Officer till further examination: by oc-
casion whereof, to all mens reason, hard it had been and in-
evitable for *Mr. Bentham* to have escaped, had not the
Lord helped where man was not able. What followed? the
Incontinent as they were thus contending and debating a-
bout matters of Herefie, suddenly cometh the Coroner of
the Admiralty, disannulling and repealing the order and cal-
ling of that Inquest, for that it was (as he said) pertaining
to his Office; and therefore the other Coroner and his
Company in that place had nothing to do. And so the first
Coroner was discharged and displaced; by reason whereof
Mr. Bentham escaped their hands, having no more said unto
him.

English.

Q. Mary.

1558.

The Queens
Proclama-
on, no man
to pray for
the Marys,
nor to speak
unto them.

The Con-
gregation
embracing
the Marys
contrary to
the Procla-
mation.

Mr. Bentham
Minister of
the Congre-
gation.

Mr. Bentham
speaks
for the Marys
without
danger.

Another de-
liverie of
Mr. Bentham
out of great
perill.

Mr. Bentham
forced a-
gainst his
will to sit in
the Coror-
ners Office.

Mr. Bentham
refuseth to
swear upon
a Popish
Primer.

Means
wrought
whereby
Mr. Bentham
escaped.

Anno
1558.

Englishmen
at Calicut
preserved.

Englishmen preserved at the taking of Calice.

John Thorp
& his Wife

THe worthy works of the Lords mercy toward his people manifold, and cannot be comprehended, so that when he living in the earth almost who hath not experienced the helping hand of the Lord at some time or other upon him? And thus many other of the works of Gods tender provision were shewed of late upon our English Brethren and Countrymen, what time *Calicut* was taken by the Tyrant *Guzner*, a cruel enemy to Gods truth and our English Nation? And yet the gracious provision of the Lord, few or none at all, for that many of the *Christians* were saved by the Lord, and by the goodly *Christ* and his Gospel: in that terrible time of affliction. In the number of whom there was a goodly couple as *John Thorpe* and his Wife, which feared the Lord, and loved his truth: who being sick the same time, and cast out in the wild fields, harborless, desolate, and despairing of all hope of life, having their young Infant moreover taken from them in the said fields, and carried away of the Soldiers; yet the Lord so wrought, that the poor Woman, being almost past recovery of Life, was fet and carried the space well nigh of a mile by strangers whom they never knew, into a village, where both she was recovered for that night, and also the next day coming toward *England*, they chanced into the same Inn at the next Town, where they found their young Child sitting by the fire side,

Edward Benet.

A Story of
Ed Bower
now dwell-
ing in S.
Bridges Pa-
rish.

O Ne *Edward Benet* about the second year of the
 Reign of *Queen Mary*, then dwelling at *Queens-
 hithe* with one *Grynocke* a Baker, was desired of one *Tingle*
 Prisoner then in *Newgate*, to bring him a New *Tale*.
 He procuring one of *Master Coverdales* transla-
 tion, wrapt it in a handkerchief, saying to *George* the
 Keeper, which asked him what he had, that it was a piece
 of poudred beef. Let me see it, said he. Perceiving what
 it was, he brought him to *Sir Roger Cholmely*, who exami-
 ned him why he did so, saying that *Book* was not lawful,
 and so committed him to the *Compter* in *Woodstreet*, where
 he continued 25. weeks.

Ed. Bennett 2 1/2 weeks in the Counter, for bringing a New Testament to Tungle. Which after died in Prison, and was buried on dunghil. D. Stierus words to Ed. Bennett.

Doctor *Story* coming to the Prison to examine other Prisoners, this *Bener* looking out at the grate, spake to him, desiring him to be good unto him, and to help him out; for he had lien long in Prison. To whom *D. Story* then answering; What, said he, wast thou not before me in Chrils Church? Yes forsooth, said *Bener*. Ah, said *Story*, thou dost not believe in the Sacrament of the Altar? Marry I will help thee out; Come, said he to the Keeperturn him out, I will help him: and so took *Bener* with him, and brought him to *Clary* in *Pater-noster-row*, and bade him bring him to the *Colebous*, and there he was in the Stocks a week.

Ed. Brier
brought to
Baker, and
examined.

Then the Bishop sent for him to talk with him, and first asked him if he were shirven? No, said *Bener*. He asked him if he would be shirven? No, said he. Then he asked him if the Priest could take away his sins? No, said *Bener*. I do not so believe. Then he and *Harpsfeld* laughed at him, and mocked him, asking him if he did not believe that whatsoever the Priest here bound in earth, should be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever he loofeth in earth, should be loofed in Heaven. No, quoth *Bener*: But I believe that the Minister of God preaching Gods Word truly, and ministering the Sacraments according to the same, whatsoever he bindeth in earth, should be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever he lofeth, &c. Then the Bishop, putting him aside, said he should go to *Fulham* and be whipped.

Then came him *M. B. B.* *and* *Priselt* lying in the *Colebrook*'s in the *Stocks*, and brought *Crammers*: recanting, saying that he had recanted. *My Faith*, faith the other, lyeth in no *Mans Book*, but in him which hath redeemed me.

The next *Saturday*, *Bener* with five other was called for to come to *Mafs* in the *Chappel*. The *Mafs* being done, and they coming out, five of them went to *Prison*, and were after bound. *Bener* being behind, and coming toward the gate, the *Porter*, opening to a company going out, asked if there were no *Prisoners* there. No, said they.

Bener standing in open sight before him, with other serving-men which were there by reason that *Bener* made many *Priselt* that day (having one of his *flukes* and half

the forepart of his coat burned off in Prison, being more like a Prisoner than any of the other) when the gates were opened, went out amongst them, and so escaped.

Again, in the last year of Queen Mary, the late *Bener* being taken again with the 24. beyond *Islington*, and brought to *St Roger Cholmsley*, the people coming very thick did cut off some of them, to the number of 8. which were behind, among whom was *Bener*. then he knocked at the gate to come in, the Porter said, that he was none of the company. He said, Yes, and knocked again. Then there stood one by of the Congregation, named *Johnsen*, dwelling now at *Hammermissh*, which said, *Edward*, thou hast done well; do not tempt God: go thy way. And he taking the warning as sent of God, with a quiet Conscience eschewed burning.

Jeffery Hurst *Brother in law to George Marsh the Martyr.*

IN the Town of *Shakerley* in *Lancashire* dwelled one *Jeffery Hurst* the Son of an honest yeoman, who had besides him eleven Children, the said *Jeffery* being the twelfth and eldest of the rest; and for that their Father was willing to bring them up, so that they should be able ano-

The Story of *Jeffery Hurst* dwelling in the Town of *Shakerley* in the Parish of *Leaght*.

ther day to help themselves, he did bind this *Jeffery* pre-
 nate unto the craft of nailing, to make all kind of nails,
 which occupation he learned, and served out the time of 7
 years. The which years being expired, he gave himself at
 times to learn of his other Brethren which went to school:
 so he was very willing to be faine, so God sent him
 knowledge; wherein he did persevere and go forwards
 in such for the time as he wrote and did sufficiently,
 and in longer continuance came he more knowledge
 so having the Bible and divers other Books in his House,
 did come by pretty knowledge in the Scripture. After this
 he took unto him a Wife being the Sister of *M. George*
Marib, of whose Martyrdome mention is made before.

and being much familiar with him, did mend his knowledge not a little. Now when Queen *Mary* was entred, the first year of her Reigne he kept himself away from their doings and came not at the Church: Whereupon he was laid in wait for, and called Hereticke, and Lollard, and for fear of further danger he was compelled to leave his Wife and Child, all and fled into *Torkshire*, and there being not known did lead his life, returning sometimes, by night to his House to comfort his Wife, and bringing

Anothe escape of Ed. Binet.
Eight of the 24 taken at *Islington*, escaped, and how: Good warning sent of God.

Jeffery Husse
Brother to
J. Husse the
Martyr.

Preachers
singing to Je-
sary Har-
house, and
to Preach.

M. T. Leland
Justice
of Peace at
Lancashire, a
rueful perie-
utor.

Mistris
 Mervyn,
 Myft
 Mladly:

How Edm.
Bened escaped
out of
the Bishops
House.

of her Tenants for her sake, but notwithstanding he must needs execute his Office. And again you must (said he) note this, that a scabbed Sheep is able to infect a great number; and especially having, as he hath, so many Brethren and Sisters, he is able to marr them all, if he be not looked unto in time. And thus concluding, *M. Leland* entred into the House, and being come in, set himself in a chair in the middle of the House; and sending *Sir Ralph Parkinson* his Priest, and one of his Men, and one of *Mistress Shakerley* Men about the House, to search and rifle the chests for Books (which so did) in the mean time he talked with *Hurfs* Mother, being of the age almost of 60. years. And chiding with her that she would suffer her Son to order and behave himself like an Heretick, said; Thou old fool, I know my self that this new learning shall come again; but for how long; even for three Months or four Months, and no longer. But I will lay thee old fool in *Lancaster* Dungeon for this gear, and well worthy.

M. Leland entred to four, his wife, *Monte*, *Ralph Parkinson* a popish persecuting Priest.

The Papists follow the promises of the Gospel to come again after 4 Months

The New Testament of *Tindals* Translation made in the year 1534, for *Hurfs* and his Sister *Alice*

The old mother threatned to go to *Lancaster*, *Cassie*, *Hurfs* mother's bond in a 100 pound for his forth coming.

Master Leland Maker, Talk between *Jeffery Hurfs* and the Justice, *Jeffery Hurfs* death to come to *M. L.*

Examination after *M. L.*

J. Hurfs and *Alice* his brother's under sentence, *Justice* by the Death of *Q. Mary* released.

J. Hurfs in *Q. Mary's* death, he put in a petition to the proctor of the Court.

Now as concerning the searchers, they found nothing but Latin Books, as Grammar, and such like. These be not they that we look for (said they) we must see further, and so looked into *Hurfs* Chamber; here they found the forefaid Books. Then *Sir Ralph* taking up the Testament, lookt on it, and smiled. His Master seeing that, said, Now *Sir Ralph*, what have we here? Forsooth, said he, a Testament of *Tindals* Translation, plain Heretic, and none worse than it. Then is all their goods, said he, lost to the Queen, and their Bodies to Prison, and was wonderfully hasty; notwithstanding through *Mistress Shakerley*, for a space, he was content to see further.

Then the Priest looked on the other Book. What say ye to that *Sir Ralph*? is that as evil as the other? No, said he, but it is not good that they should have such English Books to look on; for this and such others may do much harm. Then he asked his Mother where her eldest Son was, and her daughter *Alice*? She answered she could not tell; they were not with her of long time before. And he swore by Gods Body, he would make her tell where they were, or he would lay her in *Lancaster* Dungeon; and yet he would have them notwithstanding too. To be short, for fear, he had his Brother *J. Hurfs* and his Mother bound in an hundred pound to bring the parties before him within fourteen days, and so departed he, and the Priest put both the Books in his bosom, and carried them away with him. Then *John Hurfs* went after them, desiring that he might have the Book which the Priest found no fault with; but he said, they should answer to them both, and which soever was the better, was not good.

As this past on, when the time was come that *Jeffery Hurfs* and his Sister should be examined, the Justice sent for them betimes in the morning, and had prepared a Maf to begin withal, asking *Jeffery Hurfs* if he would first go and see his Maker, and then he would talk further with him. To whom when *Jeffery* answered and said; Sir, my Maker is in Heaven, and I am assured in going to your Maf I shall find no edification thereby; and therefore I pray you hold me excused.

Well, well, said he, I perceive I shall find you an Heretick, by God; but I will go to Maf, and I will not lose it for all your prating. Then into his Chappel he went, and when Maf was done he sent for them, and caused his Priest to read a scrole unto them as concerning the seven Sacraments; and ever as he spake of the Body and Blood of Christ, he put off his Cap, and said; Loe ye may see, you will deny these things, and care not for your Prince; but you shall feel ere I have done with you, and all the faculty of you, with other talk more between them, I know not what; but in the end they were licensed to depart unto Sureties to appear again before him within three weeks, and then to go to *Lancaster*. However, in the mean while it so pleased God, that within four days of the day appointed, it was noised that the Queen was dead, and within fourteen days after the said *Jeffery Hurfs* had sent home his two Books, and nothing was said unto him.

It followed after this that Gods Word begun to take place, and the Queens Visitors came down into that Country, who did chuse four Men in the Parish, to wit *Simon Smith*, *Jeffery Hurfs*, *Henry Brown*, *George*

Eccersly, which four were Protestants, to see the Queens proceedings to take place, which according to their power did the same, notwithstanding it did little prevail; and therefore the said *Jeffery* being sore grieved with the Office, fell sick, in which sickness it pleased God to call him, making a very Godly end, God have the praise for it.

Now to return to the forefaid *Thomas Leland* again, he continuing in his Office still, did very few times come to the Church, but said he was aged, and might not labour, and there kept with him *Sir Ralph Parkinson* his Priest, which could (as it was said) minister the Communion unto the people, and sing Maf unto his Master; yes, and (as the same reported) did a prettier feat than all that; for he begat two Children by a Servant in a House, his Master knowing it, and saying nothing, for that he would not lose his good Maf Priest.

Furthermore, this was noted in the same Justice *Leland's* behaviour at Service time, that he had a little dog which he would play with all Service time, and the same dog had a collar full of bells, so that the noise of them did molest and trouble others, as well as himself, from hearing the Service. Also in the same Justice it was noted and observed, that as he sat in his Chappel at Service time, his manner was on a Willow bark to knit knots, for that he could not be suffered to have his Beads, and to put the same upon a string also. Witness hereof *Edward Hurfs*, with others.

Furthermore, as concerning *Henry Brown* one of the four chosen Men above mentioned, this is also to be headed, that the said *Henry Brown* dwelling in the Town of *Pinnington* in the same Parish, Anno 1564, had a little Boy, who as he was playing in the Town, one *Glaives* Wife gave unto the Boy a pair of Beads made of wood, for him to play withal. The little Boy, being glad thereof to have such a trim thing, went home and shewed his Father of them. His Father seeing the Beads, took them and burned them, and when he had so done, went forth and asked who had given unto his little Boy that pair of Beads.

That did I, said *Glaives* Wife. Well, said he, I have burned them. Haft thou so, said she? and thrust him from her. They shall be the dearest Beads that ever thou sawest, and incontinent went and complained unto the said Justice, how *Brown* had burned her Beads.

This matter the Justice took sore to snuff, and was very angry, and did direct his Letter unto the Constables of the same Town, by his own hand subscribed; the title of which superscription on the backside was this, *To the Constables of Punnington give this*.

This done, the Constables according to this their charge did bring him afore the Justice at the time appointed; and when the Justice came to talk with him, he was in such a heat, that he called him Thief, and said that he had robbed his neighbour in burning of her Beads, and that there was Rings and other Jewels on them, and that he might as well have picked her purse, wherefore (said he) I will lay thee in *Lancaster* Dungeon for this gear.

What if they were thus talking, there came all his Servants about them from their work, saying; Is this Master Doctor *Brown* that will burn Beads? I pray you Sir, let us have him here and preach. I will give you a quarters wages, said one; and I will give money faith another, and he shall be Master Doctor, with much derision and scoffing at this poor Man.

He hearing this, spake again boldly, and said; Did you send for me to make a laughingstock of me? You be in Office, and ought rather to come to the Church, and see such Papistry abolished your self, than thus to trouble me for doing my duty; but I tell you plainly, that you do not come to Church as you ought to do, and therefore with more things that I have to charge you withal, I say you do lamentably not well. When all this misdemeanour of the Justice laid to his charge would not prevail, and also witness came in of the Papists which did know the Beads, and testified that they were plain, and cost but a half penny, he then went into his parlour in a chafe, and one Master *Exberfsen* a Papist with him; which *Exberfsen* turned back, and said, Is it you *Henry Brown*, that keepeth this fire? you are one of them that pulled down Crosses in the Church, and pulled down the Rood fellow, and all the Saints; you

Anno 1558.

The Leland the Parish Justice would not come to the Church in *Q. Elizabeth's* time, and yet continued Justice still. Note a Catholic Father of the Popish Church.

The trouble of *Henry Brown* out of his enemies hands.

Glaives Wife maintainers of Popery, & persecutors.

Justice *Leland* and wretched Constables, to apprehend *Henry Brown*, who was troubled for burning of beads in *Q. Elizabeth's* time.

Like Master *Exberfsen* like *M. L.*

Anno 1558. Henry Brown under several difficulties died for a time.

The punishment of Gods stroke upon an obstinate persecutor.

you were best now to go paint a black Devil, and set him up and worship him, for that will serve well for your Religion. And thus under friendship he did depart till July following, and then he said he should go to Lancaster Prison, and so came he away.

The time drew on that he should appear, but God said the matter, and in July, as the foresaid Thomas Le-nold fate in his chair talking with his friends, he fell down suddenly dead, not much moving any joint: And thus was his end; from such God us defend.

William Wood of Kent.

Estimate of W. Wood.

The Examination of William Wood Baker, dwelling in the Parish of *Sirrowd*, in the County of *Kent*, before Doctor *Kenall* Chancellor of the Diocese of *Roche-ster*, Doctor *Chadsey*, the Major of *Roche-ster*, and *M. Robinson* the Scribe, the 19 day of *October* and in the second year of *Q. Mary*, in *S. Nicholas Church* in *Roche-ster*.

M. Robinson. Will. Wood, you are presented, because you will not come to the Church, nor receive the blessed Sacrament of the Altar. How say you? have you received, or have you not?

Wood. I have not received it, nor dare I receive it as you now minister it.

Kenall. Thou Heretick, what is the cause that thou hast not received the blessed Sacrament of the Altar? and at this word all they put off their caps and made low obeisance.

Three causes why W. Wood doth not receive the Sacrament of the Altar.

Wood. There be three causes that make my Conscience afraid that I dare not receive it. The first, Christ did deliver it to his twelve Apostles and said, *Take, eat, and drink ye all of this, &c.* and ye eat and drink up all alone.

The second cause is; you hold it to be worshipped, contrary to Gods Commandment, *Thou shalt not bow down nor worship*. The third cause is; you minister it in a strange Tongue, contrary to *S. Pauls* Doctrine, *I had rather have five words with understanding, than ten thousand with Tongues*; by reason whereof the people be ignorant of the death of Christ.

Kenall. Thou Heretick, wilt thou have any plainer words then these, *Hoc est corpus meum? Take, eat, this is my Body?* Wilt thou deny the Scripture?

Wood. I will not deny the holy Scriptures, God forbid, but with my heart I do faithfully believe them. *S. Paul*. faith, *God calleth the things that are not, as though they were*: and Christ faith, *I am a vine: I am a dove*. *S. Paul* faith, *The rock is Christ*: All which are figurative speeches, wherein one thing is spoken, and another thing is understood.

Robinson. You make a very long talk of this matter: Learn, *Wood*, learn.

Kenall. Nay, these Hereticks will not learn: Look how this Heretick glorieth in himself: Thou fool, art thou wiser than the Queen and her Council, and all the learned Men of this Realm?

Wood. And please you, *M. Chancellor*, I think you would be loath to have such glory, to have your life and goods taken away, and to be thus called upon, as you rail upon me. But the Servant is not greater than his Master. And where you do mock me, and say that I am wiser than the Queen and her Council, *S. Paul* faith, *The wisdom of the wise of this World is foolishness before God, and he that will be wise in this World, shall be accounted but a fool*.

Kenall. Dost not thou believe that after these words spoken by a Priest, *Hoc est corpus meum, This is my Body*, there remaineth no more Bread and Wine, but the very Flesh and Blood of Christ, as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*, really and substantially, in quantity, and quality as he did hang upon the Cross?

Wood. I pray you, *M. Chancellor*, give me leave, for my learning, to ask you one question, and I will answer you after.

Kenall. It is some wise question, I warrant you.

Wood. God spake to the Prophet *Ezekiel*, saying, *Thou Son of Man, take a Razor, and have off the hair of thy Head and of thy Beard, and take one part and cast into the air, take the second part and put it into thy coat lap, and take the third part and cast it into the Fire: and thus*

is Jerusalem. I pray you *M. Chancellor*, was this hair that the Prophet did cast into the Fire, or was it *Jerusalem*.

Kenall: It did signifie *Jerusalem*.

Wood. Even so this word of Christ, *This is my Body*, The natural is not to be understood, that Christs carnal, natural, and real Body is in the same, in quantity and quality, as it was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and as he was Crucified upon the Cross, is present or inclosed in the Sacrament: but it doth signifie Christs Body, as *Saint Paul* faith, *So oft as ye do eat of this Bread and drink of this Cup, you shall shew forth the Lords death till he come*. What should the Apostle mean by this word, *till he come*, if he were here carnally, naturally, corporally, and really in the same quantity and quality as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and as he did hang on the Cross, as you say? but *Saint Paul* faith, *You shall shew the Lords death till he come*. This doth argue that he is not here as you would have us to believe.

D. Chadsey. I will prove that Christ is here present under the form of Bread, but not in quantity and quality.

Kenall said, Yes, he is here present in quantity and quality.

Chadsey. He is here present under a form, and not in quantity and quality.

Yes, said *Kenall*.

No, said *Chadsey*.

I will prove him here in quantity and quality, said *Kenall*.

I will prove the contrary, said *Chadsey*.

And these two Doctors were so earnest in this matter, the one to affirm, the other to deny, contending and raging so fore one at the other, that they fomed at the Mouth, and one was ready to spit in anothers face, so that in great fury and rage the two Doctors rose up from the Judgment seat, and *D. Kenall* departed out of the Church in great Rage and Fury immediately.

Wood. Behold good people, they would have us to believe, that Christ is naturally, really, in quantity and quality, present in the Sacrament, and yet they cannot tell themselves, nor agree within themselves how he is there.

At these words the people made a great shout, and the Major stood up and commanded the people to be quiet, and to keep silence. And the God that did deliver *Saint Paul* out of the hands of the high Priests, by the contention that was between the Pharisees and Sadduces, did even so deliver me at that time out of the Mouths of the Bloody Papists, by the means of the contention of these two Doctors. Blessed be the name of the Lord, which hath promised to lay no more upon his, than he will make them able to bear, and in the midst of temptation he can make his way for his (how, and when it pleaseth him) to escape out of all dangers.

Many other like examples of Gods helping hand have been declared upon his elect Saints and Children, in delivering them out of danger by wonderful and miraculous ways, some by one means, some by another. What a notable work of Gods mighty hand was seen in *Simon Grinaeus*, mentioned in the Commentary of *Melancthon* upon *Daniel*? Who having a sudden warning by a certain old Man, who was not seen after, nor known then of any what he was, avoided the peril of taking and burning, as by the relation of *Melancthon*, writing and witnessing the same, may appear in the words of his own Story here following.

The History of *Simon Grinaeus*, collected out of *Melancthons* commentaries upon the tenth Chapter of *Daniel*.

When I was (faith he) at the assembly holden at *Spire*, in the year of our Lord, 1539, by chance *Simon Grinaeus* came thither unto me from the University of *Heidelberg*, where he heard *Faber*, the Bishop of *Vienna*, in a Sermon defend and maintain certain detestable errors. When the Sermon was done, he followed *Faber* going out of the Church, and saluted him reverently, declaring unto him that he was moved of a good zeal and intent, somewhat to lay unto him, *Faber* was contented to talk with him.

Then

The natural quantity of Christ was in the Sacrament.

The Papists could not agree in their own Doctrine.

W. Wood delivered as was said by the contention of the Pharisees and Sadduces.

The Story of Simon Grinaeus Commentary Phil. Melancthon Daniel. John Faber Bishop of Vienna Obsequium amicorum, veritas odium parit.

Ezek. 5. W. Wood question propounded to the Doctors.

Then *Grinaeus* said unto him, that he was very sorry that a Man of such learning and Authority should openly maintain such errors as were both contumelious against God, and also might be refuted by the manifest testimonies of the Scriptures. *Irenaeus* writeth (said he) that *Polycarpus* was wont to stop his ears whensoever he heard any erroneous and wicked Doctrine. With what mind then (think you) would *Polycarpus* have heard you argue and reason what it is that the mouse eateth, when he gnaweth the Consecrated Host? Who would not bewail such ignorance and blindness of the Church? With this *Faber* brake off his talk, as he was about to say more, and asked his name. This Man dissembling nothing, gently told him that his Name was *Grinaeus*.

Faber gently admonished *Grinaeus* for his secret.

This *Faber* (as many well know) was also timorous and fearful in the company of learned Men. Wherefore he fearing the learning, eloquence, and fervent zeal of *Grinaeus*, specially in such a matter as this was, fained as though he had been sent for by the King, and that he had no leisure now to reason upon this matter. He pretended that he was very desirous of acquaintance and longer talk with *Grinaeus*, intreating him, that both for his own private cause, and also for the Common Wealth, he would come again the next day unto him, and so shewed him his lodging, and appointed him an hour when he should come: *Grinaeus*, thinking that he had spoken unfeignedly, promised so to do.

Godly warning sent by an old Man to *Grinaeus*.

When he was departed from *Faber*, he came straightway unto us, and was scarcely set at the table (for it was supper time) reciting a part of his talk with *Faber* unto me and others there present, when as I sitting with my company, was suddenly called out of the Parlour by a certain ancient Fatherly Man, who shewing a singular gravity in his countenance, words, and behaviour, spake unto me, and said, that the Sergeants would by and by come unto our lodging, being sent by the Kings commandment, to carry *Grinaeus* to Prison, whom *Faber* had accused to the King; commanding that *Grinaeus* should straightways depart out of the Town, and exhorted me, that we should in no case delay the time and so bidding me farewell, departed. But what old Man this was, neither did I know then, nor afterward could I understand. I returning again unto my company, bade them rise, and told them what the old Man had said unto me.

Grinaeus so called and passed.

Grinaeus warned to fly & escape.

Gods merciful providence in delivering the crafty purpose of Persecutors.

By and by, we taking *Grinaeus* in the midst of us, carried him through the Street to the River of *Rbene*, whereas after we had stayed upon the hither bank a while, until *Grinaeus* with his companion were carried over in a small boat, returning again to our lodging, we understood that the Sergeants had been there, when we were but a little way gone out of the House. Now in what great danger *Grinaeus* should have been, if he had been carried to Prison, by this cruelty of *Faber* every Man easily may conjecture: Wherefore we judged, that that most cruel intent and purpose of him, was disappointed by Gods merciful providence. And as I cannot say, what old Man it was that gave me that warning, even so likewise the Sergeants made such quick speed, that except *Grinaeus* had been covered and defended by the Angels through the marvellous providence of God, he could never have escaped.

Concerning the truth of this matter, there be many good Men yet alive, which know both the same, and also were present at the doing thereof. Therefore let us give thanks unto God, which hath given us his Angels to be our keepers and defenders, whereby with more quiet minds we may fulfill and do the Office of our vocation.

With such like examples of Gods mighty and merciful custody, the Church of Christ in all ages doth abound, as by manifold experiences may appear as well among the *Germanes*, as also in other places and ages: but in no place more, nor in any time more plentiful, than in this persecuting time of *Q. Mary*, in this our Realm of *England*, as partly hath been already historied, and partly yet remaineth (the Lord willing) moreover hereunto to be added.

The Lady Katherine, Dutches of Suffolk.

Anno

1558.

Stephen Gardiner Bishop of *Winchester*, furnishing the Lady Katherine Barones of *Willoughby* and *Essex*, by, and Dutches Dowager of *Suffolk*, to be one of his antient enemies, because he knew he had deserved no better of her, deviled, in the holy time of the first *Lent* in Queen *Maries* Reign, a holy practise of revenge, first by touching her in the person of her Husband Master *Richard Berty* Esquire, for whom he sent an attachment (having the great Seal at his Devotion) to the Sheriff of *Lincolnshire*, with a special Letter commanding most straightly the same Sheriff, to attach the said *Richard* immediately, and without bail to bring him up to *London* to his great Lordship. *M. Berty* her Husband being clear in Conscience, and free from offence toward the *Q.* could not conjecture any cause of this strange Process, unless it were some quarrel for Religion, which he thought could not be so fore as the Process pretended.

The Sheriff, notwithstanding the commandment, adventured only to take the bond of *M. Berty* with two Sureties, in a thousand pound for his appearance to be made before the Bishop on good *Friday* following, at which day Master *Berty* appeared, the Bishop then lying at his House by Saint *Mary Overie*. Of whose presence when the Bishop understood by a Gentleman of his Chamber, in a great rage he came out of his Gallery into his dining Chamber, where he found a press of Suters, saying he would not that day hear any, but came forth only to know of *M. Berty*, how he being a Subject, durst so arrogantly set at light two former Processes of the Queen.

M. Berty answered, that albeit my Lords words might seem to the rest somewhat sharp toward him, yet he conceived great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremity to be attached, having used no obsequy or contumacy, now he gathered of those words, that my Lord meant not otherwise but to have used some ordinary Process; albeit indeed none came to his hands.

Yea *Mary*, quoth the Bishop, I have sent you two *Subpoenas* to appear immediately, and I am sure you received them, for I committed the trust of them to no worse Man but to *M. Solicitor*, and I shall make you an example to all *Lincolnshire* for your obsequy.

M. Berty denying the receipt of any, humbly prayed his Lordship to suspend his displeasure and the punishment till he had good trial thereof, and then, if it please him, to double the pain for the fault, if any were.

Well, quoth the Bishop, I have appointed my self this day (according to the holiness of the same) for Devotion, and I will not further trouble me with you: but I enjoin *Friday*, you in a thousand pound not to depart without leave, and to be here again to morrow at 7. of the clock. Master *Berty* well observed the hour, and no jot failed: at which time the Bishop had with him *M. Sergeant Stampford*, to whom he moved certain questions of the said Master *Berty*, because Master Sergeant was towards the Lord *Wriothestley*, late Earl of *Southampton*, and Chancellor of *England*, with whom the said Master *Berty* was brought up. Master Sergeant made very friendly report of *M. Berty*, of his own knowledge for the time of their Conversation together. Whereupon the Bishop caused *M. Berty* to be brought in, and first making a false train (as God would, without fire) before he would defend to the quarrel of Religion, he assaulted him in this manner.

Winch. The Queens pleasure is, quoth the Bishop, that you shall make present payment of 4000. pound due to her Father by Duke *Charles*, late Husband to the Dutches your Wife, whose Executor she was.

Berty. Pleaseth it your Lordship, quoth Master *Berty*, that debt is stalled, and is according to that stallment truly answered.

Winch. Tush (quoth the Bishop) the Queen will not be bound to stallments in the time of *Kettess* Government: for so I esteem the late Government.

Berty. The stallment (quoth *M. Berty*) was appointed by *K. Henry* the eighth: besides, the same was by

The old hatred of *Sir Gardiner* B. against the Dutches of *Suffolk*.

M. Berty Husband to the Dutches, attached by the Sheriff of *Winchester*.

M. Berty appeared before *B. Gardiner*.

Talk between Bishop *Gardiner* and *M. Berty*.

The devotion of *Bishop Gardiner* was to good *Friday*.

M. Berty attached for debt of 4000. l. late Husband to the Dutches *Q.*

Kettess Captain of the Rebels in *K. Edm.* time.

ANNO 1558. by ſpecial Commiſſioners confirmed in K. Edwards time; and the Lord Treafurer being an Executor alſo to the Duke Charles ſolely and wholly took upon him, before the ſaid Commiſſioners, to diſcharge the ſame.

Winch. If it be true that you ſay (quoth the B.) I will ſhew you favour. But of another thing Maſter Berty I will admoniſh you, as meaning you well. I hear evil of your Religion; yet I hardly can think evil of you, whoſe Mother I know to be as Godly and Catholick, as any within this Land; your ſelf brought up with a Maſter, whoſe education if I ſhould diſallow, I might be charged as Author of his error. Beſides, partly I know you my ſelf, and underſtand of my friends enough to make me your friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you; but I pray you, if I may ask the queſtion of my Lady your Wife, is ſhe now ready to ſet up the Maſs, as ſhe was lately to pull it down, when the cauſed in her progreſs, a dog in a Rochet to be carried, and called by my Name; or doth the think her Lambs now ſafe enough, which ſaid to me, when I vaild my bonnet to her out of my Chamber window in the Tower, that it was merry with the Lambs, now the Wolfe was thruſt up? Another time my Lord her Husband, having invited me and divers Ladies to Dinner, deſired every Lady to chooſe him whom ſhe loved beſt, and ſo place themſelves: My Lady your Wife taking me by the hand, for that my Lord would not have her to take himſelf; ſaid, that ſo far (much as ſhe could not fit down with my Lord whom the loved beſt, ſhe had choſen him whom the loved worſt.

Of the device of the Dog, quoth Maſter Berty, ſhe was neither the Author, nor the allower. The words, though in that ſeaſon they ſounded bitter to your Lordſhip, yet if it would pleaſe you without offence to know the cauſe, I am ſure the one will purge the other. As touching ſetting up of Maſs, which the learned not only by ſtrong perſwaſions of divers excellent learned Men, but by univerſal conſent and order whole fix years paſt, inwardly to abhor, if the ſhould outwardly allow, ſhe ſhould both to Chriſt ſhew her ſelf a falſe Chriſtian; and to her Prince a maſking Subject. You know, my Lord, one by Judgment reformed, is more worth than a thouſand transformed temporizers. To force a Confeſſion of Religion by Mouth, contrary to that in the heart, worketh damnation where Salvation is pretended.

Yea Marry (quoth the Biſhop) that deliberation would do well if ſhe were required to come from an old Religion to a new. But now ſhe is to return from a new to an ancient Religion: Wherein when ſhe made me her Goſſip, ſhe was as earneſt as any.

For that, my Lord (ſaid Maſter Berty) not long ſince, ſhe answered a friend of hers uſing your Lordſhips ſpeech; That Religion went not by age, but by truth: and therefore ſhe was to be turned by perſwaſion, and not by commandment.

I pray you (quoth the Biſhop) think you it poſſible to perſwade her?

Yea verily (ſaid M. Berty) with the truth: for ſhe is reaſonable enough.

The Biſhop thereunto replying, ſaid, It will be a marvellous grief to the Prince of Spain, and to all the Nobility that ſhall come with him, when they ſhall find but two Noble perſonages of the Spaniſh race within this land, the Queen, and my Lady your Wife, and one of them gone from the Faith.

Maſter Berty answered, that he truſted they ſhould find no fruits of infidelity in her.

So the Biſhop perſwaded M. Berty to travel careleſly for the reformation of her opinion, and offering large frienſhip, releaſed him of his bond from further appearance.

The Dutcheſs and her Husband, daily more and more, by their friends underſtanding that the Biſhop meant to call her to an account of her Faith, whereby extremity might follow, deviſed ways how by the Queens licence they might paſs the Seas. Maſter Berty had a ready mean: for there reſted great Sums of Money due to the old Duke of Suffolk (one of whoſe Executors the Dutcheſs was) beyond the Seas; the Emperor himſelf being one of thoſe debtors. Maſter Berty communicated this his purpoſed ſite for licence to paſs the Seas, and the cauſe to the Biſhop, adding, that he took this time

moſt meet to deal with the Emperor, by reaſon of likelihood of marriage between the Queen and his Son.

I like your device well (quoth the Biſhop) but I think it better that you tarry the Princes coming, and I will procure you his Letters alſo to his Father.

Nay (quoth M. Berty) under your Lordſhips correction and pardon of ſo liberal ſpeech; I ſuppoſe the time will then be leſs convenient: for when the marriage is confirmed, the Emperor hath his deſires; but till then he will reſuſe nothing to win credit with us.

By Saint Mary (quoth the Biſhop, ſmiling) you gueſs ſhrewdly. Well, proceed in your ſute to the Queen, and it ſhall not lack my helping hand.

Maſter Berty found ſo good ſucceſs, that he in few days obtained the Queens Licence, not only to paſs the Seas, but to paſs and repaſs them ſo often as to him ſeemed good; till he had finiſhed all his buſineſs, and cauſes beyond the Seas. So he paſſed the Seas at Dover about the beginning of June, in the firſt year of her Reign, leaving the Dutcheſs behind, who, by agreement and conſent betwixt her and her Husband, followed, taking Barge at Lion Key, very early in the morning, on the firſt day of January next enſuing, not without ſome peril.

There was none of thoſe that went with her, made privy to her going till the inſtant, but an old Gentleman, called Mr. Robert Cranwell, whom M. Berty had ſpecially provided for that purpoſe. She took with her her Daughter, an Infant of one year, and the meaneſt of her Servants, for the doubted the beſt would not adventure that fortune with her. They were in number four Men, one a Greek born, which was a rider of Horſes, another a Joyner, the third a Brewer, the fourth a fool, one of the Kitchen, one Gentlewoman, and a Landreſs.

As ſhe departed her Houſe called the Barbican, betwixt four and five of the clock in the morning, with her company and baggage, one Atkinſon a Herald, Keeper of her Houſe, hearing noiſe about the Houſe, roſe and came out with a torch in his hands as ſhe was yet iſſuing out of the gate: wherewith being amazed, ſhe was forced to leave a male with neceſſaries for her young Daughter, and a milk-pot with milk in the ſame gate-houſe, commanding all her Servants to ſpeed them away before to Lion Key: and taking with her only the two Women and her Child: ſo ſoon as ſhe was forth of her own Houſe perceiving the Herald to follow, ſhe ſtept in at Charterhouſe hard by. The Herald coming out of the Dutcheſs Houſe, and ſeeing no Body ſtirring nor aſſured (though by the male ſuſpecting) that he was departed, returned in; and while he ſtayed ranſacking parcels left in the male, the Dutcheſs iſſed into the Streets, and proceeded in her journey, he knowing the place only by Name where ſhe ſhould take her boat, but not the way thither, nor any with her. Likewiſe her Servants having divided themſelves, none but one knew the way to the ſaid Key.

So ſhe appeared like a mean Merchants Wife, and the reſt like mean Servants, walking in the ſtreets unknown, ſhe took the way that led to Finsbury Field, and the others walked the City Streets as they lay open before them, till by chance more than diſcretion, they met all ſuddenly together a little within Moregate, from whence they paſſed directly to Lion Key, and there took Barge in a morning ſo milky, that the Stearman was loath to launch out, but that they urged him. So ſoon as the day permitted, the Council was informed of her departure, and ſome of them came forth with to her Houſe, to enquire of the manner thereof Purſuite after and took an inventory of her goods, beſides further order the Dutcheſs deviſed for ſearch and watch to apprehend and ſlay her.

The ſarve of her departure reached to Leigh, a Town the Dutcheſs at the Lands end, before her approaching thither. By which ſhe remained in M. Gollings Houſe my acquaintance of Cranwells, whither the ſaid Cranwell brought the Dutcheſs, naming her Miſtreſs White, the Daughter of Maſter Gollings, for ſuch a Daughter he had which never was in that Country. There the reſt of her, and made new Garments for her Daughter, having loſt her own in the male at Barbican.

When the time came that ſhe ſhould take ſhip, being conſtrained that night to lye at an Inn in Leigh (where ſhe was again almoſt bewrayed) yet notwithstanding

M. Berty li-
cenced by
the Q. to paſs
the Seas.

Preparation
made how to
convey the
Dutcheſs o-
ver the Seas.
M. Cranwell
a truſty
friend to M.
Berty.

The Dutcheſs
with her
company de-
parted the
Barbin.

The manner
of the Dutcheſs
eſcaping out of
her Houſe.

The Dutcheſs
with her
company ta-
keth Barge.

Purſuite after
the Dutcheſs
deſired for ſearch
and watch to
apprehend and
ſlay her.

The hard
adventure of
the Dutcheſs
upon the
ſea.

ing by Gods good working the eſcaped that hazzard; at length, as the tide and wind did ſerve, they went abroad, and being carried twice into the Seas, almoſt into the coaſt of Zeland, by contrary wind were driven to the place from whence they came, and at the laſt recoil, certain perſons came to the ſhore, ſuſpecting the was within that ſhip; yet having examined one of her company that was aland for ireſh Achates, and finding by the ſimplicity of his tale, only the appearance of a mean Merchants Wife to be a ſhipboard, he ceaſed any further to ſearch.

The Dutcheſs
landed
in Brabant.
M^r. Berry
with the
Dutcheſs his
Wife arrived
at Santon, a
free Town
of Weſell in
Clevesland.

To be ſhort, ſo ſoon as the Dutcheſs had landed in Brabant, ſhe and her Women were apparelled like the Women of Netherland with hoods; and ſo the and her Husband took their journey towards Clevesland, and being arrived at a Town therein called Santon, took a houſe there, until they might further deviſe of ſome ſure place, where to ſettle themſelves.

A protection
procured for
the Dutcheſs
of the Magiſ-
trates of
Weſell.

About five miles from Santon, is a free Town called Weſell, under the ſaid Duke of Cleves Dominion, and one of the *Hance* Towns, privileged with the Company of the *Steelyard* in London, whither divers *Walloon*s were fled for Religion, and had for their Miniſter one *Francis Peruſſell*, then called *Francis de Rivers*, who had received ſome courteſie in England at the Dutcheſs hands. Maſter *Berry*, being yet at Santon, practiſed with him to obtain a protection from the Magiſtrates for his abode and his Wives at Weſell; which was the ſooner procured, becauſe the ſtate of the Dutcheſs was not diſcovered, but only to the chief Magiſtrate, earnestly bent to ſhew them pleaſure, whiles this protection was in ſeeking.

In the mean while, at the Town of Santon was a muttering that the Dutcheſs and her Husband were greater perſonages than they gave themſelves forth, and the Magiſtrates not very well inclined to Religion, the Biſhop of *Arras* alſo being Dean of the great Minſter, order was taken, that the Dutcheſs and her Husband ſhould be examined of their Condition and Religion upon the ſudden. Which practiſe diſcovered by a Gentleman of that Country to M^r. *Berry*, he without delay taking no more than the Dutcheſs, her Daughter, and two other with them, as though he meant no more but to take the air, about three of the Clock in the afternoon in February, on foot, without hiring of Horſe or Wagon for fear of diſcloſing his purpoſe, meant privily that night to get to Weſell, leaving his other family ſtill at Santon.

After the Dutcheſs and he were one Engliſh mile from the Town, there fell a mighty rain of continuance, whereby a long froſt and Ice before congealed, was thawed, which doubled more the wearineſs of thoſe new Lacquies. But being now on the way, and overtaken with the night, they ſent their two Servants (which only went with them) to villages as they paſt, to hire ſome Carr for their caſe, but none could be hired. In the mean time Maſter *Berry* was forced to carry the Child, and the Dutcheſs his Cloak and Rapier. At laſt, betwixt fix and ſeven of the clock in the dark night, they came to Weſell, and repairing to the Inns for lodging, and ſome repoſe after ſuch a painful journey, found hard entertainment: for going from Inn to Inn offering large money for ſmall lodging, they were reſuſed of all the Inn-holders, ſuſpecting Maſter *Berry* to be a Launce-knight, and the Dutcheſs to be his Woman. The Child for cold and ſuſtenance cryed pitifully, the Mother wept as faſt, the Heavens rained as faſt as the Clouds could pour.

The hard
contentment of
M^r. Berry, & the
Dutcheſs at
their returning
into Weſell.

M^r. *Berry*, deſtitute of all other ſuccour of Hoſpitality, reſolved to bring the Dutcheſs to the Porch of the great Church in the Town, and ſo to buy coals, victuals, and ſtraw for their miſerable repoſe there that night, or at leaſt till by Gods help he might provide her better lodging. Maſter *Berry* at that time underſtood not much dutch, and by reaſon of evil weather and late ſeaſon of the night, he could not happen upon any that could ſpeak Engliſh, French, Italian, or Latin, till at laſt, going towards the Church Porch, he heard two ſtriplings talking Latin, to whom he approached, and offered them two Stivers to bring him to ſome *Walloon*s Houſe.

Gods providence
in time of
direſſion.

By the Boys, and Gods good conduct; he changed at the firſt upon the Houſe where Maſter *Peruſſell*

ſupped that night, who had procured them the protection of the Magiſtrates of that Town. At the firſt knock, the Goodman of the Houſe himſelf came to the door, and opening it, asked Maſter *Berry* what he was. Maſter *Berry* ſaid, An Engliſhman, that fought for one Maſter *Peruſſell*s Houſe. The *Walloon* willed Maſter *Berry* to ſtay a while, who went back, and told Maſter *Peruſſell*, that the ſame Engliſh Gentleman, of whom they had talked the ſame ſupper, had ſent by likelihood his Servant to ſpeak with him. Whereupon Maſter *Peruſſell* came to the door, and beholding Maſter *Berry*, the Dutcheſs, and their Child, their faces, apparels, and bodies ſo far from their old form, deformed with dirt, weather, and heavineſs, could not ſpeak to them, nor they to him for tears. At length recovering themſelves, they ſaluted one another, and ſo together entered the Houſe, God knoweth full joyfully; M^r. *Berry* changing his apparel with the good Man, the Dutcheſs with the good Wife, and their Child with the Child of the Houſe.

Within few days after, by Maſter *Peruſſell*s means, they hired a very fair Houſe in the Town, and did not let to ſhew themſelves what they were, in ſuch good fort as their preſent condition permitted. It was by this time thorow the whole Town what diſcourteſie the Innholders had ſhewed unto them at their entry, inſomuch as on the Sunday following, a Preacher in the Pulpit openly in ſharp terms rebuked that great incivility toward ſtrangers, by allegation of ſundry places out of holy Scriptures, diſcourſing how not only Princes ſometimes are received in the Image of private perſons, but Angels in the ſhape of Men, and that God of his Juſtice would make them ſtrangers one day in another Land, to have more ſenſe of the afflicted heart of a ſtranger.

The time thus paſſing forth, as they thought themſelves thus happily ſettled, ſuddenly a watch-word came from Sir *John Maſon*, then Queen *Maries* Embaſſador in Netherland, that my Lord *Pages* had ſailed an errand to the *Barthes* that ways: and whereas the Duke of *Brunſwike* was ſhortly with ten Enſigns to paſs by Weſell for the Service of the Houſe of *Auſtrick* againſt the French King, the ſaid Dutcheſs and her Husband ſhould be with the ſame charge and company intercepted.

Wherefore to prevent the cruelty of theſe enemies, Maſter *Berry* with his Wife and Child departed to a place called *Wincheim* in high Dutchlund under the *Palgrave*s Dominion; where under his protection they continued till their neceſſaries began to fail them, and they, almoſt fainting under ſo heavy a burden, began to fall of hope.

At what time, in the miſt of their deſpair, there came ſuddenly Letters to them from the Palatine of *Vilova*, and the King of *Pole*, being inſtructed of their hard eſtate by a Baron, named *Joannes Alaſco*, that was ſometime in England, offering them large courteſie. This purviſion unlooked for, greatly revived their heavy Spirits. Yet conſidering they ſhould remove from many their Countrymen and Acquaintance, to a place ſo far diſtant, a Country not haunted with the Engliſh and perhaps upon their arrival not finding as they looked for, the end of their journey ſhould be worſe than the beginning; they deviſed thereupon with one Maſter *Carloe*, late Biſhop of *Chiecheſter*, that if he would vouchſafe of *Vilova* to take ſome pains therein, they would make him a ſellow of that journey. So finding him prone, they ſent with him Letters of great thanks to the King and Palatine, and alſo with a few Principal Jewels (which only they had left of many) to ſolicit for them, that the King would vouchſafe under his Seal, to aſſure them of the thing which he ſo honourably by Letters offered.

That ſute, by the forwardneſs of the Palatine, was as ſoon granted as uttered. Upon which aſſurance the ſaid Dutcheſs and her Husband, with their family, entered the journey in April, 1557. from the Caſtle of *Wincheim*, where they before lay, towards *Frankford*. In the which their journey, it were long here to deſcribe what dangers fell by the way upon them and their whole company, by reaſon of their *Langraves* Captain, who, under a quarrel pretended for a ſpaniel of Maſter *Berries*, ſet upon them in the High-way with his Horſemen,

Anno
1558.

Thenceforth
of W. Peruſſell
and the Dutcheſs at Weſell.

The Citizens of Weſell admoniſhed by their Treachery of their handſels towards Brabant.

A friendly part of Sir J. Maſon towards the Dutcheſs.

A train laid for the Dutcheſs by the L. Pages & the Duke of Brunſwick.

M. Berry and the Dutcheſs remove to Wincheim under the Palgrave's Dominion.

The help of hand of the Lord again in their neceſſity.

Joan. Alaſco a means to the King of Pole, for the Dutcheſs of Suffolk.

The Dutcheſs invited into Viland by the Letters. M. Berries meſſenger from the Dutcheſs to the K. of Pole.

The Palatine of Viteva a great friend to the Dutcheſs.

The Dutcheſs takes her journey toward Poland.

The troubles happening to the Dutcheſs in her journey to Poland.

Anno 1558. Horsemen, thrusting their Bore-Spears throw the Wagon where the Children and Women were, Master *Berty* having but four Horsemen with him. In the which brabble it hapned the Captains Horse to be slain under him.

Whereupon a rumor was sparfed immediately thorow Towns and Villages about, that the *Langyaves* Captain should be slain by certain *Wallons*, which incensed the ire of the Countrymen there more fiercely against Master *Berty*, as afterward it proved. For as he was motioned by his Wife to save himself by the swiftness of his Horse, and to recover some Town there by for his rescue; he so doing was in worse case than before: for the Townsmen and the Captains Brother, supposing no less but that the Captain had been slain, pressed so eagerly upon him, that he had been there taken and murdered among them, had not he (as God would) spying a Ladder leaning to a Window, by the same got up into the House, and so gone up into a Garret in the top of the House, where he with his Dagger and Rapier defended himself for a space: but at length the *Burgh-master* coming thither with another Magistrate which could speak Latine, he was counselled to submit himself to the order of the Law. *M. Berty* knowing himself clear, and the Captain to be alive, was the more bold to submit himself to the judgment of the Law, upon condition that the Magistrate would receive him under safe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promised, *M. Berty* putteth himself and his Wagon into the Magistrates hand, and so was committed to safe custody, while the truth of his cause should be tryed.

Then Master *Berty* writing his Letters to the *Langyaves*, and to the Earl of *Erbaugh*, the next day early in the Morning the Earl of *Erbaugh*, dwelling within eight miles, came to the Town whither the Dutches was brought with her Wagon, Master *Berty* also being in the same Town under custody.

The Earl, who had some intelligence of the Dutches before, after he was come and had shewed such curtesie as he thought to her estate was seemly, the Townsmen perceiving the Earl to behave himself so humbly unto her, began to consider more of the matter, and further understanding the Captain to be alive, both they, and especially the Authors of the stir flunk away, and made all the friends they could to *M. Berty* and his Wife, not to report their doings after the worst sort.

And thus *M. Berty* and his Wife, escaping that danger, proceeded in their journey toward *Poeland*, where in conclusion they were quietly entertained of the King, and placed honourably in the Earldom of the said King of *Poles* in *Sanogelia*, called *Crozan*, where *M. Berty* with the Dutches, having the Kings absolute power of Government over the said Earldom, continued both in great quietness and honor, till the death of *Q. Mary*.

Thomas Horton Minister.

As ye have heard of the dangerous trouble of the Dutches of *Staffolk* in the time of her exile for Religion sake, whom notwithstanding the Lords present protection still delivered in all distresses, as well from her enemies in *England*, as in *Dutchland* from the *Lanceknights* there: so have we no less to behold and magnifie the Lords merciful goodness in preserving of *Thomas Horton* from the like perils of the same Country.

Which *Thomas Horton*, what a profitable instrument he was to the Church of *Christ* in *Q. Maries* time, all our Englishmen almost, beyond the Seas then, did both know and feel.

This good *Thomas Horton*, as he used oftentimes to travel between *Germany* and *England*, for the behoof and sustenance of the poor English exiles there: so he journeying upon a time between *Malbrick* and *Cullen*, chanced to be taken there by certain *Revers*, and so being led by them away, was in no little danger: and yet this danger of his was not so great, but the present help of the Lord was greater to aid and deliver him out of the same.

Thomas Sprat of Kent, Tanner.

Unto these afore rehearsed examples of Gods blessed providence towards his Servants, may also be added the happy deliverance of *Thomas Sprat* and *William Porrege* his companion, now Minister. Whose story rega. briefly to course over is this.

This *Thomas Sprat* had been Servant sometimes to one Master *Brent* a Justice, and a heavy persecutor, and therefore forsaking his Master for Religion sake, he went to *Calice*, from whence he used often with the said *William Porrege*, for their necessary affairs, to have recourse into *England*.

It so happened about the fourth year of *Queen Maries* Reign, that they landing upon a time at *Dover*, and taking their journey together toward *Sandwich*, suddenly upon the way within three miles of *Dover*, met with the foresaid Master *Brent*, the two *Blachendens*, and other Gentlemen more, with their Servants, to the number of ten or twelve Horses. Of the which two *Blachendens*, being both haters and enemies of Gods Word and people, the one had perfect knowledge of *William Porrege*, the other had not seen him, but only had heard of his name before.

Thus they being in the way where this Justice with his mates should meet them directly in the face, *Thomas Sprat* first spying Master *Brent*, was fore dismayed, saying to his companion, Yonder is Master *Brent*, *William Porrege*, God have mercy upon us. Well, quoth the other, seeing now there is no remedy, let us go on our way. And so thinking to pass by them, they kept themselves aloof, as it were a score off from them, *Thomas Sprat* also shadowing his face with his Cloke.

Notwithstanding one of Master *Brents* Servants advising him better than his Master did, Yonder said he to his Master, is *Thomas Sprat*, At which words they all reined their Horses, and called for *Thomas Sprat* to come to them. They call you, said *William Porrege*. Now here is no remedy but we are taken: and so persuaded him to go to them being called, for that there was no escaping from so many Horsemen in those plains and downs, where there was no wood near them by a mile, nor hedge neither, but only one, which was a birdbolt shot off.

All this notwithstanding, *Sprat* staid, and would not go. Then they called again, sitting still on horseback. Ah Sirrah (quoth the Justice) why come ye not hither? And still his companion moved him to go, seeing there was no other shift to flee away. Nay (said *Sprat*) I will not go to them, and therewithal took his Legs, running to the hedge that was next him. They seeing that, set Spurs to their Horse, thinking by and by to have him, and that it was impossible for him to escape their hands, as it was indeed, they being on Horseback, and he on foot, had not the Lord miraculously delivered his silly Servant from the gaping mouth of the Lion ready to devour him. For as God would, so it fell out that he had got over the hedge, scrawling through the bushes, when as they were even at his heels, striking at him with their Swords, one of the *Blachendens* crying cruelly, cut off one of his Legs.

Thus *Sprat* had scarcely recovered the hedge from his enemies, when one of Master *Brents* Servants, which had been fellow sometimes in House with him, followed him in his Boots; and certain rode up at one side of the hedge, and certain at the other, to meet him at the upper end.

Now while they were following the chase after *Thomas Sprat*, only one remained with *William Porrege* (who was one of the *Blachendens*, not he which knew him, but the other) who began to question with him, not asking what was his name (as God would) for then he had been known and taken; but from whence he came, and how he came into *Sprats* company, and whether he went? Unto whom he answered and said, From *Calice*, and that *Sprat* came over with him in the passage boat, and they two were going to *Sandwich*, and so without any more questions he let him depart.

The Story of *Thom. Sprat* and *W. Porrege*.

M. Brent Justice in Kent, a persecutor.

The two *Blachendens* in Kent, persecutors.

The *Sprat* almost taken to the way by the Justice.

The *Sprat* called to the Justice, but would not come.

God always stronger than the Devil.

The *Sprat* getteth over the hedge from his persecutors.

W. Porree
escaped.

The Lord
disposing the
way of his
Servants.

The Sprat
delivered by
Gods help
from his ad-
versaries.

The trouble
of John
Corney, and
how he was
delivered.

Yackley,
Parson of
Roughedge,
Persecutor.
The Mother
against her
own Son.

Condemned
whipped
out of the
Tower, and
so banished.

The Brye
persecuted.

God blind-
eth the eyes
of them
which
fought for
The Brye,
that they
could not
see him.

Anon, as he kept along the hedge, one of the Horfmen which rode after *Sprat*, returning back, and meeting with the said *W. Porree*, demanded the very same questions as the other had done, to whom he made also the like answer as afore, and so departed, taking another contrary way from the meeting of the other Horfmen. And thus *W. Porree* escaped.

Now concerning *Thomas Sprat*, he being pursued on the one side by Horfmen, and on the other side by his own fellow, who followed after him in his Boots, crying, you were as good to tarry, for we will have you, we will have you yet notwithstanding he kept still on his course, till at length he came to a steep down hill at the hedge end, down the which hill he ran from them, for they could not ride down the hill, but must fetch a great compass about, and so this *Thom. Sprat* ran almost a mile, and (as God would) got a Wood.

By that time he came to the Wood, they were even at his heels: but the night drew on, and it began to rain, and so the malice of these persecutors was at an end, the Lord working for his Servants, whose name be praised for ever and ever, Amen.

Not long after this, one of the two *Blachendens* afore said, which so cruelly fought the destruction of other, was cruelly murdered by his own Servants.

John Cornet.

Here might also be recited the hard adventures and sufferings of *John Cornet*, and at length his deliverance, by Gods good working, out of the same.

Who, being a prentice with a Minstrel at *Colchester*, was sent by his Master, about the second year of *Q. Maries* Reign, to a wedding in a Town thereby called *Roughedge*, where he being requested by a company there of good Men, the Constables also of the Parish being present therat, to sing some songs of the Scripture, chanced to sing a song called *News out of London*, which tended against the Mass, and against the Queens misproceedings.

Whereupon the next day he was accused by the Parson of *Roughedge*, called *Yackley*, and so committed, first to the Constable, where both his Master gave him over, and his Mother forsook and cursed him. From thence he was sent to the next Justice, named *Master Cannall*, and then to the Earl of *Oxford*, where he was first put in Irons and Chains, and after that so manacled, that the Blood spurt out of his Fingers ends, because he would not confesse the names of them which allured him to sing.

And marvel it was that the cruel Papists were so contented, that they sent him not also to *Bishop Boner*, to suffer the extremity of the Fire. But Gods gracious providence disposed otherwise for his Servant. For after he was manacled, the Earl commanded him to be brought again to the Town of *Roughedge*, and there to be whipped till the Blood followed, and to be banished the Town for ever: and so he was, during all the time of *Queen Mary*.

Thomas Bryce.

If our Story would proceed so wide and so large, as did the exceeding mercy of Gods providence in helping his Servants out of wretchedness and thraldom of those Bloody days, our traffic (I think) would extend to an endless process.

For what good Man or Woman, was there almost in all this time of *Queen Mary*, who either in carrying a good Conscience out of the Land, or tarrying within the Realm, could well escape the Papists hands, but by some notable experience of the Lords mighty power and helping hand working for him? What should I here speak of the miraculous deliverance of *Thomas Bryce*? who being in the House of *John Seal*, in the Parish of *Horsing*, and the Bailiff with other neighbours coming in, sent by Sir *John Baker* to search and apprehend him, and knowing perfectly both his stature and colour of his garments, yet had no power to see or know him standing before their faces. So mightily the Lord did blind their eyes, that they asking for him, and looking upon

him, yet notwithstanding he quietly took up his bagge of Books, and so departed out of the House without any hand laid upon him.

Also another time, about the second year of *Queen Mary*, the said *Thomas Bryce*, with *John Bryce* his Elder Brother, coming then from *Wesell*, meeting together at their Fathers House, as they journeyed towards *London*, to give warning there to one *Springfield*, which else was like to be taken unawares by his enemies waiting for him upon *Gads-Hill*, fell in company with a Promoter, which dogged them and followed them again to *Gravesend*, into the Town, and laid the House for them where they were, all the ways as they should go to the waters side, so that it had not been possible for them to have avoided the present danger of those persecutors, had not the Lords provident care otherwise disposed for his Servants, through the Hostler of the Inn, covertly to convey them by a secret passage; whereby they took Barge a mile out of the Town, and so in the end both the lives of them, and also of *Springfield* were preserved, through the Lords gracious protection.

Gertrude Crockhay.

Gertrude Crockhay dwelling at *Saint Katherines* by the Tower of *London*, and being then in her Husbands House, it happened in the year 1556. that the Popes Childish *Saint Nicholas* went about the Parish. Which the understanding, shut her door against him, not suffering him to enter into her House.

Then *Doctor Mallet* hearing thereof, and being then Master of the said *Saint Katherines*, the next day came to her with twenty at his tail, thinking belike to fray her, and asked why she would not the night before let in *Saint Nicholas*, and receive his blessing, &c. To whom she answered thus: Sir, I know not *Saint Nicholas* (said she) that came hither. Yes quoth *Mallet*, here was one that represented *S. Nicholas*.

Indeed Sir (said she) here was one that was my neighbours Child, but not *Saint Nicholas*: for *Saint Nicholas* is in Heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him, to have had my purse cut by them: for I have heard of Men robbed by *Saint Nicholas Clerks*, &c. So *Mallet* perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and she for that time so escaped.

Then in the year 1557. a little before *Whitsontide* it hapned that the said *Gertrude* answered for a Child that was Baptized of one *Thomas Saunders*; which Child was Christened secretly in a House after the order of the Service book in *King Edwards* time; and that being shortly known to her Enemies, she was sought for. Which understanding nothing thereof, went beyond the Sea into *Gilderland*, to see certain Lands that should come to her Children in the right of her first Husband, who was a stranger born: and being there about a quarter of a year, at the length coming homeward by *Antwerp*, she chanced to meet with one *John Johnson* a Dutchman alias *John de Villa* of *Antwerp* Shipper, who seeing her there, went of malice to the *Margrave*, and accused her to be an Anabaptist, whereby she was taken and carried to Prison. The cause why this naughty Man did thus, was for that he claimed of *Master Crockhay* her Husband a piece of Money which was not his due, for a Ship that *Master Crockhay* bought of him, and for that he could not get it, he wrought this displeasure. Well, she being in Prison, lay there a fortnight. In the which time the saw some that were Prisoners there, who privily were drowned in *Rhenish Wine* Fats, and after secretly put in sacks and cast into the River. Now she, good Woman, thinking to be so served, took thereby such fear, that it brought the beginning of her sickness, of the which at length she died.

Then at the last was she called before the *Margrave*, and charged with Anabaptistry: which she there utterly denied, and detested the error, declaring before him in Dutch her Faith boldly, without any fear. So the *Margrave* hearing the same, in the end being well pleased with the profession, at the desire of some of her friends delivered her out of Prison, but took away her Book, and so she came over into *England* again.

William

Anno
1558.

Another
Story of
Bryce and his
Brother.

Thomas and
John Bryce
delivered by
Gods good
means and
protection.

The trouble
and deliv-
erance of
Gertrude Crock-
hay.

This D.
Mallet, he
was Dean of
Lisain.

Another
trouble of
the said Ger-
trude in
Dutchland.

Cruelly in
Flinders
used secretly
against the
Christians.

Gertrude re-
turned into
England.

Anno
1558.

William Mauldon.

I Lightly pass over here the tedious afflictions of *William Mauldon*, how in the dangerous time of the six Articles, before the burning of *Anne Askew*, he was scourged, being young, of his Father for professing and confessing of true Religion; and afterward being examined in Auricular Confession by the Priest, his Books were searched for, and so at length he was presented up by the same Priest, in a Letter written to the Bishop. Which Letter, had it not been burned by another Priest, to whose hands it came (as the Lord would have it) it had undoubtedly cost him his life.

This one thing in the same *William Mauldon* is to be noted, that being young, in those days of *King Henry*, when the Mass most flourished, the Altars with the Sacrament thereof being in their most high veneration, that to Mans reason it might seem unpoffible that the Glory and Opinion of that Sacrament and Sacramentals, so highly worshipped, and so deeply rooted in the Hearts of so many, could by any means possible so soon decay and vanish to nought: yet notwithstanding he being then so young, under the age of seventeen years, by the Spirit (no doubt) of prophesie, declared then unto his Parents, that they should see it shortly even come to pass, that both the Sacrament of the Altar and the Altars themselves, with all such plantations which the Heavenly Father did not plant, should be plucked up by the roots; and even so within the space of very few years the event thereof followed accordingly: the Lord therefore be praised for his most gracious reformation.

Robert Horneby.

I Let pass likewise the dangerous escape of *Robert Horneby* by Servant sometime and Groom of the Chamber to *Lady Elizabeth*, the being then in trouble in *Queen Maries* days; who being willing to come to Mass, refused to do so, and therefore coming afterward from *Woodstock* to *Hampton Court*, was called before the Council, and by them committed to the *Marshalsey*, and not unlike to have sustained further danger, had not the Lords goodness better provided for him, who at length by *Doctor Martin* was delivered.

Mistress Sands.

THe like also may be testified and recorded of *Mistress Sands*, now Wife to *Sir Morrice Bartlet*, then Gentlewoman waiter to the said *Lady Elizabeth* being in the Tower. Which *Mistress Sands* denied in like manner to come to Mass, and therefore, beside the heavy displeasure of her Father, was not only displaced from her room, and put out of the House, but also was in great jeopardy of further trial. But the Lord, who disposeth for every one as he seeth best, wrought her a way out of her enemies hands by flying over the Seas, where she continued amongst other banished exiles in the City of *Geneva* and of *Basill*, till the death of *Queen Mary*.

The Story of *Thomas Rose* yet living, a Preacher of the age of lxxvi. years, in the Town of *Luton* and County of *Bedford*.

THis *Thomas Rose* a *Devonshire* Man, was born in *Ermouth*, and being made Priest in that Country, was brought out of it by one *M. Fabian*, to *Polfed* in *Suffolk*, where the said *M. Fabian* was Parson, and in short time after by his means was placed in the Town of *Hadley*, where he, first coming to some knowledge of the Gospel, began first there to intreat upon the Creed, and thereupon to take occasion to inveigh against Purgatory, praying to Saints and Images, about the time that *Master Latimer* began first to Preach at *Cambridge*, in the time of *Bilney* and *Arthur*, forty seven years agoe, or thereabout; inso much that many embracing the truth of Christs Gospel, against the said Purgatory and other points, and the number of them daily increasing, the adversaries began to stir against him, inso-

much that *M. Bate* (who afterward became a Godly zealous Man) was then brought to Preach against the said *Thomas Rose*, and so did. This notwithstanding he continued still very vehemently against Images, and the Lord so blessed his labours, that many began to devise how to deface and destroy them, and especially four Men, whose names were, *Ra. Ring*, *Ra. Deham*, *Nich. Marjand*, and *Re. Gard*, which usually resorted to his Sermons, and upon his Preaching were so inflamed with zeal, that shortly after they adventured to destroy the Rood of *Dover Court*, which cost three of them their lives as appeareth before. The three persons which suffered, and were hanged in Chains, were offered their lives, to have accused the said *Tho. Rose*, as of Counsel with them, which refused so to do, and therefore suffered. The said *Thomas Rose* had the Coat of the said Rood brought unto him afterward, who burned it. The Rood was said to have done many great miracles and great wonders wrought by him, and yet being in the Fire could not help himself, but burned like a block, as in very deed he was.

At this time there were two fore enemies in *Hadley*, *Walter Clerk*, and *John Clerk*, two brethren: these complained to the Council, that an hundred Men were not able to fetch the said *Thomas Rose* out of *Hadley*, who then was upon Examination of his Doctrine committed to the Commisfaries keeping. And indeed such was the zeal of a number towards the truth then in that Town, that they were much offended that their Minister was so taken from them, and had therefore by force fet him from the Commisfary, if certain Wife Men had not otherwise perswaded, which at length also with more quiet did fet him in his Office again: which thing so angered the two Brethren, *Walter Clerk*, and *John Clerk*, that they complained to the Council, as is aforesaid, whereupon a Sergeant at Arms, named *Cartwright*, was sent from the Council, who arrested the said *Thomas Rose*, and brought him before the Council. Then his adversaries being called, they laid to his charge, that he was privy of the burning of the Rood of *Dover Court*, and upon this he was committed to Prison in the Bishop of *Lincolns* House in *Holborn*, *Bishop Langley* the Kings Confessor, and there remained he in Prison, from *Shrovetide* to *Midsomer*, very sore stocked till after *Easter*.

The Stocks were very high and great, so that day and night he did lye with his back on the ground, upon a little straw, with his heels so high, that by means the Blood was sollen from his feet, his feet were almost without sense for a long time, and he herewith waxed very sick, inso much that his Keeper pitying his Estate, and hearing him cry sometime through the extremity of pain, went to the Bishop, and told him that he would not keep him to dye under his hand, and upon this he had some more ease and liberty. Now at this time his Mother was come from *Hadley* to see him, but she might not be suffered to speak with the said *Thomas Rose* her Son (such was their cruelty) but the Bishop flattered her, and gave her a pair of pardon beads and bade her go home and pray, for she might not see him; which thing pierced the hearts both of the Mother and Son, not a little. At this time also certain Men of *Hadley*, very desirous to see him, travelled to speak with him, but might not be suffered, till at length they gave the Keeper 4*s*. and yet then might not speak to him, or see him otherwise than through a grate. And thus continued he till *Midsomer* in Prison there. Then was he removed to *Lambeth*, in the first year of *Doctor Crammer*:

Confecration, who used him much more courteously than ever the Bishop of *Lincoln* did, and at length wrought his deliverance, and set him at liberty: but yet so, that he was bound not to come within 20. miles of *Hadley*. After this he came to *London*, and there Preached the Gospel half a year, till *Hadley* Men hearing thereof, laboured to have him to *Hadley* again, and indeed by means of *Sir Jo. Rainford* Knight, obtained at the Archbishops House to have him thither: Howbeit, by means one was placed in the Cure at *Hadley*, he could not enjoy his Office again there, but went to *Stratford* three miles off, and there continued in Preaching the word three years, till at length the adversaries procured an inhibition from the Bishop of *Norwich*, to put him to silence. But a great number travelled to have him continue in Preaching, and

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These offered to have their lives saved, to save *Thom. Rose*, but would not

Thom. Rose arrested by a Sergeant at Arms.

The cruel handling of *Th. Rose* by the Priests.

Th. Rose set at liberty by *D. Crammer* Midsomer.

The prophesie of *W. Mauldon* in *K. Maries* time, for the fall of the Mass, and Sacrament of the Altar.

Robt. Horneby through Gods working preserved.

M. Sands now *Lady* preserved from persecution.

The story of *Th. Rose* yet living.

subscribed a Supplication to the Archbishop, with sevenfold hands, who under their Seals also testified of his honest demeanor, so that the adversaries this way not prevailing, they indicted him at *Bury in Suffolk*, so that he was constrained to flee to *London*, and to use the aid of the Lord *Audley*, then Lord Chancellor, who removed the matter from them, and called it before him, and after certain Examination of the matter, did set him free, and did send him by a token to the Lord *Cromwell*, then Lord Privy Seal, for a Licence from the King to Preach: which thing obtained by the Lord *Cromwell* his means (who hereupon also had admitted the said *Thomas Rofe* his Chaplain) forthwith he was sent into *Lincolnshire* and to *Tork*. In the mean time such complaint was made to the Duke of *Norfolk*, for that he Preached against Auricular Confession, Transubstantiation, and such other points contained in the six Articles (which then to have done, by Law was death) that the Duke in his own person not only fought him at *Norwich*, but also befell all the Havens for him, from *Tarmouth* to *London*, and being Lieutenant commanded, that whosoever could take the said *Thomas Rofe*, should hang him on the next Tree. Howbeit, the said *Thomas Rofe* at his coming home, having warning hereof by certain Godly persons, was conveyed away, and passed over in to *Flanders*, and so to *Germany* unto *Zuricke*, where a time he remained with Master *Bullinger*, and afterward went to *Basil*, and there hosted with Master *Grimm*, till Letters came that Master Doctor *Barnes* should be Bishop of *Norwich*, and things should be reformed and be reformed. But when he came into *England* again, it was nothing so, and therefore forthwith fled again beyond the Seas, being so beset, as if the mighty providence of God had not sent him in a readines to receive him the self same Man, boat and boy that before carried him over, it had not been possible for him to have escaped. But such was the goodness of God towards him, that he safely was conveyed, and lived at *Barrow* the space of three years, till at length purposing to come over into *England*, about business that he had, he, his Wife, and their Child, being but a year and three quarters old, upon the Seas, the ship being in great danger, wherein they layd (for the malt being hewn down in that peril, they were carried whither the waves tossed them,) they with divers others made a full account of death. Howbeit, at length they were taken Prisoners, and carried into *Diepe in France*, having all their stuff taken from them, and forty pound in Money. There they remained Prisoners from *Michaelmas* till *Hallowtide*, in great heaviness, not knowing what would become of them, but depending only upon Gods providence. It pleased God at the same time, that one *M. Young* of the Town of *Rye* (who had heard him preach before) came thither for the redeeming of certain Englishmen there taken Prisoners. This *M. Young* moved to see them in this case, much pittied them, and comforted them, and told them he would pay their ransom, and so he did, had them away, and brought them to *Rye*, and from thence by stealth came they to *London*. At length the honourable Earl of *Suffex*, hearing of the said *Thomas Rofe*, sent for him, his Wife, and his Child, and had them to his House at *Attleborough*, where they continued, till at length it was blazed abroad, that the Earl was a maintainer of such a Man to read in his House, as had Preached against the Catholick Faith (as they term it) The Earl being at the Parliament, and hearing thereof, wrote a Letter to warn him to make shift for himself, and to avoid. So that from thence he passed to *London*, making straight shift for a year there and somewhat more, till the death of King *Henry*. After the Kings death, he and others which in the Kings General Pardon were excepted (and therefore dead Men, if they had been taken whilst King *Henry* lived) by certain of the Council were set at liberty, and at length, after King *Edward* was Crowned, were licensed to Preach again by the King; who gave unto the said *Thomas Rofe*, the Benefice of *West-Ham* by *London*. But at the Death of that virtuous and noble Prince, he was deprived of all, and so should also have been of his Life, had not God appointed him friends, who received him in *London* secretly, as their Teacher in the Congregation, among whom for the poor Prisoners at their assemblies x. li. a night often

Thom. Rofe
Chaplain
to the Lord
Cromwell.

The mighty
providence
of God in
preserving
T. Rofe from
his enemies.

Thom. Rofe
again deli-
vered.

times was gathered. And thus he continued amongst them, and with the Lady *Vane* almost a year in the Reign of Queen *Mary*. But although he oftentimes escaped secretly whilst he read to the Godly in Sundry places of *London*, yet at length through a *Judas* that betrayed them, he with 35. that were with him, were taken in *Bow-Church-yard* at a *Sheremans House* on *New-years-day* at night being *Tuesday*. The residue being committed to Prison, the said *Thomas Rofe* was had to the Bishop of *Winchester* *Stephen Gardiner*, but the Bishop would not speak with him that night, but committed him to the *Clink* till *Tuesday* after.

The first Examination of Thomas Rofe, before Winch. at S. Mary Overies.

ON *Thursday* being brought before the B. of *Winchester*, at S. Mary Overies, the said *Thomas Rofe* spake as followeth.

Rofe. It maketh me to marvel (my Lord quoth he) that I should be thus troubled for that which by the word of God hath been established, and by the Laws of this Realm allowed, and by your own writing so notably, in your Book *De vera obedientia*, confirmed.

Bish. Ah Sirra, hast thou gotten that?

Rofe. Yea, my Lord, I thank God, and do confesse myself much thereby confirmed. For as touching the Doctrine of the Supremacy, against the Bishop of *Rome* usurped Authority, no Man hath said further. And as I remember, you confesse in it, that when this truth was revealed unto you, you thought the scales to fall from your eyes.

Bish. Thou leest like a varlet, there is no such thing in my Book, but I shall hand thee and such as thou art well enough. I have long looked for thee, and at length have caught thee. I will know who be thy maintainers, or else I will make thee a foot longer.

Rofe. My Lord, you shall do as much as pleaseth God, and no more, yet the Law is in your hand: but I have God for my maintainer, and none other. At these words one of his Servants stepped forth, and said, My Lord, I heard this Man Preach by *Norwich* in Sir *John Robbers* House, and in his Prayer he desired God to turn Queen *Maries* Heart, or else to take her out of the World; and this was in King *Edwards* time.

Rofe. My Lord I made no such prayer, but next after the King I prayed for her after this sort, saying, Ye shall pray for my Lady *Maries* Grace, that God will vouchsafe to endue her with his Spirit, that the graciously may perceive the Mysteries contained within his holy Laws, and so render unto him her heart purified with true Faith, and true and Loyal Obedience to her Sovereign Lord and King, to the good ensample of the inferior Subjects. And this, my Lord, is already answered in mine own handwriting to the Council. Unto this he said little, but turning his face to certain that were by him; This is he (quoth the Bishop) that my Lord of *Norwich* told me had begotten his maid with Child.

Rofe. This is no Heresie, my Lord, although it be a lye. Indeed certain wicked persons raised this report of me, for the hatred they bare to the Doctrine which I Preached: but for purgation of my self herein I had no less than fix of the Councils hands, that there might be due and diligent Examination for this matter in the Countrey by Men of worship appointed for that purpose, who can all testify (I thank God) that I am most clear from such wickedness, and indeed they have cleared me from it, and therefore I doubt not, but all good Men will espy the mischievous device of mine adversaries, which (when other ways failed) by such sinister means went about to draw me into discredit and hatred: but God which is the helper of the innocent, and searcher of Mens hearts, hath and doth defend me, and hath laid open things that were hid to their shame. One of the chief reporters of this, that I should so abuse my self, was one *M. Clark*, Servant and in some estimation with the old Lord *Treasurer of England*, reputed and taken for a Conjuror, who afterward for his good demerits hanged himself in the Tower. Then the Bishop commanded that I should be carried to the Tower, and kept safely, where I did lye till it was the week before *Whitsontide*. After which

Anno
1558.

Thom. Rofe
appeared.

The first Ex-
amination of
Th. Rofe.

Thom. Rofe
belied of
Winch.

Thom. Rofe
clear from
Winch. false
accuser.

Thom. Rofe
committed
to the Tower.

time

Anno 1558. time I was twice called, when as the Bishop came to the Tower about other Prisoners. Notwithstanding, the Bishop had no great talk with me, but spake friendly. Howbeit, one Sir Richard Southwell, Knight, still accused me for my Prayer, and said I did put a difference betwixt Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, for that I prayed in King Edwards Faith, and prayed that he would confirm Lady Elizabeth in that which was well begun in her. Unto this the Bishop said little. But in the week before Pentecost, I was conveyed from the Tower to Norwich, there to be examined by the Bishop and his Clergy, as concerning my Faith, the manner whereof here followeth.

The second Examination of Thom. Rose before the Bishop of Norwich, Hopkins by name, in his own Palace, in the presence of Sir W. Woodhouse Knight, M. Steward the Chancellor, D. Barret, with divers others, the Wednesday in Whitson-week, Anno Dom. 1553.

After I was presented by my Keeper, the Bishop immediately asked me what I was. I told him I had been a Minister.

Bish. What is this to the purpose, were ye a Frier or a Priest?

Rose. Frier was I never, but a Priest have I been, and benched by the Kings Majesty.

Bish. Where were ye made Priest?

Rose. In Exeter, in the County where I was born. Then the Bishop required of me my Letters of Orders. I told him I knew not where they were become, for they were things of me not greatly regarded.

Bish. Well, you are sent to me to be examined; what say you, will you submit your self to the order of the Church of England?

Rose. My Lord, I trust I am not out of the order of Christs Church in England, neither do I know my self an offender there against.

Bish. What? yes, ye have here preached most damnable and devillish doctrine.

Rose. Not so, my Lord. The Doctrine by me here Preached was both true, sincere and holy. But indeed the Doctrine that is now set forth, is most wicked and damnable, yea, and that both against Gods Laws and Mans But as for the Doctrine by me preached, it is grounded upon the Word of God, set out also by the Authority of two most mighty Kings, with the consent of all the Nobility and Clergy of the same: so that I Preached nothing but their lawful proceedings, having their lawful Authority under their Broad Seals for confirmation of the same, for which my doing ye cannot justly charge me. For why, sithence the Law ceased, I have kept silence, so that the Council which sent me unto you have not charged me therewith. Wherefore ye do me open wrong to burden me with that wherein I am free.

Chan. What Sir? ye are very captious; answerest thou my Lord after such a sort?

Rose. Sir (said I) I answer for my self, and according to the truth: wherewith ye ought not to be offended, if ye be of God.

Chan. Thou art an evil Man. Waite thou not abjured before now?

Rose. No, ye untruly report me, and are in no wise able to prove that which ye have spoken: so that your words appear to proceed altogether of malice, which I have not deserved at your hands. But in this I well perceive ye are made an Instrument to utter other Mens malice conceived of old.

Chan. What sayest thou to the real presence in the Sacrament?

Rose. I wist right well ye were made an Instrument to seek innocent Blood: well ye may have it, if God permit, it is present at hand, for I am not come hither to lye, but to dye (if God see it good) in defence of that which I have said. Wherefore ye may begin when ye shall think good, for I have said nothing but the truth, and that which in those days was of all Men allowed for truth, and against the which ye at that time durst not once whisper, although ye now brag never so much.

Bish. Well Father Rose, said he, whatsoever hath been in times past, shall not now be called in questi-

on, so that ye now submit your self. For not only you, but all the whole Realm hath been out of the right way; both high and low, spiritual and temporal, but all notwithstanding have submitted themselves and acknowledged their Faith. Wherefore if ye will be accounted for an Englishman, ye must likewise submit your self.

Rose. My Lord, I am an Englishman born; and do most humbly require of the Christian Congregation of England, to be counted as a particular member of the same, and with all due reverence submit my self as in the form and manner following: That whatsoever Law or Laws shall be set forth in the same for the establishment of Christs true Religion, and that according to the Faith and Doctrine of the holy Patriarchs and Prophets, Jesus Christ, and his holy Apostles, with the faithful Fathers of Christs Primitive Church, I do not only hold it and believe it, but also most reverently obey it. At which my asseveration, the B. seemed to be greatly rejoiced, and said, Well, then we shall soon be at a point. But said he, you shall take this for no day of Examination, but rather of Communication, so that ye shall now depart and pawle your self, until we call for you again, and so ended our first meeting.

The third Examination of Tho. Rose.

On the Friday following, I was called again into Christs Church within their Ladies Chappel (as they termed it,) where was gathered a great part of the whole City of Norwich, and after I was by my Keeper presented, the B. began with a great protestation, and after many words demanded of me whether according to my former promise I would submit my self or no. I answered as before I had done, that according to my former protestation, I would most gladly obey. Then said the Chancellor, to utter his gentleness, I think you do but vain.

Rose. The fault then (said I) shall be in your self, and not in me. For if ye burthen me with nothing but Scriptures, and the Fathers of Christs Primitive Church, then as I said before, so I say again, I shall most gladly obey.

Chan. Well then, seeing you challenge to be a member of the Church of England, your Mother here for a trial of obedience provoketh you, as Mothers are wont to allure you, to receive this little gift at her hand.

Rose. Forsooth said I, if he offer it me, as received of God my Father, I shall gladly receive it, as from the hand of my very true and Ghostly Mother.

Chan. What say you to ear Confection? Is it not a Law Ecclesiastical and necessary for the Church of England.

Rose. Some ways it might be permitted, and some ways not, and that because it had not its original of God and his blessed Word; and yet I deny not, but that a Man being troubled in his Conscience, and resorting to a discreet, sober and Christian learned Man for the quieting of his mind, might well be permitted: but to bind a Man under pain of Damnation, once every year, to number his Sins into the ears of a filthy lecherous Priest, is not of God, neither can be approved by his word.

Bish. Ah Sirrah, ye will admit nothing but Scripture, I see well.

Rose. No truly, my Lord, I admit nothing but Scripture for the Regiment of the Soul: for why, Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God, and where the Word of God is not, there ought no belief to be given. For whatsoever is not of Faith is Sin: and here they left off speaking any more of that matter.

But then M. Chancellor began to whet his teeth at me, saying, Yea, but you have preached, that the real, natural, and substantial presence of Christ is not in the Sacrament of the Altar: what say ye to that?

Rose. Verily, I say, that you are a Bloody Man, and seek to quench your thirst with the Blood of an innocent, and therefore to satisfy you in that behalf, I say verily unto you, that even so I have here preached: and although contrary to Law, you charge me with the same, yet will I in no wifedney it, though justly I might do it, but stand thereunto, even to seal it with my Blood, desiring all that be here present, to testify the same, and believe it as the only truth.

Bish. I charge you all to believe it not.

Rose. Yea, but my Lord (said I) if ye will needs have credence given you, you must bring Gods Word to maintain your sayings.

Bishp. Why, doth not Christ say, This is my Body? and can there be any plainer words spoken?

Rose. It is true my Lord, the words be as plain as can be, and even so be these, whereas it is said, I am a door, a vine, and Christ called a stone, a Lyon, and yet is he naturally none of these: for they be all figurative speeches, as both the Scriptures and Fathers do sufficiently prove.

At which my saying, the Bishop would have had me stay, saying, I should have another day, wherein I might take better advisement.

Transubstantiation & real presence against the Scriptures & the ancient Fathers of the Primitive Church.

Rose. Not so, my Lord, said I, for I am at a full point with my self in that matter, and am right well able to prove both your Transubstantiation, with the real presence, to be against the Scriptures and the ancient Fathers of the Primitive Church. For *Justinus*, which is one of the ancientest writers that ever wrote upon the Sacraments, writeth in his second Apology, that the Bread, Water, and Wine in the Sacrament, are not to be taken as other meats and drinks, but be meats purposely ordained to give thanks unto God, and therefore be called *Eucharistia*, and also have the names of the Body and Blood of Christ, and that it is not lawful for any Man to eat and drink of them, but such as profess the Religion of Christ, and live also according to their profession: and yet (saith he) the same Bread and Drink is changed into our Flesh and Blood, nourisheth our Bodies. By which saying it is evident, that *Justinus* means, that the Bread and Wine remain still, or else they could not have been turned into our Flesh and Blood, and nourish our Bodies. At which my saying they were not a little troubled, but enforced themselves, to have denied the Doctrin, and would suffer me to speak no more, but straightway was I carried away unto my lodging: and so ended the second day of mine appearance, which was the Friday in Whitsun week, and then was I appointed to appear again on the Monday following. Howbeit, upon what occasion I know not, it was deferred unto the Wednesday, which was Corpus Christi Even.

His talk with the Earl of Suffex, Sir William Woodhouse, and the Bishops Chaplains.

IN the mean time the Bishop sent two of his Chaplains to me, with whom I had Communication about the real presence: and after long reasoning to and fro, concerning this point, at length I drave them to this issue, whether they did confess that Christ in the self same Body which was conceived of the Virgin Mary, and wherein he suffered and rose again, do in the self same Body, naturally, substantially, and really sit at the right hand of God the Father, without return from thence, until the day of the general judgment or not? Whereunto they answered, Yes truly, said they, we confess it, hold it, and believe it. Then I again demanded of them, whether they did affirm, after the words pronounced by the Minister, there to remain Flesh, Blood, Bones, Hairs, Nails, as is wont most grossly to be Preached, or not? And they with great deliberation answered, that they did not only abhor the teaching of such gross Doctrine, but also would detest themselves, if they should so think.

The Papists affirmed the real Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament, but they know not how.

At which two principal points, wherein they fully condemned my Doctrine which I ever taught, I was not a little comforted and rejoiced, but marvelously encouraged. Whereupon I demanded again of them, what manner of Body they then affirmed to be in the Sacrament? Forsooth (said they) not a visible, palpable, or circumscribable Body, for that is always at the Fathers right hand: but in the Sacrament it is invisible, and can neither be felt, seen, nor occupy any place, but is there by the omnipotency of Gods Word they know not how.

And for this they brought in Saint *Augustine*, although of them not truly understood, yet would they admit none other sense than their own, but would take upon them to confirm it with *Martin Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, and *Calvin*: so that I perceiving their obstinacy in that behalf, gave them over for that time, and afterward talked with Doctor *Barret*, whom I also found of the same judgment in that behalf. For (said he) if ye would

dissent from the Fathers of the Primitive Church in this behalf, of which Saint *Augustine* is one, ye shall be contented to dye out of the Favour of God. Well, all this their obstinacy and blasphemous errors imprinted and deeply weighed in my mind, I gave them all over, and the more quietly to bring them to confess that openly, which they unto me had granted privately, I granted them according to the Scriptures, and my former protestation, a presence, although not as they supposed.

After all this, came there unto me the honourable Earl of Suffex, and that gentle Knight, Sir William Woodhouse, with great persuasions: unto whom I said, after long talk, that I would do all that I might, saving my Conscience, which I would in no wise pollute, and no more I have, as knoweth God by whom all Men must be judged.

His last appearance before the Bishop.

NOW to come to my last appearance, after I was before the Bishop presented, he forthwith demanded of me, whether I were resolved, as he had heard say. To whom I answered, that even as always I had said before, even so I was now. Unto whom, by low bowing my knee, I gave my due reverence, and the rather for that the honourable Earl of Suffex was there. Wherewith some which would be counted great Gospellers, were contrary to all Christianity I sore offended. Then I said, that whatsoever Laws were set forth for the establishment of Christs true Religion, and that according to the Doctrine of Christs holy Apostles, and the Faithful Fathers of the Primitive Church, I did not only obey them, but most earnestly embrace and believe them. Yea, and yet to the further blinding of their eyes, I said, that if any thing could justly be proved by Gods holy Word, by me heretofore preached, or taught untruly, either for lack of learning, slide of Tongue, or of ignorance; yet by better knowledge when it shall justly be tried and examined by the same. I shall not refuse (the thing perfectly approved) to revoke the same. Provided always, the Word of God herein to be judge.

All this spake I (as God knoweth) to keep them from suspecting that which I went about, and that they should have none occasion to judge me of obstinacy. Then said I moreover, All you must of force confess, that the Doctrine by me heretofore preached, had, besides the Authority of Gods eternal verity, the Authority of two most noble and mighty Princes, with the advice and Counsel of all the Nobility and Clergy of the same, and that with great deliberation from time to time, with open disputations in both the Universities, enacted also by Parliament with the consent of the whole Body and Commons of the same, and that without any reluctance or gain-saying established, as a Religion most pure and perfect, most earnestly and sincerely Preached by the principal Bishops and Doctors, and that before the Kings Majesties Persons; and I, as one being called to that Office, did the like with all the rest, and in the zeal of God, and with a pure Conscience did set forth the same as the only and absolute truth of God, and the just and most true proceedings of my Sovereign Lord and King: and I had then my head at that present even where it now standeth, betwixt mine ears, altogether applying the same, to apprehend with all diligence that which then was established and taught, as the only and absolute truth, and a thing unto me most desirable, and well willing, without any desire to hear the contrary, till now through this my captivity I am compelled to hear the contrary part speak, who are even here present, and which my Lord sent unto me.

Of whom, after long disputations privately to and fro before this time had bewit us, at length I have heard of them a contrary Doctrine, which I never before had heard; and therefore must confess mine own ignorance in the same. For (quoth I) after I had informed these Men here present (meaning the Bishops two Chaplains) to confess Jesus Christs Natural Body with his full compleat members in due order and proportion of a perfect Mans Body to be present at the right hand of God the Father, and that without return from thence, until the last Judgment, and also that after the words pronounced by the Priest, there remaineth no such gross presence of

Anno
1558.

The last appearance of
Thomas Rose
before the
Bishop.

Anno 1558. of Flesh, Blood, Bones, Hair, and Nails, as was wont to be preached; but after I had demanded of them what manner of Body they affirmed to be present, they said; A Body invivible by the omnipotency of Gods Word, which neither can be felt or seen, nor that hath any distinction of members, but such a Body as occupieth no place, but is there they know not how; necessity compelled me to confesse mine ignorance in that behalf, although in very deed they perceived not my meaning therein, neither was it in my thought they should do so. For by this their confession, and my silence, afterward I perceived their horrible Blasphemies.

And me thought in this I had well discharged at that time my Conscience, in causing them in open audience to confesse the same, and so I granted a presence, but not as they supposed.

For only I said, that Christ after the words pronounced, is present in the lawful use and right distribution of his holy Supper; which thing I never denied, or any Godly Man that ever I heard of. For (said I) *Enthusiasmus*. a Man of singular fame and learning, about 300. years after Christs ascension, saith, That the conversion of the visible Creatures of Bread and Wine into the Body and blood of Christ, is like unto our conversion in Baptism. Where nothing is outwardly changed, but all the change is inwardly by the mighty working of the holy Ghost, which fashioneth and frameth Christ in the heart and mind of Man, as by the example of Peter preaching to the people, *Acts 2*. By which he so pierced their Conscience, that they openly with most earnest repentance confessed their sins, saying; Men and Brethren, what shall we do? Repent, and be baptised every one of you (said Peter) in the name of Jesus Christ; so that at this Sermon there were turned unto Christ three thousand persons; in whom Christ was so fashioned and framed, as that he did dwell in every one of them, and they in him; and after the like manner (said I) is Christ present in the lawful use and right distribution of his holy Supper, and not otherwise. For although I said, according to the truth, that Christ dwelt in every one of these persons rehearsed, yet meant I nothing less than that he in them should have a gross, carnal, or fleshly dwelling.

Now Christ is present in the Sacrament.

And no more meant I (as God knoweth) him carnally or spiritually to be in the Sacrament, but according to the Scriptures, and my former protestation, that is, to the Spiritual nourishment of all such as worthily come unto that holy Supper, receiving it according to his holy institution.

And thus I ended; which the Papists most maliciously and slanderously named a recantation; which I never meant; nor thought (as God knoweth.)

Now after I had thus concluded my speech, the Bishop taking me by the hand, said; Father Rose, you may be a worthy instrument in Gods Church, and we will see to you at our coming home (for he was about to take his journey in visitation of his Diocess) and they feared much at this very time, lest Queen Mary should have miscarried in child-travel, which was looked for, being then accounted very great with Child, so that they were not so fierce as they had been, and doubted very much of some stir, if I should have suffered; and therefore were glad to be rid of me, so that by any colourable means for their own discharge it might be; so the night following was I only committed to mine own lodging.

On the morrow, when the Bishop was ready to ride forth in visitation, he called me before him, and perceiving that Sir W. Woodhouse did bear me great favor, said, he was sorry for me and my expences; and therefore willed that I were some where, where I might spend no more money, till his return. Why, my Lord (quoth Sir William Woodhouse) he shall have meat and drink, and lodging with me, till you return again, seeing you now break up house; and hereupon I went home with Sir William that good Knight, who most gently entertained me, and I had great liberty. Upon this the Papistical Priests of the Colledge of Christs Church in Norwich, for that they saw meat liberty in Sir Williams absence (who also was then from home a fortnight) blazed it abroad, that Sir William was bounden for me in Body and Lands. At his coming home therefore I asked Sir William if he were so bounden for me; and he

denied it. Then said I; Sir, but for reverence I bear to you, I might have been an hundred miles from you ere this. But I trust now, Sir, seeing you be not bound for me, I may go visit my friends. Go where you will, said Sir William, for (quoth he) I told the Bishop I would not be his Jaylor, but promised only meat, drink, and lodging for you. Shortly after, upon the device of some friends, I was closely conveyed to a friends House where almost a Month I was secretly kept, till rumours were over. For at the Bishops return searching was for me, inasmuch as all Houses, where it was known I had been acquainted, were searched, and the Ships at Tarmouth.

At the length the Bishop sent to a Conjuror, to know of him which way I was gone, and he answered, that I was gone over a water, and in the keeping of a Woman. And in very deed I was passed over a small water, and was hid by a blessed Woman and Godly Woman (which lived in a poor cottage) the space of three weeks, till all the great heat was over.

Then was I conveyed to London, and from thence passed over the Seas, where I lived till the death of Queen Mary, and till that it pleased God for the comfort of his Church, and restoring of all poor exiles and prisoners for his names sake, to bless this Realm with the government of our noble Queen, whom God to the Glory of his own name, and the defence of his Church according to his good will and pleasure, long preserve and continue over us.

A brief discourse concerning the troubles and happy deliverance of the reverend Father in God, Doctor Sands, first Bishop of Worcester, next of London, and now Archbishop of York.

King Edward dyed, the World being unworthy of him, the Duke of Northumberland came down to Cambridge with an Army of Men, having Commission to proclaim Lady Jane Queen, and by power to suppress Lady Mary, who took upon her that Dignity, and was proclaimed Queen in Northfolk. The Duke sent for Doctor Sands, being Vicechancellor, for Doctor Parker, for Dr. Bill, and Master Leaver to sup with him. Amongst other speeches he said; Masters, pray for us, that we speed well: if not, you shall be made Bishops, and we Deacons. And even so it came to pass, Doctor Parker, and Dr. Sands were made Bishops, and he and Sir John Gates, who was then at the Table, were made Deacons, ere it was long after on the Tower-Hill. D. Sands being Vicechancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was short for such an Auditory, and to speak of such a matter; yet he refused not the thing, but went into his chamber, and so to bed. He rose at three of the clock in the morning, took his Bible in his hand, and after that he had prayed a good space; he shut his eyes, and holding his Bible before him, earnestly prayed to God, that it might fall open, where a most fit text should be for him to intreat of. The Bible, as God would have it, fell open upon the first chapter of *Jeshuab*, where he found so convenient a piece of Scripture for that time, that the like he could not have chosen in all the Bible. His Text was thus: *Responditque Josua et dixit: Omnia quae preceperit vobis faciemus, & quocunque miseris ibimus: sicut obedivimus in cunctis Moysi, ita obediemus & tibi, tantum sit Dominus Deus tuus sicut fuit cum Moysi: qui contradixit ori tuo, & non obedivisti cunctis sermonibus quos preceperat ei, moriatur, tu tantum confortare & revivere age.* Who shall consider what was concluded by such a named themselves the State, and withal, the Auditory, the time and other circumstances, he shall easily see that this Text most fitly served for the purpose. And as God gave the Text, so gave he such order and utterance, as pulled many tears out of the eye of the biggest of them.

In the time of his Sermon one of the Guard lift up to him into the Pulpit a Mass Book and a Grail, which Sir George Howard with certain of the Guard had taken that night in Master Harlestone House, where Lady Mary had been a little before, and there had Mass. The Duke, with the rest of the Nobility, required Doctor Sands to put his Sermon in writing, and appointed Master Leaver to go to London with it, and to put

Pop. Priests love rebellion abroad lies.

it in print. Doctor Sands required one day and a half for writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it ready, and Master Leaver was ready Booted to receive it at his hands, and carry it to London. As he was delivering of it, one of the Beadles, named M. Adams, came weeping to him, and prayed him to shift for himself, for the Duke was retired, and Queen Mary proclaimed.

Doctor Sands was not troubled herewithal, but gave the Sermon written to Master Layfield. Master Leaver departed home, and he went to dinner to one Master Mores a Beadle, his great friend. At the dinner Mistress More seeing him merry and pleasant (for he had ever a Mans courage, and could not be terrified) drank unto him, saying; Master Vicechancellor, I drink unto you, for this is the last time that I shall see you. And so it was; for she was dead before Doctor Sands returned out of Germany. The Duke that night retired to Cambridge, and sent for Doctor Sands to go with him to the Market place to proclaim Queen Mary. The Duke caft up his cap with others, and so laughed, that the tears ran down his Cheeks for grief. He told Doctor Sands that Queen Mary was a merciful Woman, and that he doubted not thereof; declaring that he had sent unto her to know her pleasure, and looked for a general pardon.

Doctor Sands answered; My Life is not dear unto me, neither have I done or said any thing that urgeth my Conscience. For that which I spake of the State, I have instructions warranted by the subscription of sixteen Counsellors, neither can speech be Treason, neither yet have I spoken further than the Word of God, and the Laws of the Realm do warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you assured, you shall never escape death; for if he would save you, those that now shall rule, will kill you.

That night the Guard apprehended the Duke, and certain Grooms of the Stable were as busie with Doctor Sands, as if they would take a prisoner. But Sir John Gates, who lay then in Doctor Sands his House, sharply rebuked them, and drave them away. Doctor Sands, by the advice of Sir John Gates, walked in the Fields. In the mean time the University, contrary to all order, had met together in consultation, and ordered that Doctor Musfe and Doctor Hatcher should repair to Doctor Sands lodging, and fet away the Statute Book of the University, the Keyes, and such other things that were in his keeping, and so they did: for Doctor Musfe being an earnest Protestant the day before, and one whom Doctor Sands had done much for, was now become a Papist, and his great enemy. Certain of the University had appointed a Congregation at afternoon. As the bell rang to it, Doctor Sands cometh out of the Fields, and sending for the Beadles, asketh what the matter meaneth and required them to wait upon him to the Schools, according to their duty. So they did. And so soon as Doctor Sands, the Beadles going before him, came into the regent House and took his chair: One M. Mitch, with a rabble of unlearned Papists, went into a by-school, and conspired together to pull him out of his chair, and to use violence unto him. Doctor Sands began his Oration, expostulating with the University, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring, that he had said nothing in his Sermon, but that that he was ready to justify and their case was all one with his: For they had not only concealed, but consented to that which he had spoken.

And thus while he remembered unto them how beneficial he had been to the University, and their unthankfulness to him again, in cometh Master Mitch with his conspirators about twenty in number. One layeth hand upon the chair, to pull it from him, another told him that that was not his place, and another called him Traitor. Whereat he perceiving how they used violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had dispatched some of them as Gods enemies, if Doctor Bill and Doctor Blisk had not fallen upon him, and prayed him for Gods sake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patiently to bear that great offered wrong. He was persuaded by them, and after that tumult was ceased, he ended his Oration, and having some money of the Universities in his hand, he there delivered the same every farthing. He gave up the Books, Reckonings, and Keyes pertaining to the University, and withal yielded up his Office, praying

God to give the University a better Officer, and to give them better and more thankful hearts, and so repaired home to his own Colledge.

On the morrow after, there came unto him one M. Gerningham, and one M. Thomas Mildmay. Gerningham told him that it was the Queens pleasure that two of the Guard should attend upon him, and that he must be carried Prisoner to the Tower of London, with the Duke. M. Mildmay said, he marvelled that a learned Man would speak so unadvisedly against so good a Prince, and wilfully run into such danger. Doctor Sands answered; I shall not be ashamed of bonds, but if I could do as M. Mildmay can, I needed not to fear bonds. For he came down in payment against Queen Mary, and armed in the Field, and now he returneth in payment for Queen Mary; before a Traitor, and now a great friend. I cannot with one Mouth blow hot and cold after this fore.

Upon this, his Stable was robbed of four notable good Geldings, the best of them Master Huddelstone took for his own saddle, and rode on him to London in his fight. An Inventory was taken of all his goods by Master More Beadle for the University. He was set upon a lame Horse that halted to the ground; which thing a friend of his perceiving, prayed that he might lend him a Nagg. The Yeomen of the Guard were contented. As he departed forth at the towns end, some Papists reforted thither to jeer at him; some of his friends to mourn for him. He came in the rank to London, the people being full of out-cries. And as he came in at Bishopsgate, one like a milk-wife hurled a stone at him, and hit him on the breast, with such a blow, that he was like to fall off his Horse. To whom he mildly said; Woman, God forgive it thee. Truth is, that journey and evil intreating fo mortified him, that he was more ready to dye than to live.

As he came through Tower-bill-freet, one Woman standing in her door cried; Fie on thee thou Knave, thou Knave, thou Traitor, thou Heretic. Whereat he smiled. Look, the desperate Heretic (said she) laughed at this jeer. A Woman on the other side of the Street answered, saying; Fye on thee neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a Woman, railing upon this Gentleman whom thou knowest not, neither yet the cause why he is thus intreated. Then she said; Good Gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee strength to stand in Gods cause even to the end. And thus he passed through Fire and Water into the Tower, the first prisoner that entered in that day, which was Saint James day. The Yeomen of the Guard took from him his borrowed Nagg, and what else soever he had. His Man, one Quining Swainston, brought after him a Bible, and some shirts, and such like things. The Bible was sent in to him, but the shirts and such like served the Yeomen of the Guard.

After he had been in the Tower three weeks in a bad prison, he was lift up into Nuns-Bower a better prison, where was put to him M. John Bradford.

At the day of Queen Maries Coronation their prison door was set open, ever thus before. One Master Mitchell his old acquaintancce, which had been prisoner before in the same place, came in to him, and said; Master Sands, there is such a stir in the Tower, that neither gates, doors, nor prisoners are looked to this day. Take my cloak, my hat, and my rapier, and get you gone, you may go out of the gates without questioning, save your self, and let me do as I may. A rare friendship; but he refused the offer, saying; I know no just cause why I should be in Prison. And thus to do were to make my self guilty. I will expect Gods good will, yet must I think my self most bounden unto you: and so Master Mitchell departed.

While Doctor Sands and Master Bradford were thus in close Prison together 29. weeks, one John Bowler was their Keeper, a very perverse Papist, yet by often persuading of him, for he would give ear, and by gentle using of him, at the length he began to mislike Popery, and to favour the Gospel, and was so persuaded in true Religion, that on a Sunday when they had Mass in the Chappel, he bringeth up a Service Book, a Manchet, and a glass of Wine, and there Doctor Sands ministred the Communion to Bradford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler

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Anno 1558. was their Son begotten in bonds. When *Wyat* was in Arms, and the old Duke of *Northfolk* sent forth with a power of Men to apprehend him; that room might be made in the *Tower* for him and other his complices. Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Ridley*, and Master *Bradford* were cast into one Prison, and D. *Sands* with 9. other Preachers were sent unto the *Marshalsey*.

The Keeper of the *Marshalsey* appointed to every Preacher, a Man to lead him in the Street; he caused them to go far before, and he and Doctor *Sands* came behind, whom he would not lead, but walked familiarly with him. Yet Doctor *Sands* was known, and the people every where prayed to God to comfort him, and to strengthen him in the truth. By that time the peoples minds were altered, Popery began to be unfavoury. After they passed the Bridge, the Keeper *Thomas Way* said to Doctor *Sands*; I perceive the vain people would set you forward to the Fire. Ye are as vain as they, if you being a young Man will stand in your own conceits, and prefer your own knowledge before the judgment of so many worthy Prelates, ancient, learned, and grave Men as be in this Realm. If you so do, you shall find me as frail as a Keeper, as one that utterly misliketh your Religion. Doctor *Sands* answered; I know my years young, and my learning small, it is enough to know Christ Crucified, and he hath learned nothing that seemeth not the great Blasphemy that is in Popery. I will yield unto God, and not unto Man: I have read in the Scriptures of many Godly and courteous Keepers. God may make you one. If not, I trust he will give me strength and patience to bear your hard dealing with me. Saith *Thomas Way*; Do ye then mind to stand to your Religion? Yes, saith Doctor *Sands*, by Gods Grace. Truly, saith the Keeper, I love you the better, did but tempt you. What favour I can shew you ye shall be sure of, and I shall think my self happy, if I may dye at the stake with you. The said Keeper shewed Doctor *Sands* ever after all friendship; he trusted him to go into the Fields alone, and there met with Master *Bradford*, who then was removed into the *Beuch*, and there found the like favour of his Keeper. He laid him in the best Chamber in the House, he would not suffer the Knight *Marshall* Man to lay fetters on him, as others had. And at his request he put M. *Sanders* in to him, to be his Bed-fellow, and sundry times suffered his Wife, who was Master *Sands* Daughter of *Elsex*, a Gentlewoman beautiful both in Body and Soul, to resort to him. There was great resort to Doctor *Sands*, and Master *Sanders*; they had much Money offered them, but they would receive none. They had the Communion there three or four times, and a great sort of Communicants. Doctor *Sands* gave such exhortation to the people for at that time being young, he was thought very eloquent; that he mov'd many tears, and made the people abhorre the Mass, and desise all Popery.

When *Wyat* with his army came into *Southwark*, he sent two Gentlemen into the *Marshalsey* to Doctor *Sands*, saying, that Master *Wyat* would be glad of his company and advice, and that the gates should be set open for all the Prisoners. He answered, tell M. *Wyat*, if this his Rising be of God, it will take place; if not, it will fall. For my part, I was committed hither by order, I will be discharged by like order, or I will never depart hence. So answered M. *Sanders*, and the rest of the Preachers, being there Prisoners.

After that D. *Sands* had been 9. weeks Prisoner in the *Marshalsey* by the mediation of Sir *Thomas Holcroft*, then Knight *Marshall*: he was set at liberty. Sir *Thomas* sued earnestly to the Bishop of *Winchester*, Doctor *Gardner*, for his deliverance after many repulses: but he could not prevail, except Doctor *Sands* would be one of their Sect, and then he could want nothing. He wrung out of him at last, that if the Queen could like of his deliverance, he would not be against it; for that was Sir *Thomas* his last request. In the mean time he had procured two Ladies of the Privy Chamber to move the Queen in it; who was contented if the Bishop of *Winchester* would like of it. The next time that the Bishop went into the Privy Chamber to speak with the Queen, M. *Holcroft* followed, and had his warrant for D. *Sands* remission ready, and prayed the two Ladies, when as the Bishop should take his leave, to put the Queen in mind of Doctor *Sands*.

So they did, and the Queen said; *Winchester*, what think you by D. *Sands*, is he not sufficiently punished? As it please your Majesty, saith *Winchester*. That he spake, remembering his former promise to Master *Holcroft*, that he would not be against D. *Sands*, if the Queen should like to discharge him. Saith the Queen; Then truly, we would that he were set at liberty. Immediately Master *Holcroft* offered the Queen the Warrent. Who subscribed the same, and called *Winchester* to put to his hand, and so he did. The Warrent was given to the Knight *Marshall* again, Sir *Thomas Holcroft*. As the Bishop went forth of the Privy Chamber door, he called M. *Holcroft* to him: Commanding him not to set Doctor *Sands* at liberty, until he had taken Sureties of two Gentlemen of his Country with him, every one bound in 500. pounds, that D. *Sands* should not depart out of the Realm without licence. Master *Holcroft* immediately after met with two Gentlemen of the North, friends and cousins to D. *Sands*, who offered to be bound in Body, Goods, and Lands for him. After Dinner, the same day, Master *Holcroft* sent for Doctor *Sands* to his lodging at *Westminster*, requiring the Keeper to company with him. He came accordingly, finding Master *Holcroft* alone walking in his Garden. Master *Holcroft* imparted his long sute, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken, to D. *Sands*: much rejoicing that it was his good hap to do him good, and to procure his liberty, and that nothing remained, but that he would enter into bonds with his two Sureties, for not departing out of the Realm. Doctor *Sands* answered; I give God thanks, who hath moved your heart to mind me so well, and I think my self most bound unto you. God shall require, and I shall never be found unthankful. But as you have dealt friendly with me, I will also deal plainly with you. I came a freeman into Prison; I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, so will I not hurt them. And if I be set at liberty, I will not tarry six days in this Realm, if I may get out. If therefore I may not get free forth, send me to the *Marshalsey* again, and there ye shall be sure of me.

This Answer much misliked M. *Holcroft*: He told Doctor *Sands* that the time would not long continue, a change would shortly come, the state was but a cloud, and would soon shake away. And that his cousin Sir *Edward Bray* would gladly receive him and his Wife into his House, where he should never need to come at Church, and how the Lady *Bray* was a zealous Gentlewoman, who hated Popery. Adding, that he would not so deal with him to lose all his labour. When Doctor *Sands* could not be removed from his former saying, Master *Holcroft* said; Seeing you cannot be altered, I will change my purpose, and yield unto you. Come of it what will, I will set you at liberty: And seeing you mind to go over Sea, get you gone so quickly as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to come hither, for so you may undo me. He friendly kissed Doctor *Sands*, bade him farewell, and command the Keeper to take no fees of him, saying; Let me answer *Winchester* as I may. Doctor *Sands* returning with the Keeper to the *Marshalsey*, tarried all night. There on the morrow, he gave a Dinner to all the Prisoners, bade his bed-fellow, and sworn stake-fellow, if it had so pleased God, Master *Sanders* farewell, with many rears and kissings, the one falling on the others neck, and so departed, clearly delivered without Examination or Bond. From thence he went to the *Beuch*, and there talked with M. *Bradford* and M. *Farrer* Bishop of Saint *David*s, then Prisoners. Then he comforted them, and they praised God for his happy deliverance. He went by *Winchester* House, and there took boat, and came to a friends House in *London*, called *William Banks*, and tarried there one night. On the morrow at night he stifted to another friends House, and there he learned that search was made for him.

Doctor *Watson* and Master *Christopherson*, coming to the Bishop of *Winchester*, told him that he had set at liberty the greatest Heretick in *England*, and one that had of all other most corrupted the University of *Cambridge*, Doctor *Sands*. Whereupon the Bishop of *Winchester*, being Chancellor of *England*, sent for all the Constables of *London*, commanding them to watch for Doctor *Sands*, who was then within the City, and to

apprehend him, and whosoever of them should take him and bring him to him, he should have five pounds for his labour. Doctor Sands suspecting the matter, conveyed himself by night to one M. Barties House a stranger, who was in the *Marshallsey* Prisoner with him a while, he was a good Protestant, and dwelt in *Mark-Lane*. There he was six days, and had one or two of his friends that repaired unto him. Then he repaired to an acquaintance of his, one *Hurlestone* a Skinner, dwelling in *Cornhill*; he caused his Man *Quinting* to provide two Geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into *Essex* to Master *Sands* his Father in Law, where his Wife was.

At his going to bed in *Hurlestones House*, he had a pair of Hofs newly made that were too long for him. For while he was in the *Tower*, a Taylor was admitted him to make him a pair of Hofs. One came unto him, whose name was *Benjamin*, a good Protestant, dwelling in *Birchin-Lane*: he might not speak to him, or come unto him to take measure of him, but only look upon his Leggs, he made the Hofs, and they were two inches too long. These Hofs he prayed the goodwife of the House to send to some Taylor to cut them two inches shorter. The Wife required the Boy of the house to carry them to the next Taylor to cut. The boy chanced (or rather God so provided) to go to the next Taylor, which was *Benjamin* that made them, which also was a Constable, and acquainted with the Lord Chancellors commandment. The Boy required him to cut the Hofs. He said, I am not thy Masters Taylor. Saith the Boy, because you are our next neighbour, and my Masters Taylor dwelleth far off, I came to you; for it is far night, and he must occupy them timely in the morning. *Benjamin* took the Hofs, and looking upon them, he knew his handy-work, and said; These are not thy Masters Hofs, but D. Sands, them I made in the *Tower*. The Boy yielded and said, it was so. Saith he, Go to thy Mistress, pray her to sit up till 12. of the clock, and then I will bring the Hofs and speak with D. Sands to his good.

At midnight the goodwife of the House, and *Benjamin* the Taylor cometh into D. Sands Chamber: The Wife prayeth him not to be afraid of their coming. He answered nothing can be amiss; what God will, that shall be done. Then *Benjamin* telleth him that he made his Hofs, and by what good chance they now come to his hands. God used the means, that he might admonish him of his peril, and advise him how to escape it, telling him that all the Constables of *London*, whereof he was one, watched for him, and some were so greedily set, that they prayed him, if he took him, to let them have the carriage of him to the Bishop of *Winchester*, and he should have the five pound. Saith *Benjamin*, it is known that your Man hath provided two Geldings, and that you mind to ride out at *Algate* to morrow, and there then you are sure to be taken. Follow mine advice, and by Gods Grace ye shall escape their hands. Let your Man walk all the day to morrow in the street where your Horses stand, booted and ready to ride. The goodmans Servant of the House shall take the Horses, and carry them to *Bednol-Green*. The goodman shall be booted, and follow after, as if he would ride. I will be here with you to morrow about eight of the Clock; it is both Term and Parliament time, here we will break our fast, and when the streets is full, we will go forth. Look wildly, and if you meet your Brother in the streets, shun him not, but outface him, and know him not. Accordingly Doctor *Sands* did, clothed like a Gentleman in all respects, and looked wildly, as one that had been long kept in Prison out of the light. *Benjamin* carried him through *Birchin-Lane*, and from one Lane to another, till he came to *Morgate*. There they went forth until they came to *Bednol-Green*, where the Horses were ready, and Master *Hurlestone*, to ride with him as his Man. Doctor *Sands* pulled on his boots and taking leave of his friends *Benja-*

min, with tears they kissed each other; he put his Anno Hand in his Purse, and would have given *Benjamin* a great part of that little he had, but *Benjamin* would take none. Yet since D. Sands hath remembered him thankfully. He rode that night to his Father in Law M. Sands, where his Wife was: he had not been there two hours, but it was told M. Sands, that there were two of the Guard which would that night apprehend Doctor *Sands*, and so they were appointed.

That night Doctor *Sands* was guided to an honest Farmer near the Sea, where he tarried two days and two nights in a Chamber without all company. After that he shifted to one *James Mower* a Shipmaster, who dwelt at *Milton-Shote*, where he expected wind for the English Fleet ready into *Flanders*. While he was there, *James Mower* brought to him 40. or 50. Mariners, to whom he gave an Exhortation; they liked him so well, that they promised to dye for it, ere that he should be apprehended.

The 6. of May, being Sunday, the wind served. He took his leave of his Host and Hostess, and went towards the Ship. In taking his leave of his Hostess who was barren, and had bin married 8. years, he gave her a fine handkerchief and an old Royal of Gold in it, thanking her much, and said; Be of good comfort, ere that one whole year be past, God shall give you a Child, a Boy. And it came to pass, for that day twelve month lacking one day, God gave her a fair Son.

At the Shore Doct. *Sands* met with M. *Isaac* of Kent, who had his Eldest Son there, who, upon the liking he had to D. Sands, sent his Son with him, who afterward dyed in his Fathers House in *Frankford*. D. Sands and D. *Coxe* were both in one Ship, being one *Cockrel* Ship. They were within the kenning, when two of the Guard came thither to apprehend D. Sands. They arrived at *Anwerp*, being bid to Dinner to Master *Locke*. And at dinner time one *George Gilpin* being Secretary to the English House, and Kinsman to Doctor *Sands*, came to him, and rounded him in his ear, and said; King *Philip* hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend you. Hereupon they rose from their Dinner in a marvellous great shower, and went out at the gate toward the Land of *Cleves*. They found a Wagon, and halted away, and came late to *Ausburge* in *Cleveland*, where D. Sands tarried 14. days, and then journeyed towards *Strausborough*, where after he had lived one year, his Wife came unto him. He fell sore sick of a flux, which kept him nine Months, and brought him to deaths door. He had a Child which fell sick of the Plague, and died. His Wife at length fell sick of a Consumption, and dyed in his Arms; no Man had a more Godly Woman to his Wife.

After this, Master *Sampson* went away to *Emanuel*, a Man skilful in Hebrew. Master *Grindall* went into the Country to learn the Dutch Tongue. Doctor *Sands* still remained in *Strausborough*, whose sustentation then was chiefly from one Master *Isaac*, who loved him most dearly, and was ever more ready to give than he to take. He gave him in that space above an hundred Marks, which Sum the said Doctor *Sands* paid him again, and by his other gifts and friendliness shewed himself to be a thankful Man. When his Wife was dead, he went to *Zurike*, and there was in *Peter Martyrs* House for the space of 5. weeks. Being there, as they fate at Dinner, word suddenly came that Queen *Mary* was dead, and D. Sands was sent for by his friends at *Strausborough*. That news made Master *Martyr*, and Master *Jarret* then there, very joyful; but Doctor *Sands* could not rejoice, it smote into his heart that he should be called to misery.

Master *Bullinger* and the Ministers seasted him, and he took his leave and returned to *Strausborough* where he Preached; and so Master *Grindall* and he came towards *England*, and came to *London* the Tene day that Queen *Elizabeth* was Crowned.

1558.

Anno
1558.

A Complaint against such as favoured the Gospel in Ipswich, exhibited to Queen *Maries* Council, sitting in Commission at *Beckles* in *Suffolk*, the 18. of May, An. 1556. by *Philip Williams* alias *Footman*, *John Steward* and *Matthew Butler*, sworn for the purpose.

The Names of such as fled out of the Town, and lurked in secret places.

S. Mary Tower. { *Robert Partrich.*
Reje Nottingham, Daughter of *William Nottingham* the elder.
Anne Fenne, Servant to *Robert Nottingham*.
Andrew Tugforby, his Wife and Daughter.
S. Laurence. { *Thomas Tomson* Shoemaker, supposed to have received but twice these 17. years.
Martin Algate Blacksmith his Wife.
William Pickel's Tanner.
John Woodles, Coverlet Weaver, and his Wife.
S. Margareta. { *William Harset*, Bricklayer.
Thomas Flower, Shoemaker
William Wright his Wife at the Windmill.
Laurence Waterward late Curate, born in a Town called *Chorley* in *Lancashire*.
Widow Swaine.
Matthew Bride and his Wife.
Stephen Greenwich and his Wife.
William Coleman, servant to the said *Stephen*.
S. Nicholas. { *Rob. Coleman* and his Wife.
Roger Lawrence alias *Sparrow*.
John Carelson, Sadler.
William Coleman.
James Hearst his Wife.
Richard Hower apprentice with *Nicholas Nottingham*.
S. Peters. { *Richard Hesley* a seller of Heretical Books.
James Boeking Shoemaker his Wife.
John Raw, late Servant to *James Asbley*.
William Palmer.
S. Stephens. { *Rich. Richman*. } Servants to *Stephen Green*, Shoemaker.
John Deerfley.
Richard Richman Shoemaker his Wife, Daughter to *Mother Finkell*, Midwife.
S. Clements. { *Mistress Tooley*, who departed to *Derham* in *Suffolk*.
Agnes Wardall the elder, Widow.
S. Matthews. { *Robert Wardall* her Son.
John Shoemaker and his Wife.

The Names of such as have not received the Sacrament.

S. Clements. { *Robert Bray*.
John Nottingham.
Agnes Wardall, Wife of *Robert Wardall*.
Nicholas Nottingham.
Richard Mitchell.
William Jordane his Wife.
Richard Buttrall.
Robert Brown.
S. Peters. { *John Read*.
Thomas Spurdance.
John Servant to *Stephen Grimleff*.
S. Stephens. { *Robert Scolding*.
John Greenwich and his Wife.
S. Margareta. { *Thomas Sturgeon*, Mariner.
S. Nicholas. { *John Finn* his Wife.
S. Idury Key. { *Robert Brantfene*, Brother and Servant to *William Brantfene*.
Martin Johnson, who lyeth Bedrid.
Agnes his kee-
S. Mary Tower. { per. } Servants to *Rob. Nottingham*.
S. Laurence. { *Bent Alced*.
S. Mary at Elms. { *Robert Sylke* his Son.
John Ramsey and his Wife now in Prison.

Names of such as observe not Ceremonies.

Robert Cambridge refused the Paxe.
Robert Brage his Wife refused to suffer any Child to be dipped in the Font.
Joan Barber Widow. } refused to behold the E-
Thomasine her Daugh- }levation of the Sacram- s. Clements:
ter. } mento
Mistress Ponder, Mo-
ther to *Joan Bar-* in the same fault.
ber.
Tye a Mariner his Wife.
Richard Haward refused the Paxe at Maf in *S. Lau-* s. Mary at
rence. } Elms.
Master Lyons at Maf at *Saint Mary Stoke* refused the Paxe.
Mother Finkel. } refused to have Children dipped in s. Peters.
Joan Ward, alias } Font.
Bentleys Wife. }
Mother Beriff, Midwife, refuseth to have Children s. Stephens
dipped in Font. } s. Nicholas.
George Bush his Wife rejected the Host after receipt of it.

Names of Priests Wives, that have access to their Husbands.

Ralph Carleton his Wife, Curate of *St. Matthews*, and *St. Mary* at *Elms*.
Elizabeth Cantrel, Wife to *Ralph Cantrel*.
Jane Barker, Wife to *Robert Barker* Priest late of *Bury*.
Latimer his Wife, Curate of *St. Laurence*; and *St. Stephens*.
William Gleark his Wife, late Curate of *Barkham*, and *S. Mary* at *Almes*.
Names of maintainers against this Complaint.
Robert Sterop, Customer to *Queen Mary*.
Gilbert Sterop, deputy to *Edward Grimston* Esquire; for his *Butlerage*.
Master Butler the elder, Searcher.
Mistress Tooley, swelling by too much Riches into Wealth.
Margaret Bray, who also presumeth upon the Office of a Midwife, not called.
Joan Barber Widow. } practising much wholsom
Mistress Bird. } Counsel.
Bailliam Man his Wife, and he himself more Rich than s. Clements
Wife. } s. Mary Key.

The requests to punish and convent certain, whose example might reverse other from their opinions: as,

To convent *Richard Bird* Jayler, who by evil Counsel doth animate his Prisoners of his Sect. Also for that he with his Wife did check us openly with unseemly words, tending almost to a tumult.
To convent *Thomas Sadler*, for certain words spoken to *John Bate* the Crier of the Town, the sixth of May.
That it may please the Bishop to with his Cominissary and Official to be upright and diligent in their Office, and to appoint a Curate of more ability to feed his cure with Gods Word.
That none may be suffered to be Midwives, but such as are Catholick, because of evil Counsel at such times as the necessity of Womens Travel shall require a number of Women assembled.
That *Ralph Carleton* Curate, may be convented, whether by corruption of money he hath crossed his Book of any that are there named, and hath not received indeed, as it is reported.

The

Anno 1558.

The miraculous Preservation of the Lady *ELIZABETH*,
now Queen of England, from extream Calamity and danger of
Life, in the time of Queen *MARY*, her Sister.

The blessed
protection
of Almighty
God in
preserving
the Lady
Elizabeth
in her most
dangerous
and troubles.

BUt when all hath been said and told, whatsoever can be recited touching the admirable working of Gods present Hand in defending and delivering any one person out of thralldom, never was there, since the memory of our Fathers, any example to be shewed, wherein the Lords mighty Power hath more admirably and blessedly shewed it self, to the glory of his own Name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the publick felicity of this whole Realm, than in the miraculous custody and out-scape of this our Sovereign Lady, now Queen, then Lady *Elizabeth*, in the strait time of Queen *Mary* her Sister.

The troubles
of the
Lady Elizabeth
in Q.
Maries time.

In which Story we first have to consider in what extream misery, sickness, fear, and peril her Highness was; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death she was brought: First, with great Routs and Bands of armed Men (and happy was he that might have the carrying of her) being fetched up as the greatest Traitor in the World, clapped in the Tower, and again tossed from thence, and from House to House, from Prison to Prison, from Post to Pillar, at length also Prisoner in her own House, and guarded with a sort of Cut-throats, which ever gaped for the spoil, whereby they might be fingering of somewhat.

Secondly, We have to consider again, all this notwithstanding, how strangely, or rather miraculously, she was delivered from dangers, what favour and grace she found with the Almighty; who, when all the help of man and hope of recovery was past, stretched out his mighty Protection, and preserved her Highness, and placed her in this Princely Seat of Rest and Quietness, wherein now she sitteth, and long may she sit, the Lord of his glorious mercy grant we beseech him.

In which Story, if I should set forth at large and at full all the Particulars and Circumstances thereunto belonging, and as just occasion of the History requireth; heide the importunate length of the Story discourseth, peradventure it might move offence to some being yet alive, and truth might get me hatred. Yet notwithstanding I intend (by the grace of Christ) therein to use such brevity and moderation, as both may be to the glory of God, the discharge of the Story, the profit of the Reader, and hurt to none, suppressing the names of some, whom here although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruel in hurting their name, than the Queen hath been merciful in pardoning their lives.

The History
of the Lady
Elizabeth.

Therefore now to enter into the Discourse of this tragical matter, first here is to be noted, That Queen *Mary* when she was first Queen, before she was crowned, would go no whither, but would have her by the hand, and send for her to dinner and supper; but after she was crowned, she never dined nor supped with her, but kept her aloof from her. After this it happened immediately upon the rising of Sir *Thomas Wyatt* (as before was mentioned) that the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney* were charged with false suspicion of Sir *Thomas Wyatts* rising. Whereupon Queen *Mary*, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the said Lady *Elizabeth* her Sister, at that time lying in her House at *Ashbridge*, the next day after the rising of *Wyatt*, sent to her three of her Counsellors, to wit, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Sir *Edward Hastings*, then Master of the Horse, and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, with their retinue and troop of Horsemen, to the number of 250. who at their sudden and unprovided coming, found her at the same time sore sick in her Bed, and very feeble and weak of body. Whither when they came, ascending up to her Graces Chamber, they killed one of her Ladies, whom they met, to declare unto her Grace, that there were certain come from the Court, which had a message from the Queen.

Sir R. Southwell, Sir E. Hastings, and Sir T. Cornwallis sent to fetch up the Lady Elizabeth, with whom also afterwards was sent the L. W. Howard, &c.

Her Grace having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming; howbeit being then very sick, and the night far spent (which was at ten of the Clock) she

requested them by the Messenger, that they would resort thither in the morning. To this they answered, and by the said Messenger sent word again, that they must needs see her, and would so do, in what case soever she were. Whereat the Lady being agast, went to shew her Grace their words, but they, hastily following her, came rushing as soon as she into her Graces Chamber unbidden.

At whose so sudden coming into her Bed-chamber, her Grace, being not a little amazed, said unto them; Is the haste such that it might not have pleased you to come to morrow in the morning?

They made answer, that they were right sorry to see her in that case. And I (quoth she) am not glad to see you here at this time of the night. Whereunto they answered, that they came from the Queen to do their message and duty, which was to this effect, that the Queens pleasure was, that she should be at London the 7. day of that present Month. Whereunto the said, Certes, no Creature more glad than I to come to her Majesty, being right sorry that I am not in case at this time to wait on her, as you your selves do see, and can well tell.

Indeed we see it true (quoth they) that you do say; for which we are very sorry. Albeit we let you to understand, that our Commission is such, and so straiteth us, that we must needs bring you with us, either quick or dead. Whereat she being amazed, sorrowfully said, that their Commission was very fore; but yet notwithstanding she hoped it to be otherwise, and not so strait. Yes verily, said they. Whereupon they calling for two Physicians, Dr. *Oswald* and Dr. *Wendy*, demanded of them whether the might be removed from thence with life, or no. Whole answer and judgment was, that there was no impediment in their judgment to the contrary, but that she might travel without danger of life.

In conclusion, they willed her to prepare against the next Morning at nine of the Clock to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the Queens Litter for her. After much talk, the Messengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and days, so departed to their Chamber, being entertained and cheered, as appertained to their Worthips.

On the next morrow at the time prescribed, they had her forth as she was, very faint and feeble, and in such case, that she was ready to swoond three or four times between them. What should I speak here, that cannot well be expressed, what an heavy House there was to behold the un-reverend and doleful dealing of these men, but especially the carnal fear and captivity of their innocent Lady and Mistress.

Now to proceed in her Journey from *Ashbridge*, all sick in the Litter, she came to *Redborne*, where she was guarded all night. From thence to *S. Albanes* to Sir *Ralph Rowlets* House, where the tarried that night, both feeble in body, and comfortless in mind. From that place they passed to Mr. *Dods* House at *Mymms*, where also they remained that night; and so from thence came to *Highbury*, where the being very sick, tarried that night and the next day. During which time of her abode, there came many Purfervants and Messengers from the Court; but for what purpose I cannot tell.

From that place she was conveyed to the Court, where by the way came to meet her many Gentlemen to accompany her Highness, which were very sorry to see her in that case. But especially a great multitude of People there were standing by the way, who then flocking about her Litter, lamented and bewailed greatly her estate. Now when she came to the Court, her Grace was there straightways shut up, & kept as close Prisoner a fortnight, which was till *Palm-Sunday*, seeing neither King nor Queen, nor Lord, nor Friend, all that time, but only the then L. Chamberlain, Sir *J. Gage*, and the Vice-chamberlain, which were attendant unto the doors. About which time Sir *William Sentlowe* was called before the Council. To whose charge

The unmercifulness of the Knight.

A strait Commission from the Queen to bring the Lady Elizabeth, either quick or dead.

Lady Elizabeth took her journey toward the Queen.

Lady Elizabeth brought up to London.

anno 1558.
Sir Wm. Seaton committed to the Tower.

Lady Eliz. charged with Sir Tho. Wyatt's conspiracy. Lady Eliz. charged with the husband of Sir Peter Carew. Lady Eliz. threatened to go to the Tower.

Lady Eliz. purged her self to the Lords.

Lady Eliz. serves removed from her. The Queens men and waiting Women attended upon Lady Eliz.

The hard dealing of a certain Lord with the Lady Eliz.

The Earl of Suffolk gentle to the Lady Eliz.

Lady Eliz. which to the Queen, but it would not serve.

was laid, that he knew of *Wyatts* Rebellion. Which he stoutly denied, professing that hee was a True Man both to God and his Prince, defying all Traytors and Rebels, but being finally examined, he was in Conclusion committed to the Tower.

The Friday before *Palms-Sunday*, the Bishop of *Winchester* with 19. other of the Council (who shalbe here nameless) came unto her Grace from the Queens Majesty, and burdened her with *Wyatts* conspiracy; which she utterly denied, affirming that she was altogether guiltlesstherein. They being not contented with this charged her Grace with busines made by Sir *Peter Carew*, and the rest of the Gentlemen of the *West* Country: which also she utterly denying, cleared her Innocency therein.

In Conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her, that it was the Queens will and pleasure that she should go unto the Tower, while the matter were further tried and examined.

Whereat she being agast, said, that she trusted the Queens Majesty would be a more Gracious Lady unto her, and that her Highness would not otherwise conceive of her, but that she was a True Woman; declaring furthermore to the Lords, that she was Innocent in all those matters wherein they had burdened her, and desired them therefore to be a further mean to the Queen her Sister, that she being a True Woman in thought word, and deed, towards her Majesty, might not be committed to so Notorious and doleful a place, professing that she would request no favour at her hand, if she should be proved to have consented unto any such kind of matter as they laid unto her charge; and therefore in fine desired their Lordships to think of her what she was, and that she might not so extremely be dealt withal for her Truth.

Whereunto the Lords answered again, that there was no remedy, for that the Queens Majesty was fully determined that she should go unto the Tower. Wherewith the Lords departed, with their caps hanging over their eyes. But not long after, within the space of an hour or little more, came four of the foresaid Lords of the Council, which were the Lord Treasurer, the Bp. of *Winchester*, the Lord Steward, the Earl of *Suffex*, with the Guard; who warding the next Chamber to her, secluded all her Gentlemen and Yeomen, Ladys and Gentlemen; saving that for one Gentleman Usher, three Gentlemen, and two Grooms of her Chamber, were appointed in their rooms, three other men of the Queens, and three waiting women to give attendance upon her, that none should have access to her Grace.

At which time there was a hundred of *Northern* Soldiers in white Coats, watching and warding about the Gardens all that night, and a great fire being made in the midst of the Hall, and two certain Lords watching there also with their band and company.

Upon *Saturday* following, two Lords of the Council (the one was the Earl of *Suffex*, the other shall be nameless) came and certified her Grace, that forthwith she must go unto the Tower, the Barge being prepared for her, and the Tide now ready, which tarrieth for no Body. In heavy mood her Grace requested the Lords that she might tarry another Tide, trusting that the next would be better; and more comfortable. But one of the Lords replied, that neither time nor Tide was to be delayed.

And when her Grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the Queens Majesty, he answered, that he durst not permit that: adding, that in his judgement it would rather hurt, than profit her Grace in so doing.

But the other Lord, more courteous and favourable (who was the Earl of *Suffex*) kneeling down, told her Grace that she should have liberty to write, and as he was a True Man, he would deliver it to the Queens Highness, and bring an answer of the same, whatsoever came thereof. Whereupon she wrote, albeit she could in no case be suffered to speak with the Queen, to her great discomfort, being no offender against the Queens Majesty.

And thus the time and Tide passed away for that season, they privily appointing all things ready that she should go the next Tide, which fell about midnight;

but for fear she should be taken by the way, they durst not. So they staid till the next day, being *Palms-Sunday*, when about nine of the clock these two returned again, declaring that it was time for her Grace to depart. She answered, if there be no remedy, I must be contented, willing the Lords to go on before. Being come forth into the Garden, she did call her eyes towards the Window, thinking to have seen the Queen, which she could not. Whereat she said, she marvelled much what the Nobility of the Realm meant, which in that sort would suffer her to be led into Captivity, the Lord knew whither, for she did not. In the mean time commandment was given in all *London*, that every one should keep the Church, and carry their *Palms*, while in the mean season she might be conveyed without all recourse of people in the Tower.

After all this, she took her Barge with the two foresaid Lords, three of the Queens Gentlewomen, and three of her own, her Gentleman Usher, and two of her Grooms, lying and hovering upon the water a certain space, for that they could not shoot the Bridge, the Bargemen being very unwilling to shoot the same, so soon as they did, because of the danger thereof: for the Stern of the Boat strook upon the ground, the fall was so bigg, and the water was so shallow, that the Boat being under the Bridge, there staid again a while. At landing the first staid and denied to land at those Stairs where all Traytors and Offenders customably used to land, neither well could she, unless she should go over her shoes. The Lords were gone out of the Boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the Lords went back again to her, and brought word she would not come.

Then said one of the Lords, which shall be nameless, that she should not chafe; and because it did then rain, he offered to her his Cloak, which shee, putting it back with her hand with a good dash, refused. So the coming out, having one foot upon the stair, said; Here landeth as true a Subject, being Prisoner, as ever landed at these Stairs: And before thee, O God, I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone.

To whom the same Lord answered again, that if it were so, it was the better for her. At her landing there was a great multitude of their Servants and Warders standing in their order. What needed all this, said she? It is the use (said some) to be when any Prisoner came thither. And if it be (quoth she) for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed. Whereat the Poor Men kneeled down, and with one voice desired God to preserve her Grace, who the next day were released of their cold Coats.

After this, passing a little further, she sat down upon a cold stone, and there rested her self. To whom the *Lieutenant* then being said; Madam, you were best to come out of the rain, for you sit unwholsomely. She then replying, answered again; It is better sitting here, than in a worse place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me. With that her Gentleman Usher wept; the demanding of him what he meant so uncomfortably to use her, seeing she took him to be her comfort, and not to dismay her, especially for that she knew her truth to be such that no man should have cause to weep for her. But forth she went into Prison.

The Doors were locked and bolted upon her, which did not a little discomfort and dismay her Grace. At what time she called to her Gentlewoman for her Book, desiring God not to suffer her to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the Rock, whereby all blasts of blustering weather should have no power against her. The doors of being thus locked, and she close shut up, the Lords had great Conference how to keep ward and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing finally and circumspectly to keep her.

Then one of them, which was the Lord of *Suffex*, (wearing a cap) said: My Lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our Commission will bear us out in, whatsoever shall happen hereafter. And further, let us consider that she was the King our Masters daughter; and therefore let us use such dealing, that we may answer it hereafter, if it shall so happen: for just dealing, quoth he, is always answerable; whereunto the other Lords agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the Tower, within 2 days Commandment

Lady Elizabeth sent to the Tower.

The words of Lady Elizabeth, cursing the Tower.

The Christian prayer of Lady Elizabeth.

The Lord of Suffex speaking to Lady Elizabeth.

mandment was that he should have Maſs within her houſe. One Maſter Young was then her Chaplain, and becauſe there was none of her men ſo well learned to help the Priſt to ſay Maſs, the Maſs ſtaied for that day.

The next day two of her Yeomen, who had gone long to School before, and were learned, had two Abcies provided, and delivered them, ſo that upon the Abcies they ſhould help the Priſt. One of the ſaid Yeomen, holding the Abcie in his hand, pretending Ignorance at *Kyrie Eleiſon*, ſet the Priſt, making as though he could answer no farther.

It would make a pitiful and a ſtrange ſtory, here by the way to touch and recite what examination and rackings of Poor Men there were to find out that knife that ſhould cut her throat; what gaping among my Lords of the Clergy, to ſee the day wherein they might waſh their goodly white Rochets in her Innocent Blood; but eſpecially the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* *Stephen Gardiner*, then Lord Chancellor, Ruler of the Roſt, who then within 5. days after came unto her, with divers other of the Council, and examined her of the talk that was at *Aſbridge*, betwixt her and Sir *James Acroft*, concerning her removing from thence to *Dunmington* Caſtle, requiring her to declare what ſhe meant thereby.

At the firſt ſhe being ſuddenly asked, did not well remember any ſuch houſe; but within a while, well adviſing her ſelf, ſhe ſaid; Indeed (quoth ſhe) I do now remember that I have ſuch a place, but I never lay in it in all my life. And as for any that hath moved methereunto, I do not remember.

Then to enforce the matter, they brought forth Sir *James Acroft*. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* demanded of her what ſhe ſaid to that man. She answered, that ſhe had little to ſay to him, or to the reſt that were then Priſoners in the *Tower*. But my Lords (quoth they) you do examine every mean Priſoner of me, wherein me thinks you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the Queens Maſteſty, let them answer to it accordingly. I beſeech you, my Lords, joyn not me in this ſort with any of theſe offenders. And as concerning my going unto *Dunmington* Caſtle, I do remember that *Maſter Hooby* and mine Officers, and you Sir *James Acroft* had ſuch talk, but what is that to the purpoſe, my Lords, but that I may go to mine own houſes at all times?

The Lord of *Arundel* kneeling down, ſaid, Your Grace ſith true, and certainly we are very ſorry that we have ſo troubled you about ſo vain matters. She then ſaid; My Lords, you do ſift me very narrowly. But well I am aſſured, you ſhall not do more to me than God hath appointed, and ſo God forgive you all.

At their departure Sir *James Acroft* kneeled down, declaring that he was ſorry to ſee the day in which he ſhould be brought as a witneſs againſt her Grace. But I aſſure your Grace (ſaid he) I have been marvellouſly toſſed and examined touching your Highneſs, which the Lord knoweth is very ſtrange to me. For I take God to record before all your Honours, I do not know any thing of that Crime that you have laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I ſhould be driven to ſo ſtrict a trial.

That day, or thereabouts, divers of her own Officers, who had made proviſion for her diet, brought the ſame to the outer gate of the *Tower*, the common rascal Soldiers receiving it; which was no final grief unto the Gentlemen, the bringers thereof. Wherefore they required to ſpeak with the Lord Chamberlain, being then Conſtable of the *Tower*. Who, coming before his preſence, declared unto his Lordſhip, that they were much afraid to bring her Graces diet, and to deliver it unto ſuch common and deſperate perſons as they were which did receive it, beſeeching his Honour to conſider her Grace, and to give ſuch order, that her viands might at all times be brought in by them which were appointed thereunto. Yea, ſaid he? who appointed you this Office? They answered, her Graces Council. Council, quoth he? There is none or them which hath to do either in that caſt, or any thing elſe within this place; and I aſſure you, for that there is a Priſoner, ſhe ſhall be ſerved with the *Lieutenants* men, as other the Priſoners are.

Whereat the Gentlemen ſaid, that they truſted for more favour at his hands, conſidering her perſonage; ſaying, that they miſtruſted not, but that the Queen and her Council would be better to her Grace than ſo, and therewith ſhewed themſelves to be offended at the ungrateful words of the Lord Chamberlain towards their Lady and Miſtreſs.

At this he ſware by God, ſtriking himſelf upon the breaſt, that if they did either frown or ſhrug at him, he would ſet them where they ſhould ſee neither Sun nor Moon. Thus taking their leave, they deſired God to bring him into a better mind toward her Grace, and departed from him.

Upon the occaſion whereof, her Graces Officers made great ſute unto the Queens Council, that ſome might be appointed to bring her diet unto her, and that it might no more be delivered unto the common Soldiers of the *Tower*. Which being reaſonably conſidered, was by them granted. And thereupon were appointed one of her Gentlemen, her Clerk of her Kitchen, and her two Purveyors to bring in her Proviſion, once a day. All which was done, the Wardens ever waiting upon the bringers thereof.

The Lord Chamberlain himſelf being always with them, circumſpectly and narrowly watched and ſearched what they brought, and gave heed that they ſhould have no talk with any of her Graces waiting Servants, and ſo warded them both in and out. At the ſaid ſute of her Officers were ſent by the commandment of the Council, to wait upon her Grace, two Yeomen of her Chamber, one of her Robes, two of her Pantry and Ewry, one of her Buttry, another of her Cellar, two of her Kitchen, and one of her Larder, all which continued with her the time of her trouble.

Here the Conſtable, being at the firſt not very well pleaſed with the coming in of ſuch a company againſt his will, would have had his men ſtill to have ſerved with her Graces men. Which her ſervants at no hand would ſuffer, deſiring his Lordſhip to be contented, for that order was taken, that no ſtranger ſhould come within their Offices. At which answer being fore diſpleaſed, he brake out into theſe threatnings words. Well (ſaid he) I will handle you well enough. Then went hee into the Kitchen, and there would needs have his meat roſted with her Graces meat, and ſaid that his Cook ſhould come thither and dreſs it. To that her Graces Cook answered; My Lord, I will never ſuffer any ſtranger to come about her diet, but her own ſworn men, ſo long as I live. He ſaid they ſhould. But the Cook ſaid, his Lordſhip ſhould pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble her poor ſervants very ſtoutly; though afterward he were otherwiſe adviſed, and they more courteouſly uſed at his hands. And good cauſe why. For he had good chear, and fared of the beſt, and her Grace payed well for it. Wherefore he uſed himſelf afterward more reverently toward her Grace.

After this ſort, having lien a whole Month there in cloſe Priſon, and being very evil at eaſe therewithal, the ſent for the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord *Shandoyes* to come and ſpeak with her. Who coming, ſhe requeſted them that the might have liberty to walk in ſome place, for that ſhe felt her ſelf not well. To the which they answered, that they were right ſorry that they could not ſatiſfie her Graces requeſt, for that they had commandment to the contrary, which they durſt not in any wiſe break. Furthermore, ſhe deſired of them, if that could not be granted, that the might walk but into the Queens lodging. No, nor yet that (they answered) could by any means be obtained without a further ſute to the Queen and her Council. Well, ſaid ſhe, my Lords, if the matter be ſo hard that they muſt be ſued unto for ſo ſmall a thing, and that friendſhip be ſo ſtrict, God comfort me, and ſo they departed, the remaining in her old dungeon ſtill, without any kind of comfort but only God.

The next day aſtor the Lord *Shandoyes* came again unto her Grace, declaring unto her that he had ſued unto the Council for further liberty. Some of them conſented thereunto, divers other diſſented, for that there were ſo many priſoners in the *Tower*. But in conclusion, they did all agree that her Grace might walk into thoſe lodgings, ſo that he and the Lord Chamberlain, and three

The Biſhop of Wincheſter coming to Lady Elizabeth, examined by the Biſhop of Wincheſter

The friendly ſpeech of the Earl of Arundel to the Lady Elizabeth

Sir James Acroft examining touching the Lady Elizabeth

These were not the officers of the Tower, but such as were in whose Service

Lady Elizabeth's servants to be used for bringing her diet to the Tower

Anno 1558.

Displeasure between the Lord Chamberlain and Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth, writing men in the Tower.

Variance between the Lord Chamberlain and Lady Elizabeth's servants.

Lady Elizabeth, denied the liberty of the Tower.

Anno 1558. and three of the Queens Gentlewomen did accompany her, the Windows being shut, and she not suffered to look out at any of them: wherewith she contented herself, and gave him thanks for his good will in that behalf.

Liberty granted to Lady Eliz. to walk in a little garden. Afterwards there was liberty granted to her Grace to walk in a little Garden the Doors and Gates being shut up, which notwithstanding was as much discomfort unto her, as the walk in the Garden was pleasant and acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the prisoners on that side straitly were commanded not to speak or look out at the Windows into the Garden, till her Grace were gone out again, having in consideration thereof their Keepers waiting upon them for that time. Thus her Grace with this small liberty contented herself in God, to whom he praiseth therefore.

Suspicious heads. During this time, there used a little Boy, a mans Child in the Tower, to resort to their Chambers, and many times to bring her Grace Flowers, which likewise hee did to the other Prisoners that were there. Whereupon naughty and suspicious heads, thinking to make and wring out some matter thereof, called on a time the Child unto them, promising him Figgs and Apples, and asked of him when hee had been with the Earl of Devonshire, not ignorant of the Childs wonted frequenting unto him. The Boy answered, that hee would go by and by thither. Further, they demanded of him, when he was with the Lady Elizabeths Grace. Hee answered, every day. Furthermore, they examined him, what the Lord of Devonshire, sent by him to her Grace. The Child said, I will go know what he will give to carry to her. Such was the discretion of the Child, being yet but 4. years of age. This same is a crafty Boy, quoth the Lord Chamberlain. How say you my Lord Shandoyes? I pray you my Lord (quoth the Boy) give me the Figgs, you promised me. No Mary (quoth he) thou shalt be whipped if thou come any more to the Lady Eliz. or the Lord Courtenay. The Boy answered, I will bring my Lady my Mistres more Flowers. Whereupon the Childs Father was commanded to permit the Boy no more to come up into their Chambers.

The next day, as her Grace was walking in the Garden the Child peeping in at a hole in the Door, cried unto her, saying; Mistres, I can bring you no more Flowers, Whereat she smiled, but said nothing, understanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore afterwards the Chamberlain rebuked highly his Father, commanding him to put him out of the house. Alas Poor Infant! quoth the Father. It is a crafty knave, quoth the Lord Chamberlain; let me see him here no more.

The fifth day of May, the Constable of the Tower was discharged of his Office, and one Sir Henry Benisfield placed in his room, a Man unknown to her Grace and therefore the more feared; which so sudden mutation was unto her no little amaze. He brought with him an hundred Souldiers in Blew Coats, wherewith she was marvelously discomforted, and demanded of such as were about her, whether the Lady Janes Scaffold were taken away or no, fearing by reason of their coming, lest she should have played her part. To whom answer was made, that the Scaffold was taken away, and that her Grace needed not to doubt of any such Tyranny; for God would not suffer any such Treason against her person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether satisfied, she asked what Sir Henry Benisfield was, and whether hee was of that Confidence, or no, that if her murdering were secretly committed to his charge he would see the execution thereof.

She was answered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. Howbeit they perswaded her that God would not suffer such wickedness to proceed. Well, quoth she, God grant it be so. For thou, O God, canst mollifie all such Tyrannous hearts, and dis appoint all such cruel purposes; and I beseech thee to hear me thy creature, which am thy servant and at thy commandment, trusting by thy Grace ever so to remain.

About which time it was spread abroad, that her Grace should be carried from thence by this new Jolly Captain and his Souldiers; but whither, it could not be learned. Which was unto her a great grief, especially for that such a company was appointed to her guard, requir-

ing rather to continue there still, than to be led thence with such a sort of Rascals. At last, plain answer was made by the Lord Shandoyes, that there was no remedy, but from thence she must needs depart to the Manour of Woodstock, as he thought. Being demanded of her, for what cause; for that (quoth he) the Tower is like further to be furnished. She being desirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded wherewith. He answered, with such matter as the Queen and Council were determined in that behalf, whereof he had no knowledge; and so departed.

In conclusion, on Trinity Sunday, being the nineteenth day of May, she was removed from the Tower, the Lord Treasurer being then there for the lading of her Carcs, and discharging the place of the same, Where Sir Henry Benisfield (being appointed her Jayler) did receive her with a company of rike-hels to guard her, besides the Lord of Darbies Band, waiting in the Country about for the Moonshine in the water. Unto whom at length came my Lord of Tame joyned in Commission with the said Sir Henry, for the safe guiding of her to Prison; And they together conveyed her Grace to Woodstock, as hereafter followeth.

The first day they conducted her to Richmond, where she continued all night, being restrained of her own men, which were lodged in out-chambers, and Sir Henry Benisfields Souldiers appointed in their rooms to give attendance on her Person. Whereat the being marvelously dismayed, thinking verily some secret mischief to be a working towards her, called her Gentleman Usher, and desired him with the rest of his company to pray for her. For this night (quoth she) I think to die. Wherewith he being stricken to the heart, saying; God forbid that any such wickedness should be pretended against your Grace. So comforting her as well as he could, at last he brast out into tears, and went from her down into the Court, where were walking the Lord of Tame, and Sir Henry Benisfield.

Then he coming to the Lord of Tame (who had professed to him much friendship) desired to speak with him a word or two. Unto whom he familiarly said, he would with all his heart. Which when Sir Henry, standing by, heard, he asked what the matter was. To whom the Gentleman Usher answered; No great matter, Sir; (said hee) but to speak with my Lord a word of two.

Then when the Lord of Tame came to him, he spake on this wise: My Lord (quoth he) you have been always my good Lord, and so I beseech you to remain. The cause why I come to you at this time, is to desire your Honour unfainedly to declare unto me whether any danger is meant towards my Mistres this night, or no, that I and my poor fellows may take such part as shall please God to appoint: For certainly we will rather die, than she should secretly and innocently miscarry. Mary (said the Lord of Tame) God forbid that any such wicked purpose should be wrought; and rather than it should be so, I with my men are ready to die at her foot also: and so (praised be God) thy passed that doleful night, with no little heaviness of heart.

Afterwards passing over the water at Richmond, going towards Windsor, her Grace espied certain of her poor Servants standing on the other side, which were very desirous to see her. Whom when she beheld, turning to one of her men standing by, she said; Yonder I see certain of my men: go to them and say these words from me, Tanquam ovem. Like a sheep to the slaughter.

So the passing forward to Windsor, was lodged there that night in the Dean of Windsores house, a place more meet indeed for a Priest than a Prince.

And from thence her Grace was guarded and brought the next night to Maffet Dorners house, where much People standing by the way, some presented to her one gift, and some another, so that Sir Henry was greatly moved therewith, and troubled the poor People very fore, for shewing their loving hearts in such a manner, calling them Rebels and Traitors; with such like vile words.

Besides, as the passed through the Villages, the Townsmen rang the Bells, as being joyful of her coming, thinking verily that it had been otherwise than it

Lady Eliz.

removed

from the

Tower to

Woodstock.

Lady Eliz.

was

scolded

from her

fores.

Lady Eliz.

was

in despair

of her life.

Lady Eliz.

was

talked

with the

Lord of

Tame.

The gentle

heart of the

Lord of

Tame to his

Lady Eliz.

was indeed, as the sequel proved after to the said poor men. For immediately the said Sir Henry hearing the same, sent his Souldiers thither, who apprehended some of the Rigners, fetters them in the Stocks, and otherwise uncurteously misusing other some for their good wills.

The gentleman's confinement of Lady Eliz. at the Lord of Tames house.

Mr. Benfield judging at the great contentment of the Lady Eliz.

On the Morrow her Grace passing from Mr. Dormers (where was for the time of her abode there, a strait watch kept) came to the Lord of Tames house, where she lay all the night, being very princely entertained both of Knights and Ladies, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen. Whereat Sir Henry Benfield grunted, and was highly offended, saying unto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to answer their doings in that behalf, letting them to understand, that she was the Queens Majesties prisoner, and no otherwife; advising them therefore to take heed and beware of afterclaps. Whereunto the Lord of Tames answered in this wise; that he was well advised of his doings, being joynd in commission as well as he, adding with warrant, that her Grace might and should in his house be merry.

The next day, as she should take her journey from Richmond toward Woodstock, the Lord of Tame with another Gentleman being at Tables, playing, and dropping vie Crowns, the Lady Elizabeth passing by, staied and said she would see the game played out, which Sir Henry Benfield would scarce permit. The game running long about, and they playing, drop vie Crowns, Come on, faith he; I will tarry faith she, and will see this game out.

The rude & ungentlemanly behaviour of Sir Henry Benfield.

After this Sir Henry went up into a chamber, where was appointed for her Grace a chair, two cushions, and a foot-carpet very fair and Prince-like wherein presumptuously he fate and called one Barwick his man to pull off his boots. Which as soon as it was known among the Ladies and Gentles, every one mused thereat, and laughed him to scorn, observing his undirect manners in that behalf, as they might very well.

When supper was done, he called my Lord, and willed him that all the Gentlemen and Ladies should withdraw themselves every one to his lodging, marvelling much that he would permit there such a company, considering so great a charge committed to him.

Sir Henry (quoth my Lord) content your self, all shall be voided, your men and all. Nay, my Souldiers (quoth Sir Henry) shall watch all night. The Lord of Tames answered, it shall not need. Well, said he, need or need not, they shall so do, mistrusting belike the company, which God knoweth was without cause.

Lady Eliz. cometh to Woodstock.

The next day her Grace took her Journey from thence to Woodstock, where she was inclosed, as before in the Tower of London, the Souldiers guarding and warding both within and without the Walls, every day to the number of 60. and in the night without the Walls 40. during the time of her Imprisonment there.

The strait watch kept at Woodstock.

At length he had gardens appointed for her walk, which was very comfortable to her Grace. But always when she did recreate her self therein, the Doors were fast locked up, in as strait manner as they were in the Tower, being at the least five or six locks between her lodging and her walks; Sir Henry himself keeping the keys, and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him her Jaylor; and he kneeling down, desired her Grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of her Officers. From such Officers (quoth she) good Lord deliver me.

A merry story concerning the strait keeping of the Lady Eliz.

And now by the way, as digressing, or rather refreshing the Reader, if it be lawful in so serious a story to recte a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the same; occasion here moveth, or rather inforceth me to touch briefly what happened in the same place and time by a certain merry conceited man, being then about her Grace: who noting the strait and strange keeping of his Lady and Mistres by the said Sir Henry Benfield, with so many locks and doors, with such watch and ward about her, as was strange and wonderful, spied a Goat in the ward where her Grace was; and whether to refresh her oppressed mind, or to notifie her strait handling by Sir Henry, or else both, he took it upon his neck, and

followed her Grace therewith as she was going into her lodging.

1558.

Which when she saw, she asked him what he would do with it, willing him to let it alone. Unto whom the said party answered; No, by Saint Mary (if it like your Grace) will I not; for I cannot tell, whether he be one of the Queens Friends, or no. I will carry him to Sir Henry Benfield (God willing) to know what he is. So leaving her Grace, he went with the Goat on his neck, and carried it to Sir Henry Benfield, who when he saw him coming with it, askt him, half angrily, what he had there.

Unto whom the party answered, saying; Sir (quoth he) I cannot tell what he is. I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my Ladies Grace was walking, and what talk they have had I cannot tell. For I understand him not, but he should seem to me to be some stranger, and I think verily a Welchman, for he hath a white Frize Coat on his Back. And forasmuch as I being the Queens Subject, and perceiving the strait charge committed to you of her keeping, that no stranger should have access to her without sufficient license, I have here found a stranger (what he is I cannot tell) in place where her Grace was walking; and therefore for the necessary discharge of my duty, I thought it good to bring the said stranger to you, to examine, as you see cause; and so he set him down. At which his words Sir Henry seemed much displeased, and said; Well, well, you will never leave this gear I fee: and so they departed.

The trust of Sir Henry Benfield to write to the Queen.

Now to return to the matter from whence we have digressed, after her Grace had been there a time, she made sute to the Council that the might be suffered to write to the Queen. Which at last was permitted: So Sir Henry Benfield brought her pen, ink, and paper; and standing by her while she wrote (which he straitly observed) always the being weary, hee would carry away her Letters, and bring them again when she called for them. In the finishing thereof, he would have been messenger to the Queen of the time. Whose request her Grace denied, saying, one of her own men should carry them, and that she would neither trust him, nor any of his therein.

The cruel dealing of Sir Henry Benfield to write to the Queen.

Then he answered again, saying; None of them durst be so bold (he throwed) to carry her Letters being in that case. Yes (quoth she) I am assured I have none so dishonest that would deny my request in that behalf, but will be as willing to serve me now as before. Well said (said he) my Commission is to the contrary, and I may not so suffer it. Her Grace replying again, said; You charge me very often with your Commission. I pray God you may justly answer the cruel dealing you use towards me.

Then he kneeling down, desired her Grace to think and consider how he was a Servant, and put in trust there by the Queen to serve her Majesty; protesting that if the case were hers, he would as willingly serve her Grace, as now he did the Queens Highness. For the which his answer her Grace thanked him, desiring God that the might never have need of such Servants as he was; declaring further to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor answerable, but more than all the Friends he had would stand by.

To whom Sir Henry replied and said, that there was no remedy but his doings must be answered, and so they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moved her Grace so to say, was for that he would not permit her Letters to be carried four or five days after the writing thereof. But in fine he was the Queens content to send for her Gentleman from the Town of Woodstock, demanding of him whether he durst enterprise the carriage of her Graces Letters to the Queen, or no: and he answered, Yea Sir, that I dare, and will with all my heart. Whereupon Sir Henry, half against his Stomack, took them unto him.

The Letters of the Lady Eliz. sent to the Queen.

Then about the eighth of June came down Doctor Owen and Dr. Wendy, sent by the Queen to her Grace, for that she was sickly; who ministering to her, and letting her Blood, tarried there and attended on her Grace five or six days. Then the being well amended, they returned again to the Court, making their good report to the Queen and the Council of her Graces behaviour.

Dr. Owen & Dr. Wendy, Physicians sent to the Lady Eliz.

Anno
1558.The Popish
Princes re-
fused to
guilt the
Lady Eliz.
hus.
Lady Eliz.
hus request-
ed to sub-
mit her
self to the
Queen.

behaviour and humbleness toward the Queens Highness. Which her Majesty hearing, took very thankfully: but the Bishops thereat repined, looked black in the mouth, and told the Queen, they marvelled that she submitted not her self to her Majesties mercy, considering that she had offended her Highness.

About this time, her Grace was requested by a secret Friend, to submit her self to the Queens Majesty, which would be very well taken, and to her great quiet and commodity. Unto whom she answered, that she would never submit her self to them whom she never offended. For (quoth she) if I have offended and am guilty, I then crave no mercy, but the Law, which I am certain (quoth she) I should have had ere this, if it could be proved by me. For I know my self (I thank God) to be out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as clear out of the peril of my enemies, and then I am assured I should not be so locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaseth him.

Countess of
the popish
emiracy the
Lady Eliz.
to a Spani-
ard.

About this time there was a great consulting among the Bishops and Gentlemen, touching a marriage for her Grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some Stranger, that she might go out of the Realm with her Portion; some saying one thing, and some another.

Wicked
Counsel giv-
en of the
Lord Paget
against the
Lady Eliz.

A Lord (who shall be here nameless) being there, at last said, that the King should never have any quiet Commonwealth in England, unless her Head were stricken from the shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered, saying, God forbid that their King and Master should have that mind to consent to such a mischief.

Spaniards
more feroc-
ious to the
Lady Eliz.
than some
Englishmen

This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their own Country. From that day the Spaniards never left off their good persuasions to the King, that the like Honour he should never obtain, as he should in delivering the Lady Elizabeth Grace out of Prison; whereby at length she was happily released from the same. Here is a plain and evident example of the good clemency and nature of the King and his Counsellors toward her Grace (praised be God therefore) who moved their hearts therein. Then hereupon she was sent for shortly after to come to Hampton-Court.

Lady Eliz.
in danger of
fire.

But before her removing away from Woodstock, we will a little stay to declare in what dangers her life was, during this time she there remained: first through fire, which began to kindle between the Boards and Ceiling under the Chamber where she lay, whether by a spark of fire gotten into a crany, or whether of purpose by some that meant her no good, the Lord doth know. Nevertheless a worshipful Knight of Oxfordshire, which was there joynted the same time with Sir Henry Benfield in keeping that Lady (who then took up the Boards and quenched the fire) verily supposed it to be done of purpose.

Lady Eliz.
in danger of
killing.

Furthermore it is thought, and also affirmed (if it be true) of one Paul Peny a Keeper of Woodstock a notorious Ruffian and a Butcherly wretch, that he was appointed to kill the said Lady Elizabeth: who both saw the man being often in her sight, and also knew thereof.

Another
conspiracy
of murder
against La-
dy Eliz.

Another time, one of the Privy Chamber, a great man about the Queen, and chief darling of Stephen Gardiner, named Master James Balfour, came to Blendenbridge a mile from Woodstock, with twenty or thirty Privy Coats and sent for Sir Henry Benfield to come and speak with him. But as God would, which disposeth all things after the purpose of his own will, so it happened, that a little before, the said Henry Benfield was sent for by Post to the Council, leaving straight word behind him with his Brother, that no man, whatsoever he were, though coming with a Bill of the Queens hand, or any other Warrant, should have access to her before his return again. By reason whereof it fell out, that Master Benfields Brother, coming to him at the Bridge, would suffer him in no case to approach in, who otherwise (as is supposed) was appointed violently to murder the innocent Lady.

Lady Eliz.
preferred
by the
Lords pro-
vidence
from exec-
ution in the
Tower.
Winche-
sters
Platform or
scaffold
whereon
read before

In the life of Stephen Gardiner we declared before, how that the Lady Elizabeth being in the Tower, a Writ came down, subscribed with certain hands of the Council for her execution. Which if it were certain,

as it is reported, Wincheffer (no doubt) was deviser of that mischievous drift: and doubtless the same Actiopol had brought his impious purpose that day to pass, had not the fatherly Providence of Almighty God (who is always stronger than the Devil) stirred up Master Bridger, Lieutenant the same time of the Tower, to come in haste to the Queen, to give Certificate thereof, and to know further her consent touching her Sisters death. Whereupon it followed, that all that device was disappointed, and Wincheffers devilish platform, which he said he had call, through the Lords great goodness came to no effect.

Where moreover is to be noted, that during the imprisonment of this Lady and Princess, one Master Edmund Tremaine was on the Rack, and Master Smith-wike, and divers other in the Tower were examined, and divers offers made to them to accuse the guiltless Lady, being in her Captivity. Howbeit, all that notwithstanding, no matter could be proved by all Examinations, as she the same time lying at Woodstock had certain intelligence by the means of one John Geyer; who, under a colourable pretence of a Letter to Mrs. Cleve from her Father, was let in, and so gave them secretly to understand of all this matter. Whereupon the Lady Elizabeth, at her departing out from Woodstock, wrote these Verses with her Diamond in a glass Window.

Much suspected by me:
Nothing proved can be.

Quoth Elizabeth, Prisoner.

Verses writ-
ten by Lady
Eliz. in the
Glass Win-
dow.

And thus much touching the Troubles of Lady Elizabeth, at Woodstock. Whereunto this is move to be added, that during the same time, the Lord of Tame had laboured to the Queen, and became Surety for her, to have her from Woodstock to his House, and had obtained grant thereof. Whereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all things ready in expectation of her coming. But through the procurement either of Master Benfield, or by the doing of Wincheffer her mortal Enemy, Letters came over night to the contrary; whereby her Journey was stopped.

Lady Eliz.
not suffered
to come to
the Lord of
Tames house.

Thus this worthy Lady, oppressed with continual sorrow, could not be permitted to have recourse to any Friends she had, but still in the bands of her Enemies was left desolate, and utterly destitute of all that might refresh a doleful heart, fraught full of terror and thraldom. Whereupon no marvel if she hearing upon a time, out of her Garden at Woodstock, a certain Milk-maid singing pleasantly, wished her self to be a Milk-maid as she was, saying that her case was better, and life more merry than was hers, in that state as she was.

Lady Eliz.
wished her
self to be a
Milk-maid.

Now after these things thus declared, to proceed further there where we left before, Sir Henry Benfield and his Souldiers, with the Lord of Tame, and Sir Ralph Chamberlaine, guarding and waiting upon her, the first Night from Woodstock she came to Ricor. In which Journey such a mighty wind did blow, that her Servants were fain to hold down her cloaths about her: Inasmuch that her Hood was twice or thrice blown from her Head. Whereupon the desiring to return to a certain Gentlemans House there near, could not be suffered by Sir Henry Benfield to do, but was constrained under an Hedgeto trim her Head as well as she could.

Lady Eliz.
removed
from Wood-
stock to
Hampton-
Court.

After this, the next night they journeyed to Master Dormers, and so to Colbrooke, where she lay all that night at the George, and by the way coming to Colbrooke, certain of her Graces Gentlemen and Yeomen met her, to the number of threecore, much to all their comforts, which had not seen her Grace of long season before: notwithstanding they were commanded in the Queens Name immediately to depart the Town, to both their, and her Graces no little heaviness, who could not be suffered once to speak with them. So that night all her men were taken from her, saving her Gentleman Usher, three Gentiewomen, two Grooms, and one of her Wardrobe, the Souldiers watching and warding about the House, and she close shut up within her Prison.

The next day following, her Grace entred *Hampton-Court* on the backside, into the Princes Lodging, the doors being shut to her, and the guarded with Souldiers, as becom, lay there a fortnight at the least, ere any had recourse unto her: At length came the Lord *William Howard*, who marvellous honourably used her Grace. Whereat she took much comfort, and requested him to be a mean that she might speak with some of the Council. To whom (not long after) came the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Lord of *Arundel*, the Lord of *Shrewsbury*, Secretary *Peter*, who with great humility humbled themselves to her Grace. She again likewise saluting them, said, My Lords, I am glad to see you: for me think, I have been kept a great while from you desolately alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a mean to the King and Queens Majesties, that I may be delivered from Prison, wherein I have been kept a long space, as to you my Lords it is not unknown.

Lord Wm. Howard gentle and favourable to Lady Eliz.

Lady Eliz. requested by Words to submit her self to the Queens mercy.

Lady Eliz. Randeth to be tried by the Law.

Talk again between Winchester and Lady Eliz. who consent to commit any fault done to the Queen.

When she had spoken, *Stephen Gardiner* the Bishop of *Winchester* kneeled down, and requested that she would submit her self to the Queens Grace, and in so doing he had no doubt, but that her Majesty would be good to her. She made answer, that rather than the would do, that she would lie in Prison all the days of her life; adding, that she craved no mercy at her Majesties Hand, but rather desired the Law, if ever she did offend her Majesty in thought, word or deed: And besides this, in yielding (quoth she) I should speak against my self, and confesse my self to be an offender, which I never was towards her Majesty, by occasion whereof the King and the Queen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evil Opinion: And therefore I say, my Lords, it were better for me to lie in Prison for the Truth, than to be abroad and suspected of my Prince. And so they departed, promising to declare her Message to the Queen.

On the next day the Bishop of *Winchester* came again unto her Grace, and kneeling down declared that the Queen marvelled that she had so stoutly use her self, not confessing that she had offended: so that it should seem that the Queens Majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her Grace.

Nay, quoth the Lady *Elizabeth*, it may please her to punish me as she thinketh good.

Well quoth *Gardiner*, her Majesty willett me to tell you, that you must tell another Tale ere that you be set at Liberty.

Her Grace answered, that she had as lief be in Prison with honesty and Truth, as to be abroad, suspected of her Majesty; and this that I have said, I will (said she) stand unto, for I will never bely my self.

Winchester again kneeled down, and said, Then your Grace hath the vantage of me and other the Lords for your wrong and long imprisonment.

What vantage I have (quoth she) you know, taking God to record, I seek no vantage at your hands for your fo dealing with me, but God forgive you and me also. With that the self kneeled, desiring her Grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast Locked up again.

Lady Eliz. is set to the Queens.

A leventnight after the Q. sent for her Grace at ten of the Clock in the night to speak with her: for she had not seen her in two years before. Yet for all that she amazed at the sudden sending for, thinking it had been worse than afterwards it proved, desired her Gentlemen and Gentlewomen to pray for her, for that she could not tell whether ever she should see them again or no.

At which time Sir *Henry Benisfield* with Mrs. *Clarencius* coming in, her Grace was brought into the Garden unto a stairs foot that went into the Queens Lodging, her Graces Gentlewoman waiting upon her, her Gentleman Usher and her Grooms going before with Torches; where her Gentlemen and Gentlewomen being commanded to stay all saving one Woman, Mrs. *Clarencius* conducted her to the Queens Bed-Chamber where her Majesty was.

Lady Eliz. brought to the Queens Bed chamber.

At the sight of whom her Grace kneeled down, and desired God to preserve her Majesty, not mistrusting but that she should try her self as true a Subject towards her Majesty, as ever did any, and desired her Majesty even so to judge of her; and said, that she should not find her

to the contrary, whatsoever report otherwise had gone of her.

To whom the Queen answered, you will not confesse your offence, but stand stoutly to your Truth; I pray God it may fall out.

If it doth not (quoth the Lady *Elizabeth*) I request neither Favour nor Pardon at your Majesties hands. Well (said the Queen) you stiffly still persevere in your Truth. Belike you will not confesse but that you have been wrongfully punished.

I must not say so (if it please your Majesty) to you.

Why then (said the Queen) belike you will to other. No, if it please your Majesty (quoth she) I have born the Burden and must bear it. I humbly beseech your Majesty to have a good Opinion of me, and to think me to be your true Subject, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as Life lasteth: and so they departed with very few comfortable words of the Queen in English: but what she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It is thought that King *Philip* was there behind a Cloth and not seen, and that he shewed himself a very Friend in that matter, &c.

Thus her Grace departing, went to her Lodging again, and that day leventnight was released of Sir *Henry Benisfield* her Gaoler (as he termed him), and his Souldiers, and so her Grace being set at liberty from imprisonment went into the Country, and had appointed to go with her Sir *Thomas Pope*, one of Q. Maries Counsellors, and one of her Gentlemen Ushers, Master *Gage*: and thus finally was she looked to all Queen *Maries* time. And this is the discourse of her Highness imprisonment.

Then there came to *Lambeyre*, Mr. *Ferningham*, and Mr. *Norris* Gentleman Usher, Queen *Maries* men, who took away from her Grace, Mrs. *Ashley* to the Fleet, and three other of her Gentlemen to the Tower; which thing was no little trouble to her Grace, saying, that she thought they would fetch all away at the end. But God be praised, shortly after was fetched away *Gardiner* through the merciful providence of the Lords goodness, by occasion of whole opportune decease (as is partly touched in this Story before) the life of this excellent Prince, the wealth of all England was preserved. For this is credibly to be supposed, that the said wicked *Gardiner* of *Winchester* had long laboured his wits, and to this only most principal bent all his devices, to take this our happy and dear Sovereign out of the way, as both by his words and doings before notified, may sufficiently appear.

But such was the gracious and favorable providence of the Lord, to the preservation not only of her Royal Majesty, but also of the miserable and woful state of this whole Island, and poor Subjects of the same, whereby the proud Platforms and peevish Practices of this wicked *Absitophel* prevailed not: but contrariwise, both he, and all the Snares and Trapps of his pernicious counsel laid against another, were turned to a Net to catch himself, according to the Proverb, *Malum consilium confusorem pessimum*.

After the death of this *Gardiner*, followed the death also and drooping away of other her Enemies, whereby by little and little her Jeopardy decreased, fear diminished, hope of comfort began to appear as out of a dark Cloud: and albeit as yet her Grace had no full assurance of perfect safety, yet more gentle entertainment daily did grow unto her, till at length in the month of *November*, and seventeenth day of the fame, three years after the death of *Stephen Gardiner*, followed the death of Queen *Mary*, as hereafter God granting shall be more declared.

Although this History following be not directly appertaining to the former matter, yet the same may here not unsafely be inferred, for that it doth discover and shew forth the malicious hearts of the Papists towards Lady this virtuous Queen our Sovereign Lady in the time of Queen *Mary* her Sister, which is reported, as a Truth credibly told, by sundry honest Persons, of whom some are yet alive, and do testify the same. The matter whereof is this.

Anno 1558.

Talk between the Queen and Lady Eliz.

Sms comfort at the Queens hand toward her Sister.

King Philip thought to be a Friend to Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Eliz. by Gods providence set at liberty Sir H. Benisfield discharged.

Mrs. Ashley sent to the Fleet, Gentlemen of the Tower sent to the Tower. No one of the Lords working of the Lords providence in saving of Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Eliz. delivered by the death of Sir H. Gardiner.

How the Lord here began to work for Lady Elizabeth.

A note of a Story declaring the malignance hearts of the Papists toward Lady Elizabeth.

Anno 1558. Soon after the fir of *Wiat* and the troubles that happened to this Queen for that cause, it fortun'd one *Robert Farrer* a Haberdasher of *London*, dwelling near unto *Newgate-Market*, in a certain morning to bee at the *Rose Tavern* (from whence he was seldom absent) and falling to his common drink, as he was ever accustomed, and having in his company three other companions like to himself, it chanced the same time one *Lawrence Shirriff* Grocer, dwelling also not farr from thence, to come into the said Tavern, and finding there the said *Farrer* (to whom of long time he had born good will) fate down in the seat to drink with him, and *Farrer* having in his full cups, and not having consideration who were present, began to talk at large, and namely against the *Lady Elizabeth*, and said, that *Jill* hath bin one of the chief Doers of this Rebellion of *Wiat*, and before all be done, she and all the Hereticks her partakers, shall well understand of it. Some of them hope that she shall have the Crown, but she and they (I trust) that so hope, shall hop headless, or be fried with fagots before she come to it.

The fore said *Lawrence Shirriff* Grocer being then Servant unto the *Lady Elizabeth*, and sworn unto her Grace, could no longer forbear his old acquaintance and neighbour *Farrer* in speaking to unreverently of his Mistress, but said unto him; *Farrer*, I have loved thee as a neighbour, and have had a good opinion of thee, but hearing of thee that I now hear, I despise thee; and I tell thee I am her Graces sworn Servant, and she is a Princess, and the Daughter of a Noble King, and it evil becometh thee to call her a *Jill*, and for thy so saying, I say thou art a knave, and I will complain upon thee. Do thy worst said *Farrer*: for that I said, I will say again, and so *Shirriff* came from his company.

Shortly after the said *Shirriff*, taking an honest neighbour with him, went before the Commissioners to complain; the which Commissioners fate then at *Boner* the Bishop of *London* house beside *Pauls*, and there were present, *Boner*, then being the chief Commissioner, the Lord *Mordant*, Sir *John Baker*, Dr. *Darbishire* Chancellor to the Bishop, Doctor *Story*, Doctor *Harpfield*, and other.

The aforesaid *Shirriff* coming before them, Declared the manner of the said *Rob. Farrers* talk against the *Lady Elizabeth*. *Boner* answered, Peradventure you took him worse than he meant.

Yea my Lord, said Dr. *Story*, if you knew the man as I do, you would say there is not a better Catholick, nor an honestier man in the City of *London*.

Well, said *Shirriff*, my Lord, she is my gracious Lady and Mistress, and it is not to be suffered that such a Varlet as he is should call to Honourable a Princess by the name of a *Jill*: And I saw yesterday in the Court that my Lord *Cardinal Pool*, meeting her in the Chamber of Prefence, kneeled down on his knees and kissed her hand; and I saw also that King *Phillip* meeting her, made her such obeysance, that his knee touched the ground; and then me thinketh it were too much to suffer such a Varlet as this is, to call her *Jill*, and to wish them to hop headless that shall with her Grace to enjoy the possession of the Crown, when God shall send it unto her, as in the right of her inheritance. Yea? stay there quoth *Boner*. When God sendeth it unto her, let her enjoy it. But truly (said he) the man that spake the words that you have reported meant nothing against the *Lady Eliz.* your Mistress; and no more do we: but he like an honest and zealous man feared the alteration of Religion, which every good man ought to fear: and therefore (said *Boner*) good man go your ways home and report well of us toward your Mistress, and we will fend for *Farrer* and rebuke him for his rash and undiscreet words, and we trust he will not do the like again. And thus *Shirriff* came away, and *Farrer* had a flap with a Fox tail.

Now that ye may be fully informed of the aforesaid *Farrer*, whom Doctor *Story* prayed for so good a man, ye shall understand that the same *Farrer* having two Daughters being handfom Maidens the elder of them for a sum of money he himself delivered to Sir *Roger Cholmley* to be at his commandment, the other he sold to a Knight called Sir *William Gooddelphin* to be at his command-

ment; whom he made his lacky; and so carried her with him; being apparelled in mans apparel; to *Boleia*, and the said *Farrer* followed the camp. He also was a great and an horrible Blasphemer of God; and a common accuser of honest and quiet men, also a common drunkard. And now I refer the life of these Catholicks to your judgment, to think of them as you please.

But of this matter enough, and too much. Now let us return where we left before, which was at the Death of Queen *Mary*. After whose decess succeeded her fore said Sister *Lady Elizabeth* into the right of the Crown of *England*: who after so long Restraintment, so great dangers escaped, such blusterous forms overblown, so many injuries digested and wrongs sustained, by the mighty protection of our merciful God, to our no small comfort and commodity, hath been exalted and erected out of thrall to liberty, out of danger to peace and quietness, from dread to dignity, from misery to Majesty, from mourning to ruling; briefly, of a Prisoner made a Princess, and placed in her Throne Royal, proclaimed now Queen, with as many glad hearts of her Subjects, as ever was any King or Queen in this Realm before her, or ever shall be (I dare say) hereafter.

Touching whose flourishing state, her Princely Reign and peaceable government, with divers and sundry other things incident to the same, and especially touching the great fires and alterations which have happened in other foreign Nations, and also partly among our selves here at home, so far as much as the tractation hereof requirereth another Volume by it self, I shall therefore defer the Reader to the next Book or Section insuing; where in (if the Lord so please to sustain me with leaveable life) I may have to discourse of all and singular such matters done and achieved in these our latter days and memory, more at large.

Now then after these so great afflictions falling upon this Realm, from the first beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, wherein so many Men, Women, and Children were burned, many imprisoned, and in Prisons starved, divers exiled, some spoyled of goods and possessions, a great number driven from house and home, so many weeping eyes, so many sobbing hearts, so many Children made Fatherless, so many Fathers bereft of their Wives and Children, so many vexed in Conscience, and divers against Conscience constrained to recant; and in conclusion, never a good man almost in all the Realm but suffered something during all the time of this bloody persecution; after all this (I say) now we are come at length (the Lord be praised) to the 17. day of *November*: which day as it brought to the persecuted Members of Christ rest from their careful mourning, so it easeth me somewhat likewise of my laborious writing, by the death I mean of Q. *Mary*. Who being long sick before, upon the said 17. day of *November*, in the year above said about three or four a clock in the morning, yielding up her life to nature, and her Kingdom to Queen *Elizabeth*, her Sister.

As touching the manner of whose death; some say that she died of a Tympany, some (by her much fighting before her death) supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Whereupon her Council seeing her fighting, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might minister the more ready consolation unto her, feared, as they said, that she took that thought for the Kings Majesty her Husband, which was gone from her. To whom the answering again, Indeed (said she) that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pierceth my oppressed mind: but what that was she would not express to them.

Albeit; afterward she opened the matter more plainly to Mr. *Rife* and Mistress *Clarentius* (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of Mr. *Rife* himself) who then being most familiar with her, and most bold about her, told her that they feared she took thought for King *Phillips* departing from her. Not that only (said she) but when I am dead and opened, you shall find *Calice* lying in my heart, &c. And here an end of Q. *Mary* and of her persecution.

Of which Queen this truly may be affirmed, and left in story for a perpetual memorial or Epitaph for all Kings and Queens that shall succeed her, to be noted. That before her never was read in story of any King or Queen

Lady Eliz. proclaimed Queen the same day that Q. Mary died.

The Lord make England thankful to him for his great benefits.

Novemb. 17. Q. Mary ended, Q. Elizabeth beginneth her reign. The manner of Q. Marys death.

More English blood spilled in Q. Maries time, than ever was in any Kings reign before her.

Robert Farrer of London a fore enemy to Lady Eliz.

Lawrence Shirriff sworn friend and servant to Lady Elizabeth.

Rob. Farrer raiseth against Lady Elizabeth.

The part of a good truly Servant.

Rob. Farrer complained of to the Commissioners but was not heard.

How Rob. Farrer and Dr. Story bare with him that raised against Lady Elizabeth.

None the ungodly line of these Catholics.

Queen of England since the time of King *Lucius* under whom in time of peace, by hanging, heading, burning, and imprisoning, so much Christian Blood, so many Englishmens lives were spilled within this Realm, as under the said Queen *Mary* for the space of four years was to be seen, and I beseech the Lord never may be seen hereafter.

A brief declaration, shewing the unprosperous success of Queen Mary in persecuting Gods People, and how mightily God wrought against her in all her Affairs.

The Reign of Q. Mary how unprosperous it was both to her, and to her Realm, in all respects.

Now, forasmuch as Queen *Mary*, during all the time of her Reign, was such a vehement Adversary and persecutor against the sincere professors of Christ *Jesus* and his Gospel: for the which there be many which do highly magnifie and approve her doings therein, reputing her Religion to be found and Catholick and her proceedings to be most acceptable and blessed of Almighty God: to the intent therefore, that all men may understand, how the blessing of the Lord God did not only not proceed with her proceedings, but contrariwise rather, how his manifest displeasure ever wrought against her, in plaguing both her and her Realm, and in subverting all her counsels and attempts, whatsoever she took in hand, we will bestow a little time therein, to perpend and survey the whole course of her doings and chievances, and consider what success she had in the fame. Which being well considered, we shall never find any reign of any Prince in this Land, or any other, which did ever shew in it (for the proportion of times,) so many arguments of Gods great wrath and displeasure, as was to be seen in the Reign of this Queen *Mary*, whether we behold the shortness of her time, or the unfortunate event of all her purposes, who seemed never to purpose any thing that came luckily to pass, neither did any thing frame to her purpose, whatsoever she took in hand touching her own private Affairs.

Q. Mary never had good success in any thing she went about.

A good King always makes a flourishing Realm.

Of good Kings we read in the Scripture, in shewing mercy and pity, in seeking Gods will in his Word, and subverting the Monuments of Idolatry, how God blessed their ways, increased their honours, and mightily prospered all their proceedings; as we see in King *David*, *Solomon*, *Josias*, *Josaphat*, *Ezechias*, with such other. *Manasses* made the streets of *Jerusalem* to swim with the Blood of his Subjects, but what came of it the Text doth testify.

Comparison between the Reign of Q. Mary and Q. Elizabeth.

Of Queen *Elizabeth*, which now reigneth among us, this we must needs say, which we see, that she in sparing the Flood, not only of Gods Servants, but also of Gods Enemies, hath doubled now the Reign of Queen *Mary* her Sister, with such abundance of peace and prosperity, that it is hard to say, whether the Realm of England felt more of Gods wrath in Queen *Maries* time, or of Gods favor and mercy in these blessed and peaceable days of Q. *Elizabeth*.

Gamaliel's reason.

Gamaliel speaking his mind in the Council of the *Pharisees* concerning Christs Religion, gave this reason: That if it were of God, it should continue, whosoever said nay; If it were not, it could not stand. So may it be said of Queen *Mary* and her Romish Religion, That if it were so perfect and Catholick as they pretend, and the contrary Faith of the Gospellers were so detestable and Heretical as they make it; how cometh it then, that this so Catholick a Queen, such a necessary Pillar of his Spouse the Church, continued no longer, till she had utterly rooted out of the Land this Heretical generation? yea how chanced it rather, that Almighty God, to spare these poor Hereticks, rooted out Queen *Mary* so soon from her Throne, after she had reigned but only five years and five months?

Q. Mary prospered so long as she went not against the Lord.

Q. Maries promise to the Gospellers broken.

Now furthermore, how God blessed her ways and endeavours in the mean time, while she thus persecuted the true Servants of God, remaineth to be discussed. Where this is first to be noted, that when the first began to stand for the title of the Crown, and yet had wrought no resistance against Christ and his Gospel, but had promised her faith to the *Suffolk* men, to maintain the Religion left by King *Edward* her Brother, so long God went with her, advanced her, and by the means of the Gospellers brought her to the possession of the Realm.

But after that she breaking her promise with God and man, began to take part with *Stephen Gardiner*, and had given over her Supremacy unto the Pope, by-and-by Gods blessing left her, neither did any thing well thrive with her afterward during the whole time of her Regiment.

For first incontinently the fairest and greatest Ship he had, called *Great Harry*, was burned; such a Vessel as in all these parts of Europe was not to be matched.

Then would the needs bring in King *Philip*, and by her strange marriage with him, to make the whole Realm of England Subject unto a Stranger. And all that notwithstanding, that she either did or was able to do, she could not bring to pass to set the Crown of England upon his head. With King *Philip* also came in the Pope and his Popish Mass; with whom also her purpose was to restore again the Monks and Nuns unto their places, neither lacked there all kind of attempts to the uttermost of her ability: and yet therein also God stopt her of her will, that it came not forward. After this, what a death happened in her time here in her Land? the like whereof hath not lightly in England been seen, inasmuch that in sundry places her poor Subjects were fain to feed of Acorns for want of Corn.

Furthermore, where other Kings are wont to be renowned by some worthy victory and prowess by them achieved, let us now see what Valiant Victory was gotten in this Queen *Maries* days. King *Edward* the sixth her blessed Brother, how many Rebellions did he suppress in *Devonshire*, in *Norfolk*, in *Oxfordshire* and elsewhere? what a famous Victory in his time was gotten in Scotland, by the singular working (no doubt) of Gods blessed hand) rather than by any expectation of Man? King *Edward* the third (which was the eleventh King from the conquest) by Princely puissance purchased Calice unto England, which hath been kept English ever since, till at length came Queen *Mary*, the eleventh likewise from the said King *Edward*, which lost Calice from England again: so that the wimmings of this Queen were very small, what the losses were let other men judge.

Hitherto the affairs of Queen *Mary* have had no great good success, as you have heard. But never worse success had any Woman, than had she in her Childbirth. For seeing one of these two must needs be granted, that either she was with Child or not with Child: if she were with Child and did Travel, why was it not seen? if she were not, how was all the Realm deluded?

And in the mean while, where were all the Prayers, the Solemn Processions, the devout Masses of the Catholick Clergy? why did they not prevail with God, if their Religion were so godly as they pretend? If their Masses *Ex opere operato* be able to fetch Christ from Heaven, and to reach down to Purgatory: how chanced then they could not reach to the Queens Chamber, to help her in her Travel, if she had been with Child indeed? if not, how then came it to pass, that all the Catholick Church of England did so err, and was so deeply deceived? Queen *Mary* after these manifold Plagues and Corrections, which might sufficiently admonish her of Gods disfavour provoked against her, would not yet cease her persecution, but still continued more and more to revenge her Catholick Zeal upon the Lords faithful People, setting fire to their poor Bodies by dozens and half dozens.

Whereupon Gods wrathful indignation, increasing more and more against her, ceased not to touch her more near with private Misfortunes and Calamities. For after that he had taken from her the fruit of Children (which chiefly and above all things she desired) then he bereft her of that, which of all earthly things should have been her chief stay of Honour, and staff of Comfort, that is, withdrew from her the Affection and Company even of her own Husband, by whose marriage she had promised before to her self whole Heaps of Joy and Felicity: but now the Omnipotent Governor of all things so turned the Wheel of her own spinning against her, that her High Buildings of such Joys and Felicities came all to a Cattle come down; her hopes being countenanced, her purposes disappointed, and the now brought to defolation: who seemed neither to have the favour of God, nor the hearts of her Subjects, nor yet the love of her Husband; who neither had fruit by him while she

Anno 1558.

The Ship called the Great Harry, burned. Q. Maries Marriage with a stranger. Q. Mary disappointed of her purpose in crowning K. Philip.

Q. Mary stopped of her will in rebelling Abbeyland.

The victory of K. Edward 6. in Scotland.

The ill luck of Q. Mary in losing of Calice. The ex. K. from the conquest got Calice and then, again after him lost it. The ill luck of Q. Mary in her Childbirth.

Q. Mary left desolate of K. Philip her Husband.

The ill luck of Q. Mary with her Husband.

Anno
1558.The final
end and
death of Q.
Mary.Q. Mary
Reigned 5
years and 1
month.
The short-
ness of Q.
Marys
Reign no-
ted.An admon-
ition to all
Christian Ru-
lers.A treatise of
Gods severe
Punishment
against Cru-
el Persecu-
tors, and ti-
monies to his
Word.Iosephus
de antiq.
lib. 12.The death
of Sir. Ger-
diner, read
before.Gods pun-
ishment up-
on D. Mor-
gan B. of St.
Davids.A note of
wrong-giv-
ing goods

had him, neither could now enjoy him whom he had married, neither yet was at liberty to marry any other whom she might enjoy. Mark here (Christian Reader) the woful Adversity of this Queen, and learn withal what the Lord can do when mans wilfulness will needs resist him, and will not be ruled.

At last, when all these fair admonitions would take no place with the Queen, nor remove her to revoke her bloody Laws, nor to stay the Tyranny of her Priests, nor yet to spare her own Subjects, but that the poor Servants of God were drawn daily by Heaps most pitifully as Sheep to the slaughter, it so pleased the Heavenly Majesty of Almighty God, when no other remedy would serve, by death to cut her off, which in her life so little regarded the life of others, giving her Throne, which she abused to the destruction of Christs Church and People, to another who more temperately and quietly could guide the same, after she had reigned here the space of five years and five months. The shortness of which years and reign, scarce we find in any other Story of King or Queen since the Conquest or before (being come to their own Government) have only in King Richard the third.

And thus much here, as in the closing up of this Story, I thought to insinuate, touching the unclucky and rueful Reign of Queen Mary: not for any detraction to her place and State Royal, whereunto she was called of the Lord, but to this only intent and effect, that forasmuch as she would needs set her self so confidently to work and strive against the Lord and his proceedings, all Readers and Rulers may not only see how the Lord did work against her therefore, but also by her may be adverted and learn what a Perillous thing it is for Men and Women in Authority, upon blind Zeal and Opinion, to stir up persecution in Christians Church, to the effusion of Christian Blood, lest it prove in the end with them (as it did here) that while they think to persecute Hereticks, they stumble at the same Stone as did the Jews in persecuting Christ and his true Members to death, to their own confusion and destruction.

The severe punishment of God upon the persecutors of his People and Enemies to his Word, with such also as have been Blasphemers, contemners, and mockers of his Religion.

LEAVING now Queen Mary, being dead and gone, I come to them which under her were the chief Ministers and doers in this persecution, the Bishops (I mean) and Priests of the Clergy, to whom Queen Mary gave all the execution of her Power; as did Queen Alexandra to the Pharisees after the time of the Maccabees. Of whom Iosephus thus writeth, *Ipsa solum nomen regium ferebat, ceteram omnem regni potestatem Pharisei possidebant*: that is, She only retained to her self the name and Title of the Kingdom, but all her Power she gave to the Pharisees to possess, &c. Touching which Prelates and Priests here is to be noted in like sort the wonderful and miraculous providence of Almighty God which as he abridged the Reign of their Queen, so he suffered them not to escape unvisited: first beginning with Stephen Gardiner the Arch-persecutor of Christ Church, whom he took away about the midst of the Queens Reign. Of whose poisoned life, and sinking end, forasmuch as sufficient hath been touched before, I shall not need here to make any new rehearsal thereof.

After him dropped other away also, some before the death of Queen Mary, and some after; as Morgan Bishop of St. Davids, who sitting upon the Condemnation of the blessed Martyr Bishop Farrer, and unjustly usurping his Room, notlong after was stricken by Gods hand after such a strange sort, that his meat would not go down, but rise and pick up again, sometime at his mouth, sometime blown out at his Nose most horrible to behold, and so he continued till his death: Where note moreover that when Master Leson, being then Sheriff at Bishop Farrers burnings, had set away the Cattle of the said Bishop from his Servants house called *Marthrew Harbottle*, into his own custody, the Cattle coming, into the Sheriffs ground, divers of them would never eat meat, but lay Belowing and Roaring, and so died.

This foresaid Bishop Morgan above mentioned, bringing me also in remembrance of Justice Morgan, who fate upon the death of the Lady Jane, and not long after the same fell mad, and was bereft of his wits, and so died, having ever in his mouth, Lady Jane, Lady Jane, &c.

Before the death of Queen Mary died Dr. Dunning the bloody and wretched Chancellor of Norwich, who, after he had most rigorously condemned and murdered so many simple and faithful Saints of the Lord, continued not long himself, but in the midst of his Rage in Q. Marys days died in Lincolnshire, being suddenly taken (as some say) sitting in his Chair.

The like sudden death fell also upon Berry Com-military in Norfolk, who (as is before shewed in the Story of Thomas Hudson) four days after Q. Marys death, when he had made a great feast, and had one of his Concubines there, coming home from the Church after Evening-song, where he had ministered Baptism the same time, between the Church-yard and his house suddenly fell down to the ground with a heavy groan, and never stirred after neither shewed any one token of repentance.

What a stroke of Gods Hand was brought upon the cruel Persecutor of the holy and harmless Saints of the Lord, Bishop Thornton, Suffragan of Dover, who after he had exercised his cruel Tyranny upon so many godly men at Canterbury, at length coming upon a Saturday from the Chapter house at Canterbury to Borne and there upon Sunday following looking upon his men playing at the Bowls, fell suddenly in a Palfrey, and so had to Bed, was willed to remember God: Yea, so I do (saide) and my Lord Cardinal too &c.

After him succeeded another Bishop or Suffragan ordained by the foresaid Cardinal. It is reported that he had been Suffragan before to Bener, who, not long after being made Bishop or Suffragan of Dover, brake his Neck falling down a pair of Stairs in the Cardinals Chamber at Greenwich, as he had received the Cardinals blessing.

Among other plentiful and sundry examples of the Lords Judgment and severity practised upon the cruel Persecutors of his People, that is not the least that followeth, concerning the Story of one William Fenning, the effect and circumstance of which matter is this.

John Cooper of the age of 44 years, dwelling at Wat-sam in the County of Suffolk, being by Science a Carpenter; a man of very honest report and a good house-keeper, a harboure of strangers that travelled for conscience, and one that favoured Religion, and those that were religious, was of honest conversation and good life, hating all Popish and Papistical trash.

This man being at home in his house, there came unto him one William Fenning, a Serving-man, dwelling in the said Town of Wat-sam, and understanding that the said Cooper had a couple of fair Bullocks, did desire to buy them of him; which Cooper told him that he was loath to sell them, for that he had brought them up for his own use, and if he should sell them, he then must be compelled to buy other, and that he would not do.

When Fenning saw he could not get them (for he had often assaid the matter) he said, he would fit as much in his light, and so departed, and went and accused him of high Treason. The words he was charged with were these, How he should pray, if God would not take away Queen Mary, that then the Devil would take her away. Of these words did this Fenning charge him before Sir Henry Duell Knight (unto whom he was carried by Mr. Tymperley of Hinclesam in Suffolk, and one Grimwood of Lowshaw Constable) which words Cooper flatly denied; and said he never spake them: but that could not help.

Notwithstanding, he was arraigned therefore at Berry before Sir Clement Higham, at a Lent Assize, and there this Fenning brought two naughty men that witnessed the speaking of the foresaid words, whose names were Richard White of Wat-sam, and Grimwood of Higham, in the said County of Suffolk. Whose Testimonies were received as Truth, although this good man John Cooper had said what he could to declare himself inno-

Justice Mor-
gan stricken
with mad-
ness.D. Dunning
a cruel
Chancellor
stricken with
sudden
death.The sudden
death of
Berry a mili-
tary in
Norfolk.Gods stroke
upon Dr.
Thornton B.
or Suffragan
of Dover.Another
suffragan of
Dover brake
his neck af-
ter he had
received the
Cardinals
blessing.

cent therein, but to no purpose, God knoweth. For his life was determined, as in the end appeared by Sir *Clement Highams* words, who said he should not escape, for an example to all Heretics, as indeed he thoroughly performed. For immediately he was judged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was executed upon him very shortly after, to the great grief of many a good heart. Here good *Cooper* is bereft of his life, and leaves behind him alive his Wife and nine Children, with Goods and Cattle, to the value of three hundred Marks, the which Substance was all taken away by the said Sir *Henry Doel* Sheriff, but his Wife and poor Children left to the wide World in their Cloaths, and suffered not to enjoy one Penny of that they had fore laboured for, unless they made Friends to buy it with money of the said Sheriff, so cruel and greedy was he and his Officers upon such things as were there left.

The Judgment of God upon *Grimwood*.

Well, now this innocent man is dead, his Goods spoiled, his Wife and Children left desolate and comfortless and all things husht, and nothing feared of any part: yet the Lord, who surely doth revenge the guiltless Blood, would not still so suffer it, but began at the length to punish it himself. For in the Harvest after, the said *Grimwood* of *Hitcham* one of the witnesses before specified, as he was in his labour flaking up a Goff of Corn, having his health, and fearing no Peril, suddenly his Bowels fell out of his Body, and immediately most miserably he died; such was the terrible judgment of God, to shew his displeasure against his Bloody Act, and to warn the rest by these his judgments to repentance. The Lord grant us to honour the same, for his mercies sake. Amen.

This forefaid *Fenning*, who was the procurer of this Tyranny against him, is yet alive, and is now a Minister; which if he be, I pray God he may so repent that Fact, that he may declare himself hereafter such a one as may well answer to his vocation accordingly.

But since we have heard that he is no changeling, but continueth still in his wickedness, and therefore presented before the worshipful Master *Humerson*, Esquire and Justice of Peace and *Quorum*, for that he had talk with some of his Friends (as he thought) how many honest Women (to their great infamy) were in the Parish of *Wenstehaston*, wherein he is now Vicar, resident: wherefore he was commanded the next Sunday ensuing, to ask all the Parish forgiveness upon his Knees openly in Service time, which he did in *Wenstehaston* Church before said, and moreover the abovesaid *Fenning* is reported to be more like a sinner than a Minister.

A terrible example of Gods severe punishment upon one *Nightengale*, Vicar of *Crondal* in *Kent*.

To these examples also may be added the terrible judgment of God upon the Parson at *Crondal* in *Kent*, who upon *Sbrove-Sunday*, having received the Popes Pardon from *Cardinal Pool*, came to his Parish, and exhorted the People to receive the same, as he had done himself; saying that he stood now so clear in Conscience as when he was first born, and cared not now if he should die the same hour, in the clearness of his Conscience; whereupon being suddenly stricken by the hand of God, and leaning a little on the one side, immediately thrunk down in the Pulpit, and so was found dead, speaking not one word more. Read before.

D. Gifford Chancellor of *Salisbury*.

Not long before the death of Queen *Mary* died Dr. *Capon* Bishop of *Salisbury*. About the which time also followed the unprepared death of Doctor *Geffrey*, Chancellor of *Salisbury*, who in the midst of his buildings, suddenly being taken by the mighty hand of God, yielded his life, which had so little pity of other mens lives before. Concerning whose cruelty partly mention is made before.

As touching moreover this forefaid Chancellor, here is to be noted, that he departing upon a *Saturday*, the next day before the same he had appointed to call before him 90. Persons and not so few, to examine them by Inquisition, had not the goodness of the Lord, and his tender providence thus prevented him with death, providing for his poor Servants in time.

And now (to come from Priests to Lay-men) we have to find in them also no less terrible demonstration of Gods heavy judgment upon such as have been Vexers and Persecutors of his People.

Before in the Story of Mr. *Bradford* mention was

made of Master *Woodroffe*, who being the Sheriff, used much to rejoice at the death of the poor Saints of Christ, and so hard he was in his Office, that when Mr. *Rogers* was in the Cart going toward *Smithfield*, and in the way his Children were brought unto him, the People making a Lane for them to come; Master *Woodroffe* bade the Car-mans heard should be broken for staying his Cart. But what happened? He was not come out of his Office the space of a week, but he was stricken by the sudden hand of God, the one half of his Body in such sort, that he lay benumbed and bedrid, not able to move himself but as he was lifted of other, and so continued in that infirmity the space of seven or eight years, till his cying day.

Likewise touching *Ralph Lardin* the betrayer of *George Eagles*, it is thought of some, that the said *Ralph* afterward was attached himself, arraigned, and hanged.

Who, being at the Barr, had these words before the Judges there, and a great multitude of People. This is most justly fallen upon me, faith he, for that I have betrayed the innocent Blood of a good and just man *George Eagles*, who was here condemned in the time of Queen *Maries* Reign through my procurement, who sold his Blood for a little money. Not much unlike stroke of these feverally was shewed upon *William Swallow* of *Chelmsford*, and his Wife, also upon *Richard Potts*, and Justice *Brown*, cruel Persecutors of the said *George Eagles*, concerning whose Story read before.

Among other Persecutors also came to our hands the cruelty of one Mr. *Swingfield* an Aldermans Deputy about *Thames*-free, who hearing one *Angels* Wife, a Mid-wife that kept her self from their Popish Church, to be at the labour of one Mrs. *Walter* at *Crooked Iseland*, took three other with him, and beset the house about, and took her and carried her to *Boners* Officers, big with Child, eight and twenty weeks gone, who laid her in *Lollards-Tower*; where, the same day she came in, through fear and a fall at her taking, she was delivered of a man Child, and could have no Women with her in that needful time. Lying there five weeks, she was delivered under Sureties by friendship, and Doctor *Story* hearing thereof charged her with Felony, and so sent her, to *Newgate*. The cause was, for that she had a Woman at her house in her labour that died, and the Child also, and so he charged her with their death.

But when Sir *Roger Cholmley* heard her tell her Tale, he delivered her; and not much more than ten weeks after, if it were so long, died the said Master *Swingfield* and the other three that came to take her.

Because some there be, and not a few, which have trayed one such a great devotion in setting up the Popish Mass, I shall desire them to mark well this Story following. There was a certain Bayliff of *Crowland* in *Lincolnshire* named, *Burton*, who pretending an earnest friendship to the Gospel in *K. Edwards* days, in outward shew at least (although inwardly he was a Papist or Atheist, and well known to be a man of a wicked and adulterous life) set forth the Kings proceedings lustily, till the time that King *Edward* was dead and Queen *Mary* placed quietly in her estate.

Then perceiving by the first Proclamation concerning Religion, how the world was like to turn, the Bayliff turned his Religion likewise; and so he moved the Parish to shew themselves the Queens Friends, and to set up the Mass speedily. Nevertheless, the most Substantial of the Parish marvelled much at the Bayliffs inconsistent lightness, considering also his abominable life, and having no great devotion unto his request, knowing moreover that their duty and friendship to the Queen stood not in setting up the Mass, spared to provide for it, as long as they might: but the Bayliff called on them still in the Queens Name.

At last, when he saw his words were not regarded, and purposing to win his Spurs by playing the man in the Masses behalf and the Queens, he got him to Church upon a *Sunday* morning, and when the Curate was beginning the English Service, according to the Statute set forth by King *Edward* the sixth, the Bayliff cometh in a great Rage to the Curate, and faith, Sirrah, will you not say Mass? Buckle your self

Anno 1558.

id. Woodroffe a cruel Sheriff plagued.

Read before the betrayer of *George Eagles* hanged.

Gods punishment upon Mr. *Swingfield* and other which betrayed one.

A story of *Burton*, Bayliff of *Crowland*, how he was plagued for setting up Mass.

Burton came to the Mass in the Statute.

to

Anno 1558. to Maf you Knaue, or by Gods Blood I fhall theath my Dagger in your fhoulder. The poor Curate for fear fetled himfelf to the Maf.

Not long after this, the Bayliff rode from home upon certain bufinefs, accompanied with one of his Neighbours, and as they came riding together upon the *Fennsbank* homeward again, a Crow fitting in a Willow-tree took her flight over his head, kinging after her wonted note, Knaue, Knaue, and withal let fall upon his face, fo that her excrements ran from the top of his Nofe down to his Beard.

The poifoned fcent and faviour whereof fo noyed his Stomach, that he never ceafed vomiting until he came home, wherewith his heart was fo fore and his body fo diftemperd, that for extreme ficknefs he got him to Bed, and fo lying, he was not able for the ftink in his Stomach and painful vomiting, to receive any relief of meat or drink, but cried out fill, fornowfully complaining of that ftink, and with no fmall Oaths curfed the Crow that poifoned him. To make fhort, he continued but a few days, but with extreme pain of vomiting and crying, he deperately died, without any token of repentance of his former life.

Reported and testified for a certainty,
by divers of his Neighbours, both
boett and credible Perfons.

Of *James Abbes* Martyr, ye heard before. In the time of whole Martyrdom, what befell upon a wicked Railer againft him, now ye fhall further underftand. Whereby all fuch railing Persecutors may learn to fear Gods hand, and to take heed how or what they fpeak againft his Servants. As this *James Abbes* was led by the Sheriff toward his execution, divers poor People ftood in the way, and asked their Alms. He then having no money to give them, and defirous yet to diftribute fomething amongst them, did pull off all his Apparel faving his Shirt, and gave the fame unto them to fome one thing, to fome another; in the giving whereof he exhorted them to be ftiong in the Lord, and as faithful followers of Chrift, to ftand ftedefaft unto the Truth of the Gospel, which he (through Gods help) would then in their fight feal and confirm with his Blood. Whiles he was thus charitably occupied, and zealoufly intructing the People, a Servant of the Sheriffs going by and hearing him, cried out aloud unto them, and Blafphemoufly faid, Believe him not good People. he is an Heretick and a mad man, out of his wit, believe him not, for it is Herefie that he faith. And as the other continued in his godly admonitions, fo did this wicked wretch ftill blow forth his Blafphemous exclamations, until they came unto the Stake where he fhould fuffer. Unto the which this conftant Martyr was tied, and in the end cruelly burned, as in his Story more fully is already declared.

But immediately after the fire was put unto him (fuch was the fearful ftroke of Gods Juftice upon this Blafphemous Railer) that he was there prefently, in the fight of all the People, ftriken with a Frenzie, wherewith he had before moft railingly charged that good Martyr of God, who in this furious Rage and madnefs cafting off his fhooes, with all the reft of his Cloaths, cried, out unto the People, and faid, Thus did *James Abbes* the true Servant of God, who is faved, but I am damned. And thus ran he round about the Town of *Bury*, ftill crying out, that *James Abbes* was a good man and faved, but he was damned.

The Sheriff then being amazed, caufed him to be taken and tied in a dark houfe, and by force compelled him again to put on his Cloaths thinking thereby within a while to bring him to fome quietnefs. But he (all that notwithstanding) as foon as they were gone, continued his former raging, and cafting off his Cloaths, cried as he did before, *James Abbes* is the Servant of God and is faved, but I am damned.

At length he was tied in a Cart, and brought home unto his Mafters houfe, and within half a year or thereabouts, he being at the point of death, the Prieft of the Parifh was fent for: who coming unto him, brought with him the Crucifix, and their Houfeling Hoft of the Altar. Which gear when the poor wretch faw, he cri-

ed out of the Prieft, and defed all that Baggage, faying, that the Prieft, with fuch other as he was, was the caufe of his Damnation, and that *James Abbes* was a good man and faved. And fo fhortly after he died.

Clarke, an open Enemy to the Gospel and all godly Preachers, in *K. Edwards* days hanged himfelf in the *Tower of London*.

The great and notable Papift, called *Treleng Smith*, of late fell down fuddenly in the Street, and in d. *Dale* the Promoter was eaten into his Body with Lice, and fo died, as it is well known of many, and confefled alfo by his Fellow *John Anales*, before credible witnesses.

Cox an earnest Proteftant in *King Edwards* days, and in *Q. Maries* time a Papift and a Promoter, going well and in health to Bed (as it feemed) was dead before the morning. Testified by divers of the Neighbours.

Alexander the Keeper of *Newgate*, a cruel Enemy to thofe that lay there for Religion, died very miferably, being fo fwollen, that he was more like a Monfter than a Man, and fo rotten within, that no man could abide the fmell of him. This cruel wretch, to haften the poor Lambs to the Slaughter, would go to *Boner, Story, Cholmley*, and others, crying out, Rid my Prifon, Rid my Prifon. I am too much peffered with thefe Hereticks.

The Son of the faid *Alexander* called *James*, having left unto him by his Father great Subftance, within three years wafted all to nought: and when fome marvelled how he fpend thofe goods fo falt: O fald he, evil gotten, evil fpend; and fhortly after as he was in *Newgate-Market*, he fell down fuddenly, and there wretchedly died.

John Peter, Son in Law to this *Alexander*, and an horrible Blafphemer of God, and no lefs cruel to the faid Prifoners, rotted away, and fo moft miferably died. Who commonly when he would affirm any thing, were it true or falfe, ufed to fay, if it be not true, I pray God I rot ere I die. Witnefs the Printer hereof, with divers others.

With thefe I might infer the fudden death of Juftice *Leinol* Persecutor of *Jeffrey Harp*, mentioned before.

Alfo the death of *Rob. Bawlding* ftriken with Lightning at the taking of *William Seaman*, whereupon he was chined away and died: the Story of the which *W. Seaman*, fee before.

Likewile the wretched end of *Beard* the Promoter. Moreover the confuming away of *Robert Blomfield*, Persecutor of *William Brown*, fpecified before.

Further, to return a little backward to *King Henries* time, here might be induced alfo the example of *John Rockwood*, who in his horrible end cried all too late, with the fame words which he had ufed before in persecuting Gods poor People of *Calice*.

Alfo the judgment of God upon *Lady Honora* Persecutor, and of *George Bradway* a falfe accufer, both in *Calice*.

And what a notable Spectacle of Gods revenging judgment have we to confider in *Sir Ralph Ellerker*, who as he was defirous to fee the heart taken out of *Adam Damlyp*, whom they moft wrongfully put to death: fo fhortly after the faid *Sir Ralph Ellerker* being flain of the Frenchmen, they all to mangling him, after they had cut off his privy Members, would not to leave him, before they might fee his heart cut out of his Body.

Dr. Foxford, Chancellor to *B. Stokesley*, a cruel Persecutor, died fuddenly.

Pavie or Paoy, Town-Clark of *London*, and a bitter Enemy to the Gospel, hanged himfelf. *Stephen Gardiner*, hearing of the Pitiful end of *Judge Hales* after he had drowned himfelf, taking occafion thereby, called the following and profefion of the Gospel a Doctrine of deperation. But as *Judge Hales* never felt into that inconvenience before he had confented to Papiftry: fo whofo well confidereth the end of *Doctor Pendleton* (which at his death full fore repented that ever he had yielded to the Doctrine of the Papifts, as he did) and likewile the miferable end of the moft part of the Papifts befides, and efpecially of *Stephen Gardiner* himfelf (who after fo long profefing the Doctrine of Papiftry, when there came a Bilhop to him in his death Bed, and put him

The fudden death of *Tre Smith*. *Dale* the Promoter eaten with Lice. *Cox* the Promoter fuddenly died.

Alexander the cruel Keeper of *Newgate*, died a rotten death.

The fudden death of *J. Alexander* Son.

John Peter Alexander Son in law rotted away.

Juftice *Leinol* Persecutor, plagued *R. Bawlding* Persecutor.

Beard the Promoter a Blomfield Persecutor.

The judgment of God upon *Lady Honora*, and *George Bradway* Persecutors both in *Calice*.

The juft punishment of God upon *Sir Ralph Ellerker* Persecutor.

The fudden death of *Dr. Foxford*.

Pavie or Paoy Persecutor hanged himfelf.

The ftink- ing death of a Popifh Maffimon-gut.

Of the Martyrdom of *J. Abbes*, Read before.

A Story to be noted of all railing Persecutors.

The Sheriff Servant vilely railing againft *J. Abbes*.

A fearful Example of Gods righteous judgement againft the Sheriffs Servants railing againft *J. Abbes*.

Example how Popery brings to deperation.

The flak-
ing end of
St. Gardner
proverb Po-
pery and
not the Gos-
pel to be
the Doctrine
of desperati-
on.

in remembrance of Peter denying his Master: he an-
swering again, said, that he had tenyed with Peter,
but never repented with Peter, and so both stinking
also himself gave an evident example of the same to al-
men, to understand that Popery rather is a Doctrine
of desperation, procuring the vengeance of Almighty
God to them that wilfully do cleave unto it.

Cath. just
stroke upon
J. Fisher B.
of Rochester,
and Sir Tho.
M. etc.

John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Tho. More,
in King Henries time, after they had brought John
Firth, Baifield and Baynham, and divers other to their
death, what great reward wan they thereby with Al-
mighty God? Did not the Sword of Gods Vengeance
light upon their own necks shortly after, and they them-
selves made a Publick Spectacle at the Tower-hill of
bloody death, which before had no Compassion of the
lives of others? Thus ye see the saying of the Lord to
be true, *He that smiteth with the Sword, shall perish
with the Sword*, 2. Mach. 3.

Of Valerian,
was read be-
fore.

So was Heliodorus in the old time of the Jews plagued
by Gods hand in the Temple of Jerusalem.
So did Antiochus, Herod, Julian, Valerianus the
Emperor, Decius, Marcellinus, with infinite others, after
they had exercised their cruelty upon Gods People, feel
the like striking hand of God themselves also, in reveng-
ing the Blood of his Servants.

And thus much concerning those Persecutors, aswell
of the Clergy sort, as of the Laity, which were stricken,
and died before the death of Queen Mary. With
whom also are to be numbered in this Race of persecuting
Bishops, which died before Queen Mary, these Bishops
following.

Bishops.

Bishops that
died before
Q. Mary.

Coates Bishop of Westchester.
Tarfew Bishop of Hereford.
Glyn Bishop of Bangor.
Brooks Bishop of Gloucester.
King Bishop of Tame.
Peto Elect of Salisbury.
Day Bishop of Chichester.
Halyman Bishop of Bristol.

Now after the Queen immediately followed, or rather
waited upon her, the death of Cardinal Pool, who the
next day departed: Of what disale, although it be
uncertain to many, yet to some it is suspected that he
took some Italian Physick, which did him no good. Then
followed in order.

Bishops.

Bishops that
died after Q.
Mary.

John Christopherson Bishop of Chichester.
Hopson Bishop of Norwich.
Morgan Bishop of Saint Davids.
John White Bishop of Winchester.
Ralph Barn Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.
Owen Ogleshorpe Bishop of Carlisle.
† Cutbert Tonfals Bishop of Durham.
Thomas Ramold Elect of Hereford, after his
deprivation died in Prison.

Note that
B. Tonfals
in Q. Ma-
ryes time
was no great
Bloody Per-
secutor: For
Mr. Regis
a Preacher
was before
him, and Dr.
Hunnam
Chancellor
would have
had him ex-
amined
more parti-
cularly.
The B. Bay-
ed him,
saying, Bi-
shop, there
ye have had
a good report
among our
Neighbours,
I pray you
bring over
this mans
Blood upon
my head.

Besides these Bishops above named, first died in the same
time.

D. Weston Dean of Westminster, afterward Dean of
Windsor, chief disputer against Crammer, Ridley, and
Latimer.
M. Slettsbury, Master of Trinity Colledge in Oxford, who
died in the Tower.
Seth Holland Dean of Worcester, and Warden of All-
soul Colledge in Oxford.

William Copinger, Monk of Westminster, who bare the
great Seal before Stephen Gardiner, after the death
of the said Gardiner, made himself Monk in the house
of Westminster, and shortly after fell mad, and died
in the Tower.

D. Steward Dean of Winchester.

To behold the working of Gods Judgments it is won-

drous. In the first year of Queen Mary, when the
Clergy was assembled in the Convocation-house, and also
afterward, when the disputation was in Oxford against
Dr. Crammer, Ridley, and Latimer, he that had been
then Doctor Weston the Prolocutor in his Ruff, how high-
ly he took upon him in the Schools, and how stoutly he
stood in the Popes Quarrel against simple and naked
Truth, full little would have thought, and less did he
think himself (I dare say) that his glory and lofty looks
should have been brought down so soon, especially by
them of his own Religion, whose part he so doubtly de-
fended. But such is the reward and end commonly of
them, who presumptuously oppose themselves to strive
against the Lord, as by the example of this Doctory
Prolocutor right well may appear. For not long after
the disputation above mentioned against Bishop Crammer
and his fellows, God so wrought against the said Dr.
Weston, that he fell in great displeasure with Cardinal
Pool and other Bishops, because he was unwilling to
give up his Deanry and house of Westminster unto the
Monks and Religious men, whom indeed he favoured
not, although in other things he maintained the Church
of Rome. Who notwithstanding at last, through im-
portunate sute, gave up Westminster, and was Dean of
Windsor; where not long after, he was apprehended in
Adultery, and for the same was by the Cardinal put from
all his spiritual Livings.

Wherefore he appealed to Rome, and purposed to
have fled out of the Realm, but was taken by the way,
and committed to the Tower of London and there remain-
ed until Queen Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen, at
which time he being delivered, fell sick and died: The
common talk was, that if he had not so suddenly ended
his life, he would have opened and revealed the purpose
of the chief of the Clergy, meaning the Cardinal,
which was to have taken up King Henries Body at Windsor
and to have burned it. And thus much of D. Weston.

The residue that remained of the persecuting Clergy,
and escaped the stroke of death, were deprived, and
committed to prisons: the Catalogue of whose names
here followeth.

In the Tower.

Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, and Lord Chan-
cellor.
Thomas Thurlby Bishop of Ely. Thomas Watson Bishop of
Lincolne.
Gilbert Bourne Bishop of Bath and Wells.
Richard Fates Bishop of Worcester.
Trounfeld Bishop of Exeter.
John Peckham Abbot of Westminster.
John Boral Dean of Windsor and Peterborough.

Of David Pool Bishop of Peterborough, I doubt whe-
ther he was in the Tower, or in some other Prison.

Ran away.

Goldwel Bishop of Saint Asaph.
Maurice Elect of Bangor.
Edmund Borer Bishop of London, in the Marshalsea.
Thomas Wood Bishop Elect, in the Marshalsea.
Cuthbert Scot, Bishop of Chester, was in the Fleet, from
whence he escaped to Lovane, and there died.

In the Fleet.

Henry Cole Dean of Pauls.
John Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, and Dean of
Norwich.
Nicholas Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury.
Anthony Draycot Archdeacon of Huntingdon.
William Chadsey Archdeacon of Middlesex.

Concerning which Doctor Chadsey here is to be noted,
that in the beginning of King Edwards Reign he
recanted, and subscribed to thirty four Articles, wherein
he then fully consented and agreed with his own hand
writing to the whole form of Doctrine approved and
allowed then in the Church, as well concerning justifi-
cation by faith only, as also the Doctrine of the two
Sacraments

Anno
1558.

A Note of
D. Weston.

D. Weston
out of fa-
vour with
Papists.

D. Weston
taken in a
dualtery.

His death
of D. Weston

Catholick
Bishops after
Q. Mary
deprived and
imprisoned;

Note that
four of
these Bishops
afterward
through the
goodness of
Q. Elizabeth,
were mit-
igated, and
suffered to
be kept in
their friends
houses.

A note of D.
Chadsey.
34. Articles
of D. Chad-
sey.

Anno Sacraments then received, denying as well the Popes
1558 Supremacy, Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Invocation of
 Saints, elevation and adoration of the Sacrament, the
 Sacrifice, and veneration of the Mass, as also all other
 like excrements of Popish Superstition, according to the
 Kings Book then set forth.

Wherefore the more marvel it is, that he, being
 counted such a famous and learned Clerke, would shew
 himself so fickle and unstable in his Assertions, so double
 in his doings, to alter his Religion according to time, and
 to maintain for Truth, not what he thought best, but
 what he might most safely defend. So long as the state
 of the Lord Protector and of his Brother stood upright,
 what was then the conformity of this Doctor *Chadsey*,
 his own Articles in Latin, written and subscribed with his
 own hand, do declare, which I have to shew, if he will
 deny them. But after the decay of the Kings Uncles,
 the fortune of them turned not to fall, but his Religion
 turned withal, and effoons he took upon him to dispute
 against *Peter Martyr*, in upholding Transubstantiation
 at *Oxford*, which a little before with his own hand-
 writing he had overthrowen.

D. Chadsey
 mutable and
 inconstant in
 his Reli-
 gion.

After this ensued the time of Queen *Mary*, wherein
 Doctor *Chadsey*, to shew his double diligence, was so
 eager in his Commission to fit in Judgment, and to bring
 poor Men to their death, that in the last year of Queen
Mary, when the *L. Chancellor*, Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*,
L. Clinton, and divers other of the Council had sent for
 him by a special Letter to repair unto *London* out of
Essex, he writing again to the Bishop of *London*, sought
 means not to come at the Councils bidding, but to
 continue still in his persecuting progress. The Copy of
 whose Letter I have also in my hands (if need were) to
 bring forth.

The expe-
 rience of D.
 Chadsey in
 punishing
 the poor
 Martyrs.

Mention was made not long before, of one *William*
Mauldon, who in King *Henry's* time suffered stripes and
 scourgings for confuting the verity of Gods true Reli-
 gion. It happened in the first year of Queen *Eliza-
 beth*, that the said *William Mauldon* was bound Ser-
 vant with one named Mr. *Hugh Appary* then a Wheat-
 taker for the Queen, dwelling at *Greenwich*. Who be-
 ing newly come unto him, and having never a Book
 there to look upon, being desirous to occupy himself
 virtuously, looked about the house, and found a Primer
 in English, whereon he read in a Winters Evening.
 Whiles he was reading, there sat one *John Apowel*
 that had been a Serving-man, about Thirty years of
 age, born toward *Wales*, whom the said Mr. *Hugh*
 gave meat and drink unto, till such time as he could get
 a Service. And as the foresaid *W. Mauldon* read on the
 Book, the said *John Apowel* mocked him after every
 word, with contrary gauds and flouting words un-
 reverent, in such sort that he could no longer abide him
 for grief of heart, but turned unto him and said, *John*,
 take heed what thou doest; Thou dost not mock me, but
 thou mockest God: For in mocking of his Word, thou
 mockest him; and this is the Word of God, though I
 be simple that read it; and therefore beware what thou
 doest.

Then *Mauldon* fell to reading again, and still he
 proceeded on in his mocking; and when *Mauldon* had
 read certain English Prayers, in the end he read, *Lord*
have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us,
&c.

And as *Mauldon* was reciting these words, the other
 with a start suddenly said, *Lord have mercy upon*
me.

With that *Mauldon* answered and said, What aileth
 thou *John*?

He said, I was afraid.

Whereof wast thou afraid said *Mauldon*?

Nothing now, said the other: and so he would not tell
 him. After this, when *Mauldon* and he went to bed,
Mauldon asked him whereof he was afraid?

He said, when you read, *Lord have mercy upon us,*
Christ have mercy upon us, methought the hair of my
 Head stood upright, with a great fear which came upon
 me.

Then said *Mauldon*, *John* thou maist see, the evil
 Spirit could not but that *Christ* should have mercy
 upon us. Well *John*, said *Mauldon*, repent and amend

thy life, for God will not be mocked. If we mock and
 jest at his Word, he will punish us.

Also you use Ribaldry words; and Swearing very
 much: therefore for Gods sake, *John*, amend thy life.
 So I will (said he) by the grace of God; I pray God I
 may. *Amen* said the other, with other words, and so went
 to bed.

On the morrow, about 8. of the Clock in the morning,
 the foresaid *John* came running down out of his Cham-
 ber in his Shirt into the Hall, and wrestled with his Mi-
 stress as if he would have thrown her down. Whereat
 she shrieked out, and her Servants help her, and took him
 by strength and carried him up into his Bed, and bound
 him down to his Bed; for they perceived plainly that he
 was out of his right mind.

After that, as he lay, almost day and night his Tongue
 never ceased, but he cried out of the Devil of Hell, and
 his words were ever still, O the Devil of Hell; now the
 Devil of Hell; I would see the Devil of Hell: Thou shalt
 see the Devil of Hell; there he was, there he goeth, with
 other words, but most of the Devil of Hell.

Thus he lay without amendment about six days, that
 his Master and all his household was weary of that trouble
 and noise. Then his Master agreed with the Keepers of
Bedlam, and gave a piece of Money, and sent him thither.
 It seemeth that he was possessed with an evil Spirit, from
 the which God defend us all.

This is a terrible Example to you that be mockers of
 the Word of God: therefore repent and amend, lest the
 vengeance of God fall upon you in like manner. Witness
 hereof *William Mauldon* of *Newington*.

The same *William Mauldon* chanced afterward to
 dwell at a Town six miles from *London* called *Walsam-
 stow*, where his Wife taught young Children to read,
 which was about the year of our Lord 1563, and the
 fourth year of Q. *Elizabeth's* Reign. Unto this School,
 amongst other Children, came one *Benfield's* Daughter,
 named *Dennis*, about the age of 12 years.

Gods pu-
 nishment
 upon a
 young Dan-
 cel of 12
 years old,
 blasphem-
 ing the Ma-
 jesty of
 God.

As these Children sat talking together, they happened
 among other talk (as the nature of Children is to be buse
 with many things) to fall into communication of God,
 and to reason among themselves, after their Childish dis-
 cretion, what he should be.

Whereunto some answered one thing, some another.
 Among whom, when one of the Children had said, that
 he was a good old Father; the foresaid *Dennis Benfield*
 casting out impious words of horrible Blasphemy, What
 he (said he) is an old doting Fool.

What wretched and blasphemous words were these ye
 hear. Now mark what followed.

When *W. Mauldon* heard of these abominable words
 of the Girl, he willed his Wife to correct her for the
 same. Which was appointed the next day to be done. But
 when the next morrow came, her Mother would needs
 send her to the Market to *London*, the Wench greatly
 intreating her Mother that she might not go, being mar-
 velloously unwilling thereunto. Howbeit through her Mo-
 thers compulsion she was forced to go, and went. And
 what happened? Her business being done at *London*, as
 she was returning again homeward, and being a little
 past *Hackney*, suddenly the young Girl was so stricken,
 that all the one side of her was black, and the speechless.
 Whereupon immediately she was carried back to *Hack-
 ney*, and there the same night was buried. Witness of the
 same story *William Mauldon* and his Wife, also *Benfield*
 her Father, and her Mother, which yet be all alive.

Blasphemy
 punished.

A terrible Example (no doubt) both to old and young,
 what it is for Children to blaspheme the Lord their God;
 and what it is for Parents to suffer their young ones to
 grow up in such blasphemous blindness; and not to nu-
 rure them betime in the rudiments of the Christian Cate-
 chism, to know first their Creation, and then their Re-
 demption in Christ our Saviour, to fear the Name of God;
 and to reverence his Majesty. For else what do they de-
 serve but to be taken away by death, which contemptu-
 ously despise him, of whom they take the benefit of life?

And therefore let all young Maids; Boys, and Young
 men, take example by this wretched silly Wench, not
 only not to blaspheme the Sacred Majesty of the Omni-
 potent God their Creator, but also not once to take his
 Name in vain, according as they are taught in his Com-
 mandments.

A Lesson to
 Children
 and young
 Girls.

Y y y

Secondly;

A lesson to
Fathers and
Godfathers
and Godmo-
thers.

Secondly, let all Fathers, Godfathers, and Godmothers, take this for a warning, to see to the instruction and catechizing of their Children, for whom they have bound themselves in promise both to God and to his Church. Which if the Father and Godfather, the Mother and Godmothers had done to this young girl, verily it may be thought this destruction had not fallen upon her.

A lesson to
all Atheists,
L. and
Infidels.

Thirdly, let all blind Atheists, Epicures, Mammonists, belly gods of this world, and Sons of Belial, Hypocrites, Infidels, and Mockers of Religion, which say in their hearts, there is no God, learn also hereby, not onely what God is, and what he is able to do, but also in this miserable creature here punished in this world, behold what shall likewise fall on them in the world to come unless they will be warned betime, by such examples as the Lord God doth give them.

A lesson to
all Blasphemes
and
swearers.

Fourthly and lastly, here may also bee a spectacle for all them which be Blasphemers and abominable swearers, or rather tearers of God, abusing his glorious Name in such contemptuous and despiteful sort as they use to do. Whom if neither the word and commandment of God, nor the calling of the Preachers, nor remorse of Conscience, nor rule of reason, nor their withering age, nor hoary hairs will admonish; yet let these terrible examples of Gods strict judgment somewhat move them to take heed to themselves. For if this young Maiden, who was not fully twelve years old, for her unreverent speaking of God (and that but at one time) did not escape the stroke of Gods terrible hand, what then have they to look for, which being men grown in years, and stricken in age, being so often warned and preached unto, yet cease not continually with their Blasphemous Oaths, not onely to abuse his Name, but also most conuneliously and despitefully to tear him (as it were) and all his parts in pieces?

About the year of our Lord 1565. at *Brighthelm* in the County of *Berks*, upon certain communication as touching the right reverend Martyrs in Christ, Bishop *Cranmer*, Bishop *Ridley*, and Master *Hugh Latimer*, there came into an house in *Abyngdon*, one whose name is *Levar*, being a Plowman, dwelling in *Brighthelm* aforesaid, and said, that he saw that ill favored Knave *Latimer* when he was burned: and also in despite said, that he had teeth like a horse. At which time and hour, as near as could be gathered, the Son of the said *Levar* most wickedly hanged himself, at *Shepton* in the County aforesaid within a mile of *Abyngdon*.

These words were spoken in the hearing
of me Thomas Jenens of Abyngdon.

This: Atan-
del Archbishop
of Cant.

Did not *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, give sentence against the *L. Cobham*, and died himself before him, being so stricken in his tongue, that neither he could swallow nor speak for a certain space before his death?

Frier Champ-
tel plagued.

Frier Champel, the accuser of *Patrick Hamilton* in *Scotland*, what a terrible end he had, read before.

Gods judg-
ment upon
Harvey a
persecuting
Commisary.
Gods just
plague upon
W. Swallow.

Harvey a Commisary, that condemned a Poor man in *Calice*, was shortly after hanged, drawn and quartered.

William Swallow, the cruel Tormentor of *George Egles*, was shortly after so plagued of God, that all the hair of his head, and nails of his fingers and toes went off, his eyes well near closed up, that hee could scant see. His Wife also was stricken with the falling sickness, with the which malady she was never infected before.

Gods just
plague upon
Rich Peto.

Likewise *Richard Peto*, another troubler of the said *George Egles*, upon a certain anger or chafe with his servants, was so suddenly taken with sickness, that falling upon his bed like a beast, there he died and never spake word.

Rich. Denton
burned in
his own
house.

Richard Denton, a shrinker from the Gospel, while he refused to suffer the fire in the Lords quarrell, was afterward burned in his own house with two more.

Fetters wife
stricken
with mad-
ness.

The Wife of *John Ferry*, being the cause of the taking of her Husband, how she was immediately upon the same by Gods hand stricken with madness, and was distracted of her wits, read before.

Thomas Munf and *George Revet*, two persecutors, were stricken miserably with the hand of God, and so died.

Also *Robert Edgore*, for that he had executed the Office of a Parish Clark against his Conscience, through anguish and grief of Conscience for the same, was so bereft of his wits, that he was kept in chains and bonds many years after.

As touching *John Plankney* Fellow of *New Colledge* in *Oxford*, *Civilian*, and one *Horvington*, both Fellows of the same house aforesaid, and both stubborn Papiists, the matter is not much worthy the memory; yet the example is not unworthy to be noted, to see what little comfort and grace commonly followeth the comfortless Doctrine and Profession of Papistry, as in these two young men, amongst many other may well appear. Of whom the one, which was *Plankney*, scholar sometime to *Marshall* (who wrote the Book of the Crofs) is commonly reported and known to them of that University, to have drowned himself in the River about *Rome*, or as some do say, at *Padua*, and so being both drowned, were both taken up with Crucifixes, as it is said of some, hanging about their necks; the more pity that such young students did so much addict their wits, rather to take the way of Papistry, than to walk in the comfortable light of the Gospel, now so brightly spreading his beams in all the world; which if they had done, I think not contrary, but it had proved much better with them.

Albeit (I trust) the Gospel of Christ, being now received in the Queens Court amongst the Courtiers and Servants of her Guard, hath framed their lives and manners so to live in the due fear of God, and temperance of life, with all sobriety, and merciful compassion toward their own Christians, that they need not greatly any other instructions to be given them in this story: yet forso much as examples many times do work more effectually in the minds and memories of men; and also partly considering with my self, how these, above all other sorts of men in the whole Realm, in time past ever had most need of such wholesome lessons and admonitions, to leave their unordinate riot of quaffing and drinking; and their Heathenish prophanity of life; I thought here to set before their eyes a terrible example, not of a strange and foreign person, but of one of their own coat, a Yeoman of the Guard, not fained by me, but brought to me by Gods providence, for a warning to all Courtiers, and done of very truth no longer ago than in the year of our Lord, 1568. And as the story is true, so is the name of the party not unknown, being called *Christopher Landelsdale*, dwelling in *Hackney*, in *Middlesex*. The order of whose life, and manner of his death being worthy to be noted, is this, as in story here under followeth.

This aforesaid *Landelsdale* being married to an ancient Woman yet living, having by her both goods and lands, notwithstanding lived long in filthy whoredom with a younger woman, by whom he had two Children, a Son and a Daughter, and kept them in his house unto the day of his death. Also when he should have been in serving of God on the Sabbath day, he used to walk or ride about his fields, and seldom hee or any of his house came to the Church after the English Service was again received. Besides this, he was a great swearer, and a great drunkard, and had great delight also in making other men drunken, and would have them whom he had made drunkards, to call him Father, and he would call them his Sons; and of these Sons, by report, he had above forty. And if he had seen one that would drink freely, he would mark him, and spend his money with him liberally in ale or wine, but most in wine, to make him the sooner drunken. These blessed Sons of his should have great cheer oftentimes, both at his own house and at Taverns: and not long before his death hee was so beastly drunken in a Tavern over against his door, that he fell down in the Tavern yard, and could not arise alone, but lay grovelling, till he was holpen up, and so carried home.

Anno
1558.

Robert Ed-
gore be-
cause of
his wits.

Two Papi-
sts of new Col-
ledge in Ox-
ford drown-
ed them-
selves.

A story of a
Courtier out
of the guard
which hap-
pened, An.
1568.

Admonition
to Courtiers.

An example
of Christopher
Landelsdale,
a Yeoman of
the Guard, for
all Courtiers
to look upon

This

Anno
1558.Landedale
Realer of
the Rich,
and unmer-
ciful to the
poor.Poor Lazarus
laying by
the rich
mans door.Yet the rich
Glutton was
bitter, for
he suffered
Lazarus to
lie at his
Gates.The death
of poor La-
zarus in the
Ditch.The end of
this unmer-
ciful Epicure
in the Ditch.The Image
of the rich
Glutton and
poor La-
zarus.

This father of Drunkards, as he was a great feaster of the rich and wealthy of Hackney, and others; so his poor Neighbours and poor Tenants fared little the better for him: except it were with some broken meat which after his feasts his Wife would carry and fend unto them, or some Alms given at his door.

Besides all this, he did much injury to his poor Neighbours, in oppressing the Commons near about him, which was a special relief unto them, so that his Cattel did eat up all without pity or mercy.

There chanced after this about two years before he died, a poor man, being sick of the bloody Flux, for very weakness to lie down in a Ditch of the said Landedale, not a stone cast from his house, where he had a little straw brought him. Notwithstanding the said Landedale had back houses and Barns enough to have laid him in but would not fiew him so much pity. And thus poor Lazarus there lay night and day, about six weeks ere he died.

Certain good Neighbours hearing of this, procured things necessary for his relief, but he was so far spent, that he could not be recovered; who lay broyling in the hot Sun, with a horrible smell, most pitiful to behold.

This poor man, a little before he died, desired to be removed to another Ditch into the shadow. Whereupon, one of the Neighbours coming to Landedales Wife for a bundle of Straw for him to lie upon, she required to have him removed to Newington side, because, she said, if he should die, it would be very far to carry him to the Church.

Besides this, there was a marriage in this Landedales house, and the guests that came to the marriage gave the poor man money as they came and went by him, but Landedale disdained to contribute any relief unto him, notwithstanding that he had promised to Mr. Searles, one of the Queens Guard (who had more pity of him) to minister to him things necessary.

To be short, the next day poor Lazarus departed this life, and was buried in Hackney Church-yard; upon whom Landedale did not so much as bestow a winding sheet, or any thing else towards his burial. And thus much concerning the end of poor Lazarus. Now let us hear what became of the Rich Glutton.

About two years after, the said Landedale being full of Drjak (as his custom was) came riding in great haste from London on Saint Andrews-day Anno 1568, and as is reported by those that saw him, reeling to-and-fro like a Drunkard with his hat in his hand, and coming by a Ditch, there tumbled in headlong into the Ditch. Some say that the horse, fell upon him, but that is not like. This is true, the horse, more sober than the Master, came home, leaving his Master behind him. Whether he brake his neck with the fall, or was drowned (for the Water was scarcely a foot deep) it is uncertain; but certain it is, that he was there found dead. Thus he being found dead in the Ditch, the Crowner (as the manner is) sat upon him: and how the matter was handled for saving his goods, the Lord knoweth; but in the end so it fell out, that the goods were saved, and the poor horse indited for his Masters death.

The Neighbours hearing of the death of this man, and considering the manner thereof, said it was justly fallen upon him, that as he suffered the poor man to lie and die in the Ditch near unto him, so his end was to die in a ditch likewise. And thus hast thou in this Story (Christian Brother and Reader) the true Image of a rich Glutton and poor Lazarus set out before thine eyes: whereby we have all to learn, what happeneth in the end to such voluptuous Epicures and Atheists, which being void of all sense of Religion, and fear of God, yield themselves over to all Profanities of life, neither regarding any honesty at home, nor shewing any mercy to their needy Neighbours abroad.

Christ our Saviour saith, Mat. 5. Blessed be the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy: but judgment without mercy shall be executed on them which have shewed no mercy, &c. And St. John saith, 1. John 4. He that seeth his Brother have need, and shutteth up his Compassion from him how dwelleth the love of God in him &c. Again, Esay against such profane Drunkards and quaffers thus crieth out, *Wo be unto them that rise up*

early to follow drunkennes, and to them that so continue until night, till they be set on fire with Wine. In thofe companies are Harps and Lutes, Tabrets and Pipes and Wine: but they regard not the works of the Lord, and consider not the operation of his hands, &c. Wo be unto them that are strong to spee out Wine, and expert to set up drunkennes.

A warning
to Drunk-
ards.

The punishments of them that be dead, be wholesome documents to them that be alive. And therefore as the Story above exemplified may serve to warn all Courtiers and Yeomen of the Guard; so by this that followeth, I would with all Gentlemen to take good heed and admonition betime, to leave their outrageous swearing and blaspheming of the Lord their God.

In the time and reign of King Edward, there was in Cornwall a certain lusty young Gentleman; which did ride in Company with other more Gentlemen, together with their Servants, being about the number of twenty horsemen. Among whom this lusty Yankee entering into talk, began to swear most horribly, Blaspheming the Name of God, with other ribaldry words besides. Unto whom one of the Company (who is yet alive, and witness hereof) not able to abide the hearing of such blasphemous abomination, in Gentle words speaking to him, said, he should give answer and account for every Idle word.

A free-fil
example of
Gods punish-
ment upon a
Gentleman
A great
swearer in
Cornwall.

The Gentleman taking nauff thereat; Why, said he, takest thou thought for me? take thought for thy winding sheet. Well (quoth the other (amend, for death giveth no warning; for as soon cometh a Lambs skin to the Market, as an old Sheeps. Gods wounds, saith he, care not thou for me; Raging still after his manner worse and worse in words, till at length passing on their Journey, they came riding over a great Bridge, standing over a Piece of an arm of the Sea. Upon the which Bridge this Gentleman sweaver spurred his horse in such sort, as he sprang clean over with the man on his back.

Gentle ex-
hortation
regarded.

Who as he was going, cried saying, Horse and man, and all to the Devil. This terrible Story happening in a Town in Cornwall, I would have been afraid amongst these stories here to recite, were it not that he, which was then both reprehender of his swearing, and witness of his death, is yet alive, and now a Minister, named Heynes. Besides this, Bishop Ridley, then Bishop of London, preached and uttered even the same fact and example at Pauls Cross. The name of the Gentleman I could by no means obtain of the party and witness afore said, for dread of those (as he said) which yet remain of his affinity and Kindred in the said Country.

The terrible
end of a
swearer.

Having now sufficiently admonished, first the Courtiers, then the Gentlemen; now thirdly for a brief admonition to the Lawyers we will here insert the strange end and death of one Henry Smith, Student of the Law.

This Henry Smith having a Godly Gentleman for his Father, and an ancient Protestant, dwelling in Camden in Gloucestershire, was by him virtuously brought up in the knowledge of Gods Word, and sincere Religion; wherein he shewed himself in the beginning such an earnest professor, that he was called of the Papists Prating Smith. After these good beginnings it followed, that he coming to be a Student of the Law in the middle Temple at London, there through sinister Company of some, and especially as it is thought of one Gifford, began to be perverted to Popery, and afterward going to Lovaine, was more deeply rooted and grounded in the same; and so continuing a certain space among the Papists, of a young Protestant, at length was made a perfect papist. Insomuch, that returning from thence, he brought with him Pardons, a Crucifix, with an Agnus Dei, which he used commonly to wear about his neck, and had in his Chamber Images, before which he was wont to pray. Besides divers other Popish trash, which he brought with him from Lovaine. Now what end followed after this I were loth to utter in story, but that the fact so lately done this present year, Anno 1559, remaineth yet so fresh in memory, that almost all the City of London not only can witness, but also doth wonder thereat. The end was this.

The mis-
erable end of
H. Smith, a
Lawyer of
the middle
Temple, af-
ter he was
perverted
from the
Gospel.Note what
few Com-
pany doth
incorrupting
good na-
ture.M. Smiths
images and
Agnus Dei.

Not long after the said *Henry Smith*, with *Gifford* his Companion, was returned from *Lowane*, being now a foul peerer, and a scornful scoffer of that Religion which before he professed; in his Chamber where he lay in a house in *St. Clements* Parish without *Temple-Barr*, in the Evening as he was going to bed, and his Cloaths put off (for he was found naked) he had tied his Shirt (which he had torn to the same purpose) about his privy places, and so with his own Girdle, or ribband garter (as it seemed) fastned to the bed-post there strangled himself. They that were of his Quest, and other which saw the manner of his hanging, and the print where he fate upon his beds side, do record, that he thrust himself down from his beds side where he fate; the place where he had fastned the Girdle being so low, that his Hips well near touched the Floor, his Legs lying across, and his Arms spread abroad. And this was the manner of his hanging, having his *Agnus Dei* in a silver Table, with his other Idolatrous trah in the Window by him. And thus being dead, and not thought worthy to be interred in the Church-yard, he was buried in a Lane called *Toskew Lane*.

Henry Smith
a Lawyer
hanged him-
self in his
Chamber,
and after
what man-
ner

This heavy and dreadful end of *Henry Smith*, although it might seem enough to gender a Terror to all young Popish Students of the Law; yet it did not so work with all, but that some remained as obstinate still as they were before. Amongst whom was one named *Williams*, a Student of the Inner-Temple, who being sometime a favourer of the Gospel, fell in like manner from that to be an obstinate Papist, and despiteful railer against true Religion, and in conclusion, was so hot in his Catholic Zeal, that in the midst of his railing he fell stark mad, and so yet to this present day remaineth. The Lord of his mercy turn him to a better mind, and convert him if it be his pleasure, Amen.

One *Willi-*
am a Law-
yer, and a
railer
against the
Gospel,
mad,

The miserable end of *Twysford* is here no less to be remembred, a buisie doer sometimes in King *Henries* days by *Boners* appointments, in setting up of Stakes for the burning of poor Martyrs. Who, when he saw the Stakes consume away so fast; Yea, said he, will not these Stakes hold? I will have a Stake, I trow, that shall hold, and so provided a big Tree, and cutting off the Top, set it in *Smithfield*. But thanks be to God, ere the Tree was all consumed, God turned the State of Religion, and he fell into an horrible diseste, rotting alive above the ground before he died. Read more of him before. But because the Story both of him, and of a number such other like, is to be found in sundry places of this history sufficiently before exprest, it shall be but a double labour again to recapitulate the same.

Of the mis-
erable end
of this *Twysford*
read before.

Ye have heard before of the Condemnation and Martyrdom of a certain Boy called *Thomas Drenvry*, condemned by *Williams* Chancellor of *Gloucester*, count any to all right and counsell of the Register then present, called *Barker*. Now what punishment fell after upon the said Chancellor, followeth to be declared.

The strange and fearful death of the same Dr. Williams.

When God of his inestimable mercy having pity of us, and pardoning our sins, for his Son Christ Jesus sake, had now taken from us that bloody Prince, and sent us this Jewel of Joy, the Queens Majesty that now reigneth (and long may she reign) over us; and that the Commissioners for restitution of Religion were coming toward *Gloucester*; the same day Doctor *Williams* the Chancellor dined with Master *Jennings* the Dean of *Gloucester*, who with all his men were booted ready at one of the Clock to set forward to *Chipping-Norton*, about fifteen Miles from *Gloucester*, to meet the Commissioners which were at *Chipping-Norton*, and said to him; Chancellor, are not thy Boots on?

Chan. Why should I put them on?

To go with me (quoth the Dean) to meet these Commissioners.

Chan. I will neither meet them nor see them.

Dea. Thou must needs see them, for now it is past twelve of the Clock, and they will be here afore three of the Clock: and therefore if thou be wise, on

with they Boots, and let us go together, and all shall be well.

Chan. Go your ways, Mr. Dean, I will never see them.

As I said, *W. Jennings* the Dean set forward with his Company toward the Commissioners, and by and by cometh one upon horseback to the Dean, saying; Master Chancellor lieth at the mercy of God, and is speechless. At that word the Dean with his Company pricked forward to the Commissioners, and told them the whole matter and communication between them two, as above. And they sent one of their men with the best words they could devise, to comfort him with many promises. But to be short, albeit the Commissioners were now nearer *Gloucester*, than the Dean and his Company thought, making very great haste, especially after they had received these News: Yet Doctor *Williams*, though false of Religion, yet true of his promise, kept his ungracious Covenant with the Dean: for he was dead ere they came to the City, and so never saw them indeed.

Wherefore to pass over our own domestic examples of English persecutors plagued by Gods hand (where with this our present Story doth abound) I will stretch my Pen a little further, to adjoyn with a few like examples in Forain Countries.

Anno
1558.

Forain Examples.

*H*oimeister the great Archpapist, and chief Master-Pillar of the Popes falling Church, as he was in his journey going toward the Counsell of *Ratisbone*, to dispute against the defenders of Christs Gospel, suddenly in his Journey, not far from *Ulmet*, was prevented by the stroke of Gods hand, and there miserably died, with horrible roaring and crying out. *Ex Illyrico de vocabulo fidei*.

Hoimeister
suddenly
stricken with
death going
to *Ratisbone*.

What a Pernicious and Pesticall Doctrine is this of the Papists, which leadeth men to seek their Salvation by Merits and works of the Law, and not by Faith only in Christ the Son of God, and to stay themselves by Grace? And what inconvenience this Doctrine of doubting and desperation bringeth men to at length, if the plain Word of God will not sufficiently admonish, yet let us be warned by examples of such as have been either teachers or followers of this Doctrine, and consider well what end commonly it hath and doth bring men unto. To recite all that may be said in this behalf, it were infinite. To note a few examples for admonitions sake, it shall be requisite.

What incon-
venience
cometh by
the Popes
desperate
Doctrine.

In the University of *Lowane* was one named *Guarlacura* learned man, brought up in that School, who at length was Reader of Divinity to the Monks of Saint *Gertrudes* order. Where after he had stoutly maintained the corrupt errors of such Popish Doctrine, at last falling sick, when he perceived no way with him but death, he fell into a miserable agony and perturbation of Spirit, crying out of his sins, how wickedly he had lived, and that he was not able to abide the judgment of God, and so casting out words of miserable desperation, said, his sins were greater than he could be pardoned, and in that desperation wretchedly he ended his life. *Ex Epistola Claudii Senarclae ad Bucerum ante Hist. de morte Diaconi*.

The mis-
erable end
of *Guarlacura*
Reader in
Lowane.

Another like example we have of *Arnoldus Bomelius*, a young man of the said University of *Lowane*, well commended for his fresh flourishing wit and ripeness of learning, who so long as he favoured the cause of the Gospel, and took part with the same against the Enemies of the Truth, he prospered and went well forward; but after that he drew to the Company of *Tysleman*, Master of the Popes Colledge in *Lowane*, and framed himself after the Rule of his unfavourable Doctrine, that is, to stand in fear and doubt of his justification, and to work his Salvation by Merits and deeds of the Law, he began more and more to grow in doubtful despair and discomfort of mind; as the nature of that Doctrine is, utterly to pluck away a mans mind from all certainty

The Story
of *Arnoldus*
Bomelius,
Student at
Lowane.

Note what
evil influ-
ence and
Company
doth.

ANNO 1558. certainty and true liberty of Spirit, to a servile doubtfulness, full of discomfort and Bondage of Soul.

Thus the young man, seduced and perverted through this blind Doctrine of ignorance and dubitation, fell into a great agony of mind, wandering and wrestling in himself a long space, till at length being overcome with despair, and not having in the Popish Doctrine wherewith to raise up his Soul, he went out of the City on a time to walk, accompanied with three other Students of the same University, his special familiars. Who as they returned home again after their walk, *Arnoldus* for weariness, as it seemed, fate down by a Spring side to rest him a while. The other, supposing none other but that he for weariness there rested to refresh himself, went forward a little past him. In the mean time what doth *Arnoldus*, but suddenly taketh out his Dagger, and strook himself into the Body.

His Fellows seeing him shrinking down, and the fountain to be all coloured with the Blood which issued out of the wound, came running to him to take him up, and so searching his Body where the wound should be, at length found what he had done, and how he had stricken himself with his Dagger into the Breast. Whereupon they took him and brought him into an house next at hand, and there exhorted him, as well as they could to repent his fact; who then by outward gesture seemed to give some shew of repentance. Notwithstanding, the said *Arnoldus*, eluding one of his Friends there busie about him to have a Knife hanging at his Girdle, violently plucked out the Knife, and with main force Stabbed himself to the Heart.

By these *Levanian* examples, as we have all to learn, no man to be sure of his life, but that he always needeth to crave and call unto the Lord to bless him with his Truth and Grace; so especially would I with our English *Levanians*, which now make Forts in that University against the open Truth of Christs Gospel, to be wise in time, and not to spurn so against the prick, *Ne forte, &c.*

Or if they think yet these examples not enough for sufficient admonition, let them joy hereunto the remembrance also of *Jacobus Latomus*; a chief and principal Captain of the same University of *Levane*. Who after he had been at *Brussels* and there thinking to do a great Act against *Luther* and his fellows, made an Oration before the Emperour, so foolishly and ridiculously, that he was laughed to scorn almost of the whole Court: Then returning from thence to *Levane* again, in his Publick Lecture he fell in an open fury and madness, uttering such words of desperation and blasphemous Impiety, that the other Divines which were there, and namely, *Ruardus*, *Anchutianus*, were faine to carry him away as he was raving, and so shut him into a close Chamber. From that time unto his last breath, *Latomus* had never any thing else in his mouth, but that he was damned, and rejected of God, and that there was no hope of Salvation for him, because he had wittingly and against his knowledge he withstood the manifest Truth of his Word. *Ex Epist. Senarclai ante hist. de morte Diazai. Item, ex Oratore Pauli Eberi in comitiis Wittenbergae habita.*

Thus Almighty God not only by his Word, but by examples in divers and sundry wise doth warn us, first to seek to know the perfect will and decree of the Lord our God appointed in his Word. The perfect will and full Testament of the Lord in his Word, is this, that he hath sent and given his only Son, unto us, being fully contented to accept our faith only upon him for our perfect justification and full satisfaction for all our transgressions; and this is called in Scripture, *Iustitia Dei*. To this will and righteousness of God, they that humble themselves, find lush peace and rest in their Souls, as no man is able to express, and have strength enough against all the invasions and temptations of Satan.

Contrariwise, they that will nosy their Obedience unto the will and ordinance of God expressed in his Word, but will seek their own righteousness, which is of man, labouring by their Merits and satisfaction to serve and please God; these not only do find with God no

righteousness at all; but in stead of his favour procure to themselves his horrible indignation, in stead of comfort, heap to themselves desperation, and in the end will to inconvenience they come to by these above, received examples of *Guaracus*, *Bomeinis*, and *Latomus*; it is evident to see. And out of this Fountain spring not only the punishments of these men, but also all other inconveniences, which happen amongst men; wherefore this pernicious and Erroneous Doctrine of the Papists taketh place.

A *Dominick* Friar of *Manffer*, as he was inveighing in the Pulpit against the Doctrine of the Gospel, then springing up, was stricken with a sudden flash of Lightning, and so ended his life. *Ex Pantal. in 2. parte Re-rum memor.*

Manlius in his Book, *De diffis Philippi Melancthi*, maketh mention of a certain Taylors Servant in *Lippis*, who receiving first the Sacrament in both kinds with the Gospellers, afterward, being persuaded by the Papists, received with them under one kind. Whereupon being admonished of his Master to come to the Communion again in the Church of the Gospellers, he stood a great while and made no answer. At last, crying out upon a sudden, he ran to the Window thereby, and so cast himself out, and brake his neck.

In the same *Manlius* mention is also made of a certain Gentlemen of Name and Authority, but he nameth him not, who hearing these words in a long; *Eius festo burg ist unfer Gott*, that is, Our only hold or fortress is our God, *Psalm 46.* answered and said, *Ich wil hilffen die burg zerbrechen, oder ich wil nix leben*, that is, I will help to shoot against thy stay or fort, or else I will not live. And so within 3. days after he died without repentance, or confessing his faith. *Ex Manlio, De dictis Philip. Melancthi.*

Of *Sadileus* the learned Cardinal likewise it is reported of some, that he died not without great Torments of Conscience and desperation.

The Commendator of *S. Anthony*, who fate as *Spi-ritual Judge* over that godly learned Man *Wolfgangus*, burned in *Lotharing* in *Germany*, and gave Sentence of his Condemnation, fell suddenly dead shortly after.

Read before. Also his fellow, the Abbot of *Clariculus*, and *Suffragan* to the Bishop of *Mentz*, at the crack of Guns suddenly fell down and died.

David Beaton Archbishop of *S. Andrews* in *Scot-land*, shortly after the condemning of Master *George Wishart*, how he by the just stroke, of God was slain, land, perished and wretchedly ended his life within his own Castle, in the discourse of his Story is evident to see, who's listeth further to read of that matter.

Joanes Sleidanus in his 23. Book maketh relation of Cardinal *Crescentius*, the chief President and Moderator of the Council of *Trent Anno 1552*. The Story of whom is certain, the thing that hapned to him was strange and notable, example of him may be profitable to others, such as have grace to be warned by other mens evils. The narration is this.

The twenty fifth day of *March* in the year aforesaid, *Crescentius* the Popes Legate, and Vicegerent in the Council of *Trent*, was sitting all the day long until dark night, in writing Letters to the Pope. After his labour, when night was come, thinking to refresh himself he began to rise; and at his rising, behold there appeared to him a mighty black Dog, of a huge bigness, his eyes flaming with fire, and his Ears hanging low down well near to the ground, to enter in, and strait to come toward him, and so to couch under the Board. The Cardinal not a little amazed at the sight thereof, somewhat recovering himself, called to his Servants, which were in the outward Chamber next by, to bring in a Candle, and to seek for the Dog. But when the Dog could not be found, neither there, nor in any other Chamber about the Cardinal thereupon stricken with a sudden conceit of mind, immediately fell into such a sickness, whereof his Physicians, which he had about him, with all their industry and cunning could not cure him. And so in the Town of *Verona* died this Popish Cardinal; the Popes holy Legate, and President of this Council

wherein his purpofe was (as *Slidam* faith) to recover and al again the whole Authority and Doctrine of the Romifh See, and to fettle it up for ever.

There were in this Council, befides the Popes Legates and Cardinal of *Trent*, 24. Bifhops, Doctors of Divinity 62. And thus was the end of that Popifh Council, by the provident hand of the Almighty, difpatched and brought to nought. *Ex Slidamo. lib. 23.*

Two adole-
rous Bifhops
of *Trent*
Council
juftly dain
in adultery

Dr. Eckius
the Popes
chief coun-
feller.

The end of
*Martin Lu-
ther* com-
pares to the
end of
Eckius.

The manner
of *John Ec-
kiius* death
like a laft
words
Eckius death
dreaming of
his Guiders

*Ex epi-
stola*
de *Hof-
fius*

Gods judg-
ment upon
one *John
Vander Warfe*
Shoulder of
a flock or
kindred called
Warfe, of good
Eftimation
amongft the
chiefest in
Antwerp. Who,
as he was of
nature cruel,
to was he of
judgment
perverse and
corrupt, and
a fore perfec-
tor of Chrif-
tian flock, with
greedinefs
feking and
shedding In-
nocent
Blood, had
drowned divers
good men and
women
in the water,
for the which
he was much
commended
of the Bloody
generation.
Of fome he
was called a
Bloud-hound
or Bloody dogg.
Of other he
was called

Shilpad, a
kind of thel-
fish, which
like a Toad,
with a hard
and a broad
bell upon
his back.

Shilpad, that is to fay, *Sheldoad*; for that he being a short-grundy, and of little stature, did ride commonly with a great Broad Hat, as a churl of the Country.

This man, after he was weary of his Office (wherein he had continued above 20. years) hee gave it over; and because he was now grown rich and wealthy, he intended to pafs the refidue of his life in pleafure and quietnefs.

During which time, about the fecond year after he had left his Office, he came to *Antwerp* to the feaft called *Our Ladies Oumgang*, to make merry; which feaft is usually kept on the *Sunday* following the Affumption of our Lady. The fame day in the afternoon about four of the clock, he being well laden with wine, rode homewards in his Wagon, with his Wife and a Gentiewoman waiting on her and his fool. As foon as the Wagon was come without the Gate of the City called *Croneborgb* Gate, upon the Wooden Bridge being at that time made for a fhift with rails or barriers on both fides for more furety of the paffengers (half a mans height and more) the horfes flood ftill, and would by no means go forward, whatfoever the guide of the Wagon could do.

Then he in a drunken rage cried out to him that guided the Wagon, faying; Ride on in a thoufand Devils name, ride on. Whereat the poor man answered, that he could not make the horfes to go forward. By and by, while they were yet thus talking, fuddenly rofe, as it were, a mighty whirl-wind, with a terrible noife (the weather being very fair, and no wind ftirring before) and toft the Wagon over the barr into the Town ditch, the ropes wherewith the horfes had been tied, being broken afunder in fuch fort, as if they had been cut with a fharp knife, the Wagon alfo being caft upfide-down, with the fore-end thereof turned toward the Town again, and he drowned in the mire; and when he was taken up, it was found, that his neck alfo was broken. His Wife was taken up alive, but died alfo within three days after. But the Gentiewoman and the Fool, by Gods mighty providence, were preferved and had no harm. The Fool hearing the people fay his Mafter was dead, faid; And was not I dead, was not I dead too? This was done, Anno 1553. Witnefs hereof not only the Printer of the fame ftory in *Dutch*, dwelling then in *Antwerp*, whole name was *Francis Fraet*, a good man, and after ward for hatred purto death of Papifts, but alfo divers *Dutchmen* here now in *England*, and a great number of *English Merchants*, which were at *Antwerp*, and are yet alive.

Of the fudden death of *Bartholomew Chaffinens*, of *Caffanus* perfecutor, read before.

Of *Minerius* the Bloody perfecutor, or rather Tormentor of Chrifts Saints, how he died with bleeding in his lower parts, ye heard before.

And what fhould I fpeak of the Judge which accompanied the faid *Minerius* in his perfecution, who a little after, as he returned homeward, was drowned, and three more of the fame company killed one another upon a ftrife that fell amongst them?

Joannes de Roma a *Wael* Monk, whom we may rather call a Hell-hound than perfecutor, what hellifh Torments he had devised for the poor Chrifians of *Angron-gne*, the contents of the ftory before doth exprefs. Again, with what like Torments afterward, and that double-fold, the Lord payd him home again, who in his rotting and finking death neither could find any enemy to kill him, nor any friend to bury him, who neither could abide his own ftinking carion, nor could any man elfe abide to come near him. Hercof read alfo before.

Such a like perfecutor alfo the fame time was the Lord of *Reveft*, who likewife fcapd not the Revenging Hand of Gods Juftice, being ftricken, after his furious perfecution, with a like horrible ficknefs, and fuch a fury and madnefs, that none durft come near him, and fo moft wretchedly died. Whereof read before.

Touching the like grievous punifhment of God upon one *John Martin* a perfecutor, read before.

Erafmus in an Epiftle or Apology written in defence of his Colloquies, inferreth mention of a certain Noble Perfon of great riches and poffeffions, who having Wife and Children, with a great family at home (to whom by Saint Pauls Rule he was bound in Confcience principally

Anno
1558.

Our Ladies
feaft.

Francis
Fraet the
Printer and
witness here
of a good
man and
Martyr.

Bartholomew
Chaffinens
plagued.
Minerius
plagued of
God.

A Judge
which three
perfecutors
plagued by
Gods judg-
ment. The terrible
vengeance
of God upon
*Joannes de
Roma* a
terrible
perfecutor.
Read before.

The Lord of
Reveft pla-
gued.

John Martin
plagued.
Erafmus in
Epiftle Ap-
pofitione, De
uni. Collig.

Anno
1558.Gods punish-
ment upon
Noble Gent-
leman in go-
ing a Pilgrim-
age.

Admonition.

False devo-
tion a peri-
ous thing
Against Idol-
atrous Pil-
grimages.A wonder-
ful example
of Gods
Judgement at
Ghent anno
1565.Three causes
why Saints
are not to be
prayed unto.Purgatory
denied.The judg-
ment of God
upon Giles
Bracklemans
the Borough
Master.

pally above all other worldly things to attend) had purposed before his death to go see *Jerusalem*. And thus all things being set in order, this Noble man, about to set forward on his journey, committed the care of his Wife (whom he left great with Child) and of his Lordships and Castles to an Archbishop, as to a most sure and trusty Father. To make short, it hapned in the journey this Noble man to dye. Whereof so soon as the Archbishop had intelligence, in stead of a Father he became a thief and a robber, seizing into his own hands all his Lordships and Possessions. And moreover, not yet contented with all this, he laid siege against a strong Fort of his (unto the which his Wife for safeguard of her self did flee) where in conclusion she, with the Child that the went withall, was pitifully slain, and so miserably perished. Which story was done (as testifieth *Erasmus*) not so long before his time, but that there remained the *Nephewes* of the Noble man then alive, to whom the same Inheritance should have fallen, but they could not obtain it.

What cometh of blind superstition, when a man not containing himself within the compass of Gods Word, wandreth in other by-ways of his own, and not contented with the Religion set up of the Lord, will bind his Conscience to other ordinances, prescriptions, and Religions devised by men, leaving Gods Commandments undone for the constitutions and precepts of men, what end and reward (I say) cometh thereof at length, by this one example, beside infinite other of the like sort, men may learn by experience: and therefore they that yet will defend Idolatrous Pilgrimage and rash Vows, let them well consider hereof. It is rightly said of *Saint Hierome*; To have been at *Jerusalem* is no great matter, but to live a godly and vertuous life, that is a great matter in very deed.

In the year of our Lord, 1565. there was in the Town of *Ghent* in *Flanders*, one *William de Wever*, accused and imprisoned by the Provost of *St Peters* in *Ghent* (who had in his *Cloister* a Prison and a place of execution) and the day when the said *William* was called to the place of judgment, the Provost sent for *Mr Giles Brackleman*, principal Advocate of the Council of *Flanders*, and Borough-Master and Judge of *St Peters* in *Ghent*, with other of the Rulers of the Town of *Ghent*, to sit in judgment upon him, and as they in fate judgment the Borough-Master, named *Mr Giles Brackleman*, reasoned with the said *William de Wever* upon divers Articles of his faith.

The one whereof was, why the said *William de Wever* denied that it was lawful to pray to Saints; and he answered (as the report goeth) for three causes. The one was, that they were but creatures, and not the Creator.

The second was, that if he should call upon them, the Lord did both see it, and hear it. and therefore he durst give the glory to none other, but to God.

The third and chiefeft cause was, that the Creator had commanded in his Holy Word to call upon him in troubles, unto which commandment he durst neither add nor take from it.

The Borough-Master *Mr Giles Brackleman* also demanded, whether he did not believe that there was a Purgatory which he should go into after this life, where every one should be purified and cleansed.

He answered, that he had read over the whole Bible, and could find no such place, but the death of Christ was his Purgatory: with many other questions proceeding after their order, until he came to pronounce his condemnation. But ere the said condemnation was read forth, the judgment of God was laid upon the said Borough-Master, who suddenly at that present instant was stricken with a Palsie, that his mouth was drawn up almost to his ear, and so he fell down, the rest of the Lords by and by standing up and shadowing him that the people could not well see him; and also the People were willed to depart, who being still called upon to depart, answered, the place was so small to go out, that they could go no farther. Then the Borough-Master of the Town being taken up, was carried to his house, and it is not yet understood nor commonly known that ever he spake word after he was first stricken, but was openly known to be dead the next day following. And yet notwithstanding

that this was done about ten of the clock, they burned the said *William de Wever* within three hours after, on the same day.

The fourth day of *March*, 1566, the like example of the Lords terrible judgment was shewed upon *Sir Garret Triest* Knight, who had long before promised to the Regent to bring down the preaching. For the which act (as the report goeth) the Regent promised again to make him a Grave, which is an Earl. Of the which *Sir Garret* it is also said, that he coming from *Bruxels* towards *Ghent*, brought with him the death of the Preachers, and being come to *Ghent*, the said *Sir Garret* with other of the Lords having received from the Regent a Commission to swear the Lords and Commons unto the Romish Religion, the said *Sir Garret* the 4. day of *March* above noted, at night being at supper, willed the Lady his Wife to call him in the morning one hour sooner than he was accustomed to rise, for that he should the next day have much business to do in the Town-house, to swear the Lords and people to the Romish Religion. But see what hapned. The said *Sir Garret* going to bed in good health (as it seemed) when the Lady his Wife called him in the morning, according to his appointment, was found dead in her bed by her, and so unable to prosecute his wicked purpose.

The fifth of *March*, 1566. which was the day that *Sir Garret Triest* appointed to bee there, and the Lords of *Ghent* were come into the Town-house (as they had afore appointed) to proceed and to give the Oath, according as they had their Commission, and *Mr Martin de Pesser* the Secretary being appointed and about to give the Oath, as the first man should have sworn, the said *Martin de Pesser* was stricken of God with present death likewise, and fell down, and was carried away in a chair or sctell, and never spake after. Witnesses hereof.

Peter de Bellemaker.
Abraham Rossart,
Maerke de Mil.
Lieuten Hendrickx.
Jan Coucke.

Ronger Vanbulle.
Joys Neuhans.
Lyaun Neuhans.
Wil. unden Boegarde.
Joys de Pirre.

These men
of *Ghent*
witness here
of.

About the Borders of *Suevis* in *Germany*, not far from the City of *Uberling*, there was a certain Monastery of Cistercian Monks, called *Salmsville*, founded in the days of Pope Innocent 2. by a noble Baron named *Gunterham*, about the year of our Lord, 1120. This Cell thus being erected, in process of time was enlarged with more ample possessions, finding many and great benefactors and endowers liberally contributing unto the same; as Emperors, Dukes, and rich Barons.

Amongst whom most especial were the Earls of *Montfort*, who had bestowed upon that Monastery many new liberties and great privileges, upon this condition, that they should receive with free hospitality any stranger both Horseman or Footman, for one nights lodging, whosoever came. But this Hospitality did not long continue, through a fubtle and devilish device of one of the Monks, who took upon him to counterfeit to play the part of the Devil, ratling and raging in his Chains, where the strangers should lie, after a terrible manner, in the night time to fray away the guests; by reason whereof no stranger nor traveller durst there abide, and so continued this a long space.

At length (as God would) it so hapned, that one of Earls of the said house of *Montfort*; benefactors to that Abbey, coming to the Monastery, was there lodged, whether of set purpose, or by chance, it is not known.

When the night came, and the Earl was at his rest, the Monk after his wonted manner beginneth his Pageant, to play the tame, yea rather the wild Devil. There was stamping, ramping, spitting of fire, roaring, thundering, bounding of boords, and rattling of chains, enough to make some man stark mad. The Earl hearing the sudden noyse, and being somewhat peradventure affraid at the first, although he had not then the feat of conjuring, yet taking a good heart unto him, and running to his sword, he laid about him well favourably, and following still the noyse of the Devil, so conjured him the last, that the Monk, which counterfeited the Devil in jest, was slain in his one likeness in earnest.

Ex

William de Wever Mag-
tyr, burnt
at *Ghent*,
anno 1565.
Another
terrible
example of
Gods judg-
ment against
Sir Garret
Triest Gen-
tleman, and
then Alder-
man of
Ghent a per-
secutor, Anno
1566.

Another ex-
ample of
Gods judg-
ment upon
Martin de
Pesser one of
the principal
Secretaries
of
Ghent, Anno
1566.

A story of a
some Devil
conjured in
an Abbey in
Suevis.

A fubtle de-
vice of the
Monks, to
fray away
their guests

The punish-
ment of
God upon a
Monk that
would
counterfeit
the Devil.

Ex Gasparo Bruchio, in *Chronologia Monasteriorum Germaniae*.

After the imprisonment of the Congregation, which were taken hearing Gods Word in St James-street in Paris, Anno 1558. (as is above storied) was a Letter written to the King, which was divulgate abroad, proving and declaring by divers Histories, what afflictions and calamities from time to time, by Gods righteous judgment, have fallen upon such as have been Enemies to his People, and have resisted the free passage of his holy Word. In which Letter, so far as as beside the said Examples much other good fruitful matter is contained, worthy of all mento be read, and especially of Princes to be considered, I thought good here to copy out the whole, as the French Book doth give it. The translation of the which Letter into English, is after this tenour, as followeth.

A Letter translated out of French into English, written to King Henry the Second French King.

The doings of Henry 2. French King, against the Luthers, never prospered with him.

Consider, I pray you Sir, and you shall find that all your afflictions have come upon you, since you have set your self against those which are called *Lutherans*.

When you made the Edict of *Chasteaubriant*, God sent you Wars; but when you ceased the execution of your said Edict, and as long as ye were enemy unto the Pope, and going into *Almayn* for the defence of the *German* afflicted for Religion, your affairs prospered as ye would with or desire.

This Truce was between the French King and the Emperor, which the Pope caused to be broken.

On the contrary, what hath become upon you since you were joyined with the Pope again, having received a Sword from him for his own safeguard? And who was it that caused you to break the Truce? God hath turned in a moment your prosperities into such afflictions, that they touch not only the state of your own person, but of your Kingdom also.

The cruel purpose of the Duke of Guise in Italy, going about the service of the enemy of God, and purposing after his return to destroy the Valleys of *Piemont*, to offer or sacrifice them to God for his Victories? The event hath well declared, that God can turn upside down our counsels and enterprizes; as he overturned of late the enterprize of the Constable of France at *St. Quintins*, having vowed to God, that at his return he would go and destroy *Geneva*, when he had gotten the victory.

The wicked Vow of the Constable of France destroyed.

To what end came the enterprize of the Duke of *Guise* in Italy, going about the service of the enemy of God, and purposing after his return to destroy the Valleys of *Piemont*, to offer or sacrifice them to God for his Victories? The event hath well declared, that God can turn upside down our counsels and enterprizes; as he overturned of late the enterprize of the Constable of France at *St. Quintins*, having vowed to God, that at his return he would go and destroy *Geneva*, when he had gotten the victory.

The marvelous judgment of God upon a burning Persecutor.

Have you not heard of *L. Penches* Archbishop of *Tours*, who made sure for the erection of a Court called *Chamber Ardente*, wherein to condemn the Protestants to the Fire? who afterwards was stricken with a disease called the Fire of God; which began at his feet, and so ascended upward, that one member after another to be cut off, and so died miserably without any remedy.

Gods fearful hand upon *Cassellanus*, Persecutor.

Also one *Cassellanus*, who having enriched himself by the Gospel, and forsaking the pure Doctrine thereof to return unto his vomit again, went about to persecute the Christians at *Orleans*, and by the hand of God was stricken in his Body with a sickness unknown to the Physicians; the one half of his Body burning as hot as fire, and the other as cold as Ice; and so most miserably crying and lamenting, ended his life.

There be other infinite Examples of Gods Judgments worthy to be remembered; as the death of the Chancellor and Legate *du Prat*, which was the first that opened to the Parliament the knowledge of Heresies, and gave out the first Commissions to put the faithful to death, who afterward died in his House at *Nantes*, swearing and horribly blaspheming God, and his Stomach was found pierced and gnawn asunder with Worms.

Also *John Rufe*, Counsellor in the Parliament, coming from the Court, after he had made report of the Proceeds against the poor innocents.

The wicked end of *Claude de Affe*, a Counsellor in the said Court.

Also one named *Claude de Affe*, a Counsellor in the said Court, the said day that he gave his opinion and consent to burn a faithful Christian (albeit it was not done indeed as he would have it) after he had dined, committed whoredom with a Servant in the house, and

even in doing the act he was stricken with a disease called *Apoplexia*, whereof he died out of hand.

Peter Lister, Chief President of the said Court, and one of the Authors of the foresaid Burning-Chamber, was depoted from his Office, for being known to be out of his right wits, and bereaved of his understanding.

Also *John Morin*, Lieutenant Criminal of the Provost of Paris, after he had been the cause of the death of many Christians, was finally stricken with a disease in his Legs, called the Wolves, whereby he lost the use of them, and died also out of his wits, many days before denying and blaspheming God.

Likewise *John Andrews*, Bookbinder of the Palace, a Spy for the President *Lister*, and of *Brusard* the Kings Solicitor, died in a fury and madness.

The Inquisitor *John de Roma* in *Provence*, his flesh fell from him by piece-meal, so stinking that no man might come near him.

Also *John Minervius* of *Provence*, which was the cause of the death of a great number of Men, Women and Children, at *Cabriers* and at *Merindol*, died with bleeding in the lower Parts, the fire having taken his Belly, blaspheming and despising God: besides many other whereof we might make recital, which were punished with the like kind of death.

It may please your Majesty to remember your self that ye had no sooner determined to set upon us, but new Troubles were by and by moved by your Enemies, with whom ye could come to no agreement; which God would not suffer, forasmuch as your peace was grounded upon the Persecution which ye pretended against Gods Servants: As also your Cardinals cannot let through their cruelty the course of the Gospel, which hath taken such root in your Realm, that if God should give you leave to destroy the Professors thereof, you should be almost a King without Subjects.

Terullian hath well said, that the Blood of Martyrs is the Seed of the Gospel. Wherefore to take away all these evils coming of the riches of the Papists, which cause so much Whoredom, Sodomy and Incest, where they wallow like Hogs, feeding their idle Belies, the best way were to put them from their Lands and Possessions, as the old sacrificing *Levites* were, according to the express commandment which was given to *Jehovah*. For as long as the Commandment of God took place, and that they were void of ambition, the purity of Religion remained whole and perfect; but when they began to aspire to principalities, riches and worldly honours, then began the abomination of desolation that Christ foretold.

It was even so in the Primitive Church, for it flourished and continued in all pureness, as long as the Ministers were of small wealth, and sought not their particular profit, but the glory of God only. But since the Pope began to be Prince-like, and to usurp the dominion of the Empire under the colour of a false donation of *Constantine*, they have turned the Scriptures from their true sense, and have attributed the service to themselves, which we owe to God. Wherefore your Majesty may seize with good right upon all the Temporalties of the Benefices, and that with a safe Conscience to employ them to their true and right use.

First, for the finding and maintaining of the faithful Ministers of the Word of God, for such Livings shall be requisite for them, according as the case shall require. Secondly, for the entertainment of your Justices that give judgment. Thirdly, for the relieving of the Poor, and maintenance of Colleged to instruct the poor of the Youth in that which they shall be most apt unto. And the rest, which is infinite, may remain for entertainment of your own estate and affairs, to the great easement of your poor People, which alone bear the burthen, and possid in manner nothing.

In this doing, an infinite number of men, and even of your Nobility, which live of the Crucifix, should employ themselves to your service, as they see that ye recompence none but those that have deferred; whereas now there is an infinite number of men in your Kingdom, which occupy the chiefest and greatest Benefices, which never deserved any part of them, &c. And thus much touching

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The French King by fantasy, by troubles, warred of God.

Riches and pride of the Clergy, the fountain of all evils.

The pureness of the Primitive Church, how long it continued, and whereby.

Exhortation to the King to take upon the Temporalities of the Clergy. The riches of the Pope's Clergy, how they ought to be employed.

Anno
1558.

touching the superfluous possessions of the Popes lordly Clergy. Now proceeding further in this exhortation to the King, thus the Letter importeth.

But when the Papists see that they have not to alledge for themselves any reason, they assay to make odious to your Majesty the Lutherans (as they call us) and say; If their sayings take place, ye shall be faine to remittin a private person, and that there is never change of Religion but there is also change of Princedom. A thing as false as when they accuse us to be Sacramentaries, and that wee deny the Authority of Magistrates, under the shadow of certain furious Anabaptists, which Sathan hath raised in our time to darken the light of the Gospel. For the Historiies of the Emperors which have begun to receive the Christian Religion, and that which is come to pass in our time, shew the contrary.

Was there ever Prince more feared and obeyed, than Confession in receiving the Christian Religion? was he therefore put from the Empire? No, he was thereby the more confirmed and established in the same, and also his posterity which ruled themselves by his providence. But such as have fallen away, and followed mens traditions, God hath destroyed, and their race is no more known in earth: So much doth God desert them that forsake him.

And in our time the late Kings of England and Germany, were they constrained in reprovng superstitions, which the wickedness of the time had brought in, to forsake their Kingdoms and Princedoms? All men see the contrary; and what honour, felicity, and obedience the people in our time that have received the reformation of the Gospel, do under their Princes and superiours. Yea, I may say, that the Princes knew not be ore what it was to be obeyed, at that time when the rude and ignorant people received so readily the dispensations of the Pope, to drive out their own Kings and natural Lords.

The true and only remedy, Sir, is, that ye cause to be holden a holy and free Council, where ye should be chief, and not the Pope and his, who ought but only to defend their causes by the holy Scriptures: that in the mean while ye may seek out men not corrupted, suspected, nor partial, whom ye may charge to give report faithfully unto you of the true sense of Holy Scriptures. And this done, after the example of the good Kings, *Jehaphat*, *Ezechias*, and *Josias*, ye shall take out of the Church all Idolatry, Superstition, and abuse, which is found directly contrary to the Holy Scriptures of the old and new Testament; and by that means ye shall guide your people in the true and pure service of God, not regarding in the mean time the cavilling pretences of the Papists, which say that such questions have been already answered at general Councils: for it is known well enough, that no Council hath been lawfull since the Popes have usurped the principallity and Tyranny upon mens Souls, but they have made them serve to their covetousness, ambition, and cruelty; and the contrary which is among those Councils, maketh enough for their disproof, beside a hundred thousand other absurdities against the Word of God, which be in them. The true proof for such matters is in the true and holy Scriptures, to the which no times, nor age hath any prescription to bee alledged against them; for by them wee receive the Councils founded upon the Word of God, and also by the same we reject that Doctrine which is repugnant.

And if ye do thus Sir, God will bless your enterprise, he will encrease and confirm your Reign and Empire, and your posterity. If otherwise, destruction is at your gate, and unhappy are the People which shall dwell under your obedience. There is no doubt but God will harden your heart as he did *Pharaoh*, and take off the Crown from your head, as he did to *Jeroboam*, *Nadab*, *Baasa*, *Achab*, and to many other Kings, which have followed mens traditions, against the commandment of God, and give it to your enemies to triumph over you and your Children.

And if the Emperor *Antonine* the meek, although he were a Pagan and Idolater, seeing himself bewrapt with so many wars, ceased the persecutions which were in his time against the Christians, and determined in the end to hear their causes and reasons, how much more ought you that bear the name of the most Christian King, to be careful and diligent to cease the persecutions against

against the Poor Christians, seeing they have not troubled nor do trouble in any wise the state of your Kingdom, and your affairs; considering also that the Jews be suffered through all Christendom, although they be mortal enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, which we hold by common accord and consent for our God, Redeemer, and Saviour; and that until ye have heard lawfully debated, and understand our reasons, taken out of the holy Scriptures, and that your Majesty have judged; if we be worthy of such punishments. For if wee bee not overcome by the Word of God, the fires, the swords, nor the cruellest torments shall make us afraid. These bee exercises that God hath promised to his, the which hee foretold should come in the last times, that they should not be troubled when such persecutions shall come upon them.

Translated out of the French Book, intituled Commentaries of the state of the Church and publick weal; &c. pag. 7.

The story and the end of the French King

Whoever was the Author or Authors of this letter above prefixed, herein thou fect (good Reader) good Counsel given to the King. If he had had the grace to receive it, and had followed the same, no doubt but Gods blessing working with him, he had not only set that Realm in a blessed state from much disturbance, but also had continued himself in all flourishing felicity of princely honour and dignity. For so doth the Lord commonly bless and advance such Kings and Princes as seek his honour, and submit their wits to his obedience. But commonly the fault of Kings and Potentates of this world is, that being set about with Parasites, either they seldom hear the truth told them, or if they do, yet will they not lightly be put from their own wills, disdaining to be admonished by their inferiours, as they be Counsel never so wholesome and godly. Which thing many times turneth them to great plagues and calamities, as by plentiful example of Kings destroyed, wounded, imprisoned, deposed, drowned, poisoned, &c. may well to them that read Historiies appear: but especially this present example of *Henry the French King*, the second of that name, is in this our age notoriously to be considered. Who being well warned before (as may seem) would not yet forsake his cruel persecution against the Lords people, but rather was the more hardened in heart, and inflamed against them; insomuch that he said to *Anne du Bourg*, one of the high Court of Parliament in Paris threatening him, that he would see him burn with his own eyes.

Further, his purpose was to extend his power and force likewise against other places more, in persecuting the Gospel of Christ and professors thereof, to the utmost of his ability, I leave it to the report of them, which in this matter know more than I here will utter.

But notwithstanding all these cracks and threatnings of the King (to see what the Lord can do in making high Kings to stoop) even the same day when the King was in his most rage against these good men, Almighty God, taking the cause in hand to fight for his Church, so turned the matter, that he made the great enemy of his both with his mouth and with his hands to work his own destruction; with his mouth in commanding, with his hand in giving him the Lance into his hand, which the same day gave him his deaths wound, as by the sequels hereof in reading ye may understand.

The Stroke of Gods hands upon Henry the Second the French King.

King *Henry* being in the Parliament House which was kept at the *Frier Augustines* at Paris, because the Palace was in preparing against the marriage of his Daughter, and his Sister, and having heard the opinion in Religion of *Anne du Bourg* Counsellor in the Law, a man eloquent and learned, he caused the said *Anne du Bourg*, and *Loys du Faux*, Counsellors, to be taken prisoners by the Constable of France, who apprehended them, and delivered them into the hands of the County of *Montgomery*, the which carried them to Prison. Against whom the King being wrathful and

The story
and end of
Henry's.
the French King
that would
not be war-
red.

What coun-
sell to
kings that
refuse good
counsel.

Henry 2. the
French King
wholly set
to persecute
the Church
of Christ.
Gods might
power a-
gainst his
enemies.

Examples
of England
and Germany.
How Princes
lose no hon-
our by the
Gospel.
The Popes
Religion
more not
some to the
state of
Princes than
the Doctrine
of the Law-
ful.

A blind shift
of the Pa-
pists to stop
Princes from
calling
general
Councils.

The con-
tradictions in
the Popes
Councils to-
rough for
their dis-
proof.

Prophecies
against the
French King.

and angry, among other talk, said to the said *Ann de Bourg*; These eyes of mine shall see thee burnt: And so on the 19. of June, Commission was given to Judges to make his Process.

During this mean while, great feasts and banquets were preparing in the Court, for joy and gladness of the marriage that should be of the Kings Daughter and Sister, against the last day of June save one. So when the day and time above prefixed was come, the King employed all the morning in examining as well the Presidents as Counsellors of the said Parliament against these Prisoners, and other their companions that were charged with the same Doctrine, which being done, they went to dinner.

The King, after he had dined, for that he was one of the defendants at the Tourney, which was solemnly made in Saint *Antonyes-freet*, near to the Prison where the foresaid Prisoners were committed, entred into the Lists; and therein justling, as the manner is, had broken many staves right valiantly as could be, running as well against the County of *Montgomery*, as other more.

Whereupon he was highly commended of the lookers on. And because he had done so valiantly, and was thought now to have done enough, he was desired to cease with praise: But he being the more inflamed with the hearing of his prayse, would needs run another course with *Montgomery*; who then refusing to run against the King, and kneeling upon his knees for pardon not to run; the King being eagerly set, commanded him upon his allegiance to run, and (as some affirm) did also himself put the staff in his hand, unto whose hands he had committed the foresaid Prisoners a little before. *Montgomery* thus being enforced whether hee would or no to run against the King, addrest himself after the best wise to obey the Kings commandment.

Whereupon he and the King met together so stoutly, that in breaking their spears the King was stricken with the counter-blow, so right in one of his eyes, by reason that the visour of his Helmet suddenly fell down at the same instant, that the shivers entred into his head; so that the brains were perished, and thereupon so festered, that no remedy could be found, although *Physicians* and Surgeons were sent from all places in the Realm, as also from *Brabant* by King *Philip*, but nothing availed, so that the 11. day after, that is, 10. of July, 1559. he ended his life in great dolour, having reigned 12. years, three Months, and 10. days.

Some report, that among other words he said, that hee feared hee was stricken for casting the Poor Christians wrongfully in Prison: but the Cardinal of *Lorain* standing by (as he was always at hand) said unto him, that it was the enemy that tempted him, and that he should be stedfast in the faith. By this means the Hall, which was prepared for a place of joy and gladness, did now serve for a Chappel to keep the corpse, being dressed with black mourning cloth, and night and day there was nothing heard but mourning and lamenting for the space of 40. days.

About two years after this, which was the year of our Lord, 1561. there were certain Gentlemen put to death at *Amboise*, for taking Arms against the house of *Guise*. Touching which Gentlemen this is to be noted, that as one of them should be brought to the place of execution, where the other lay dead before him, he thrust his hands into the Blood of two of his companions which were there beheaded, and the lifting up to Heaven, cried with a loud voice; Lord behold the Blood of thy Children: thou wilt in time and place revenge it.

Not long after the same, the Chancellor *Oliver*, who was condemner of them, at the instigation and pursuit of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, through great remorse of Conscience fell sick, and in a frensie casting out sighs uncessantly, and afflicting himself after a fearful and strange fashion for his unrighteous sentence, and more than barbarous cruelty, shrieked upon a sudden with an horrible cry, and said; O Cardinal, thou wilt make us all to be damned. And within a very few days after he died.

Francis the second of that name, King of *France*, at the perswasion of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and of certain others, caused an assembly of the Estates of the

Realm in the Town of *Orleans*, among other things to maintain the Papal See, to the overthrow of those which would live after the sincerity of the Gospel: but being fallen sick, shortly after, in the foresaid place, of a fever, through an impostume in his left ear hee died the fourth of December, 1561. having reigned but one year, and about five Months.

It was said of this King *Francis* (as the author above mentioned reporteth) that when hee was drawing toward his end, the Cardinal of *Lorain* made him to say and pronounce these words which follow; Lord forgive me my trespasses, and impute not unto me the fault, which my Ministers have done under my name and authority.

Nither is it unworthy of observation, that after the father it happened in much like sort by Gods mighty judgment unto *Carol*. 9. his second Son, and Brother to *Francis* above mentioned, in these our later days; who after the horrible and Bloody Murder of the Admiral, and other true professors of Christs Gospel, both Men, Women, and Children, to the number of many thousands of divers Cities, in somuch that the Prisons and streets are said to be coloured with Blood, smocking after such a cruel sort, as in our time or Country the like hath not hitherto been seen; by the stroke of Gods just revenge, the same King, by credible report of story, is said to dye of bleeding, not only at his ears and nose, but in all other places of his Body, where Blood might have any issue.

Unto these afore recited Histories of King *Henry* and his two Sons, might also be added the death of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth. Who in like manner being an enemy, and a great terror to the Gospel, was cut off likewise for doing any more hurt to the Church, much about the same time, Anno 1558. which was but three Months before the death of Queen *Mary*, and ten Months before the death of the said *Henry* the second. Touching the death of which *Charles* and *Henry*, and *Francis*, this Epitaph following was written in Latin Verses, and printed in the French Story Book above alleaged.

Consilii Christum oppugnans & fraudibus ingenis
Regum ille terror Carolus,
Ipsius ridiculus pueris, furiosus & excors,
Totus repente cornui.
Tunc Henrice, malis dum consultiorens utens
Suis piorum sanguinem,
Ipse suo vecori, inopina cade preceptus,
Terram imbutus sanguine.
Henrici dempsit seclis vestigia patris
Franciscus, infelix puer,
Clamantem Christum surda dum negligis aure,
Aure putrefacta corruit.
Versus, fatui, surdi, hec spectacula, Reges.
Vos sapere vel mori jubent.

Not long after *Anne du Bourg*'s death, the President *Minard*, who was a fore persecutor, and the condemner of the said *Anne du Bourg*, as he returned from the Palace or Council Chamber to his own house, being upon his Mule, even hard by his house, was slain with a dagger; but who was the doer thereof, or for what cause he was slain, for all the inquisition and diligent search that could be made, it was never known.

Among many other examples worthy to be noted let us also consider the end of the King of *Navar*, Brother to the worthy Prince of *Condé*, who after hee had sustained a certain time the cause of the Gospel, at length being allured by the flattering word of the Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal of *Lorain* his Brother, and upon hope to have his lands restored again, which the King of *Spain* retained from him, was contented to alter his Religion, and to joyne side with the Papists, and so being in camp with the Duke of *Guise*, at the siege of *Roan*, was there shot in with a pellet. After which wound received, being brought to a Town three miles from the camp, called *Preaux*, he did vehemently repent and lament his backsliding from the Gospel, promising to God most earnestly, that if he might escape that hurt, hee would bring to pass that the Gospel should be preached freely

Anno

1558.

The French King after hee began to withdraw the course of the Gospel. How the Lord worketh for his Gospel. The words of King Francis at his death.

The terrible stroke of Gods revenge upon Carol. 9. the French King.

The death of Charles the Emperor.

An Epitaph upon Charles the Emperor, Henry 2. French King and Francis his Son.

The sudden death of President Minard.

The punishment of God upon the King of Navar, after hee had revolted from the Gospel so Popery.

Henry 2. the French King foretold against the Poor Protestants.

Henry 2. the French King in his triumph just against Montgomery.

Montgomery against his will commanded to just against the King.

Henry 2. the French King stricken and killed in his own justling, the devilish perswasion of the Cardinal of Lorain at the death of the French King.

Certain Gentlemen executed at Amboise for standing against the house of Guise.

The Lords punishment upon the Chancellor Oliver for his sentence given against certain Gentlemen, Protestants.

The death of Francis 2.

Anno freely through all France : Notwithstanding, within five or six days after he died.

Neither did the Duke of Guise himself, the great Arch-enemy of God and his Gospel, continue in life long after that, but both he and the whole Triumvirat of France, that is, three the greatest Captains of Popery were cut off for doing any more hurt, to wit, the Duke of Guise before Orleans, the Constable before Paris, the Marshal of St. Andrew before Dreux.

Of the Emperor Sigismundus.

Amongst others, here is not to be past over nor forgotten the notable example of Gods just scourge upon Sigismundus the Emperor, of whom mention is made before, in the Condemnation of John Hus, and Hierome of Prague. After the death and wrongful Condemnation of which blessed Martyrs, nothing afterward went prosperously with the said Emperor, but all contrary; so that he both died without issue, and in his Wars he ever went to the worst. And not long after, Ladislaus his Daughters Son King of Hungary, fighting against the Turk, was slain in the field. So that in the time of one Generation all the posterity and offspring of this Emperor perished. Besides this, Barbara his Wife came to such ruine by her wicked lewdness, that she became a shame and slander to the name and state of all Queens. Whereby all Christian Princes and Emperors may sufficiently be admonished, if they have grace, what it is to defile themselves with the Blood of Christs blessed Saints and Martyrs.

A note of Christopher Parker.

Christopher Parker, called Parker the wild, mentioned before in this Book of Monuments, who being a Persecutor of Richard Woodman, did manacle his hands with a cord, did cast himself into a Pond, and so drowned himself at Hertsmere, in Suffex, the 8. September, 1575.

The Story of one Drainer of Kent, commonly called Justice Nine-holes.

I May not in this place omit the tragedy of one Drainer of Smarden in the County of Kent, Esquire, who bearing grudge against one Gregory Dods, Parson of the said Town, for reproving his vicious life, sent for him by two men, which took him and brought him before him, where he was had into a Parlour, as it were to break-fast. In which behind the Door he had placed one Roger Matthews secretly, to bear witness what he should say, no more being in sight but the said Drainer and one of his men, who willed and persuaded him to speak freely his mind, for that there was not sufficient record of his words to hurt him. But the Lord kept his talk without Peril, whereby the said Drainer sent him to the next Justice called Mr. George Dorel; who, perceiving it to be done more of malice than otherwise, delivered him upon Sureties, to appear at the next Sessions at Canterbury, and at length he was banished the Country.

This said Drainer afterward, being chosen Justice, to shew himself diligent in seeking the trouble of his Neighbours, made in the Roodloft nine holes, that he might look about the Church in Mass time. In which place alway at the facing thereof, he would stand to see who looked not, or held not up his hands thereto; which persons not so doing he would trouble and punish very fore. Whereby he purchased a name there, and is called to this day Justice Nine-holes, who now (God be thanked) is John out of Office, and glad of his Neighbours good will.

It so fell out, that since this was published, the said Drainer came to the Printers house, with other associates, demanding: Is Fox here? To whom answer was given, that Master Fox was not within. Is the Printer within (quoth Drainer)? It was answered, Yea. Whereupon being required to come up into his house, he was asked what his will was. Marry saith he, you have printed me false in your Book, Why, saith the Printer, is

not your name Master Drainer, otherwise called Justice Nine-holes? It is false saith he, I made but five with a great Augur and the Parson made the rest. It was answered, I have not read that a Justice should make him a place in the Rood-Loft, to see if the People held up their hands. He said, Whereas you alledged, that I did it to see who adored the Sacrament, or who not, it is untrue; for I set as little by it, as the best of you all. Indeed saith the Printer, so we understand now; for you being at Supper in Cheapside among certain honest Company, and there burdened with the matter, said then, that you did it rather to look upon fair wenches than otherwise. He being in a great rage, swore, saying to this purpose; Can a man speak nothing but you must have understanding thereof? But, saith he, did I do any man any hurt? It was answered, that he meant little good to Master Dods, aforesaid, especially procuring a secret witness behind his door, to catch some words that might tend to Dods destruction. Which thing Drainer swore, as before, was not true. To whom the Printer replied, that it was most true, for that the party there secretly hidden, hath since upon his knees, asking forgiveness for his intent, confessed the same to Dods himself. I will hang that Knave, saith he: And so he departed in a rage; and since is deceased, whose death and order thereof, I refer to the secret Judge.

Drainer convicted of falsehood.

A lamentable history of John Whitman Shoemaker, who suffered most cruel Torments at Ostend in Flanders, for the Testimony of Jesus Christ, and the Truth of his Gospel, Anno 1572.

John Whitman Shoemaker, being about the age of 49 years, born in Timen a Town in Brabant, after his coming over into England, dwelt in Rie in the County of Suffex, being married 23 years: always a professor of the Gospel, as well in the time of the freedom thereof, as in time of Persecution. About Candlemas in the year 1572. unknown to his Friends in Rie, understanding of shipping in Rie, which was ready bound for Ostend in Flanders, he went aboard the Saturday morning, and arrived at Ostend that night, where he lodged with one of his Kinsmen there dwelling. The next day being Sunday, in the morning he accompanied with his said Kinsman, took his Journey, as it were to have passed higher into the Country.

When they were about three Miles on their way out of the Town, suddenly Whitman staid and would go no further; but immediately returned back again to Ostend, whither so soon as he was come, it being Service time in their Church, he forthwith addressed himself thither, and at the time of the heave-offering stepped to the Sacrifice, and took from over his head his Idol, saying these words in the Dutch Tongue? Is this your God? and so breaking it, cast it down under his feet, and trode thereon. Forthwith the People in an uproar came to lay hold on him, and hardly in the Church escaped he death by the Souldiers there present, but being rescued by some, to the intent to be further examined and made a publick Spectacle, he was carried immediately to Prison. Upon the next day, being Monday, the Judges and other Counsellors being assembled, he was brought forth into the common Hall, and examined of his fact, the intent, the Counsel and abettors thereof, and also of his Faith: where he very constantly in defence of his Christian Faith, and great detestation of Idolatry, demeaned himself in such sort, that he wrung Tears from the eyes of divers, both of the chief, and others present. So was he committed again to Prison. The next day being Tuesday, he was brought out again before the Judges into the same place, and being examined as before, he no whit abated, but increased in his constancy. Whereupon Sentence was given upon him to have his hand cut off, and his Body scorched to death, and after to be hanged up. So the day following, being Wednesday, he was brought out of Prison to the Town Hall, standing in the Market place, all things belonging to execution being made ready there. Which when they were all ready, the Hangman went into the Hall, and with a Cord tied the hands of Whitman, and came out leading him thereby. So soon as Whitman was out of the house, he made such haste, and as it were, ran

A lamentable history of J. Whitman, Shoemaker.

J. Whitman could not suffer the abominable Idolatry of the Papists. J. Whitman, apprehended. J. Whitman brought before the Judges.

The Story of one Drainer, otherwise called Justice Nine-holes.

A malicious Practice to entrap a good man.

fo to the place of Execution, that he drew the Hangman after him. There was a Post set up with Spars from the top thereof, a flope, down to the ground, in manner of a Tent, to the end that he should be only scorched to death, and not burned. When he was come to the place, the Hangman commanded him to lay down his Right hand upon a Block, which he immediately with a Hatchet fmoote off: the good man still continuing constant, the Hangman stepped behind him, and bid him put out his Tongue, which he forthwith did, as far as he could out of his mouth, through the which he thrust a long Instrument like a Pack-needle, and so let it stick. Then the Judges, standing by in the Common-Hall, read again his Fact and Sentence. Whereunto he could make no answer, his Tongue hanging out of his head: so was he stripped out of his Caslock, his Hose being put off in Prison, and put within his Tent, and made fast with two Chains, and fire was put round about, which broiled and scorched his Body most miserably, all black, he not being seen, but heard to make a noise within the Tent. When he was dead, he was carried out to be hanged upon a Gibbet beside the Town.

The Martyrdom and Death of J. Whitman.

Speñatores presentes, Cutbert Car, Bartholomæus Bellington, Nautæ Rensis.

Admonition to the Reader concerning the Examples above mentioned.

IT hath been a long perfwasion gendred in the heads of many men these many years, that to ground a mans Faith upon Gods Word alone, and not upon the See and Church of Rome, following all the Ordinances and Constitutions of the same was damnable Heresie, and to persecute such Men to death was damnable Heresie, and to persecute such Men to death was high service done to God, Whereupon have risen so great Persecutions, Slaughters and Murders, with such effusion of Christian Blood through all parts of Christendom by the space of these 70 years, as hath not before been seen. And of these Men Christ himselfe doth full well warn us long before, truly prophesying of such times to come, when they that slay his Ministers and Servants should think themselves to do good service unto God, John 16. Now what wicked service, and how detestable before God this is, which they falsly perswade themselves to be godly, what more evident demonstrations can we require, than these so many, so manifest, and so terrible Examples of Gods wrath pouring down from Heaven upon these Persecutors, whereof part we have already set forth; for to comprehend all (which in number are infinite) it is impossible. Wherefore, although there be many which will neither hear, see, nor understand, what is for their profit, yet let all moderate and well disposed Natures take warning in time. And if the plain Word of God will not suffice them, nor the Blood of so many Martyrs will move them to embrace the Truth, and forsake Error, yet let the desperate deaths and horrible punishments of their own Papists perswade them, how perilous is the end of this damnable Doctrine of Papistry. For if these Papists, which make so much of their painted Antiquity, do think their proceedings to be so Catholick, and Service so acceptable to God, let them joyn this withal, and tell us how come then their proceedings to be so accursed of God, and their end so miserably plagued, as by these Examples above specified, is here notoriously to be seen? Again, if the Doctrine of them be such Heresie, whom they have hitherto persecuted for Hereticks unto death; how then is Almighty God become a maintainer of Hereticks, who hath revenged their Blood so grievously upon their Enemies and Persecutors?

The putting out of the French Kings eyes, which promised before with his eyes to see one of Gods true Servants burned, who seeth not with his eyes to be the stroke of Gods hand upon him? Then his Son Francis after him, not regarding his Fathers stripe, would yet needs proceed in burning the same Man: and did not the same God, which put out his Fathers eyes, give him such a blow on the Ear, that it cost him his life? If the Plat-form of Stephen Gardiner had been a thing so necessary for the Church, and so grateful unto God, why then did it not prosper with him, nor he with it, but both he and

his Plat-form lay in the dust, and none left behind him to build upon it? After the time of Stephen Gardiner, and at the Council of Trent, what Conspiracies and Policies were devised? what Practices and Trains were laid through the secret confederacy of Princes and Prelates, for the utter subversion of the Gospel and all Gospelers, which if God had seen to have been for his glory, why then came they to none effect? yea, how or by whom were they disclosed and foreprized, but by the Lord himself, which would not have them come forward?

The vehement Zeal of Queen Mary was like to have set up the Pope here again in England for ever, if it had so much pleased the Lord God as it pleased her self; or if it had been so godly as it was bloody, no doubt but Gods blessing would have gone withal. But when was the Realm of England more barren of all Gods Blessings? what Prince ever reigned here more shorter time, or left to his own hearts ease than did Queen Mary?

The Constable of France, when he covenanted with God, that if he had the victory of St. Quintins, he would set upon Geneva, thought (no doubt) that he had made a great good bargain with God; much like unto Julian the Emperor, who going against the Persians, made his Vow, that if he sped well, he would offer the Blood of Christians. But what did God? came not both their Vows to like effect?

The Examples of such as revolted from the Gospel to Papistry be not many; but as few as they were, scarce can any be found which began to turn to the Pope, but the Lord began to turn from them, and to leave them to their ghostly enemy; as we have heard of the King of Navar in France, of Henry Smith, and Dr. Shaxton in England, with other in other Countries more, of whom some died in great sorrow of Conscience, some in miserable doubt of their salvation, some stricken by Gods hand, some given to hang or drown themselves.

King of Navar, Henry Smith, Dr. Shaxton.

The stinking death of Stephen Gardiner, of John de Roma, of Twyford, of the Bayliff of Crowland: The sudden death of the Suffragan of Dover, of Dr. Dunning, of Dr. Geoffrey, of Berry the Promoter: The miserable and wretched end of Pouchier Archbishop of Towers, of Cardinal Crescentius, Castellatus: The desperate disease of Rockwood, of Latimus, of Guarlacus: The earthly ending of Henry Beauford Cardinal of Winchester, of Eekius, of Thorton called Dick of Dover: The wilful and self murder of Pauter, of Richard Long, of Bonelins, besides infinite other: The dreadful taking away and murren of so many persecuting Bishops, so many bloody Promoters and malicious Adversaries, in such a short time together with Queen Mary, and that without any mans hand, but only the secret working of Gods just Judgment.

To add to these also the stinking death of Edmund Boner, commonly named the bloody Bishop of London; who not many years ago, in the time and reign of Queen Elizabeth, after he had long feasted and banqueted in durance at the Marshalsea, as he wretchedly died in his blind Popery, so astinkingly and as blindly at Midnight was he brought out and buried in the outside of all the City, amongst Thieves and Murderers, a place right convenient for such a murderer; with confusion and derision both of Men and Children, who trampling upon his Grave, well declared how he was hated both of God and Man. What else be all these (I say) but plain visible Arguments, Testimonies and Demonstrations even from Heaven against the Pope, his murdering Religion, and his bloody Doctrine? For who can deny their doings not to be good, whose end is so evil? If Christ bid us to know men by their fruits, and especially seeing by the end all things are to be tried, how can the profession of that Doctrine please God, which endeth so ungodly? *Esaia*, Chap. 50. prophesying of the end of Gods Enemies, which would needs walk in the light of their own setting up, and not in the light of the Lords kindling, threatment to them this final malediction, *in doloribus* (saith he) *dormietis, i. In sorrow shall ye sleep.* Let us now take a survey of all those Persecutors, which of late have so troubled the Earth, (and almost have burned up the World with Fagots and Fire, for maintenance of the

Popes

Three Arguments against the Papists. Gods Word. Blood of Martyrs. Gods punishment. The plagues of God let against persecuted Antiquity.

Henry 2. the French King and King Francis his Son stricken, the one in the Eyes, the other with an impostume in the Ear, St. Gardiner.

Anno 1558.

Anno
1558.A secret
more of Pa-
pists which
have been
great cries
out of their
marriage,
and them-
selves also
taken in ope-
ra Adul-
tery.Comparison
between the
end of Pa-
pists Per-
secutors and
the Gospel-
lers.The godly
end of the
Gospelers
to be noted.The blessed
end of King
Edward 6.
The patient
end of the
Duke of Sa-
merfet the
Kings Va-
le.The quiet
and joyful
end of the
Martyrs.

Popes Religion) and see what the end hath been of them that are now gone, and whither their Religion hath brought them) but either to destruction, or desolation, or confusion and shame of Life. So many great Doctors and Bishops have cried out of late so mightily against Priests marriage; and have they not, by Gods just judgment working their confusion, been derided themselves, and taken the most part of them in sinful Adultery, and shameful Fornication? Cardinal *Joannes Cremenst* the Popes Legate here in England, after he had let a Law that Priests should have no Wives, was he not the next day after, being taken with his Whores; driven out of London with confusion and shame enough; so that afterwards he durst not shew his face here any more? Besides the two Bishops in the late Council of Trent most shamefully taken in Adultery, mentioned before. Also besides innumerable other like foreign stories, which I let pass, to come now to our own domestic examples, I could well name half a score at least of famous Doctors; and some Bishops, with their great Masters of Popery, who, in standing earnestly against the marriages of Priests, have afterward been taken in such dishonest facts themselves, that not only they have carried the publick shame of adulterous Letchers, but some of them the marks also of burning Fornication with them in their Bodies to their Graves. Whose Names although I suffer here to be suppressed, yet the examples of them may suffice to admonish all men that be wise, and which will avoid the wrath of Gods terrible vengeance, to beware of Popery.

And thus having hitherto recited so many shameful lives and desperate ends of so many Popish Persecutors stricken by Gods hand; now let us consider again on the contrary side the blessed ends given of Almighty God unto them, which have stood so manfully in the defence of Christs Gospel, and the reformation of his Religion, and let the Papists themselves here be Judges. First, what a peaceable and heavenly end made the worthy Servant and singular Organ of God, *Martin Luther*?

To speak likewise of the famous *John Duke of Saxony* and Prince Elector, of the good *Pallgrave*, of *Philip Melancthon*, of *Pomeranus*, *Urbanus*, *Rögius*, *Berengarius*, of *Ulricus Swingius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Pilicanus*, *Capito*, *Munsterus*, *Joannes Calvinus*, *Petrus Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, *Paulus Pagnius*, *Johannes Musculus*, *Biblander*, *Gesnerus*, *Hefman*, *Augustinus Marloratus*, *Leves* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Condé*, and his godly Wife before him, with many more, which were known to be learned men, and chief standers of the Gospel side against the Pope, and yet no man able to bring forth any one example either of these, or of any other true Gospeller, that either killed himself, or shewed forth any signification or appearance of despair, but full of hope and constant in Faith, and replenished with the fruit of Righteousness in Christ Jesus, so yielded their lives in quiet peace unto the Lord.

From these Forreigners, let us come now to the Martyrs of England, and mark likewise the end both of them, and semblably of all others of the same Profession. And first to begin with the blessed and heavenly departure of King *Edward* the sixth, that first put down the Mass in England, and also of the like godly end of his good Uncle the Duke of *Somerfet*, which died before him, with an infinite number of other private persons besides of the like Religion, in whose final departing no such blemish is to be noted, like to the desperate Examples of them above recited. Let us now enter the consideration of the blessed Martyrs, who although they suffered in their Bodies, yet rejoiced they in their Spirits, and albeit they were persecuted of men, yet werethey comforted of the Lord with such inward joy and peace of Conscience, that some writing to their Friends, professed they were never so merry before in all their lives, some leapt for joy, some for triumph would put on their Scarfs, some their wedding Garment, going to the fire, others killed the Stakes, some embraced the Fagots, some clapt their hands, some sung Psalms; universally they all forgave, and prayed for their Enemies, no murmuring, no repining was ever heard amongst them: so that most truly might be verified in them, which their Persecutors were wont to sing in their Hyans,

*Ceduntur gladius more hientium;
Non murmur resonat, nec querencia :
Sed corde tacito mens bene conficta
Conservat patientiam, &c.*

Briefly, so great was their patience, or rather so great was Gods Spirit in them, that some of them in the flaming fire moved no more than the Stake whereunto they were tied. In fine, in them most aptly agreed the special tokens which most certainly follow the true Children of God, that is, outward Perfection, and inward comfort in the Holy Ghost. In the world (saith Christ our Saviour) ye shall have Affliction; but in me ye shall have Peace, &c.

And likewise the words of *S. Paul* be plain; *Whoever (saith he) studieth to live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution.*

But then what followeth with this Perfection? the said Apostle again thus declareth, saying, *As the Passions of Christ abound in us, so aboundeth also our Consolation by Christ, &c.* according as by these examples of these godly Martyrs right perfectly we may perceive. For as their Bodies outwardly lacked no Persecutions by the hands of the wicked; so amongst so many hundreds of them that stood and died in this Religion, what one man hath been brought forth, which either have been found to have killed himself, or to have died otherwise than the true Servant of God, in quiet peace, and much comfort of Conscience?

Which being so, what greater proof can we have to justify their Cause and Doctrine against the persecuting Church of *Rome*, then to behold the ends of them both? First, of the Protestants, how quietly they took their death, and cheerfully rested in the Lord, and contrariwise to mark these Persecutors, what a wretched end commonly they do all come unto.

Experience whereof we have sufficient in the examples above declared, and also of late in *Bauer*, who albeit he died in his Bed unrepentant, yet was it provided by God, that as he had been a Persecutor of the Light, and a Child of Darkness, so his Carcase was tumbled into the Earth in obscure darkness, at midnight, contrary to the order of all other Christians; and as he had been a Murderer, so was he laid amongst Thieves and Murderers, a place by Gods judgment rightly appointed for him.

And albeit some peradventure, that have been notable Persecutors in times past, do yet remain alive, who, being in the same Cause as the other were, have not yet felt the weight of Gods mighty hand, yet let not them think, that because the judgment of God hath lighted sooner upon other, therefore it will never lighten upon them; or because God of his mercy hath granted them space to repent, let not them therefore of Gods lenity build to themselves an opinion of indemnity. The blood of *Abel* cried long, yet wrought at length. The souls of the Saints slain under the Altar, were not revenged at the first. *Spec. 6.* but read forth the Chapter, and see what followed in the end. Blood, especially of Christs Servants, is a perilous matter, and crieth sore in the ears of God, and will not be filled with the Laws of men.

Wherefore let such Blood-guilty Homicides beware, if not by counsel, at least by the examples of their Fellows. And though Princes and Magistrates, under whose permission they are suffered, do spare their lives, let them not think therefore (as some of them shame not to say) that man hath no power to hurt them, and so think to escape unpunished, because they be not punished by man, but rather let them fear so much the more. For oftentimes such as have been Persecutors and Tormentors to Gods Children, God thinketh them not worthy to suffer by man, but either reserveth them to his own judgment, or else maketh them to be their own Persecutors, and their own hands most commonly Hangmen to their own Bodies.

So *Saul*, after he had persecuted *David*, it was unneedful for *David* to pursue him again: for he was revenged of him, more than he desired. It was needless to cause *Achishophel* to be hanged; for he himself was the sinner or stranger of his own life.

Neither for the Apostles to pursue *Judas* that betrayed their Master; for he himself was his own Hangman, himself,

Z z z

Two special
notes of the
true Church
of Christ.
Outward
Affliction.
Peace of
Conscience.2 Tim. 3.
1 Cor. 1.The wretched
end of
Papists g-
Papist g-
ven refu-
sion to
gainst their
own Do-
ctrine.The end
and death
of *Edmund
Bauer*.Admonished
to Persecu-
tors which
yet remain
alive.If God maketh
the Persecu-
tors of his
people com-
monly to be
their own
Persecutors.And un-
derstand
himself.
Achishophel
murderer of
himself.Judas mar-
derer of
himself.

and no man else, that his Body burst, and his Guts brast out.

Senacherib, had he not for his Persecutors his own Sons, and it cost *Eszechias* nothing to be revenged of him for his Tyranny?

Antiochus and *Herod*, although the Children of God, whom they so cruelly persecuted, laid no hand upon them, yet they escaped not unpunished of Gods hand, who sent Lice and Worms to be their Tormentors, which consumed and eat them up.

Pilate, after he had crucified Christ our Saviour, within few years after was he not driven to hang himself?

Nero, after his cruel Murders and Persecutions stirred up against the Christians, when he should have been taken by the Romans, God thought him not so worthy to be punished by the hands of them, but so disposed the matter, that *Nero* himself, when he could find no Friend nor Enemy to kill him, made his own hands to be his own Cut-throat.

Dioclesianus, with *Maximinian* his Fellow Emperor, which were the Authors of the Tenth and last Persecution against the Christians, being in the midst of their furious tyranny against the Name of Christ, needed no mans help to bridle them and pluck them back: for God of his secret Judgment put such a Snaffle in the Mouths of these Tyrants, that they themselves of their own accord deposed and dispossessed themselves of their Imperial Function, and lived as private persons all their lives after: And notwithstanding that *Maximinian*, after that, sought to resume his Imperial State again, yet by *Maxentius* his Son he was resisted, and shortly after slain.

What thought I here speak of the cruel Emperor *Maximian*? who when he had set forth his Proclamation engraven in Brass, for the utter abolishing of Christ and his Religion, was not punished by man, but had Lice and Vermin gushing out of his Intrails, to be his Tormentors, with such a rotten stench laid upon his Body, that no Physicians could abide to come near, and was caused to be slain for the same.

Maxentius the Son of *Maximinian*, and *Pharaoh* the King of Egypt, as they were both like Enemies against God and his People, to drink they both of one Cup, not perishing by any mans hand, but both in like manner, after, were drowned with their Harneſs in the Water.

Furthermore and briefly in this matter to conclude, if the Kings among the Jews, which were bloody and wicked, were not spared, as *Achaz*, *Achab*, *Jezabel*, *Manasse*, *Jechon*, *Zedechias*, with many other, but had at length, although it were long, the hire of their iniquity: let not these bloody Catholics then think, which have been Persecutors of Christs Saints, that they being in the same cause as the other above recited were, shall escape the same Judgment, which the longer it is deferred, the sorer many times it striketh, unless by due repentance it be prevented in time; which I pray God it may.

Innumerable Examples more to the same effect and purpose might be inferred, whereof plentiful store we have in all places, and in all Ages of men to be collected. But these hitherto for this present may suffice, which I thought here to notice unto these our bloody Children of the murdering Mother Church of Rome, of whom it may well be said, *Manus vestra plene sunt sanguine*, &c. Your hands be full of Blood, &c. *Ezay*, Chap. 1. to the intent that they, by the examples of their other Fellows before mentioned, may be admonished to follow the Prophets counsel, which followeth and biddeth, *Lavamina, mundi estote*, &c. Be you washed, and make yourselves clean, &c. *Ezay* 1. and not to presume too far upon their own Security, nor think themselves the further off from Gods hand, because mans hand forbearth them.

I know and grant, that man hath no further power upon any, than God from above doth give. And what the Laws of this Realm could make against them, as against open Murderers, I will not here discuss, nor open that I could say, because they shall not say that we desire their blood to be spilled, but rather to be spared, but yet this I say, and wish them well to understand, that the sparing of their Lives, which have been murderers of so many, is not for want of power in Magistrates nor

lack of any just Law against them, whereby they might justly have been condemned, if it had so pleased the Magistrates to proceed (as they might) against them; but because Almighty God peradventure in his secret purpose, having something to do with these Persecutors, hath spared them hitherto, nor that they should escape unpunished, but that peradventure he will take his own cause into his own hand, either by death to take them away (as he did by *Rams*, and by all Promoters in a manner of Queen *Maries* time) or else to make them to persecute themselves with their own hands, or will stir up their Conscience to be their own confusion, in such sort as the Church shall have no need to lay hands upon them.

Wherefore with this short Admonition to close up the matter, as I have exhibited in these Histories the terrible ends of so many Persecutors plagued by Gods hand: so would I wish all such whom Gods lenity suffereth yet to live, this wisely to ponder with themselves, that as their cruel Persecution hurteth not the Saints of God, whom they have put to death, so the patience of Christs Church, suffering them to live, doth not profit them, but rather hegeth the greater Judgment of God upon them in the day of wrath, unless they repent in time; which I pray God they may.

And now to re-entertain again to the time and story of Q. Elizabeth where we left before.

In whose advancement and this her Princely governance, it cannot sufficiently be expressed, what felicity and blessed happiness this Realm hath received in receiving her at the Lords almighty and gracious hand. For as there have been divers Kings and Rulers over this Realm, and I have read of some, yet I could never find in English Chronicle the like that may be written of this our noble and worthy Queen: whose coming in was not only so calm, so joyful, and so peaceable, without shedding any blood, but also her Reign hitherto (reigning now 24. years and more) hath been so quiet, that yet (the Lord have all the glory) to this present day, her Sword is a Virgin, spotted and polluted with no drop of blood. In speaking whereof, I take not upon me the part here of the Moral or of the Divine Philosopher, to judge of things done, but only keep me within the compals of an Historiographer, declaring what hath been before, and comparing things done with things now present, the like whereof, as I said, is not to be found lightly in Chronicles before. And this as I speak truly, so I would to be taken without flattery, to be left to our Posterity, *ad sempiternam clementie illius memoriam*. In commendation of which her Clemency, might also here add how mildly her Grace, after she was advanced to her Kingdom, did forgive the foresaid Sir Henry *Bensfield* without molestation, suffering him to enjoy Goods, Life, Lands and Liberty. But I let this pass.

Thus halt thou, gentle Reader, simply, but truly described unto thee the time, first of the sorrowful adversity of this our most Sovereign Queen that now is also the miraculous protection of God, so graciously preserving her in so many straits and distresses, which I thought here briefly to notice, the rather for that the wondrous works of the Lord ought not to be suppressed, and that also her Majesty, and we likewise her poor Subjects, having thereby a present matter always before our eyes, be admonished both how much we are bound to his Divine Majesty, and also to render thanks to him condignly for the same.

Now remaineth likewise in prosecuting the order of this, as of other Histories before, to notice and discourse of things memorable especially in the Church, such as happened in the time of this her Majesties quiet and joyful Government. And first here I let pass by the way the death of Cardinal *Poole*, which was the next day after the death of Queen *Mary*, the death also of *Christopher* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Hopton* Bishop of *Norwich*, omitting also to speak of Doctor *Weston*, who being as is before declared, first fell in displeasure with the Cardinal and other Bishops, because he was unwilling to part from his Deanery and House of *Westminster* unto the Monks, whom indeed he favoured not, although in other things a maintainer of the Church of Rome. Then being removed from thence, he was made

Anno 1558.

The nature of the Church is not to persecute with blood.

In that the Persecutors of the Church be suffered of the Church to live, it is to their confusion.

Sir H. Bensfield with- out molestation, suffering him to enjoy Goods, Life, Lands and Liberty.

November 11.

Dr. Weston.

Dean

Anno
1558.

Dean of *Windſor*, where he, being apprehended in Ad-
vowtry, was by the ſame Cardinal put from all his Spi-
ritual Livings. Wherefore he appealed to *Rome*, and
flying out of the Realm, was taken by the way, and clapt
in the *Tower of London*, where he remained until this time
that Queen *Elizabeth* was proclaimed. At which time
being delivered, he fell ſick and died.

Alſo I let paſs the Coronation of this our moſt noble
and Chriſtian Princeſs, and the order of the ſame, which
was the fifteenth day of *January*, Anno 1559. To paſs
over alſo the triumphant Paſſage and honourable Enter-
tainment of the ſaid our moſt dread Sovereign, thorow
the City of *London*, with ſuch Celebrity, Prayers, Wiſh-
es, Welcomings, Cries, tender Words, Pageants, En-
terludes, Declamations and Verſes ſet up; as the like
hath not commonly been ſeen, arguing and declaring a
wonderful earneſt affection of loving hearts toward their
Sovereign. Item, To premit in ſilence the Letters
gratulatory, ſent to her Maſteſty from divers and ſundry
foreign places, as from *Zurich, Geneva, Baſil, Berne, Wi-
ttemberge, Argentine, Frankford, &c.* Theſe, I ſay,
with many other things to let paſs, we will now (God
willing) begin with the Diſſection or Conference be-
tween the Popiſh Biſhops, and the learned men exiled in
Germany, had at *Weſtmiſter*; after that firſt we have
inferſed a certain Oration of a worthy Gentleman, called
Mr. *John Hales*, ſent and delivered to the ſaid Queen
Elizabeth in the beginning of her Reign, the Copy
whereof is this.

An Oration of John Hales to the Queens Maſteſty, and
delivered to her Maſteſty by a certain Noble man, at
her firſt Entrance to her Reign.

To the Noble Queen Elizabeth.

Great bene-
fits and
treasures do
nothing
profit, where
the uſe of
them cannot
be enjoyed.

Albeit there be innumerable gifts and benefits of
Almighty God, whereof every one would won-
derfully comfort any perſon, on whom it ſhould pleaſe
his goodneſs to beſtow it: yet is none of them either ſe-
parate by it ſelf, or joynd with any other, or yet all
mingled together, to be companied to this one; that it hath
pleaſed God of his mercy to deliver this Realm, our Coun-
try, from the tyranny of malicious *Mary*, and to commit
it to the government of vertuous *Elizabeth*. For if a man
had all the *Treſure of Solomon*, and might not be ſuf-
fered to have the uſe thereof, in what better caſe were
he than miſerable *Tantalus*, over whoſe head the Ap-
ples continually hang, yet being hunger-starved, he
could never touch them? If a man had as ſtrong a Bod-
y as had *Samſon*, and beſides, were as whole as a fiſh,
as the Proverb is, yet if he were kept in Bands, what
ſhould it avail him? Yea, rather if it be well conſidered,
it is a hurt to him, if continuance of torment and pains
may be a hurt.

If a man had as many Children as had *Gideon* the
Judge, and might not be ſo ſuffered to bring them up
in the fear of God, and good knowledge and manners,
had he not been more happy to be without them, than
to have them? If a man had as much knowledge of
God as had *S. Paul*, and durſt not profeſs it openly
with mouth, as he is commanded, but for fear of death
ſhould declare the contrary in deed, ſlander the word of
God, and deny Chriſt, which is forbidden, ſhould it not
rather be a furtherance to his damnation than other-
wiſe?

And to be ſhort, if any one man had all theſe gifts to-
gether, or generally all the gifts of Fortune, the Body,
the Mind, and of Grace, yet if he might not have the uſe
of them, what ſhould they profit him? Verily nothing
at all. For felicity is not in having, but in uſing; not
in poſſeſſing, but in occupying, not in knowledge, but in
doing.

Felicity, not
in having, but
in uſing.

But alas, our natural Mother *England*, which hath been
counted to be the faireſt, the richeſt, and of late alſo the
moſt godly Nation of the Earth, hath been theſe whole
five years moſt violently by Tyrants forced to lack the
uſe of all theſe gifts and benefits wherewith God and Na-
ture had endued her. Her natural and loving Children
could not be ſuffered to enjoy their right inheritance,
whereby they might relieve and ſuccour her or themſelves;

but whatſoever they had, was either by open force, or by
crafty dealing pulled from them. And ſurely this had been
tolerable; if hone other miſchief had been therewith in-
tended.

He is a gentle Thief (if Thieves may be counted gen-
tle) that only robbeth a man of his Goods, and refraineth
violent hands from his perſon. For ſuch loſs with labour
and diligence may be recovered. He may be called a mer-
ciful murderher, that only killeth the aged Parents, and
uſeth no force on the Children.

For Nature hath made all men mortal, and that in like
ſpace; and to kill the Parents; as it were but a preven-
tion of a ſhort time, if it were to the uttermoſt enjoyed.
But theſe Tyrants were more ungentle than common
Thieves, more empty of mercy than common murderers.
For they were not only not contented to have the Goods
of the People, but they would have it delivered to them
by the owners own hands, that it might be ſaid to be
the world they gave it with their heart; and were not there-
with pleaſed, but they would have their lives; that they
ſhould not betray them; and yet herewith they were
not ſatisfied, but they meant to root out the whole Pro-
geny and Nation of Engliſhmen, that none ſhould be left
to revenge and cry out on their extremities, and to bring
our Country into the Spaniards Dominion.

Wicked
practices of
moſt cruel
Tyrants.

It is an horrible cruelty for one brother to kill another;
much more horrible for the Children to lay violent and
murdering hands on their Parents, but moſt horrible of
all to murder the Children in the fight of their Parents;
or the Parents in the fight of their Children, as theſe moſt
cruel Tormentors have done.

But what do I ſtand in theſe things which have ſome
defence, becauſe the Turks per chance uſe ſo to do, and
Ethiicks kill one another, to make Sacrifice of men to
their phantaſtical Gods?

It was not enough for theſe unnatural Engliſh Tor-
mentors, Tyrants, and falſe Chriſtians, to be the Lords of
the Goods, Poſſeſſions, and Bodies of their Brethren and
Country-men: but being very Antichriſts, and Enemies
of Chriſts Croſs, they would be Gods, and reign in the
Conſciences and Souls of men. Every man, woman, and
child muſt deny Chriſt in word openly, abhor Chriſt in
their deeds, ſlander his Goſpel with word and deed, wor-
ſhip and honour falſe Gods as they would have them,
and themſelves did, and ſo give Body and Soul to the De-
vil their Maſter, or ſecretly flee, or after inward Torments
be burned openly. O cruelty, cruelty! far exceeding all
cruelties committed by thoſe ancient and famous Tyrants
and cruel Murderers, *Pharaoh, Herod, Caligula, Nero, Do-
mitian, Maximine, Diocleſian, Decius*, whoſe names for
their cruel perſecution of the People of God, and their
own tyranny practiſed on the People, have been,
be, and ever ſhall be in perpetual hatred, and their
Souls in continual torment in Hell. If any man would
take upon him to ſet forth particularly all the acts that
have been done theſe full five years, by this unnatural
woman; (No, no woman, but a Monſter, and the Devil
of Hell covered with the ſhape of a woman) as it is moſt
neceſſary for the glory of God, and the profit of his
Church, and this Realm, it ſhould be done: he ſhall find
it a matter ſufficient for a perfect great Hiſtory, and not
to be contained in an Oration, to be uttered at one time
by the voice of man. But to comprehend the ſum of all
their wickedneſs in few words; Behold, whatſoever ma-
lice in miſchief, covetouſneſs in ſpoil, cruelty in puniſh-
ing, tyranny in deſtruction could do, that all this poor
Engliſh Nation this full five years ſuffered already, or
ſhould have ſuffered, had not the great mercy of God
prevented it.

Cruelty of
five days
far exceed-
ing all cru-
elties com-
mitted by
the ancient
and famous
Tyrants ſix
times paſt.

And albeit there have been many that have hazarded
and loſt their lives to ſhake off this moſt rough brake
(wherewith this Viragin, rather than Virgin, as the would
be called and taken, boaſted herſelf to be ſent of God, to
ride and tame the People of *England*) albeit there have
been many that have gone about to looſe their brethern
out of the yoke of this moſt miſerable Captivity, and albe-
it ſome have proved to break the bands of this moſt cruel
Tyranny, yet could they never bring to paſs that which
they ſo earneſtly laboured, and ſo manfully attempted.

And it is nothing to be wondered, let the Popiſts boaſt
thereof what it pleaſeth them. For Almighty God,

Z z z z

being

being a most indifferent governor, punishing evil, and rewarding good, could not of his justice suffer his scourge to soon be taken from this our Land, if he meant the Salvation of the people, as most manifestly it appears he did. For having once given to this Realm the greatest Jewel that might be, that is, the free use of his lively Word (which if they had embraced and followed, it would have reformed all disorders and sins for which his wrath was kindled and provoked) the people nothing regarded it, but either utterly contemned it, or abused it, and many made it a Cloak and colour to cover their mischief. So that if he should suddenly have withdrawn this plague, as Tyrants and evil Governors be the plague of God, they would neither have passed on his justice, nor yet should they have felt the sweetness of his mercy. For commonly the people regard but things present, and neither remember things past, nor yet pass on things to come, unless they be warned by exceeding extremities.

Tyrants and evil governors be the plague of God.

God worketh all things to his own glory.

Besides this, it is most evident, that he had determined to make this noble conquest alone with his own hand and mighty power, and would not that it should be done by Man, lest Man should impute any part of the glory of this victory to his own strength, or to his own policy, or that Fortune should seem to bear any stroke in so glorious a conquest, and so be partaker, in Mens opinions, of the triumph so worthy.

Neither did his almighty power work this when Man would have it dispatched, that is, as soon as the enemy began to gather their force; for it is not so great a victory to discomfit a few dispersed people, as it is to destroy a perfectly united army; but he suffered them to make their force as great as was possible, to work whatsoever mischief by smite, banishment, prisonment hangings, heading, burning, or otherwise could be imagined.

Neither would his most provident wisdom do it out of season: but as the good husbandman doth not crop his Tree, till he hath rendered his fruit: so would he not root out these pestilent Tyrants, till the most profit might be taken thereof.

Amblition tryeth Men whether they be good or evil.

When he had given sufficient leisure to all kind of Men to declare themselves who were Crocodiles, sometime lying in Water, sometime on Land, that is, both Gophers and Papists; who were Sponges, suspected whether they had life or not life, whether they were Christians or Epicures; who were Cameleons, that could turn themselves into all colours, with Protestants, Protestants; with Papists, Papists; with Spaniards, Spaniards, with Englishmen, Englishmen; who were *Gnats*, that could apply themselves to every Mans appetite that was in Authority; who were *Marigolds*, that followed *Maries* mad affections; who were weather-cocks, that did turn with every wind; who were *Mastives*, that could bite and bark not; who were curs, ever barking; who were Foxes, that would promise much, and perform nothing; who could bind themselves with many Oaths, and do clean contrary; who were *Cains*, that sought the innocent *Abels* deaths; who were the Wolves, that worried the Lambs; and finally, when he had suffered the spiritual travelers to spue out their venom, and every Man plainly to declare outwardly what he was inwardly; then doth he work this most victorious conquest. And with his works he seemeth plainly to say thus unto us: Ye see (my people) what I have done for you, not for your sakes, which nothing regarded the benefits that I most plentifully poured on you, and have deserved most grievous punishment for your unthankfulness: but of mine infinite mercy, and for my glories sake, which I will have opened to all the World in these latter days, to the fear of evil doers, and to the comfort of the well doers. Provoke no more my wrath: ye see what will follow it: be hereafter more prudent and wise than ye were before, Ye may, if ye will, be more circumspect in time to come, than ye have been in the time past: ye may if ye list put me to less trouble, and keep yourselves in more safety. I have not only discovered mine, yours, and my Land of *Englands* enemies, and all the crafts, subtilities, and policies that have been, or may be used by them, or any like hereafter, but I have also taken away their head and captain, and destroyed a great number of them, that ye should not be troubled with them, and

God of plenty only poureth his benediction upon us, not for our sakes, but of his infinite mercy, and for his glories sake.

some of them have I left, that ye may make them spectacles and examples to the terror and fear of their posterity. Love me, and I will love you: seek my honor and glory, and I will work your commodity and safety: walk in my ways and commandments, and I will be with you for ever. Surely, if we consider the wonderful mercy that it hath pleased God to use towards us, in the delivering of the Realm and us his people, out of the hands of those most cruel Tyrants, as we cannot but do, unless we will declare our selves to be the most unthankful people that ever lived, we must needs judge it not only worthy to be compared, but also far to exceed the deliverance of the Children of Israel out of *Egypt* from the Tyranny of *Pharaoh*, and from the powers of *Holofernes* and *Senacherib*. For it is not read, that either *Pharaoh* or the other two sought any other thing, than to be the Lords of the Goods and Bodies of the Israelites, they forced them not to commit Adultery, and to serve false Gods, as these English Tyrants did.

But besides, if we will note the wonderful Works of God in handling this matter, we shall well perceive, that far much more is wrought to his glory, and to the profit of his Church and people, than perchance all Men at the first do see. For he hath not only dispatched the Realm of the chief personages and head of these Tyrants, but also as it were declarer, that he minded not that either they or their doings should continue. For albeit that all acts, done by Tyrants tyrannously, be by all Laws, Reason and Equity, of no force, yet because no Disputation should follow on this, what is tyrannously done, and what is not tyrannously done, he hath provided that this question needeth not to come in question. For he utterly blinded their eyes, and suffered them to build on false grounds which can no longer stand, than they be propped up with rope, sword, and figor. For her first Parliament whereon they grounded and wrought a great part of their tyranny, and wherein they meant to overthrow whatsoever King *Edward* had for the advancement of Gods Glory brought to pass, was of no force or Authority. For the perceiving that her Enemies Stomack could not be emptied, nor her malice speed on the people by any good order, she committed a great disorder. She by force and violence took from the Commons their liberty, that, according to the Ancient Laws and Customs of the Realm, they could not have their free election of Knights and Burgesses for the Parliament. For the well knew, that if either Christian Men, or true Englishmen, should be elected, it was not possible that to succeed which she intended. And therefore in many places divers were chosen by force of her threats, meet to serve her malicious affections. Wherefore that Parliament was no Parliament, but may be justly called a conspiracy of Tyrants and Traitors. For the greater part, by whose Authority and voices things proceeded in that Court, by their Acts most manifestly declared themselves for the rest being both Christians and true English Men, although they had good wills, yet were not able to resist or prevail against the multitude of voices and suffrages of so many evil, false to God, and enemies to their Country. Also divers Burgesses being orderly chosen, and lawfully returned, as in some places the people did what they could to resist her purposes, were disorderly and unlawfully put out, and others without any order of Law in their places placed. Doctor *Taylor* Bishop of *Lincoln* a Christian Bishop and a true Englishman, being lawfully and orderly called to the Parliament, and placed in the Lords House in his degree, was in his Robes by violence thrust out of the House. *Alexander Nowell* with two other, All three being Burgesses for divers shires, and Christian Men and true Englishmen, and lawfully chosen, returned, and admitted, were by force put out of the House of the Commons: for the which cause the said Parliament is also void, as by a President of the Parliament holden at *Covenry* in the 38. year of King *Henry* the sixth, it most manifestly appeareth. And the third Parliament called in the name of her Husband, and of her evil Grace, wherein they would have undone that her dear and Noble Father and the Realm had brought to pass for the restitution of the liberty of the Realm, and for extinguishment of the usurped Authority of the Bishop of

Anno 1558.

Wonderful is Gods mercy in delivering this Realm from the tyranny of the Papists.

The Papists buildings stand so long, only as they be propped up with rope, sword and figor.

Burgesses used lawfully, disorderly, and violently thrust out of the Parliament House in Q. Marys days.

The third Parliament called in Q. Marys name, wherein they would have undone that her dear and Noble Father and the Realm had brought to pass for the restitution of the liberty of the Realm, and for extinguishment of the usurped Authority of the Bishop of Rome.

Anno 1558. *Rome*, is also void, and of none authority. For that the title and stile of Supream Head of the Church of *England*, which by a Statute made in the 35th year of the Reign of the said King *Henry*, was ordained, that it should be united and annexed for ever to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, was omitted in the Writs of summoning. Wherefore as a woman can bring forth no child without a man, so cannot those Writs bring forth good and sure fruit, because this part of the Title, which was ordained by the Parliament for the form to be always used in the Kings stile, was left out. For greater error is in lack of form, than in lack of matter. And where the foundation is naught, there can nothing builded thereon be good. There is no Law spiritual nor temporal (as they term them) nor any good Reason, but allow these Rules for infallible Principles. And if any man will say, that it was not in the free choice, liberty, and pleasure of the King of this Realm, and the Queen, whether they would express the said Title in their stile, or not, as that subtle Serpent *Gardiner*, being Chancellor of the Realm, and traitorously sending out the Writs of Parliament without the same stile, perceiving he had over-shot himself in calling the Parliament, and having committed many horrible murders and most mischievous acts, would have excused it, as appeareth by a piece of a Statute made in the same Parliament, in the eighth Chapter and two and twentieth Leaf, it may be justly and truly answered, that they could not so do. For although every person may by Law renounce his own private right, yet may he not renounce his right in that which toucheth the Commonwealth, or a third person.

And this Title and stile more touched the Commonwealth and Realm of *England*, than the King. For, as I said before, it was ordained for the conservation of the Liberty of the whole Realm, and to exclude the usurped Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*. And therefore no King nor Queen alone could renounce such Title: but it ought (if they would have it taken away) to be taken away orderly and formally by Act of Parliament, sufficiently called and summoned. For the natural and right way to loose and undo things, is to dissolve them by that means they were ordained. And so it most manifestly appeareth, that all their doings, from the beginning to the end, were and be of none effect, force, or authority: but all that they have done, hath been meer Tyranny. O most marvellous Providence of Almighty God, that always, and in all things, doth that is best for the wealth of his People! O most mighty Power, that so suddenly overthroweth the counsels of the wicked, and bringeth their devices to nought! O infinite mercy, that so gently dealeth with his People, that he saveth them whom he might most justly destroy! O most joyful, most merry, and never to be forgotten *Hope-wednesday*, in which it hath pleased thee, O God, to deliver thy Church, this Realm, and thy People from so horrible Tyranny! No Tongue can express, no Pen can indite, no Eloquence can worthily set out, much less exornate these thy marvellous doings. No, no heart is able to render unto thy goodness sufficient thanks for the benefits we have received. Who could ever have hoped this most joyful time? Yea, who did not look rather for thy most sharp visitation, and utter destruction of this Realm, as of *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, and *Jerusalem*.

But we see and feel, good Lord, that thy mercy is greater than all mens sins, and far above all thy works. And albeit there is no Christian and natural Englishman, Woman, or Child, either present, or that shall succeed us, which is not or shall not be partaker of this most exceeding mercy and wonderful benefit of Almighty God, and therefore is bound continually to praise and thank him: yet there is not one Creature that is more bound to do, than you noble Queen *Elizabeth*. For in this horrible Tyranny, and most cruel Persecution, your Grace hath been more hunted for, than any other. Divers times they have taken you, sometime they have had you in strong hold, secluded from all liberty; sometime at liberty, but not without most cruel Gaoler's custody; and many times they determined, that without Justice ye should be murdered privily. They thought, if your Grace had been suppressed, they should have fully prevailed: If ye had been destroyed, their doings

for ever should be established: If ye had been taken out of the way, there were none left that would or could undo that they had ordained. But he that sitteth on high, and laugheth at their madness, would not suffer that the malicious purposes and most cruel devised injustice should have success. He took upon him the protection of you. He only hath been our *Jesse*; that preserved you from this wicked *Ahab*. He only was the *Joadah* that destroyed this cruel *Ahab*. He only hath made you Queen of this Realm, instead of this mischievous *Marana*. No earthly Creature can claim any piece of thanks therefore, no mans force, no mans counsel, no mans aid, hath been the cause thereof. Wherefore the greater his benefits have been toward you, the more are you bound to seek his glory, and to set forth his honour. Ye see his Power, what he is able to do; he alone can save, and he can destroy, he can pull down, and he can set up. If ye fear him, and seek to do his will, then will he favour you, and preserve you to the end from all Enemies, as he did King *David*. If ye now fall from him, or juggle with him, look for no more favour than *Saul* had shewed to him. But I have a good hope that both his Justice and Benefits be so printed in your heart, that ye will never forget them, but seek by all means to have the one, and to fear to fall into the other. I trust also your wisdom will not only consider the causes of this late most sharp Visitation, but also to your uttermost power endeavor to out-root them.

And so far as besides this infinite mercy poured on your Grace, it hath pleased his Divine Providence to constitute your Highness to be our *Deborah*, to be the Governess and Head of the Body of this Realm, to have the charge and cure thereof; it is requisite above all things, as well for his glory and honour, as for your discharge, quietness and safety, to labour that the same Body now at the first be cleansed, made whole, and then kept in good order. For as if the Body of man be corrupted and diseased, he is not able to manage his things at home, much less to do any thing abroad: so if the Body of a Realm be corrupt and out of order, it shall neither be able to do any thing abroad, if necessity should require, nor yet prosper in it self. But this may not be done with piecing and patching, cobbling and botching, as was used in time past, whilst your most noble Father and Brother reigned. For as if a man cut off one Head of the Serpent *Hydra*, and destroy not the whole Body, many will grow instead of that one; and as in a corrupt Body that hath many diseases, if the Physician should labour to heal one part, and not the whole, it will in short time break out afresh: so unless the Body of a Realm or Commonwealth be clean purged from corruption, all the particular Laws and Statutes that can be devised shall not profit it.

We need no foreign Examples to prove it: look upon this Realm it self, it will plainly declare it. And as it is not enough to cleanse the Body from his corruption, but there must be also Preservatives ministered to keep it from putrefaction; for naturally of it self it is disposed to putrefie: so after the Body of a Realm is purged, unless there be godly Ordinances for the preservation thereof ordained and duly ministered, it will return to the old state. For this Body, which is the People, is universally naturally disposed to evil, and without compulsion will hardly do that is his duty.

Thus must your Grace do if ye mind the advancement of Gods glory, your own quietness and safety, and the wealth of this your Politick Body. And they be not hard to bring to pass, where goodwill will vouchsafe to take to her a little pain. The Realm will soon be purged, if vice and self-love be utterly condemned. It will be in good state preserved, if these three things, Gods Word truly taught and preached, Youth well brought up in godly and honest Exercises, and Justice rightly ministered, may be perfectly continued. And without this foundation, let men imagine what it pleaseth them, the Spiritual House of God shall never be well framed or builded, nor the publick state of your Realm well ordered. For in what Body Gods Word lacketh, the unity and charity that ought to be among the Members thereof, and which kniteth them together, is soon extinguished. Where the youth is neglected, there can no good success be hoped, no more than the Husbandman can look for a good

God pre-
serveth the in-
nocent, and
maketh fru-
strate the
malicious
purposes of
the wicked.

An apt
mildew,

Three
things
which pre-
serve the
good estate
of a Realm
or Common-
wealth.

Crop where he sowed no good Seed. And where Justice is not truly and rightly ministered, there the more Laws and Statutes be heaped together, the more they be condemned. And surely if this thing could not without exceeding charges be compassed, as God forbid that charges should be weighed, be they never so great, where Gods glory and the wealth of the Realm may be furthered; yet ought it not to be neglected.

Charges not
to be
weighed,
where Gods
glory is to
be maintained

What charges did King David the Father, and King Solomon his Son, imploy to build the stony House of God? How much more charges should a Christian Prince imploy to build and set up the lively House of God? But verily, I am fully perswaded that it shall not be chargeable to do this. No great deal of superfluous charges, which otherwise your Grace shall be forced to sustain, shall thus be clean cut away, and so your Revenues by a mean most profitable, and to no good person hurtful, increased.

Wherefore for Gods sake, noble Queen, let not the opportunity, now by God offered, be by your Grace omitted. A Physician can in nothing so much declare his good will and cunning, nor purchase himself so great estimation, as when he findeth his Patient thoroughly sick and weakened, and doth restore him to his perfect health and perfection. Likewise if a Prince should desire of God a thing whereby he might declare the zeal that he beareth to God, or whereby he might win fame and glory, he could desire nothing so much, as to come into a state corrupted, as this Realm of England, at this present is, not to destroy it, as did Caesar, but to make it, as did Romulus.

If your Grace can bring this to pass, as I am out of all doubt ye may quickly; ye shall do more than any of your Progenitors did before you. All men shall confess that you are not only for Proximity of Blood preferred, but rather of God specially sent and ordained. And as the Queen of Saba came from far off to see the glory of King Solomon, a woman to a man, even so shall the Princes of our time come, men to a woman, and Kings marvel at the vertue of Queen Elizabeth. Thus shall we your Subjects be most bound to praise God, and to think our selves most happy, that coming so suddenly from the world, be forthwith preferred to the best, rid from extreamest Calamity, and brought to the greatest Felicity; and it shall be besides an example for all evil Princes, to leave their Persecution of Christ and his Members, to cease from their Tyranny, wherewith they continually oppress their poor Subjects. And so all People, not only we of this your Realm, but of all other Nations, shall have just cause to pray for your Graces health, and increase of honour.

This Oration of Mr. Hales being premised, now let us prosecute, the Lord willing, that which we promised, concerning the Disputation or Conference had at Westminster. The Copy whereof here followeth.

The Conference or Disceptation had and begun at Westminster the last of Mich, upon certain Questions or Articles of Religion proposed, and also of the breaking up of the same, by the Papists default, at the first beginning of Queen Elizabeth.

SO it pleased the Queens most excellent Majesty, having heard of the diversity of Opinions in certain matters of Religion amongst sundry of her loving Subjects, and being very desirous to have the same reduced to some godly and christian Concord (by the advice of the Lords and others of the Privy Council, as well for the satisfaction of persons doubtful, as also for the knowledge of the Truth in certain matters of difference) to have a convenient number of the best Learned of either part, and to offer together their Opinions and Reasons, and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement. And hereupon by her Majesties commandment, certain of her Privy Council declared this purpose to the Archbishop of York (being also one of the same Privy Council) and required him that he would impart the same to some of the Bishops, and to make choice of eight, nine, or ten of them, and that there should be the like number named of the other part. And further also they declared to him (as then was supposed) what the matter should be. And as for the time, it was thought

meet to be as soon as possible might be agreed upon. And then after certain days past, it was signified by the said Archbishop, that there were appointed, by such of the Bishops to whom he had imparted this matter, nine persons, that is to say, five Bishops and four Doctors. The Names of whom here follow under written.

Anno
1558.

The Papists.

The Bishop of Winchester.
The Bishop of Lichfield.
The Bishop of Chester.
The Bishop of Carlisle.
The Bishop of Lincoln.
Dr. Cole.
Dr. Harpsfield.
Dr. Langdale.
Dr. Chedsey.

The Protestants.

Dr. Story Bishop of Chichester.
Dr. Cox.
Mr. Whitehead.
Mr. Grindall.
Mr. Horne.
Mr. D. Sands.
Mr. Gess.
Mr. Aelmer.
Mr. Jewell.

Who were content, at the Queens Majesties commandment, to shew their Opinions, and, as the said Archbishop termed it, render account of their Faith in those matters which were mentioned, and that especially in writing, although he said, they thought the same so determined, as there was no cause to dispute upon them. The matter which they should talk upon, was comprehended in these three Propositions, hereunder specified.

1. It is against the Word of God, and the custome of the ancient Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the People, in common Prayer, and the Administration of the Sacraments.
2. Every Church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change Ceremonies and Ecclesiastical Rites, so the same be to edification.
3. It cannot be proved by the Word of God, that there is in the Mass offered up a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the Quick and the Dead.

It was hereupon fully resolved by the Queens Majesty, with the advice aforesaid, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts, for avoiding of much altercation in words; and that the said Bishops would, because they were in authority of degree Superiors, first declare their minds and opinions to the matter, with their reasons in writing. And the other number, being also nine men of good degree in Schools, and some having been in dignity in the Church of England, if they had any thing to say to the contrary, should the same day declare their opinions in like manner, and so each of them should deliver their writings to the other, to be considered what were to be improved therein, and the same to declare again in writing at some other convenient day, and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters. All this was fully agreed upon with the Archbishop of York, and so also signified to both parties.

And immediately hereupon, divers of the Nobility and States of the Realm understanding that such a meeting and conference should be; and that in certain matters, whereupon (the Court of Parliament consequently following) some Laws might be grounded; They made earnest means to her Majesty, that the parties of this Conference might put and read their Assertions in the English Tongue, and that in the presence of them of the Nobility and others of her Parliament House, for the better satisfaction and enabling of their own judgments,

to

Anno 1558. to treat and conclude of such Laws as might depend hereupon.

This also, being thought very reasonable; was signified to both parties, and so fully agreed upon, and the day appointed for the first meeting, to be the *Friday* in the forenoon, being the last of *March*, at *Westminster* Church. At which forefayd day and place, both for good order and for honour of the conference, by the Queens Majesties commandment, the Lords and others of the privy Council were present, and a great part of the Nobility also. And notwithstanding this former order appointed, and consented unto by both parties, yet the Bishop of *Winchester* and his Collegues alledged they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so only recited out of the Book, saying their Book was not then ready written, but they were ready to argue and dispute, and therefore they would for that time repeat in speech, that which they had to say to the first probation.

This variation from the former order, and especially from that which themselves had by the said Archbishop in writing before required, adding thereto the reason of the Apostle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing, but to subversion of the hearer, seemed to the Queens Majesties Council somewhat strange, and yet was it permitted without any great reprehension, because they excused themselves with mistaking the order, and agreed that they would not fail but put it in writing, and, according to the former order, delivered it to the other part; and so the said Bishop of *Winchester* and his Collegues appointed Doctor *Cole* Dean of *Pauls*, to be the utterer of their minds; who partly by speech only, and partly by reading of Authorities written, and at certain times being informed of his Collegues what to say, made a declaration of their meanings and their reasons to their first proposition: which being ended, they were asked by the privy Council if any of them had any more to be said, and they said, No. So as the other part was licensed to shew their minds, which they did according to the first order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded, in a Book written; which, after a Prayer and invocation, made most humbly to almighty God for the ending of them with his holy Spirit, and a protestation also to stand to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church builded upon the Scriptures, and the Doctrine of the Prophets and the Apostles, was distinctly read by one *Robert Horne*, Bachelor in Divinity, late Dean of *Durham*, and after Bishop of *Winchester*. The copy of which their Protestation here followeth according as it was by him penned and exhibited, with their Preface also before the same.

For as much as it is thought good unto the Queens most excellent Majesty (unto whom in the Lord all obedience is due) that we should declare our judgment in writing upon certain propositions; we, as becometh us to do herein, most gladly obey.

Seeing that Christ is our only Master, whom the Father hath commanded us to hear; and seeing also his word is the truth, from the which it is not lawful for us to depart, no not one hairs breadth, and against the which (as the Apostle saith) we can do nothing; we do in all things submit our selves unto this truth, and do protest that we will affirm nothing against the same.

And forasmuch as we have for our Mother the true and Catholick Church of Christ, which is grounded upon the Doctrine of the Apostles and Prophets, and is of Christ the head in all things governed; we do reverence her judgment, we obey her Authority as becometh Children; and we do devoutly profess, and in all points follow the Faith which is contained in the three Creeds, that is to say, of the Apostles, of the Council of *Nice*, and of *Athanasius*.

And seeing that we never departed, neither from the Doctrine of God which is contained in the holy Canonical Scriptures, nor yet from the Faith of the true and Catholick Church of Christ; but have Preached truly the Word of God, and have sincerely ministered the Sacraments according to the institution of Christ; unto the which our Doctrine and Faith the most part also of our adver-

saries did subscribe not many years past (although now as unnatural they are revolted from the same) we desire that they render account of their backsliding, and shew some cause wherefore they do not only resist that Doctrine which they have before professed, but also persecute the same by all means they can. We do not doubt; but through the equity of the Queens most excellent Majesty, we shall in these disputations be intreated more gently than in years late past, when we were handled most unjustly and scanty after the common manner of Men. As for the judgment of the whole controversy, we refer unto the most holy Scriptures, and the Catholick Church of Christ (whose judgment unto us ought to be most sacred:) notwithstanding by the Catholick Church we understand not the Romish Church, whereunto our adversaries attribute such reverence, but that which Saint *Augustine* and other Fathers affirm, ought to be fought in the holy Scriptures, and which is governed and led by the Spirit of Christ.

It is against the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the people in common Prayers and administration of the Sacraments.

By these words (the Word of God) we mean only the written Word of God, or Canonical Scriptures.

And by the custom of the Primitive Church, we mean the order most generally used in the Church for the space of 500. years after Christ, in which times lived the most notable Fathers, as *Justine*, *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Basil*, *Chrysostome*, *Hierom*, *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, &c.

This assertion above written hath two parts. First, that the use of the Tongue not understood of the people, in common Prayers of the Church, or in the administration of the Sacraments, is against Gods Word.

The second, that the same is against the use of the Primitive Church.

The first part is most manifestly proved by the fourteenth Chapter of the Epistle to the *Corinthians*, almost throughout the whole Chapter. In the which Chapter *Paul* intreateth of this matter, *ex professo*, purposely. And although some do cavil that *S. Paul* speaketh not in that Chapter of praying, but of Preaching, yet is it most evident to any indifferent reader of understanding, and appeareth also by the exposition of the best Writers, that he plainly there speaketh not only of Preaching and Prophecy, but also of Prayer and Thanksgiving, and generally of all other publick actions, which require any speech in the Church or Congregation. For of Praying he saith, I will pray with my Spirit, and I will pray with my mind, I will sing with my Spirit, and I will sing with my mind. And of thanksgiving (which is a kind of Prayer) thou givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. And how shall he which occupieth the room of the unlearned say, *Amen*, to thy giving of thanks, when he understandeth not what thou sayest? And in the end, descending from particulars to a general proposition, concludeth, that all things ought to be done to edification. Thus much is clear by the very words of *S. Paul*, and the ancient Doctors *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Hierom*, and other, do so understand this Chapter, as it shall appear by their testimonies which shall follow afterward.

¶ Upon this Chapter of *S. Paul* we gather these reasons following.

1. All things done in the Church or Congregation, ought so to be done as they may edifie the same.

But the use of an unknown Tongue, in publick Prayer or administration of Sacraments, doth not edifie the Congregation.

Therefore the use of an unknown Tongue, in publick Prayer or administration of Sacraments, is not to be had in the Church.

The first part of this reason is grounded upon Saint the Major *Pauls* Words, commanding all things to be done to edification.

The second part is also proved by *S. Pauls* plain words. First by this similitude the Trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall be prepared to battel? Even so likewise when ye speak with Tongues, except ye speak words

The first proposition.

Two parts of the proposition.

The first part of the proposition.

The argument or probation.

The minor proved.

words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? for ye shall but speak in the ayre, that is to say, in vain, and consequently without edifying.

And afterward in the same Chapter he saith, how can he that occupieth the place of the unlearned, say Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? for thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.

These be S. Pauls words, plainly proving, that a Tongue not understood, doth not edifie. And therefore both the parts of the reason thus proved by Saint Paul, the conclusion followeth necessarily.

Another Argument of Probation.

2. Secondly, nothing is to be spoken in the Congregation in an unknown Tongue, except it be interpreted to the people, that it may be understood. For saith Paul, If there be no Interpreter to him that speaketh in an unknown Tongue, *taceat in Ecclesia*, let him hold his peace in the Church. And therefore the common Prayers and Administration of Sacraments, neither done in a known Tongue, neither interpreted, are against the commandment of Paul, and not to be used.

Another Argument.

The Minister in Prayer or Administration of Sacraments using Language not understood of the hearers, is to them barbarous, and alien, which of Saint Paul is accounted a great absurdity.

The fourth Argument of Probation.

It is not to be counted a Christian common Prayer, where the people present declare not their assent unto it by saying Amen, wherein is implied all other words of assent.

Ambrosius per hos enim impletur confirmatio precis, qui respondent Amen. The fifth Argument.

But S. Paul affirmeth, that the people cannot declare their assent in saying Amen, except they understand what is said, as afore.

Therefore it is no Christian common Prayer where the people understand not what is said.

Paul would not suffer in his time a strange Tongue to be heard in the common Prayer in the Church, notwithstanding that such a kind of speech was then a miracle, and a singular gift of the holy Ghost, whereby infidels might be persuaded and brought to the faith; much less is it to be suffered now amongst Christian and Faithful Men, especially being no miracle nor especial gift of the holy Ghost.

The sixth Argument.

Some will peradventure answer, that to use any kind of Tongue, in common Prayer or Administration of Sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

Objection dissolved.

But S. Paul is to the contrary. For he commandeth all things to be done to edification, he commandeth to keep silence if there be no interpreter, and in the end of the Chapter he concludeth thus. If any Man be spiritual or a Prophet, let him know that the things which I write, are the commandments of the Lord. And so shortly to conclude, the use of a strange Tongue, in Prayer and administration, is against the Word and Commandment of God.

To these reasons, grounded upon Saint Pauls Words, which are the most firm Foundation of this Assertion, divers other Reasons may be joyned, gathered out of the Scriptures and otherwise.

The 7. Reason.

In the Old Testament all things pertaining to the publick Prayer, Benedictions, Thanksgivings, or Sacrifices, were always in their vulgar and natural Tongue. In the 2. Book of Paralipom. Chap. 29. it is written, that *Ezechias* commanded the Levites to praise God with the Psalms of David, and *Asaph* the Prophet, which doubtless were written in Hebrew their vulgar Tongue. If they did so in the shadows of the Law, much more ought we to do the like, who (as Christ saith) must pray, *in spiritu & veritate*.

The 8. Reason.

The final end of our Prayer (as David saith) is, *ut populi & convenient in unum, & annuncient nomen Domini in Sion, & laudes ejus in Hierusalem*.

But the name and praises of God cannot be set forth to the people, unless it be done in such a Tongue as they may understand, therefore common Prayer must be had in the vulgar Tongue.

The 9. Reason.

The definition of publick Prayer out of the Words of S. Paul. *Orabo spiritu, orabo & mente, Publick orare, est vota communia mente ad Deum offerre, & ea spiritu, hoc est, lingua testari*. Common Prayer is to lift up our common desires to God with our minds, and to testify the same outwardly with our Tongues, which defini-

tion is approved by S. Augustine, *De magistro, cap. 1. Nihil opus est (inquit) loquutione, nisi forte ut sacerdotes faciant, significanda mentis causa ut populus intelligat*.

The ministrations of the Lords Supper and Baptism are as it were Sermons of the Death and Resurrection of Christ.

But Sermons to the people must be had in such Language as the people may perceive, otherwise they should be had in vain.

It is not lawful for a Christian Man to abuse the gifts of God: but he that prayeth in the Church in a strange Tongue, abuseth the gifts of God. For the Tongue serveth only to expresse the mind of the speaker to the hearer. And Augustine saith, *De doctrina Christiana. lib. 4. cap. 10. Loquendi omnino nulla est causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intelligant, loquimur*. There is no cause why we should speak, if they for whose cause we speak, understand not our speaking.

The Heathen and barbarous Nations of all Countries and sorts of Men, were they never so wild, evermore made their Prayers and Sacrifices to their Gods in their own Mother Tongue. Which is a manifest Declaration that it is the very light and voice of nature.

Thus much upon the ground of S. Paul and other reasons out of the Scriptures, joyned therewith the common usage of all Nations, as a Testimony of the Law of nature.

Now for the second part of the Assertion, which is, that the use of a strange Tongue in publick Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, is against the custom of antiquity.

For first of all *Iustinus* Martyr describing the order of the Communion in his time, saith thus, *Die Solu urbanorum ac rusticorum eorum sunt, ubi Apostolorum Prophetarumque littera, quoad fieri potest preleguntur: Deinde cessante lectione, prepositus verba facit adhortatoria, ad imitationem tam honestarum rerum invitans*. Post hæc confurgimus omnes, & preces offerimus, quibus finitius preteritur (ut diximus) panis, vinum & aqua; tum prepositus, quantum potest, preces offert, & gratiarum actiones, plebs vero Amen accinit. That is to say, Upon the Sunday assemblies are made both of the Citizens and Country Men, whereas the writings of the Apostles and of the Prophets are read, as much as may be. Afterwards when the Reader doth cease, the head Minister maketh an exhortation, exhorting them to follow so honest things. After this we rise all together and offer Prayers, which being ended (as we have said) Bread and Water are brought forth. Then the head Minister offereth Prayers and thanksgiving, as much as he can, and the people answereth Amen.

These words of *Iustine*, who lived about 160. years after Christ, considered with their circumstance, declare plainly, that not only the Scriptures were read, but also that the Prayers and Administration of the Lords Supper were done in a Tongue understood.

The Liturgies both of *Basil* and *Chrysostom* declare, that in the celebration of the Communion, the people were appointed to answer to the Prayer of the Minister, sometimes Amen, sometimes, Lord have mercy upon us, sometimes, And with thy Spirit, and, We have our Hearts lifted up unto the Lord, &c. Which answers they could not have made in due time, if the Prayer had not been made in a Tongue understood.

And for further proof, let us hear what *Basil* writeth in this matter to the Clerks of *Neocaesarea*. *Ceterum ad obsequium in Psalmis crimen quo maxime simpliciter terrent calumniatores, &c.* As touching that is laid to our charge in Psalmodes and Songs, wherewith our slanderers do fray the simple, I have thus to say, that our customs and usages in all Churches be uniform, and agreeable.

For in the night the people with us riseth, goeth to the House of Prayer, and in travel, tribulation, and continual tears, they confess themselves to God, and at the last rising

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The 10. Reason.

The 11. Reason or Probation.

The 12. Reason or Probation.

The second part of the first Proposition.

Iustinus Apol. 2. The fifth Argument out of *Iustine* Martyr.

The second Argument out of *Basil*.

Basilian Epist. 69.

Anno
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rising again, go to their Songs or Psalmody, where being divided into two parts, they sing by course together, both devoutly weighing and confirming the matter of the Heavenly sayings, and also stirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means be alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the song, the rest follow, and so with divers Songs and Prayers passing over the night, at the dawning of the day, all together, even as it were with one mouth and one heart, they sing unto the Lord a song of Confession, every Man framing to himself meet words of repentance.

If you will flye us from henceforth for these things, ye must flye also the Egyptians, and both the Libians, ye must eschew the Thebanes, Palestines, Arabians, the Phenicians, the Sirians, and those that dwell besides Euphrates; and to be short, all those with whom watchings, Prayers, and common singing of Psalms are had in honor.

Testimonies of Saint Ambrose, written upon the fourteenth to the Corinthians, the first Epistle.
Super illud, qui enim loquitur linguas.

Ambrosius.
Another argument of S. Ambrosius.

HO est quod dicit, quia qui loquitur incognita lingua, &c. This is it that he saith, because he which speaketh in an unknown Tongue, speaketh to God. For he knoweth all things, but Men know not, and therefore there is no profit of this thing.

Ambrosius.

The same Author after wards, Super illud, si benedixeris Spiritu.

Hoc est, si laudem Dei lingua loquaris ignota, &c. Upon these words, if thou blest or give thanks with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say, Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?

That is (saith Ambrosius) if thou speak the praise of God in a Tongue unknown to the hearers. For the unlearned, hearing that which he understandeth not, knoweth not the end of the Prayers, and he answereth not Amen. That is as much to say as (true) that the blessing or thanksgiving may be confirmed. For the confirmation of the Prayer is fulfilled by them which do answer, Amen. That all things spoken might be confirmed in the minds of the hearers, through the testimony of the truth.

Ambrosius.

¶ Afterward in the same place upon these words, if any Infidel or unlearned come in.

Quam enim intelligit & intelligitur, &c. For when he understandeth, and is understood, hearing God to be praised and Christ to be worshipped, he seeth perfectly that the Religion is true, and to be revered, wherein he seeth nothing to be done colourably, nothing in darkness, as among the Heathen, whose eyes are covered, that they seeing not the things which they call holy, might perceive themselves to be deluded with divers vanities. For all falsehood seeketh darkness, and sheweth false things for true. Therefore with us nothing is done privately, nothing covertly, but one God is simply praised, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus, by whom are all things. For if there be none which can understand, or of whom he may be tryed, he may say, there is some deceit and vanity, which is therefore sung in Tongues (not understood, he meaneth) because it is a shame to open it.

Ambrosius.

Upon this place, Omnia ad edificationem fiant.

Conclusio hæc est, ut nihil in cassum in Ecclesia geratur; hocque elaborandum magis, ut & imperiti proficiant, ne quid sit corpora pro imperitiis tenebrosus. Let all things be done to edifie.

This is the conclusion, that nothing should be done in the Church in vain, and that this thing ought chiefly to be laboured for, that the unlearned also might profit left any part of the Body should be dark through ignorance.

Ambrosius.

Again, Si non fuerit interpret, taceat in Ecclesia.

Hoc est, intra se tacite etiam loquatur Deo, qui audit omnia omnia. In ecclesia enim ille debet loqui qui omnibus profit.

If there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the Church.

That is, let him pray secretly, or speak to God within himself, which heareth all dumb things: for in the Church he ought to speak which may profit all men.

Testimonies out of Saint Hierom, upon that place of Paul, Quomodo qui supplet locum idiotæ, &c.

Per illum; saith Saint Hierom, qui supplet locum idiotæ, locum intelligit, qui nullo gradu Ecclesiastico fungitur. It is the Lay-man, saith he, whom Paul here understandeth to be in the place of the ignorant Man, which hath no Ecclesiastical Office. How shall he answer Amen to the Prayer that he understandeth not?

And a little after upon these words, Nam si orare lingua, &c.

Hoc dicit, quoniam si quis incognitis aliis linguis loquatur, mens ejus non ipse efficitur sine fructu, sed audiens. Quicquid enim dicitur, ignorat. This is Paul's meaning, saith Hierom, if any Man speaketh in strange and unknown Tongues, his mind is not to himself without fruit and profit, but he is not profited that heareth him.

¶ And in the end of his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians, he saith thus:

Quod autem (Amen) consensum significat audientis, &c. That (Amen) significeth the content of the hearer, and is the sealing up of the truth, Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, teacheth, saying, But if thou shalt bless in Spirit, who supplyeth the place of the ignorant, how shall he at thy Prayer answer (Amen) seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest? Whereby he declareth that the unlearned Man cannot answer, that that which is spoken is true, unless he understand what is said.

The same Hierom saith in the Preface of S. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, that the noise of (Amen) foundeth in the Roman Church like an Heavenly thunder.

As Hierom compareth this found of common Prayer to thunder, so compareth Cassili to the found of the Sea, in these words, If the Sea be fair, how is not the assembly of the Congregation much fairer? In the which a joynd found of Men, Women and Children, as it were of the Waves beating on the Shore, is sent forth in our Prayers unto our God.

Basilii hoc 4. hanc.

Cum populus semel audierit, sic et aliter non aliter, statim omnes respondent, Amen.

When the people once hear these words (World without end) they all forthwith answer, Amen.

And the same writer upon the same Chapter, upon these words, How shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen? *En rursus amissi (quod dicitur) saxum applicat, Ecclesie adificationem ubique requirit; &c.* Behold again, he applyeth the stone unto the square (as the Proverb is) requiring the edifying of the Congregation in all places. The unlearned he calleth the common people, and sheweth that it is no small discommodity, if they cannot say, Amen.

And again the same Chrysostom, *Quin & in precibus viderit quis populum multum simul offerre, tum pro egenis, tum pro penitentibus. Communes enim preces & sunt.*

Another Argument out of Chrysostom.

à sacerdote & ab illis fiant, & omnes dicunt unam orationem, orationem misericordiam plenam. Iterum, ubi excluderimus à sacerdotibus ambrosius eos qui non possunt esse participes sanctæ mensæ, alia facienda est oratio, & omnes similiter surgimus &c. That is, Yea in Prayers you may see the people offer largely, both for the possessed and the penitents. For the Priests and the people pray altogether commonly, and all one Prayer, a Prayer full of mercy and pity. And excluding out of the Priests limits all such as cannot be partakers of the holy Table, another Prayer must be made, and all after one sort lye down upon the earth, and all again after one sort rise up together. Now when the peace is given, we all in like manner salute one another, and the Priest in the reverend mysteries witheth well to the people, and the people unto him: for *Et cum spiritu tuo*, is nothing else but this. All things that belong to the Sacrament of thanksgiving, are common to all. But he giveth not thanks alone, but all the people with him.

Hereby

Hereby it may appear, that not the Prieſt alone communicated nor prayed alone, nor had any peculiar Prayer, but ſuch as was common to them all, ſuch as they all underſtood, and all were able to ſay with the Prieſt, which could not have been, if he had uſed a ſtrange Tongue in the miniſtration of the Sacraments.

Dionyſius. *Dionyſius* deſcribing the manner of the miniſtration of the Lords Supper, ſaith, That hymns were ſaid of the whole multitude of the people.

Cyprian ſer. *Cyprian* ſaith, The Prieſt doth prepare the minds of the Brethren, with a Preface before the Prayer ſaying, Lift up your Hearts: that whiles the people doth answer, we have our Hearts lifted up to the Lord, they may be admoniſhed that they ought to think of none other thing than of the Lord.

Aug in Pſal. *S. Auguſtine*, *Quid hic fit, intelligere debemus, &c.* What this ſhould be we ought to underſtand, that we may ſing with reaſon of Man, not with chatting of birds. For *Ouſels* and *Papijanes*, and *Ravens*, and *Pies*, and other ſuch like Birds are taught by Men to prate they know not what. But to ſing with underſtanding, is given by Gods holy will to the nature of Man.

Aug. de Magiſt. The ſame *Auguſtine*, There needeth no ſpeech when we pray, ſaving perhaps as the Prieſts do, to declare their meaning; not that God, but that Men may hear them, and ſo, being put in remembrance by conſenting with the Prieſts, may hang upon God.

To theſe teſtimonies of the ancient writers, we will joyn one Conſtitution of *Juſtinian* the Emperor, who lived 527. years after Chriſt. *Jubemus ut omnes Episcopos, pariter & Presbyteros, &c.* We command that all Biſhops and Prieſts do celebrate the holy Oblation, and the Prayers uſed in holy Baptiſm, not ſpeaking low, but with a clear and loud voice, which may be heard of the people, that thereby the minds of the hearers may be ſtirred up with greater devotion, in uttering the praifes of the Lord God. For ſo the holy Apoſtle teacheth in his firſt Epistle to the *Corinthians*, ſaying, Truly, if thou only bleſs or give thanks in Spirit, how doth he which occupieth the place of the unlearned ſay, Amen, at the giving of thanks unto God? for he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt. Thou verily givest thanks well, but another is not edified. And again, in the Epistle to the *Romans* he ſaith, *Corde creditur ad juſtitiam, ore autem fit conſeſſio ad ſalutem*, with the Heart a Man believeth unto righteousneſs, and with the mouth confeſſion is made unto Salvation.

Therefore for theſe cauſes it is convenient, that amongst other Prayers thoſe things alſo which are ſpoken in the holy Oblation, be uttered and ſpoken of the moſt Religious Biſhops and Prieſts unto our Lord Jeſus Chriſt our God with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, with a loud voice. And let the moſt Religious Prieſts know this, that if they neglect any of theſe things, neither the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, neither will we when we know it, reſt, and leave it unrevengeſd.

Out of this Conſtitution of *Juſtinian* the Emperor, three things are worthy to be noted.

Fiſt, that the common Prayer and miniſtration done with a loud voice, ſo as may be heard and underſtood of the people is a mean to ſtir up devotion in the people, contrary to the common aſſertion of *Eckius* and other adverſaries, who affirm that ignorance maketh a great admiration and devotion.

Secondly, that *Juſtinian* maketh this matter of not ordering common miniſtration and Prayers, ſo as it may be underſtood of the people, not a matter of indifference, but ſuch a thing as muſt be answered for at the day of Judgment.

Thirdly, that this Emperor, being a Chriſtian Emperor, doth not only make Conſtitution of Eccleſiaſtical matters, but alſo threatneth revenge and ſharp puniſhment to the violaters of the ſame.

Theſe are ſufficient to prove that it is againſt Gods Word, and the uſe of the Primitive Church, to uſe a language not underſtood of the people, in common Prayer and miniſtration of the Sacraments. Wherefore it is to be

marvelled at, not only how ſuch an untruth and abuſe crept at the firſt into the Church, but alſo how it is maintained ſo ſtiffly at this day, and upon what ground theſe that will be thought guides and paſtors of Chriſts Church, are ſo loth to return to the firſt original of *S. Pauls* Doctrine, and the practice of the Primitive Catholick Church of Chriſt.

¶ The God of Patience and conſolation, give us Grace to be like minded one towards another in Chriſt Jeſus, that we all agreeing together, may with one Mouth praiſe God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

John Seary.
Richard Cox.
David Whitehead.
Edmund Grindall.
John Jewell.
Robert Horne.
John Aſmer.
Edmund Geſt.

And the ſame being ended with ſome likelihoode, as it ſeemed, that the ſame was much allowable to the audience; certain of the Biſhops began to ſay contrary to their former answer, that they had now much more to ſay to this matter, wherein although they might have been well reprehended for ſuch manner of cavillation; yet for avoiding of any more miſtaking of orders in this colloquy or conference, and for that they ſhould utter all that which they had to ſay, it was both ordered and thus openly agreed upon of both parts in the full audience, that upon the *Monday* following, the Biſhops ſhould bring their Minds and Reaſons in writing to the ſecond aſſertion, and the laſt alſo if they could, and firſt read the ſame; and that done, the other part ſhould bring likewiſe theirs to the ſame. And being read, each of them ſhould deliver to other the ſame writings. And in the mean time, the Biſhops ſhould put in writing, not only all that which Doctor *Cole* had that day uttered, but all ſuch other matters as they any otherwiſe could think of for the ſame: and as ſoon as they might poſſible, to ſend the ſame Book touching that firſt aſſertion to the other part, and they ſhould receive of them that writing which *Mr. Horn* had there read that day, and upon *Monday* it ſhall be agreed what day they ſhould exhibit their answers touching the firſt propoſition. Thus both parts aſſented thereto, and the aſſembly was quietly diſmiſſed.

The order of the ſecond days talk.

The Lord Keeper of the great Seal, the Archbiſhop of York, the Duke of Northfolke, and all the Council being ſet, the Biſhops on the one ſide, and the Proteſtants, that is, the late baniſhed Preachers on the other ſide, thus began the Lord Keeper.

MY Lord and Maſters, I am ſure ye remember well, what order of talk and writing was appointed to be had this day in this aſſembly, at our laſt meeting, which I will not reſuſe now to repeat again for the ſhortneſs of it, which was, that ye appointed that on both ſides ye ſhould bring in Engliſh writing, what ye had to ſay in the ſecond queſtion, and in this place appointed to read the ſame. Therefore begin my Lords.

Wincheſt. I am determined for my part that there ſhall be now read, that which we have to ſay for the firſt queſtion.

L. Keeper. Will ye not then proceed in the order appointed you?

Wincheſt. I am, as I ſaid, provided for the firſt queſtion or propoſition: and we ſhould ſuffer prejudice, if ye permit us not to intreat of that firſt, and ſo we would come to the ſecond queſtion, and this is the order we would uſe. I judge all my Brethren are ſo minded.

Biſhop. We are ſo determined.

L. Keeper. I know not what you would do for your determined order: but ye ought to look what order is appointed you to keep, which ye by this means do break and little regard.

Wincheſter,

Anno 1558. *Winchester.* Sith our adversaries part, if it please your Grace and Honours, have so confirmed their affliction and purpose, we suffer a prejudice or damage, if ye permit us not the like. Hereat Doctor *Watson* Bishop of *Lincoln*, being at this talk very desirous to have spoken, said now to the Bishop of *Winchester*; I pray you let me speak, which was permitted him: we are not used indifferently, since that you allow us not to open in present writing what we have to say for the declaration of the first question, inasmuch, as that which ye take for the infirmation of the same, was meant nothing to that purpose, for that which Master *Cole* spake in this last assembly, was not prepared to strengthen our cause, but he made his Oration of himself, and *ex tempore*, that is, with no fore-studied talk.

At such the Bishops words the Nobility and other of the audience much frowned and grudged, sith that they all well knew, that Master *Cole* spake out of a writing which he held in his hand, and often read out of the same, and in that the same places which the Bishops informed him, and appointed him unto with their fingers; all which things do well declare the matter to be premeditated, and not done *ex tempore*, for that Master *Cole* was appointed by them to be their speaker. Whereupon this of the Bishop of *Lincoln* was the worse taken, notwithstanding he went onward complaining, and said; we are also evil ordered as touching the time, our adversaries part having warning long before, and we were warned only two days before the last assembly in this place. What with this business, and other trouble we have been driven to, have been occupied the whole last night. For we may in no wise betray the cause of God, nor will do, but sustain it to the uttermost of our powers, as we ought so to endeavour by all manner of means. But hereunto we want presently indifferent using.

L. Keeper. Take ye heed that ye deceive not your selves when it shall come to just trial of the matter, and that then it be not proved against you, that ye complain without cause, when the order and your manner towards it shall be duly weighed. I am willing and ready to hear you after the order taken and appointed for you to reason therein, and further or contrary to that I cannot deal with you.

Lich. Cov. Let us suffer no misorder or injury herein, but be heard with indifferency, that is convenient and meet we should have here.

L. Keeper. I pray you, Sirs, hear me, and mark it you well. It was concluded on by my Lords of the Council, who you well know of, that their writing, which ye are now so willing to have heard, should have been read the first day, and then did we understand that Master *Cole* had said what you would have him, and as much as you willed him to say, and upon that indifferency among us. I judge ye were asked in the end of Master *Cole's* rehearsal, whether that which he spake, was it ye would have him say, and ye granted it. Then, whether ye would that he should say any more in the matter, Ye answered no, whereupon the other part was heard, which you hearing, then indeed without all good indifferency or plain dealing, ye pretended that ye had more to say. So mark you with how small equity you used your selves.

The B. We had indeed more to say, if we might have been indifferently heard.

L. Keeper. Give me leave I say, and look what gains you should have if your present request should be granted you, that call so much of indifferent using, how you should use those other Men? For many who are here present, were then away, so would you have your writing now read to them, which heard not this. Mark ye whether it had not been more fit that ye had provided it against the first day, when they orderly read theirs, sith to my knowledge, and as far as I have had to do in the matter, you were of both sides (I am sure) warned at one time. Howbeit to satisfy your importunity and earnestness of this crying out to have your first writing heard, I might well allow, if it pleased the rest of the Queens most Honourable Council, that you dispatch the work of the second question, appointed for this day, and give us up your writing for the first, so that when the day cometh that each of you shall answer the other in confirmation of

the first question, then the same day ye shall have time to read this your first writing, which ye now would so fain read. To this order all the Council willingly consented.

Lich. Cov. Nay, my Lords, they reading one and we two Books in one day, we should not have time enough to read them both. It would occupy too much time.

L. Keeper. For my part I might well stay at the hearing of them both, and so I judge would the rest of the Council, and likewise the whole audience. At which saying there was a shout, crying on all sides; Yea, yea, we would hear it gladly.

Lincoln. We cannot read them both at one time: for their writing (I am sure) would require an hour and a half, if so be it be so long as their last was, and then our answer would require no less time after the first question.

L. Keeper. I have shewed you we could be well contented to tarry out the time when it cometh thereunto. Therefore ye need not to be therein so curious, and we granting you thus much, and yet ye will obey no orders, I cannot tell what I shall say unto you.

Lincoln. We have been wonderfully troubled in the order of this disputation. For first it was appointed us by my Lord the Archbishop, that we should dispute, and that in Latin, and then had we another commandment that we should provide a Latin writing, and now at last we are willed to bring forth our writings in English.

At these words the Lord Keeper of the great Seal; the Archbishop, with all the Council much mused, and many murmured at such his wrong report of the order well taken. Whereupon with an admiration the Lord Keeper answered; I marvel much of the using of your self in this point, sith I am assured the order was never otherwise taken, than that you should bring forth in English writing what you had to say for your purpose.

Hereupon the Bishops of *Lichfield* and *Chichester*, to excuse my Lord of *Lincoln*, said; We so understood the order, my Lords.

L. Keeper. How likely is that, sith that it was so plainly told you? But to end these delays, I pray you follow the order appointed, and begin to intreat of the second question.

Lich. Cov. We were appointed this day by your Honours to bring in what we had to say in the first question. At the which saying the audience much grudged, who heard the former talk, contrary to such his report.

L. Keeper. The order was taken, for that your writings were not ready the last time, that ye should yield the same to these Men, meaning the Protestants, as soon as ye might, and upon the receipt of your writings, you should have theirs, and this day you should intreat of the second question, and of the third, if that ye had leisure enough. This was the order, my Lords, except my memory much fail me. The same all the Council affirmed.

Lincoln. We were willed then to bring in this day our writing for the first question also.

L. Keeper. Ah Sirs, if ye be so hard to be satisfied, and to incline to the truth, let my Lords here say what was then determined.

B. York. Ye are to blame to stand in this issue, for there was a plain decreed order taken for you to intreat of the second question. Wherefore leave you your contentions herein, and shew what ye have to say in the second question.

L. Keeper. Go to now, begin my Lords.

Lich. Cov. It is contrary to the order in disputations, that we should begin.

Chichester. We have the negative, they the affirmative, therefore they must begin.

Lich. Cov. They must first speak what they can bring in against us, sith we are the defending part.

Chichester. So is the School manner, and likewise the manner in *Westminster-Hall* is, that the Plaintiffs part should speak first, and then the accused party to answer.

Lich. Cov. I pray you let the proposition be read, and then let us see who hath the negative part, and so let the other begin.

L. Keeper. The order was taken that ye should begin.

Lich. Cov. But then we should do against the School order.

L. Keeper.

L. Keeper. My Masters, ye inforce much the School orders. I wonder much at it, with divers of those orders are oftentimes taken for the exercise of youth, and ought to maintain a fashion, and many prescriptions, which we need not here to recite, much less observe. We are come hither to keep the order of God, and to set forth his truth, and hereunto we have taken as good order as we might, which lieth not in me to change.

Carile. We are of the Catholick Church, and abide therein, and stand in the possessions of the truth; and therefore must they say what they have to alledge against us, and so we to maintain and defend our cause.

Lich. Coven. Yea, even so must the matter be ordered.

Chester. When they bring any thing against us, it is sufficient for us to deny it: Therefore must they begin.

Lich. And when they affirm any thing, and we say nay, the proof belongeth to them, and so it behooveth them to shew first what they affirm, and for what cause and purpose.

L. Keeper. Here resteth our purpose and whole matter, whether you will begin, if they do not, with it was determined ye should begin.

Lich. Coven. We heard of no such order.

L. Keeper. No did? Yes, and in the first question ye began willingly. How cometh it to pass that ye will not now do so?

Chester. Then had we the affirmation, which with that our adversaries have now, they should presently begin.

This the Protestants denied, saying, that they in the first day had the negative, wherein they did not yet refuse to begin.

L. Keeper. If you have any thing to say, my Lords, to the purpose, say on.

Lich. A particular sort of Men can never break an Universal Church, which we now maintain: and as for these Men, our adversary part, I never thought that they would have done so much as have named themselves to be of the Catholick Church, challenging the name as well as we.

Protestants. We do so, and we are of the true Catholick Church, and maintain the verity thereof.

Lincoln. Yet would ye overthrow all Catholick order.

Her. I wonder that ye so much stand who should begin.

Lincoln. You count it requisite that we should follow your orders, as we have taken the questions at your hands, in that sort as you have assigned them.

Lich. Coven. Yea, even so we be driven to do now.

L. Keeper. Nay, I judge if ye mark the matter well, the questions are neither of their propounding them to you, nor of your device to them, but offered indifferently to you both.

Horne. Indeed, my Lords of the Queens most honourable Council, these questions or propositions were proposed unto us by your Honours, and they then having the preeminency, chose to themselves the negative, and yet freely began first: now again why do they not the like?

Lichfield being angry that he should so straitly speak against them, went quite from the matter, saying: My *L. Keeper* of the great Seal, and you the rest of the Queens most honourable Council, I hope that you all, and the Queens Majesty her self, are inclined to favour the verity in all things, and the truth of the Catholick Church, which we must will, or can do no otherwise, but earnestly maintain to the uttermost of our power, and to this purpose let us now well weigh who are of the true Catholick Church, they, or we.

L. Keeper. Tarry, now you go from the matter, and make questions of your own.

Lichfield. Yet not straying from his digression, said thus: We must needs go to work, and try that first, what Church they be of. For there are many Churches in Germany. Master *Horne*, Master *Horne*, I pray you which of these Churches are you of?

Horne. I am of Christs Catholick Church.

L. Keeper. Ye ought not thus to run into voluntary talk of your own inventing, nor to devise new questions of your own appointment, and thereby enter into that talk; ye ought not so to do. But say on, if you have any thing to say in this matter.

Lich. Nay, we must first thus go to work with them as I have said, if that we will search a truth: howbeit

of the truth we have no doubt, for that we assuredly stand in it. These Men come in, and they pretended to be doubtful. Therefore they should first bring what they have to impugn or withstand us withal.

Winch. Let them begin; so will we go onward with our matter.

Chester. Otherwise, my Lords, if they should not begin, but end the talk, then should the verity on our sides be not so well marked; for they should depart speaking last, *cum applausu populi*, with the rejoicing triumph of the people.

Winch. Therefore I am resolved that they shall begin ere that we say any thing.

Chester. I am sorry, my Lords, that we should so long stand in the matter with your Honours, and make so many words, and so much ado with you, whom we ought to obey: howbeit there is no indifferency if they begin not; and surely we think it meet, that they should, for their parts, give us place.

Lichfield. Yea, that they should, and ought to do, where any indifferency is used.

Aelmer. We give you the place (do we not?) and deprive you not of the preeminence, because you are Bishops; therefore I pray you begin.

The Bishop. A goodly giving of place, I assure you: yea marry, ye gave place: such words they used, with more scoffs.

L. Keeper. If ye make this Assembly gathered in vain, and will not go to the matter, let us rise and depart.

Winch. Contented, let us be gone; for we will not in this point give over.

I pray you my Lords, require not at our hands that we should be any cause of hinderance or let to our Religion, or give any such evil example to our Posterity, which we should do if we gave over to them, which in no wise we may, or will do.

L. Keeper. Let us then break up, if you be thus minded. With these words the Bishops were straightways rising. But then said the Lord Keeper; Let us see whether every one of you be thus minded. How say you my Lord of *Winchester*, will you not begin to read, your writing?

Winch. No surely, I am fully determined, and fully at a point therein, howsoever my brethren do.

Then the Lord Keeper asked how the Bishop was called, who sat next to *Winchester* in order. It was the Bishop of *Exeter*, who being inquired his mind herein, answered that he was none of them. Then the Lord Keeper asked the other in order, and first *Lincoln*, who said he was of the same mind that *Winchester* was of: and likewise answered *Lichfield Coven. Cole*, and *Ebadsey*. Then *Chester*, being asked his sentence, said; My Lords, I say not that I will not read it, if ye command us; but we ought not to do it: yet I desire your Honours not so to take it, as though I would not have read it. I mean not so.

L. Keeper. How say you to it, my Lord of *Carile*?

Carile. If they should not read theirs this day, so that our writing may be last read, so am I contented that ours shall be first read.

L. Keeper. So would ye make orders your selves, and appoint that we should find one day in hearing you.

Abbot. Then the *Abbot of Westminster* was asked his mind; who said; If it please your Honours, I judge that my Lords here stay most on this point, that they fear when they shall begin first, and the other answer thereupon, there shall be no time given to them to speak, which my Lord misliketh.

L. Keeper. How can it otherwise be in talk appointed in such Assembly and Audience: think you that there can be continual answering one another? when should it after that sort have an end?

Lich. Coven. It must be so in disputation to seek out the truth.

L. Keeper. But how say you my Lord *Abbot*, are you of the mind it shall be read?

Abbot. Yea forsooth, my Lord, I am very well pleased withal. *Harpisfield* being inquired his mind, thought as the other did.

L. Keeper. My Lords, with that ye are not willing, but refuse to read your writing after the order taken, we will break up and depart: and for that ye will not that we should hear you, you may perhaps shortly hear of us.

Thus

Anno
1558.

Anno
1558.

Thus have we declared the order and manner of this Communication or Conference at *Westminster*; between these two parties, wherein if any Law or Order were broken, judge (good Reader) where the fault was, and consider what these Papists be, from whom if ye take away their Sword and Authority, you see all their cunning, how soon it lieth in the dust, or else why would they not abide the trial of writing? why would they, or durst they not stand to the order agreed upon? Whether should we say ignorance or stubbornness to be in them more, or both together? Who first being gently (as is said) and favourably required to keep the order appointed, they would not. Then being secondly (as appeared by the Lord Keepers words) pressed more earnestly, they neither regarding the Authority, &c. of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cause, utterly refused that to do. And finally, being again particularly every of them apart distinctly by name required to understand their Opinions therein, they all saving one (which was the Abbot of *Westminster*, having some more consideration of order and his duty of obedience than the other) utterly and plainly denied to have their Book read, some of them as more earnestly than other, so also some other more undiscernedly and unreverently than others. Whereupon giving such example of disorder, stubbornness, and self-will, as hath not been seen and suffered in such an honourable Assembly, being of the two Estates of this Realm, the Nobility and the Commons, besides the presence of the Queens Majesties most honourable Privy Council, the same Assembly was dissolved, and the godly and most Christian purpose of the Queens Majesty made frustrate. And afterward, for the contempt so notoriously made, the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln*, having most obstinately both disobeyed common Authority and varied manifestly from their own order, and specially *Lincoln*, who shewed more folly than the other, were condignly committed to the Tower of London, and the rest (saving the Abbot of *Westminster*) stood bound to make daily their personal appearance before the Council, and not to depart the City of London and *Westminster*, until further order were taken with them for their disobedience and contempt.

Bishops committed to the Tower.

Besides the former Protestation or Libel written and exhibited by the Protestants concerning the first question, there was also another like writing of the said Protestants made of the second question, but not published, which if it came to our hand, we will likewise impart unto thee.

As these Bishops above-named were committed to the Tower, so *Boner* Bishop of London, about the same time was committed to the *Marshalsea*, where he both in his blind bloody Heretic, and also in his deserved captivity, long remained, abiding the Queens pleasure. Gods pleasure, I beseech him, so be wrought on that person, that the Church of Christs Flock, if they can take or look for no goodness of that man to come, yet they may take of him and of other no more harm hereafter than they have done already. We all beseech thee this, O Lord eternal, *Per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen.*

Boner committed to the Marshalsea.

About this time, at the beginning of the flourishing Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, was a Parliament summoned and holden at *Westminster*, wherein was much debating about matters touching Religion, and great study on both parts employed, the one to retain still, the other to impugn the Doctrine and Faction which before in Queen *Maries* time had been established. But especially here is to be noted, that though there lacked no industry on the Papists side, to hold fast that which they most cruelly from time to time had studied, and by all means practised to come by: yet notwithstanding, such was the Providence of God at that time, that for lack of the other Bishops, whom the Lord had taken away by death a little before, therefore that there were left, could do the less; and in very need, God be praised therefore, did nothing at all in effect. Although yet notwithstanding there lacked in them neither will nor labour to do what they

could, if their cruel ability there might have served. But namely amongst all other, not only the industrious courage of Dr. *Story*, but also his words in this Parliament are worthy to be known of Posterity: who like a stout and furious Champion of the Popes side, to declare himself how lusty he was, and what he had and would do in his Masters quarrel, shamed not openly in the said Parliament House to blast out into such an impudent fore of words, as was a wonder to all good ears to hear, and no less worthy of History.

The sum of which his shameless talk was uttered to this effect: Firstly, beginning with himself, he declared, That whereas he was noted commonly abroad, and much complained of, to have been a great doer, and a setter forth of such Religion, Orders, and Proceedings, as of his late Sovereign that dead is, Queen *Mary*, were set forth in this Realm, he denied nothing the same, protesting moreover that he therein had done nothing, but that both his Conscience did lead him thereunto, and also his Commission did as well then command him, as now also doth discharge him for the same, being no less ready now also to do the like, and more, in case he by this Queen were authorized likewise, and commanded thereunto. Wherefore, as I see (saith he) nothing to be ashamed of, so less I see to be sorry for, but rather said that he was sorry for this, because he had done no more than he did, and that in executing those Laws they had not been more vehement and severe. Wherein he said there was no default in him, but in them, whom he both oft and earnestly had exhorted to the same, being therefore not a little grieved with them, for that they laboured only about the young and little sprigs and twigs, while they should have stricken at the root, and clean have rooted it out, &c. And concerning his persecuting and burning them, he denied not, but that he was once at the burning of an Earwig (for so he termed it) at *Uxbridge*, where he toft a Fagot at his face as he was singing Psalms, and set a Wheel of Thorns under his feet, a little to prick him, with many other words of like effect. In the which words he named moreover Sir *Philip Hobby*, and another Knight of *Kent*, with such other of the richer and higher degree, whom his counsel was to pluck at, and to bring them under scorn, wherein (said he) if they had followed my advice, then had they done well and wisely. This, or much like was the effect of the shameless and tyrannical excuse of himself, more meet to speak with the voice of a Beast, than a Man.

Dr. Storys impudent words at the Parliament.

The words of Dr. Story in the Parliament House.

This Merry bit at Dr. Story was Maisters Drury.

Although in this Parliament some diversity there was of judgment and opinion between parties, yet notwithstanding, through the merciful goodness of the Lord, the true cause of the Gospel had the upper hand, the Papists hope was frustrate, and their rage abated, the order and proceedings of King *Edward*s time concerning Religion was revived again, the Supremacy of the Pope abolished, the Articles and bloody Statutes of Queen *Mary* repealed; briefly, the furious Fire-brands of cruel Persecution, which had consumed so many poor mens bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

Finally, the old Bishops were deposed, for that they refused the Oath in renouncing the Pope, and not submitting to the Queens just and lawful Title. In whose rooms and places, first for Cardinal *Poole* succeeded Dr. *Matthew Parker*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. In the place of *Heath* succeeded Dr. *Tung*. Instead of *Boner*, *Edmund Grindall* was Bishop of London. For *Hopson*, *Tourelly*, *Tonstall*, *Pates*, *Christoperson*, *Peto*, *Coates*, *Morgan*, *Reasse*, *White*, *Oglethorpe*, &c. were placed Dr. *John Parkhurst* in *Norwich*, Dr. *Coxe* in *Ely*, *Jewel* in *Salisbury*, *Pilkenton* in *Durham*, Dr. *Sands* in *Worcester*, Mr. *Downam* in *Westchester*, *Bentam* in *Conventry* and *Lichfield*, *David* in *S. Davids*, *Ally* in *Exeter*, *Horne* in *Winchester*, *Story* in *Hereford*, *Beff* in *Carlisle*, *Bullingham* in *Lincoln*, *Schmley* in *Peterborough*, *Barlet* in *Bathes Gess* in *Rocheſter*, *Barlo* in *Chicheſter*, &c.

The Appendix of such Notes and Matters, as either have been in this History omitted, or newly inserted.

IN the story of Sir Roger Aldon above mentioned, I find that with him were taken many other persons, that all the Prisons in and about London were replenished with People. The chief of them, which were twenty and nine, were condemned of Heresie, and attainted of High Treason, as movers of War against their King, by the temporal Law in the Guildhall, the twelfth day of December, and adjudged to be drawn and hanged for Treason, and for Heresie to be consumed with fire, Gallows and all, which Judgment was executed in January following on the said Sir Roger Aldon, and twenty eight other.

Some say that the occasion of their death was the conveyance of the Lord Cobham out of Prison. Other write that it was both for Treason (as the Adversaries termed it) and Heresie.

Certain affirm, that it was for feigned causes furnished by the Spirituality, more of displeasure than truth, as seemeth more near to the truth.

Concerning John Frith, of his Life and Story this followeth more to be added.

First, This John Frith was born in the Town of Westrams in Kent, who after by diligent Studies was taken in Essex flying beyond the Seas, and brought before the Council, Sir Thomas More then being Chancellor, and so from them committed unto the Tower, where he remained Prisoner the space of a quarter of a year, or thereabout. It chanced that Doctor Currein, ordinary Chaplain unto King Henry the Eighth, preached a Sermon in Lent before his Majesty. And there very sore inveighing against the Sacramentaries (as they them termed and named) which favoured not the gross opinion that Christs Body was carnally real in the Sacrament, he so far discoursed in that matter, that at the length he brake out thus far and said; It is no marvel though this abominable Heresie do much prevail amongst us; for there is one now in the Tower of London so bold as to write in the defence of that Heresie, and yet no man goeth about his Reformation, meaning John Frith, who then had answered Sir Thomas More in writing against a Constitution of that erroneous Opinion, which of late before the said Mr. More had written against John Friths Assertion in that behalf. This Sermon of purpose was devised and appointed by the Bishop of Winchester and others, to seek the destruction of Frith, by putting the King in remembrance that the said Frith was in the Tower there staid, rather for his safeguard than for his punishment, by such as favoured him, as the Lord Cromwell, who being Viceregent in Causes Ecclesiastical came then into suspicion therefore. For in such sort was the matter handled before the King, that all men might well understand what they meant. The King then being in no point resolved of the true and sincere understanding of the Doctrine of that Article, but rather a perverse stout Adversary to the contrary, called to him my Lord of Canterbury and my Lord Cromwell, and willed them forthwith to call Frith unto Examination, so that he might either be compelled to recant, or else by the Law to suffer condign punishment.

Friths long protract in the Tower without Examination was so heinously taken of the King, that now my Lord of Canterbury with other Bishops, as Stokesley then Bishop of London, and other learned men were undelayedly appointed to examine Frith. And for that there should be no concurrence of Citizens at the said Examination; my Lord of Canterbury removed to Croyden, unto whom resorted the rest of the Commissioners. Now before the day of Execution appointed, my Lord of Canterbury sent one of his Gentlemen and one of his Porters, whole name was Perlebeane, a Welchman born, to fetch John Frith from the Tower unto Croyden. This

Gentleman had both my Lords Letters and the Kings Ring unto my Lord Fitzwilliams Constable of the Tower, then lying in Canon-Row at Westminster in extrem anguish and pain of the Strangulation, for the delivery of the Prisoner. Master Fitzwilliams more passionate than patient, understanding for what purpose my Lords Gentleman was come, banned and cursed Frith and all other Hereticks, saying, Take this my Ring unto the Lieutenant of the Tower, and receive your man your Heretick with you, and I am glad that I am rid of him. When Frith was delivered unto my Lord of Canterburys Gentleman, they twain, with Perlebeane, sitting in a Wherry, and rowing towards Lambeth: The said Gentleman much lamenting in his mind the infelicity of the said Frith, began in this wise to exhort him to consider in what estate he was, a man altogether cast away in the world, if he did not look wisely to himself. And yet though his Cause were never so dangerous, he might somewhat in relenting to Authority, and so giving place for a time, help both himself out of the trouble, and when opportunity and occasion should serve, prefer his Cause which he then went about to defend, declaring further, that he had many well-willers and friends, which would stand on his side so far forth as possibly they were able and durst do; adding hereunto, that it were great pity that he being of such singular knowledge, both in the Latin, Greek, and both ready and ripe in all kind of Learning, and that namely as well in the Scriptures, as in the ancient Doctors, should now suddenly suffer all those singular gifts to perish with him with little commodity or profit to the World, and less comfort to his Wife and Children, and other his Kinsfolks and Friends. And as for the verity of your Opinion in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, it is so untimely opened here among us in England, that you shall rather do harm than good: wherefore be wise, and be ruled by good counsel, until a better opportunity may serve.

This I am sure of (quoth the Gentleman) that my Lord Cromwell and my Lord of Canterbury much favouring you, and knowing you to be an eloquent learned young man, and now towards the felicity of your life, young in years, old in knowledge, and of great forwardness and likelihood to be a most profitable Member for this Realm, will never permit you to sustain any open shame, if you will somewhat be advised by their counsel: on the other side, if you stand stiff to your Opinion, it is not possible to save your life. For like as you have good Friends, so have you mortal Foes and Enemies.

I most heartily thank you, quoth Master Frith unto the Gentleman, both for your good will, and for your counsel: by the which I well perceive that you mind well unto me; howbeit my Cause and Conscience is such, that in no wise I either may or can for any worldly respect, without danger of damnation, start aside and flee from the true Knowledge and Doctrine which I have conceived of the Supper of the Lord, or the Communion, otherwise called the Sacrament of the Altar: For if it be my chance to be demanded what I think in that behalf, I must needs say my knowledge and my conscience, as partly I have written therein already, though I should presently lose twenty lives, if I had so many. And this you shall well understand that I am not unfurnished, either of Scriptures or ancient Doctors, Schoolmen, or other for my defence; so that if I may be indifferently heard, I am sure that mine Adversaries cannot justly condemn me or mine Assertion, but that they shall condemn with me both S. Augustine, and the most part of the old Writers: yea, the very Bishops of Rome of the oldest sort shall also say for me, and defend my Cause. Yea marry, quoth the Gentleman, you say well, if you might be indifferently heard. But I much doubt thereof, for that our Master Christ was not indifferently heard

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Well, well (quoth *Frith* then unto the Gentleman) I know very well, that this Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar, which I hold, and have opened contrary to the opinion of this Realm, is very hard meat to be digested both of the Clergy and Laity. But this I will say to you, taking the Gentleman by the hand, that if you live but twenty years more, whatsoever become of me, you shall see this whole Realm of mine opinion concerning this Sacrament of the Altar: namely, the whole estate of the fame, though some sort of men particularly shall not be fully persuaded therein. And if it come not so to pass, then account me the vainest man that ever you heard speak with tongue: Besides this, you say that my death would be sorrowful and uncomfortable unto my Friends.

I grant (quoth he) that for a small time it would so be. But if I should so mollifie, qualifie, and temper my cause in such sort as to deserve only to be kept in Prison, that would not only be a much longer grief unto me, but also to my friends would breed no small disquietness both of body and mind. And therefore all things well and rightly pondered, my death in this cause shall be better unto me and all mine, than life in continual bondage and penuries. And Almighty God knoweth what he hath to do with his poor Servant, whose cause I know defend, and not mine own, from the which I assuredly do intend (God willing, never to flurt, or otherwise to give place, so long as God will give me life.

This communication, or like in effect, my Lord of *Canterbury* Gentleman and *Frith* had, coming in a Wherry upon the *Tower* from the *Tower* to *Lambeth*.

Now when they were landed, after some repast by them taken at *Lambeth*, the Gentleman, the Porter, and *Frith*, went forward towards *Croydon* on foot. This Gentleman still lamenting with himself the hard and cruel destiny towards the said *Frith*; namely, if he once came amongst the Bishops; and now also perceiving the exceeding constancy of *Frith*, devised with himself some way or means to convey him clean out of their hands; and thereupon considering that there were no more persons there to convey the Prisoner, but the Porter and himself, he took in hand to win the Porter to his purpose. Quoth the Gentleman unto *Perlebeane* the Porter (they twain privately walking by themselves without the hearing of *Frith*) you have heard this man I am sure, and noted his talk since he came from the *Tower*. — Yea, that I have right well marked him (quoth the Porter) and I never heard so constant a man, nor so eloquent a person. You have heard nothing, quoth the Gentleman, in respect both of his knowledge and eloquence: if he might liberally either in University or Pulpit declare his Learning, you would then much more marvel at his Knowledge. I take him to be such a one of his Age in all kind of learning, and knowledge of Tongues, as this Realm never yet in mine opinion brought forth; and yet those singular Gifts in him are no more considered of our Bishops, than if he were a very Dolt or an Idiot; yea, they abhor him as a Devil therefore, and cover utterly to extinguish him as a Member of the Devil, without any consideration of Gods special Gifts. Marry (quoth the Porter) if there were nothing else in him but the consideration of his personage both comely and amiable, and of natural disposition, gentle, meek, and humble; it were pity he should be cast away. Cast away (quoth the Gentleman?) He shall be sure cast away if we once bring him to *Croydon*, and surely (quoth the Gentleman) before God I speak it, if thou *Perlebeane* wert of my mind, we would never bring him thither. Say you so, quoth the Porter? I know that you be of a great deal more credit than I am in this matter; and therefore if you can devise honestly or find some reasonable excuse, whereby we may let him go and provide for himself, I will with all my heart condescend to your device. As for that (quoth the Gentleman) it is already invented in law and which ways he shall convey himself without any great danger or displeasure taken towards us, as the matter shall be handled: You see

(quoth the Gentleman) yonder hill before us, named *Bristow Cause*, two miles from *London*, there are great Woods on both sides, when we come there we will permit *Frith* to go into the Woods on the left hand of the way, whereby he may convey himself into *Kent* among his Friends, for he is a *Kentish* man born, and when he is gone, we will linger an hour or twain about the Highway, until that it somewhat draw towards the night. Then in great haste we will approach unto *Streatham*, which is a mile and a half off, and make an out-cry in the Town that our Prisoner is broken from us into the Woods on the right hand towards *Waynesworth*, so that we will draw as many as we may of the Town to search the Country that way for our Prisoner, declaring that we followed above a mile or more, and at length lost him in the Woods, because we had no more company, and so we will rather than fail lye out one night in searching for him, and send word from *Streatham* to my L. of *Canterbury* at *Croydon* in the Evening of the Prisoners escape, and to what Coast he is fled. So that by the Morning, if he have any good luck at all, he will so provide for himself, that the Bishops shall fail of their purpose. I assure you (quoth *Perlebeane*) I like very well the device herein, and therefore go ye to *Frith*, and declare what we have devised for his delivery: for now we are almost at the place.

When my Lord of *Canterbury* Gentleman came nigh to the Hill, he joyined himself in Company with the said *Frith*, and calling him by his name, said, Now Master *Frith*, let us twain commune together another while: you must consider, that the Journey which I have now taken in hand thus in bringing you to *Croydon*, as a sheep to the slaughter, so grieveth me, and as it were overwhelmeth me in cares and sorrows, that I little pass what danger I fall in, so that I could find the means to deliver you out of the Lyons mouth. And yet yonder good Fellow and I have so devised a means, whereby you may both easily escape from this great and imminent danger at hand, and we also be rid from any vehement suspicion. And thereupon declared unto *Frith* the full process devised, how every thing in order should be handled.

When *Frith* had diligently heard all the matter concerning his delivery, he said to the Gentleman, Oh good Lord, with a smiling countenance, is this the effect of your secret consultation, thus long between you twain? Surely, surely, you have lost a great deal more labour in times past, and so are you like to do this; for if you should sooth leave me here, and go to *Croydon*, declaring to the Bishops, that you had lost *Frith*, I would surely follow after as fast as I might, and bring them news that I had found and brought *Frith* again. Do you think (quoth he) that I am afraid to declare my opinion unto the Bishops of *England* in a manifest Truth?

You are a fond man (quoth the Gentleman) thus to talk; as though your reasoning with them might do some good. But I do much marvel, that you were so willing to flee the Realm before you were taken, and now so unwilling to save your self. Marry, there was and is a great diversity of escaping between the one and the other, quoth *Frith*.

Before, I was indeed desirous to escape, because I was not attached, but at liberty, which liberty I would fain have enjoyed for the maintenance of my study beyond the Sea, where I was Reader in the Greek Tongue, according to *S. Paul's* counsel. Howbeit, now being taken by the higher Power, and as it were by Almighty Gods permission and providence delivered into the hands of the Bishops, only for Religion and Doctrines sake, namely, such as in conscience, and under pain of damnation, I am bound to maintain and defend, if I should now start aside and run away, I should run from my God, and from the testimony of his holy Word, worthy then of a thousand Hells. And therefore I most heartily thank you both for your good wills towards me, beseeching you to bring me where I was appointed to be brought; for else I will go thither all alone. And so with a cheerful and merry countenance he went with them, spending the time in pleasant and godly communication, until they came to *Croydon*, wherefore that night he was well entertained in the Porters Lodge. On the morrow he was called before certain Bishops and other learned men; sitting in Commission with the L. of *Canterbury*.

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A Treatise of Mr. Nicholas Ridley, in the name, as it seemeth, of the whole Clergy, to King Edward the Sixth, concerning Images not to be set up, nor worshipped in Churches.

¶ Certain Reasons which move us that we cannot with safe Consciences give our assent, that the Images of Christ, &c. should be placed and erected in Churches.

First, the words of the Commandment, *Exod. 20.* *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image, &c.* And the same is repeated more plainly, *Deut. 27.* *Maledictus homo qui facit sculptile & confilatile, &c. ponitque illud in abscondito, &c.* That is, Cursed is the man which maketh a graven or molten Image, &c. and setteth it in a secret place; and all the People shall say, Amen.

In the first place, these words are to be noted, *Thou shalt not make to thy self*; that is, to any use of Religion.

In the latter place, these words, *And setteth it in a secret place*; for no man durst then commit Idolatry openly. So that conferring the places, it doth evidently appear, That Images both for use of Religion, and in place of peril for Idolatry, are forbidden.

God, knowing the inclination of man to Idolatry, sheweth the reason why he made this general prohibition, *Ne forte erroris deceptus adores ea & colas*: That is to say, Lest peradventure thou being deceived, shouldst bow down to them and worship them.

This general Law is generally to be observed, notwithstanding that peradventure a great number cannot be hurt by them, which may appear by the example following.

God forbade the People to joyn their Children in marriage with strangers, adding the reason; *Quia seducit filium tuum, ne sequatur me*: That is, For he will seduce thy son, that he shall not follow me, *Deut. 7.*

Moses was not deceived or seduced by Jeroboam's daughter, nor Boaz by Ruth, being a woman of Moab. And yet for all that, the general Law was to be observed, *Thou shalt joyn no marriage with them.* And so likewise, *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image, &c.*

Deut. 4. God giveth a special charge to avoid Images. Beware (saith he) that thou forget not the Covenant of the Lord thy God which he made with thee, and so make to thy self any graven Image of any thing which the Lord hath forbidden thee, for the Lord thy God is a consuming Fire, and a jealous God.

If thou have Children and Nephews, and do well in the Land, and being deceived, do make to your selves any graven Image, doing evil before the Lord your God, and provoke him to anger, I do this day call Heaven and Earth to witness, that you shall quickly perish out of the Land which ye shall possess, ye shall not dwell in it any longer time, but the Lord will destroy you, and scatter you amongst all Nations.

Note what solemn obtestation God useth, and what grievous punishments he threatneth to the breakers of the second Commandment.

In the Tabernacle and Temple of God no Image was by God appointed openly to be set, nor by practice afterwards used or permitted, so long as Religion was purely observed; so that the use and execution of the Law is a good Interpreter of the true meaning of the same.

If by virtue of the second Commandment Images were not lawful in the Temple of the Jews, then by the same Commandment they are not lawful in the Churches of Christians. For being a moral Commandment, and not ceremonial (for by consent of Writers, only a part of the Precept of observing the Sabbath is ceremonial) it is a perpetual Commandment, and bindeth us as well as the Jews.

The Jews by no means would consent to Herod, Pilate, or Petronius, that Images should be placed in the Temple at Jerusalem, but rather offered themselves to the death than to assent unto it. Who, besides that they are commended by Josephus for observing the meaning of the Law, would not have endangered themselves so far, if they had thought Images had been indifferent in the Temple of God. For as S. Paul saith, *2 Cor. 6.* *Quid*

Templo Dei cum simulacris, &c. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 8. li. 18. cap. 5. & 15.

Gods Scripture doth in no place continent the use of Images, but in a great number of places doth disallow and condemn them.

They are called in the Book of Wisdom, *The Trap and Snare of the feet of the Ignorant.*

It is said that the Invention of them was the beginning of Spiritual Fornication: And that they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end.

In the 15th Chapter of the same Book it is said, *Umbra pictura, labor sine fructu, &c.* And again, *They are worthy of death both that put their trust in them, and that make them, and that love them, and that worship them.*

The Psalms and Prophets are full of like Sentences, and how can we then praise the thing which Gods Spirit doth always dispraise?

Furthermore, an Image made by a Father (as appeareth in the same Book) for the memorial of his Son departed, was the first invention of Images, and occasion of Idolatry, *Wisdom 14.*

How much more then shall an Image made in the memory of Christ, and set up in the place of Religion, occasion the same offence? *Ensch. Eccles. Hist. lib. 7. c. 18.* Images have their beginning from the Heathen, and of no good ground; therefore they cannot be profitable for Christians. Whereunto Athanasius agreeth, writing of Images against the Gentiles: *Athanasius cont. Gentiles* 4. *Et non edulcorantur in animo doli, sed animo rapinis rapunt, et de non arcentur ex eo, sed in animo rapinis rapunt, sed in animo.* That is to say, The invention of Images came of no good, but of evil, and whatsoever hath an evil beginning, can never in any thing be judged good, seeing it is wholly naught.

S. John saith, *My little Children, beware of Images*: but to set them in the Churches, which are places dedicated to the Service and Invocation of God, and that over the Lords Table, being the highest and most honourable place where most danger of abuse both is, and ever hath been, is not to beware of them, nor to flee from them, but rather to embrace and receive them. Tertullian expounding the same words, writeth thus, *Lit. de corona militis.* *Eviloli, custodite vos ab Idolis, non jam ab idolatria quasi ab officio, sed ab Idolis; i. ab ipso effigie eorum.* That is to say, Little Children, keep your selves from the shape it self, or form of them.

Images in the Churches either serve to edifie or to destroy. If they edifie, then there is one kind of edification which the Scriptures neither teach nor command, but always disallow; if they destroy, they are not to be used; for in the Church of God all things ought to be done to edifie, *1 Cor. 14.*

The Commandment of God is, *Thou shalt not lay a stumbling block or a stone before the blind*: and cursed is he that maketh the blind wander in his way.

The simple and unlearned People, who have been so long under blind Guides, are blind in matters of Religion, and inclined to Error and Idolatry. Therefore to set Images before them to stumble at (*Nam laquei pedibus insipientium sunt*; that is, They be Snares and Traps for the feet of the Ignorant) or to lead them out of the true way, is not only against the Commandment of God, but deserveth also the malediction and curse of God, *Wisdom 14.*

The use of Images is to the learned and confirmed in knowledge, neither necessary nor profitable. To the superstitious a confirmation in Error; To the simple and weak an occasion of fall, and very offensive and wounding of their Consciences; and therefore very dangerous. For S. Paul saith, *1 Cor. 9.* offending the Brethren, and wounding their weak Consciences, they sin against Christ. And *Matth. 18.* *We be to him by whom offence or occasion of falling cometh, it were better that a millstone were tied about his neck, and be cast into the Sea, than to offend one of the little ones that believe in Christ.* And where objection may be made, that such offence may be taken away by sincere Doctrine and Preaching; it is to be answered, that that is not sufficient, as hereafter more at large shall appear.

And though it should be admitted as true, yet should it follow, that sincere Doctrine and Preaching should always and in all places continue as well as Images; and so

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wherefoever an Image to offend were erected, there should also of reason a godly and sincere Preacher be continually maintained: for it is reason that the remedy be as large as the offence, the medicine as general as the poyson, but that is not possible in the Realm of England that Images should be generally allowed, as reason and experience may teach.

As good Magistrates, which intend to banish all whoredom, do drive away all naughty persons, specially out of such places as be suspected; even so Images, being *Meretrices*, i. Whores, for that the worshipping of them is called in the Prophets *Fornication* and *Adultery*, ought to be banished, and especially out of Churches, which is the most suspected place, and where the spiritual Fornication hath been most committed.

It is not expedient to allow and admit the thing which is hurtful to the greatest number, but in all Churches and Commonwealths the ignorant and weak are the greatest number, to whom Images are hurtful, and not profitable.

And where it is commonly alledged, That Images in Churches do stir up the mind to devotion, it may be answered, that contrariwise they do rather distract the mind from Prayer, hearing of Gods Word, and other godly Meditations, as we read, that in the Council-Chamber of the *Lacedemonians* no Picture or Image was suffered, lest in consultation of weighty matters of the Commonwealth, their minds by the sight of the outward Image might be occasioned to be withdrawn, or to wander from the matter.

The experience of this present time doth declare that those parts of the Realm, which think and are persuaded that God is not offended by doing outward reverence to an Image, do most desire the restitution of Images, and have been most diligent to set them up again: Restitution therefore of them by common Authority shall confirm them more in their Error to the danger of their Souls, than ever they were before. For as one man writeth;

Nihil magis est certum, quam quod ex dubio factum est certum. That is to say, Nothing is more certain or sure, than that which of doubtful is made certain.

The profit of Images is uncertain, the peril, by experience of all Ages and states of the Church (as afore) is most certain.

The benefit to be taken of them (if there be any) is very small; the danger in seeing of them, which is the danger of Idolatry, is the greatest of all other. Now to allow a most certain peril for an uncertain profit, and the greatest danger for the smallest benefit, in matters of Faith and Religion, is a tempting to God, and a grievous offence.

Probations: out of the Fathers, Councils, and Histories.

First, It is manifest, that in the Primitive Church Images were not commonly used in Churches, Oratories, and places of Assembly for Religion; but they were generally detested and abhorred, inasmuch that the want of Imagery was objected to the Christians for a Crime.

Origen reporteth, that *Celsus* objected the lack of Images, *lib. 4. contra Celsum.*

Ambrosius saith also, That the *Ethnicks* accused the Christians that they had neither Altars nor Images.

Zephrus in his Commentary upon the Apology of *Tertullian*, gathereth thus of *Tertullians* words; *Qui locum persuadendi frigeret penitus, nisi perpetuo aliud tenemus: Christianos tunc temporis odisse maximè statuas cum suis ornamentis, &c.* That is to say, Which place of persuasion were very cold, and to no purpose at all, except we hold this always, That Christians in those days did hate most of all Images with their trim decking and ornaments.

Irenæus lib. 1. cap. 4. reproveth the Hereticks called *Gnosticks*, for that they carried about the Image of Christ made in *Plasies* time after his own proportion (which were much more to be esteemed than any that can be made now) using also for declaration of their affection towards it, to set Garlands upon the Head of it.

Lactantius affirmeth plainly: *Non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, ubiunque simulacrum est: lib. Divin. instit. 2. cap. 19.* That is to say, It is not to be doubted, that there is no Religion wherefoever is any Image. If Christians then had used Images, he would not have made his Proposition so large.

S. Augustine De Civitate Dei, lib. 4. cap. 31. commendeth *Varro* the Roman in these words: *Quam Varro existimaverit castius sine simulacris abseruari religionem, quam non videt, quantum appropinquaverit veritati? That is to say, When as Varro thought Religion might be kept more purely without Images, who doth not see how near he came to the Truth? So that not only by M. Varros judgment, but also by S. Augustines approbation, the most pure and chaste observation of Religion, and nearest the Truth, is to be without Images.*

The same *S. Augustine* in *Psalm. 113.* hath these words: *Plus valent simulacra ad curvandam infelicem animam, quam ad decendam:* That is to say, Images have more force to bough down and crook the filly soul, than to teach it.

And upon the same *Psalm* he moveth this question; *Quis quer, imo quævis bestia scit non esse Deum quod videt, cur ergo Spiritus Sanctus toties monet cavendum quod omnes sciunt? That is to say, Every Child, yea every Beast knoweth that it is not God which they see, why then doth the Holy Ghost so oft give warning to beware of that thing which all do know,*

S. Augustines Answer.

Quoniam cum ponuntur in Templis, & semel incipiunt adorari à multitudine, statim nascitur sordidissimus affectus erroris. That is to say, For when they are set in Churches, and begin once to be worshipped of the Multitude or Common People, straightway springeth up a most filthy affection of Error.

This place of *S. Augustine* doth well open how weak a reason it is to say, Images are a thing indifferent in Chambers and in Churches. For the alteration of the place, manner, and other circumstances, doth alter oftentimes the nature of the thing. It is lawful to buy and sell in the Market, but not so in Churches. It is lawful to eat and drink, but not so in Churches. And therefore saith *S. Paul*, *Annon habetis domos ad edendum ac bibendum? An Ecclesiam Dei contemnitis?* That is to say, Have you not Houses to eat and drink in? Do you contemn the Church of God?

Many other actions there be which are lawful and honest in private places, which are neither comely nor honest, not only in Churches, but also in other Assemblies of honest People.

Tertullian saith, he used sometimes to burn Frankincense in his Chamber, which was then used of Idolaters, and is yet in the Romish Churches, but he joyneth withal; *Sed non eodem ritu, nec eodem habitu, nec eodem apparatu, quo agitur apud Idola:* That is to say, But not after such a Rite or Ceremony, nor after such a fashion, nor with such preparation or sumptuousness, as it is done before the Idols.

So that Images placed in Churches, and set in honorable sublimity, that is to say, in an honourable place of estimation, as *S. Augustine* saith, and especially over the Lords Table, which is done (using the words of *Tertullian*) *eodem ritu, & eodem habitu*, that is after the same manner and fashion which the Papists did use, especially after so long continuance of abuse of Images, and so many being blinded with superstitious opinion towards them, cannot be counted a thing indifferent, but a most certain ruin of many Souls.

Epiphanius in his Epistle to *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem* (which Epistle was translated out of the Greek by *S. Jerom*, being a likelihood that *Jerom* misliked not the Doctrine of the same) doth write a fact of his own, which doth most clearly declare the judgment of that notable learned Bishop concerning the use of Images, his words are these: *Quam venissem ad villam quæ dicitur Anablatia, & visissemque ibi præteritis lucernam ardentem, & interrogassem quis locus esset, didicissemque esse Ecclesiam, & intrassem ut orarem: inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejusdem Ecclesiæ sinuam atque depictam,*

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depictum, & habens imaginem quasi Christi vel sancti cuiusdam, non enim satis memini cuius fuit. Cum ergo hoc vidissem in Ecclesia Christi contra auctoritatem Scripturarum, hominis pendere imaginem, scidi illud, &c. Et paulo post. Excepi in Ecclesia Christi istiusmodi vela quæ contra religionem nostram veniunt non appendi, &c. That is to say, When I came to a Village called *Anablaiba*, and saw there, as I passed by, a Candle burning, and enquiring what place it was, and learning that it was a Church, and had entered into the same to pray, I found there a Vail or Cloth hanging at the door of the same Church, dyed and painted, having on it the Image of Christ as it were, or of some Saint (for I remember not well whose it was.) Then when I saw this, that in the Church of Christ, against the Authority of the Scriptures, the Image of a man did hang, I cut it in pieces, &c. And commanded that such manner of Vails or Clothes, which are contrary to our Religion, be not hanging in the Church of Christ.

Out of this place of *Epiphanius* divers notes are to be observed.

First, That by the Judgment of this ancient Father, to permit Images in Churches is against the Authority of the Scriptures, meaning against the second Commandment, *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image, &c.*

Secondly, That *Epiphanius* doth reject not only graven and molten, but also painted Images: forasmuch as he cut in pieces the Image painted in a Vail hanging at the Church door; what would he have done, if he had found it over the Lords Table?

Thirdly, That he saith not the Image of Christ: for no doubt that Image is most perilous in the Church of all other.

Fourthly, That he did not only remove it, but with a vehemency of zeal cut it in pieces, following the example of the good King *Ezechias*, who brake the brasen Serpent, and burnt it to ashes.

Last of all, That *Epiphanius* thinketh it the duty of vigilant Bishops to be careful, that no such kind of painted Images be permitted in the Church.

Serenus Bishop of *Majissa* broke down Images, and destroyed them when he did see them begin to be worshipped, *Greg. in regif. epist. 109.*

Experience of the times since hath declared, whether of these two Sentences were better. For since *Gregorius* his time, the Images standing in the West-Church, it hath been overflowed with Idolatry, notwithstanding his or other mens doctrine: Whereas if *Serenus*'s judgment had universally taken place, no such thing had happened. For if no Images had been suffered, none could have been worshipped: and consequently, no Idolatry committed by them.

¶ To recite the Process of Histories and Councils about the matter of Images, it would require a long Discourse, but it shall be sufficient here briefly to touch a few.

IT is manifest to them that read Histories, that not only Emperors, but also divers and sundry Councils in the East-Church have condemned and abolished Images both by Decrees and Examples.

Petrus Crinitus de bonæ disciplina, l. 9. c. 9. ex libris Augustinus hac verba transcripsit. *Valens & Theodosius Augusti Imperatores præfecto prætorio ad hunc modum scripserunt. Quam sit nobis cura diligens in rebus omnibus superni nominis religionem tuere: Signum Salvatoris Christi nemini quidem concedimus coloribus, lapide aliave materia fingere, insculpere, aut pingere, sed quocunque reperitur loco tolli iubemus, gravissima pena eos multando qui contrarium decretis nostris, & imperio quicquam tentaverint.* That is to say, *Petrus Crinitus* in his Book of honest Discipline, Book 9. Chap. 9. wrote out of the Emperors Books these words: *Valens and Theodosius the Emperors wrote to the High Marshal or Lieutenant in this sort. Whereas we are very careful that the Religion of Almighty God should be in all things kept, We permit no man to cast grave, or paint the Image of our Saviour Christ, either in colours, stone, or other matter; but wheresoever it be found, we com-*

mand it to be taken away, punishing them most grievously that shall attempt any thing contrary to our Decrees and Empire.

Leo the Third, a man commended in Histories for his excellent virtues and godliness, who (as is judged of some men) was the Author of the Book *De re militari*, that is, Of the Feat of War; being translated out of the Greek by Sir *John Cheeke*, and dedicated to *K. Henry the Eighth*, your Highnesses Father; by Publick Authority commanded abolishing of Images; and in *Constantinople* caused all the Images to be gathered together on a heap, and burned them unto ashes.

Constantine the First his Son, assembled a Council of the Bishops of the East-Church; in which Council it was decreed as followeth. *It is not lawful for them that believe in God throv Jesus Christ, to have any Images, either of the Creator, or of any Creatures set up in Temples to be worshipped, but rather that all Images by the Law of God, and for the avoiding of offences, ought to be taken out of Churches.* Which Decree was executed in all places where any Images were, either in *Greece* or in *Asia*. But in all these times, the Bishops of *Rome* rather maintaining the Authority of *Gregory*, weighing like Christian Bishops the peril of the Church, always in their Assemblies allowed Images.

Not long after, the Bishop of *Rome*, practising with *Tharastus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, obtained of *Irene* the Emperess, her Son *Constantine* being then young, that a Council was called at *Nice*, in the which the Popes Legates were Presidents, which appeared well by their fruits: for in that Council it was decreed; That Images should not only be permitted in Churches, but also worshipped: which Council was confuted by a Book written by *Carolus Magnus* the Emperour, calling it a foolish and an arrogant Council.

Soon after this Council, arose a sharp contention between *Irene* the Emperess, and her Son *Constantine* the Sixth, the Emperour, who destroyed Images. And in the end, as she had before wickedly burned the bones of her Father in Law, *Constantine* the Fifth, so afterward unnaturally the put out the eyes of her Son *Constantine* the Sixth.

About which time, as *Eutropius* writeth, the Sun was darkened most terribly for the space of seventeen days, God shewing, by that dreadful sign, how much he disliked those kinds of proceedings.

To be short, there was never thing that made more division, or brought more mischief into the Church, than the Controverſie of Images: by reason whereof, not only the East-Church was divided from the West; and never since perfectly reconciled, but also the Empire was cut asunder and divided, and the Gate opened to the Saracens and Turks to enter and overcome a great piece of Christendom. The fault whereof most justly is to be ascribed to the Patrons of Images, who could not be contented with the example of the Primitive Church, being most simple and sincere, and most agreeable to the Scripture: (For as *Tersullian* saith, *Quod primum verum, quod posterius adulterinum*; That is to say, What as is first, that is true, and that that is later is counterfeit.) But with all extremity maintained the use of Images in Churches; whereof no profit nor commodity did ever grow to the Church of God. For it is evidently that infinite millions of Souls have been cast into eternal damnation by the occasion of Images used in place of Religion, and no History can record, that ever any one soul was won unto Christ by having of Images. But lest it might appear that the West-Church had always generally retained and commended Images, it is to be noted, that in a Council holden in *Spain*, called *Concilium Eliberinum*, the use of Images in Churches was clearly prohibited in these form of words; *Placuit in Ecclesiis picturæ esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur in parietibus depingatur.* That is to say, We decree, that Pictures ought not to be in Churches, lest that be painted upon the walls which is worshipped or adored.

But this notwithstanding experience hath declared, that neither assembling in Councils, neither Writings, Preachings, Decrees, making of Laws, prescribing of Punishments, hath holpen against Images, to the which Idolatry hath been committed, nor against Idolatry whilst Images

Images stood. For these blind Books and dumb School-masters, (which they call Lay-mens books) have more prevailed by their craved and painted preaching of Idolatry, than all other written Books and preachings in teaching the truth, and the horror of that vice.

Having thus declared unto your Highness a few causes of many which do move our Consciences in this matter; we beseech your Highness most humbly not to strain us any further, but to consider that Gods Word doth threaten a terrible judgment unto us, if we, being Pastors and Ministers in his Church, should assent unto the thing which in our Learning and Conscience we are persuaded doth tend to the confirmation of Error, Superstition and Idolatry: and finally, to the ruine of the Souls committed to our charge, for the which we must give an account to the Prince of Pastors at the last day, *Hebrews 12. 1. Pet. 5.* We pray your Majesty also not to be offended with this our plainness and liberty, which all good and Christian Princes have ever taken in good part at the hands of Godly Bishops.

Saint Ambrose writing to Theodosius the Emperor, useth these words; *Sed neque Imperiale est libertatem dicendi negare, neque Sacerdotale quod sentiat non dicere. Item, in causa vero Dei quem audiet, si Sacerdotem non audiet, cuius majore peccatur periculo? quis tibi verum audebit dicere, si Sacerdos non audeat? Epist. lib. 5. Epist. 29.* that is to say: But neither it is the part of an Emperor to deny free liberty of speaking, nor yet the duty of a Priest not to speak what he thinketh. And again; In Gods cause whom wilt thou hear, if thou wilt not hear the Priest, to whose great peril the fault should be committed? Who dare say the truth unto thee, if the Priest dare not? These and such like Speeches of S. Ambrose, Theodosius, and Valentinianus the Emperors did always take in good part, and we doubt not but your Grace will do the like, of whose not only clemency, but also beneficence, we have largely tasted.

We beseech your Majesty also, in these and such like controversies of Religion, to refer the discussion and deciding of them to a Synod of our Bishops and other Godly learned Men, according to the example of Constantinus Maximus, and other Christian Emperors, that the reasons of both parts being examined by them, the judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtful matters.

And to return to this present matter, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to consider, that besides weighty causes in policy, which we leave to the Wisdom of your Honourable Counsellors, the stablishment of Images by your Authority shall not only utterly discredit our Ministers, as builders up of the things which we have destroyed, but also blench the fame of your most Godly Father, and such notable Fathers as have given their Life for the Testimony of Gods Truth, who by publick Law removed all Images.

The Almighty and Everlasting God plentifully induce your Majesty with his Spirit and Heavenly Wisdom, and long preserve your most Gracious Reign and prosperous Government over us, to the advancement of his Glory, to the overthrow of Superstition, and to the benefit and comfort of all your Highness loving Subjects.

A Note of Mr. Ridley.

After D. Ridley sometime Bishop of London of whom mention is made, was a Man so revered for his Learning and Knowledge in the Scripture, that even his very enemies have reported him to have been an excellent Clerk, whose life it might have been redeemed with the sum of 10000. marks, yea, 10000. pounds, the Lord Daeres of the North, being his Kinsman, would have given it to Q. Mary, rather than he should have been burned. And yet was she so unmerciful, for all his gentleness in K. Edwards days, that it would not be granted for any sure that could be made. Oh, that he had remembered his labour for her to K. Edward the 6. with Cranmer before mentioned, in such fort that even he had yielded but the reward of a Publican, *Mat. 5.* then had the Earth not so been bereft of him as it was; but the Lord forgive us our sins which were the cause thereof, and grant that we never do provoke his anger again, if it be his blessed will, Amen.

Another Note of Mr. Ridley

After Ridley late Bishop of London, being Prisoner in the Tower, had there given him the liberty of the same, to prove belike whether he would go to Mass or no, which once he did. And M. Bradford being there Prisoner also the same time, and hearing thereof, took his pen and ink, and writeth to him an effectual Letter to persuade him from the same, and sheweth the occasion that thereby should ensue, which God be honored did M. Ridley no little good: for he repented his fact therein, as he himself maketh mention, writing again in the latter end of the Book of *Marcus Antonius*, which he lent to M. Bradford, and never after that polluted himself with that filthy dregs of Antichristian service.

A Commission sent from the Pope, with the Sentence definitive to proceed against the Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer.

Paulus Episcopus servus servorum Dei charissimo in Christo filio Philippo Regi, & charissime in Christo filie Mariæ Regine Angliæ, Franciæ, illiusque ac venerabilibus fratribus Londonensibus & Eliensis Episcopis salutem, & Apostolicam benedictionem. Dudum per litteras vestras, charissime fili Philippo Rex, & Christiana filia Maria Regina nobis significatur, quod iniquitatis filius Thomas Cranmerus, olim Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, in hæreses aliq; tam grandia & enormia crimina erat prolapsus, quod non solum regimine Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis se reddiderat indignum, verum etiam majori pœne se fecerat obnoxium. Nos de præmissis certam notitiam non habentes, & tanta crimina si vera essent, impunita, Ecclesiæ ipsam sine pastore idoneo derelinquere nolentes, dilectio filio nostro Jacobo, tituli Sanctæ Mariæ in via, tunc sancti Simeonis, Presbytero Cardinali, de Puteo nuncupato, vel de præmissis etiam summaris, simpliciter, & de plano sine strepitu & figura iudicii, ac sine ulla terminorum substantialium vel telæ judicariæ observatione, citato dicto Thoma se informaret, & quicquid invenisset nobis referret, per specialem commissionem manus nostræ signatam, dedimus in mandatis, sibi attribuentes potestatem in curia, & extra, citandi, & inhibendi, ac litteras compulsorias, generales & speciales ac remissorias, in forma consuetæ ad partes decernendi, & personas quascunque, si opus esse arbitrareretur, ad exhibendum iura, sive ad perhibendum testimonium, etiam per consulas Ecclesiasticas cogendi, & compellendi, (ut si pro celeriori expeditione sibi videretur, ad recipiendum informationem huiusmodi, aliquem probum virum in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutum in partibus istis commorantem cum simili citandi, inhibendi & cogendi facultate, deputandi, ac subdelegandi: ac sicut exhibita nobis nuper pro parte vestra, fili Rex, & filia Regina, petito continebat, dictus Jacobus Cardinalis, commissionis huiusmodi vigore, citatim ad partes contra eundem Thomam ad vestram, fili Rex & filia Regina, instantiam decreta, venerabilem fratrem nostrum Episcopum Gloucestrensem, una cum certis aliis ejus in ea parte collegiis, & eorum quolibet in solidum ad informationem super præmissis recipiendum subdelegavit, eisque vires suas in præmissis commisit. Et postquam dictus Episcopus Gloucestrensis in causa huiusmodi ad certos actus processerat, & ipsum Thomam super præmissis examinaverat, citatione prædicta, una cum ejus legitima executione in partibus facta, coram eodem Jacobo Cardinali judicialiter producta, & processu per audientiam litterarum nostrarum contradictarum contra eundem Thomam citatum & non comparentem decreto, cum processu coram dicto Episcopo Gloucestrensi contra ipsum Thomam in partibus habito coram præfato Jacobo Cardinali productus fuisset, & idem Thomas, ad id citatus, contra eum nihil diceret, imo comparere non curaret, præfatus Thoma ad videndum per ipsum Jacobum Cardinalem referri causam & referri iuramentum in supplementum plena probationis quantum opus esset, & ad concludendum & audiendum Sententiam definitivam, ad certam tunc expressam diem & horam per audientiam litterarum contradictarum huiusmodi citato, omnibus actis & actiatis causis huiusmodi diligenter visis & consideratis, causam

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ipsum

secularium nec non inhabitati ad quasque dignitates & beneficia, & alias contra tales personas tam de iurisdictione quam per litteras processum predictorum statutus penus non solum tantum credendum hereticis predictis & illorum sequacem, sed etiam tantum hereticarum notorum damnablem incidisse & incurrisse, propterea ipsius Thomam excommunicatum anathematizatum, & Archiepiscopatu Cantuariensi aliisque prelatibus, dignitatibus, officiis & beneficiis, nec non personibus, iuribus, privilegiis, bonis & fructibus predictis privatum, & ad illis et aliis quicunque indubitem, Curie seculari tradendum, doneque ejus piores ad quos spectat confiscande fore & esse prout etrad & ejus bona confiscari mandamus & concedimus omnes quosque & quascunque personas Thomae prefatorum ratione dicti Archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis, & aliorum prefatorum, nisi quas obtinuit & obtinet idem subiectas, & quibuscunque fidelitatis & obediencie iuramenti ei prefatis abjovendas & liberandas fore & esse prout abjovimus & liberamus, & iuramenta huiusmodi relaxamus, nec non ipse omnibus & singulis predictis eidem Thomae prepterum silentium imponentes, suppetentes omnes & singulis tam iuris quam facti defectibus, si qui forsitan in processu causae huiusmodi intervenierint ista pronunciamus. Cum autem a dicta sententia usque in causam hereticis & per nos de fratribus nostrorum consilio lata appellari non potuerit, & dicti Petrus & Antonius & Alexander procuratores citati per audientiam litterarum huiusmodi coram nobis prefato Thomae ad videndum decerni litteras excoctatorias ad aliquem Prefatum qui actum ipsius Thomae degradationem faciat, eumque Curie seculari tradat in partibus deputari in contumaciam dicti Thomae nisi prefertur citati & non compertis litteras excoctatorias decerni ac aliquis Prefatus qui actum ipsius Thomae degradationem faciat & eum Curie seculari tradat in istis partibus deputari per nos nulla cum infensio possit evenire: nos huiusmodi iustis possessionibus annuentes litteras excoctatorias predictas Apostolicas autoritate decernimus, ac vos, fratres Episcopi qui actum ipsius Thomae degradationem faciat, & ea facta cum Curie seculari promissa tamen in ipso actu traditionis incipere ad iudicem secularem pro huiusmodi tradendis per Ecclesiam solita rite traditis antequam, & tenore predictis dignamini. Quapropter vos omnes & singulos prefatos quosque personas nostrae litterae diriguntur rogamus, & vos, fratres Episcopi, per Apostolicas litteras mandamus, & mandatis sanctae obediencie & sub suspensione & excoctatione & interdicti regis Ecclesie tenentis districte iungimus ut ad ultimum executionem facite nostrae praedictae procedatis. Et vos filii Rex & filia Regina bona ipsius confiscentis seu per eos ad quos spectat confiscentis, & ipsius Thomam possorem Curie seculari iusta rationem praesentiam traditis fuerit, id quod iuris fuerit, rite mandatis & faciatis. Vos vero, fratres Episcopi, alter vestrum, si uno quod alter pro altero se non excuset, sed bene omnia in solidum sub iuramentis praedictis exquiramus, nec contra ea excusationem aut exceptionem apponere valeatis auctoritate nostra, ceremoniis in simulacris servari solitis penitus observatis, actum ipsius Thomae degradationem faciat, eumque postea Curie seculari modo uti prefertur traditis, contradicte per nos prefatum Ecclesiasticam appellatione possitae compescendo non obstantibus constitutionibus & ordinationibus Apostolicis contrariis quicunque, aut si aliquibus committeret vel divinis ab eadem sit seditionum, quod interdixit, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per litteras Apostolicas, non facientes plenam & expressam a deo verbo ad verbum de indulta huiusmodi mentionem Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum. Anno incarnationis Domini, Millesimo, Quingentesimo, Quinquagesimo, Quinto. Decimo nono Calendas Januarii, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

Item 4

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Item, supra eundem ordinetur una credentia simplici tobalea cooperta.
Item, supra eundem credentiam ponatur ampulla vini & ampulla aque.
Item, liber Evangeliorum, liber Epistolarum, liber Exorcismorum, liber Lectionum, Antiphonarum.
Item, Bacile cum baculo & Mantili.
Item, unum candelabrum cum candela extincta.
Item, claves, forfices, cubellus seu petia virri.
Item, calix cum patina.

Paramenta pro Degradando

Superpellicium, Sandalia cum caligis, amictus, alba, cingulum, Manipulus, Tunicella, Stola, Dalmatica, Chirobece, alia stola Planeta, Mitra, Annulus pontificalis, Palliugi, Baculus pastoralis, & aliqua vestis habitus secularis.

Item, paratur salsistorium pro Pontifice degradatore.

Item, Sedilia pro Officialibus.

Item, Adfisi Ministri Pontificis.

Item, Index Secularis, cui degradatus committatur.

Item, Notarius qui processum degradationis legat, si opus erit, vel Episcopo degradatori placuerit.

Item, Barbitonsor.

Item, Hora convenienti degradandus, habitu suo quotidiano indutus super dictum locum adducatur, & a clericis induatur omnibus paramentis sui ordinis.

Item, Eo sic induto, Pontifex degradator indutus amictu, alba, cingulo, stola, & pivialis rubens, ac mitra simplici, baculum pastorem in sinistra manu tenens ascendet ad locum predictum, & ibidem sedebit in salsistorio, in e convenienti loco sibi parato versus ad populum, assistente sibi, iuxta & Seculari.

Tunc & deo adunat omnibus sui ordinis vestibus sacris indutus, & singulis ornamentis ornatus, habens in manipulis ornamentum ad ordinem suum spectans, ac si deberet in suo officio ministrare, adducitur ante Pontifex, coram quo genua flectit.

Tunc Pontifex degradator (sedens ut supra) populo in vulgari significat degradationis huiusmodi causam.

Deinde contra degradandum sententiam fert in hac verba, si huiusmodi sententia lata non sit.

IN nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti, Amen.
Quia nos N. Dei & Apostolica sedis gratia Episcopus, &c.

Degradation from
the order of Ateb.

Degradatio ab ordine
chiepiscopale.

Primo, pallium degradator aufert a degradando, dicendo.

Proterogativa pontificalis dignitatis qua in pallio designatur te eximimus, quia male usus es ea.

Secundo, mitram aufert a degradando, dicendo.

Mitra pontificalis dignitatis, videlicet ornate, quia eam male presidendo fidefasti, tuum caput denudamus.

Tercio, librum Evangeliorum a degradator aufert, dicendo.

Redde Evangelium, quia predicandi officio, quo spreto Dei gratia te indignum fecisti, te iuste privamus.

Quarto, annulum aufert de digito degradandi, dicendo.

Annulum, fidei scilicet signaculum, tibi digne subtrahimus, quia ipsam spem Dei Ecclesiam temere violasti.

Quinto, baculo pastoralis per unum de ministris in manu degradandi tradit, dicendo.

Auferimus a te baculum pastorem, ut perinde correctionis officium quod turbasti non valeas exercere.

Sexto, chirobece per ministros extracta degradator ab alio degradando tollit, & ex manibus ter cum cubello aut vicio, dicendo.

Sic Spiritualis benedictionis, delibutionis mystice gratia, quantum in nobis est te privamus, ut sanctificandi & benedicens perdas officium & effectum.

Septimo, caput degradandi cum eodem aut vicio ab alio degradator, leniter decedat.

Consecrationem & benedictionem ac unctionem tibi traditam radendo delimus, & te ab ordine pontificali, quo inhabilis es redditus, adicamus.

Tum degradando per ministros extrahuntur sandalia.

Degradation from
the order of Priesthood.

Degradatio ab ordine
byteranus.

Calice cum vino & aqua & patina & hostia, per ministros in manus degradandi traditi, Consecrator aufert patenam celebrandi, dicens.

Amovemus a te, quoniam potius amota esse offendimus, potestatem offerendi Deo Sacrificium, Missamque celebrandi, tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis.

Pollices & manus abraduntur sub hac forma.

Potestatem sacrificandi & benedicens quam in unctione manuum & pollicum recepisti, tibi tollimus hac rasure.

Casulam sive phocam per posteriorem partem capiti accipit degradator, & degradandum exuit, dicens.

Veste Sacerdotali charitatem signante te meritis expoliamus, quia ipsum & omnem innocentiam exuisti.

Quarto, stolum aufert, dicens.

Signum Domini per hanc stolum signatum turpiter abiecasti: ideoque ipsam a te amovemus, quem inhabilem reddimus ad omne Sacerdotale officium exercendum.

Degradation from
the order of Diaconus.

Degradatio ab ordine
Diaconatus.

1. Libro Evangeliorum degradando in manus per ministros tradit, degradator aufert librum, dicens.

Amovemus a te potestatem legendi Evangelium in Ecclesia Dei, quia id non competit nisi digni.

2. Voluticum aufert, dicens.

Levitico ordine te privamus, quia tuum in eo ministerium non implevisti.

3. Stolum aufert de humeris degradandi, degradator aufert eam post tergum, dicens.

Stolum candidam, quam acceperas immaculatam in conspectu Domini perferendam, quia non sic cognito mysterio exemplum conversationis tue fidelibus praeibisti, ut plebs dicat Christi nomen possit exinde imitationem acquirere, iuste a te amovemus, omne Diaconatus officium tibi prohibentes.

Degradation from
the order of a Subdeacon.

Degradatio ab ordine
Subdiaconatus.

1. Epistolarum libro degradando in manus tradit, degradator eundem aufert, dicens.

Auferimus tibi potestatem legendi epistolam in Ecclesia Dei, quia hoc ministerio indignus es redditus.

2. Tunicella aufertur, dicendo.

Tunica subdiaconalis te eximimus, cuius & corpus timor Domini castus & sanctus in aeternum permanens non contrahitur.

3. Manipulum aufert, dicendo.

Depone manipulum, quia per fructus bonorum operum quos designat, non expugnasti spiritualis infideli inimici.

4. Amictus aufertur sub hac forma.

Quia vocem tuam non castigasti, ideo amictum a te auferimus.

5. Urceolum cum vino & aqua & bacillum manu tergo degradando tradit, & aufert archidiaconus.

Ex nihil dicit.

6. Calicem vacuam cum patina tradit in manus degradandi, aufert degradator, dicendo.
Cingulum album & amictum exuit ministris.

Potestatem introeundi sacrum, tangendi pallas, vasa & alia indumenta sacra, omneque subdiaconatus ministerium exercendi a te amovemus.

De-

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the order of *Zeas*
and *Colui*.Degradatio ab ordine Ac-
colytatus.Urocolom vacum
in manu degradan-
do crediam autem
degradat, dicens.Amunde, vinum & aquam ad Eucha-
ristiam de caetero non ministres.Candelabrum cum
cero exholito de-
gradator accipit de
manibus degradan-
di, dicens.Dimitte preferendis visibile lumen of-
ficium, qui præbere spirituale moribus
neglexisti, ac universum Accolytatus of-
ficium hic depone.Degradation from
the order of exorci-
ting.Degradatio ab ordine Ex-
orcistatus.Librum exorcismo-
rum auctori Pontifex de-
gradator, dicens.P Riviatus te potestate imponendi ma-
num super energumenos, & da-
mones de obsessis corporibus expellendi,
omni tibi exorcistatus officio interdicto.Degradation from
the order of Reader
ship.Degradatio ab ordine
Lectoratus.Librum Lectorum
auctori Pontifex de-
gradator, dicens.IN Ecclesia Dei non legas ulterius, neq;
cantes, neq; panes aut fructus novus
ulatenus benedicas, quia tuum officium
non implevisti fideliter & devotè.Degradatio a front
the order of Door-
keepership or Sex-
troidship.Degradatio ab ordine
Hostiarius.Claves Ecclesie au-
tenti Pontifex degra-
dator, dicens.Q Uia in clavibus errasti, claves di-
mitte, & quia hostia cordis tui
male demonibus obferasti, amovemus à
te officium hostiarii, ut non percutias
cymbalum, non aperias Ecclesiam, non sa-
crarium, non librum amplius prædicanti.Degradatio à prima
tonfura.Superpellicium de-
gradando extrahit
Pontifex degrada-
tor, dicens.A Utoritate Dei omnipotentis, patris,
& filii, & spiritus sancti, ac
qua fungimur in hac parte, tibi aufe-
rimus habitum clericalem, & nudamus
te religionis ornatu, atque deponimus,
degradamus, solvamus & exuimus om-
ni ordine, beneficio, & privilegio cle-
ricali, & velut clericalem professionem in-
dignum religionis te in servitium * &
ignominiam habitus secularis ac status.* the secular
fite igno-
minious, and
disdained
with the
proud Cler-
gy.Eum forficibus ton-
dere incipit. Pontifex
degradator, & per
Barbillionem forem
tollit eundem la-
ciat caput degrada-
dandi, dicens.Te velut ingratus fueras ab-
jicimus, & coram tui capitis regale
quidem signum sacerdotii de tuo capite
amovemus propter tui regimini prævi-
tatem.Pinde velis Pon-
tifer, dicens.Quod ore cantasti, corde non credi-
disti, nec opere implevisti, ideo cantan-
di officium in Ecclesia Dei à te amove-
mus.Tum Ministri pontificis exuunt degra-
datum vestem, & habitum clericalem, &
ipsum induunt habitum seculari.
Si degradatus tradi debeat curia se-
culari.Pontifex degrada-
tor degradatum ex-
plum non tangit, sed
in hunc modum pro-
nunciat, dicens.Denunciamus ut hunc exutum omni
ordine ac privilegio clericali, curia se-
cularis in suum forum recipiat.Regit iudicem se-
cularem ut circa
mortis periculum,
etc.Domine iudex, rogamus vos cum
omni affectu quo possumus, ut amore
Dei, pietatis & misericordie intuitu
& nostrorum intervenientium precaminum
miserrimo huic nullum mortis vel nu-
tiationis periculum inferas.

A Note concerning Dr. Crammer in his Disputation.

That day wherein Doctor Crammer late Bishop of Canterbury answered in the Divinity School at Oxford, there was alledged unto him by Doctor Weston; that he the said Crammer in his Book of the Sacrament falsly falsified the saying of the Doctors, and specially the saying of Saint Hilary in these words, *Vero for Vere*, shewing a print or two thereof; to have defaced his doings therein: but Doctor Crammer with a grave and fatherly sobriety answered, that the print of S. Hilarys works, whereout he took his notes, was *verbatim* according to his Book, and that could his Books testify if they were there to be seen. Saying further, that he supposed D. Smith in that order rehearsed it in his Book of the Sacrament, to the which D. Smith there present (though he were demanded the answer thereof) stood in silence, As *Canis mutus non valens latrare*. But by and by D. Weston without shame, to shadow D. Smiths silence, spitefully said to Crammer; belike you took your learning out of Mr. D. Smiths Book.

All this already is testified before.

It chanced at that present to be in the School one William Holcot Gentleman then a journeyer in the University Colledge; he hearing the same untruth, and remembering that he had amongst his Books in his study the said Book of Doctor Smith, at his return to his said study desirous to see the truth therein, found it agreeable to the writing and affirmation of Doctor Crammer. And the said Holcot, then and there better remembering himself, found amongst his Books the Book of Stephen Gardiner, intitled the Devils Sophistry. In which Book was the said saying of Saint Hilary alledged by the said Stephen *verbatim*, both in Latin and English according to Doctor Crammers confirmation. Then the said William Holcot intending (for the manifest opening and trial of the truth therein) to have delivered the said Gardiners Book to Doctor Crammer, brought it to Bocardo the Prison of Oxford, where Doctor Crammer then remained, but there in the delivery thereof he was apprehended by the Bailiffs and by them brought before Doctor Weston and his Colleagues then at dinner at Corpus Christi Colledge, who straightways laid Treson to the charge of the said William Holcot, for the maintenance of Crammer in his naughtiness (as they called it) and so upon strait examination, to know who were privy to his doings in delivery of the said Gardiners Book, committed him to the said Prison of Bocardo, where he sojournd and slept in the straw that night.

And in the morrow in the morning, Doctor Cole yet alive, then Dean of Pauls, and Doctor Jeffery, two of them then Visitors, further examined the said Holcot of that his doings; threatening him to lay treson to his charge, and so to send him for the trial thereof to the then Lord Chancellor Stephen Gardiner, willing him presently to subscribe to the Articles then in question, but he refused, desiring respite until the Laws of the Realm had determined the same. And so was he again committed to the said Prison. And after three days Doctor Weston and the residue of the Visitors solemnly in Saint Maries Church pronouncing sentence against the late Bishops, Crammer, Ridley, and Latimer; amongst other called there before them the said Holcot, willing him to subscribe to their three Articles. He demanding them then these demands, first, whether they thought in their Consciences that the Articles, whereunto they willed him to subscribe, were according to the Scriptures, and that the Religion then they went about to plant were the true Religion of Christ: they answered all with one voice, Yea, yea. Then asked he them whether they thought themselves able to answer, and would answer before God for him if he subscribed thereunto as they willed him: And they likewise answered, Yea, yea. And so he the said Holcot through fear and frailty of the Flesh (as Noephtus) upon their threats subscribed. Then they with many fair and flattering words delivered him, but would not let him have again his Book brought to Bocardo, lest (as it seemed)

he

he should shew it to their shame. And they privily willed the Master and the fellows of the said University Colledge to see the said William Holec forth coming: And if they within a fortnight after did not hear from the then Lord Chancellor what should be done with him, that then they at the fortnights end should expel him out of the said Colledge, which they would have done, if the then Vicechancellor had not willed them to the contrary. Which Holec, though then an *Apostata*, is yet now a penitent Preacher.

An Epistle of Bishop Hooper in Latin, sent to the Convocation-House touching matters of Religion.

Episcopis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, & ceteris Cleri Ordinibus in Synodo Londinensi congregatis, gratiam & pacem a Domino.

Non vos latet (Viri doctissimi) in rebus arduis, ambiguis, & causis difficilioribus, iudicium apud veteres (juxta mandatum Dei) delatum fuisse semper ad Sacerdotes, Levitas, & ad Presidem, qui pro tempore iudicare fungebaturque omnes vi causas & lites difficiliores explicarent, ex prescripto Legis Dei. Ita qualescunque controversie fuerunt; ex sententia Sacerdotum & Presidis, ad normam & prescriptum Legis Dei late, componebantur. Et ob eo quod iudici partibus litigantibus statuissent, nullo modo erat declinandum. Quod si quis contumacious Sacerdos aut Presidis non parvisset, iuxta legem Dei sententiam pronuncianti, penas contumacie morte luctu, quo populi, hac ultione & contumacia vindicta admonitus, merneret; & denique in sole scire deberet. Quam difficulte, imo quam periculosa, inter vos & vos, de re Eucharistica lites aguntur, vestrae conitione, scripta, & libelli testantur: non vero qui meliorem, veritatem, & antiquissimam fidem sustinentes, consuetudine omnium bonorum nostrorum, dura & inhumana carceris servitute sentimus. Quare mei ipsius nomine, ac omnium fidei aurum qui mecum eandem Catholicae ac sanctae religionis veritatem profitentur, vos omnes in Christo Jesu obsecro, ut causam hanc, vel aliquam quancunque ob religionem ortam inter nos & vos, deferre dignemini ad supremam Curiam Parliamenti; ut ibi utraque pars coram sacro & excelso Senatu sese religiose, & animo submissio iudicio & auctoritati verbi Dei subiciat. Et si vestram religionem, quam sanctam, orthodoxam, ac catholicam esse contenditis, ex verbo Dei asserere potestis, illam & nos libenter amplexabimur, nostram, quam modo pro sacrosancta defendimus, repudiantes. Gratias item Deo & vobis agentes quam maximas, quod per vos ab erroribus liberati, ad veritatis cognitionem revocemur. Non solum autem hoc à vobis obsecramus, ut vos vestramque causam iudicio verbi Dei coram summo Parlamento deferatis; verum etiam ut nobis commolum detur tempus, quo veterum scripta & sacras literas evolvamur, à sancto Senatu imperare dignemini. Et si ibi iustas ac legitimas rationes fidei nostrae non reddiderimus, iudicio magistratus nos ipsos submittimus, ut à vobis ultionem nostri celeris & impietatis nobis inflat. Si hac facere non recusaveritis, religio quam causam, illoriam, et salvam, ac ob omnibus amplectendam esse conceditis, gloriosius de vestra fide & religione, ac de nobis ipsis (qui illam impiam esse & falsam contestamur) victoriam reportabimur. Nam si vestra Religio & cultus in causa Eucharistica sententiam & originem ducunt ex verbo Dei; procul dubio sanctam & sempiternam esse oportet. Et scitis quod res sancta & vera quo magis examinatur, & per verbum Dei exploratur, eo fit illustrior & purior. Et quanto purior et illustrior sit, tanto magis ab omnibus desideratur, & obvisis vultu excipitur. Quis enim non desideraret & amplecteretur religionem & cultum à Deo mandatum, & ab illius verbo sanctum ac confirmatum? Quare si vestra religio & cultus Dei res fide adeo vera, sancta, & à Deo mundo exhibit; non est quod ei metuat. Nam quod variis modis tentatur ac probatur, modo pium ac sanctum fuerit, iacturam ab hostibus nullam sentit, sed potius hostes conculcat ac interficit. Solis radii serquilinearum serdibus non coninguntur; veritasque divina verbi eternum tenetis & caligine

non offunditur. Nec est quod vobis ipsis metuat; Anno modo res ipsa praesentis, quod ubique iactatis. Nam quotquot vestras partes non sequuntur, aliquo gravissimo ignominia genere nimis superbe afficitis: nos omnes omnino indoctos esse predicatis, aut plane dementatos affirmatis. Vobis autem pluraquam divinam vendicatis prudentiam; nobis vero pluraquam belluina soliditatem tribuitis. Jam quam facile erit doctis indoctos, hominibus sana mentis insaniam percitis, ingenio & prudentia flagrantibus stolidos & ignaros vincere; sacer Parliamenti conventus nullo negotio intelligit. Ideo, si omnino ob Christum & illius causae gloriam quam nos defendimus, cui ob salutem nostram, ut vestra prudentia nos scilicet arguamus, vestraque doctrina & eruditione nos ignorantia accusetur, hoc facere non vultis; tamen, ut publice impietatis convincamur coram summo Senatu, hoc praesentis. Et si istis rationibus nihil moveamini; tamen vestra ipsorum causa certe postulat, ut palam ea lites inter nos componantur, idque coram competentibus iudicem apud omnes pios male audiat, & fortassis hac suspitione laboret, quasi lucem & publicum examen fugiat, ne impietatis, & idololatriae per verbum Dei deprehendatur. Et vos qui malam causam, imo pessimam, ferro & igne defenditis, non tam docti nec pii, ut omnino vidiri & haberi vultis, invicemini: sed potius ignorantis & stultitiae, quas nobis impingitis, redegamini. Non vos fugit quomodo publice, palam, & in facie ac in praesentia omnium statum huius regni summa curia Parliamenti, veritas verbi Dei per fides, doctos, & pios ministros de vestra impia Missa gloriose victoriam reportavit: quamvis per trecentos annos non solum locum & templum Dei occupaverit, verum etiam corda hominum (tanquam Deus) inhabitaverit. Sed quocunque titulo, nomine, honore, reverentia, sanctitate, tempore, patronis, universitate splendens, vos per sanctissimum Regem Edwardum sextum sanctissima memoria ad revocum lapidem lydiu verbi Dei examinari per proceres, brotes, ac doctos huius regni erat mandatum; statim eorum, & nihil aliud apparuit, quam spursum & immundissimum idolum sub pallio & nomine Dei impie coniectum. Aqua & iusta petimus, ut palam & publice lites inter nos componantur. Si igitur vestrae causae & vobis ipsis non dissidat, una nobiscum apud sanctum Senatum agere dignemini, ut coram illo, auctoritate verbi Dei, quis nostrum veriorum partem defendere, dignoscatur. Nullis enim legibus sanctis & iustis unquam fuis permittimus, ut una pars litigans de altera parte iudex constitueretur. Nam in omnibus controversiis & causis difficilioribus (maxime in Religione) mediis aliquis, & neutra litigantium pars in iudicem eligenda est. Nec Christus ipse (quamvis ipsa veritas) aeterni Patris Filius, hanc potestatem & imperium iudicandi sibi vendicavit: quoadcunque lites de eius Doctrina, inter illum & Phariseos, vel quoscunque alios congererunt. Sed semper ad legem appellavit, adversariusque suos ut legi praescripto & sententiae starent, rogavit; scrutamini (inquit) Scripturas. Nos etiam à vobis nihil aliud in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, suppliciter petimus & rogamus, nisi ut causa de qua inter nos litigatur, sententia & auctoritate verbi Dei decidatur ac finiatur. Et si per Verbum Dei fidem nostram parum candidam & piam offendere valeatis; porrigemus vobis herbam, daboque dexteras. Nec in impios Atrianos pui & sancti Patres, hanc iudicandi potestatem sibi assumserunt; sed adsum disputationi pui Principi Constantini Imperator qui rationes partium litigantium diligenter perpendit, & sententiam aique iudicium causae soli auctoritati verbi Dei devulsi. Quid hoc est igitur? quo iure contenditis? vultis & nostri et causae nostrae testes, accusatores, et iudices esse nos tantum Legem et Evangelium Dei, in causa religionis, iudicem competentem agnoscimus; illius iudicio seu vel cadat nostra causa. Tantum iterum atque iterum petimus, ut coram competentibus iudice detur nobis, qui vincula et carceres sustinemus, antiquum Christianissimumque auditorium: atque band dubitamus, quam nostras rationes, et argumenta auctoritate verbi divini sumus stabilituri, ac vestra plane subverturi. Hactenus praedictis iniuste gravamur; nec mirum, cum una pars litigantium iudex alterius partis constituitur. Quapropter ad Verbum Dei tanquam unicum et solum competentem, in causa religionis, ju-

Anno 1558 iudicem appellamus. Si præter & contra hanc Legem Dei, falsa & impia (ut capistis) v. & dolo promovere non desistitis; sed fratres vestros truculenter persequendo pergetis; nos in tantis periculis constituti ad misericordiam Dei confugimus, qui solus & possit & velit nos à vestris erroribus incolumes & salvos conservare. Præterea, ut olim aliqui ex nobis, pro salute & incolumitate aliquot vestrum, apud Magistratum civilem intercessimus; sic & nunc pro omnium vestrum salute in Christo Jesu apud Patrem celestem intercedere non desistemus, ut tandem ad meliorem & sinceriorem mentem reverteri unicum Christum Jesum quem præcinerunt Prophetæ, prædicaverunt Apostoli, quemque omnes pii agnoscunt jam (quoad humanitatem) sedentem ad dextram Patris in calis amplectamini, & exsulemini; repudiato conficio & ementito illo Christo, ex pane confecto, quem non solum juvenes virgines, & senes, verum etiam oves & boves, peccaque campi, volucres cali, & pisces maris panem agnoscunt ac sentiunt, & non Deum. Desistite, rogamus, igitur enixe ulterius oculos piorum perstringere. Verus enim Christus, quatenus homo, jam amplius sursum ac deorsum per manus Sacerdotum agitari & immolari non potest. Infernum vicit, peccata vestra in Cruce perivitavit, mortem destruxit, & jam astra tenet; quem olim videbitis venientem in nubibus cali cum potestate magna & gloria, spectentisque patris vos plangentis, nisi hic penitentiam sal & impiæ vestra doctrinæ egerit. Si Dexti autem, pro ira inexhausta bonitate & clementia, per Verbum suum literas inter nos componi dignetur, non dubito quin oculos vestros ita sit aperuit, ut quam horribiliter & impie Dei ac hominum testimonio & scriptis vos abuti videatis. Sed si furioso & excaeculenti spiritu vestras partes, circa auctoritatem Verbi Dei, defendere velitis; ædum est omnino de vestra æterna salute, quod Dominus propter filium suum unicum avertat. Cogitate etiam apud vos ipsos an hoc sit piorum Ministrorum Ecclesiæ officium, vis, metu, & pavore corde hominum in vestras partes compellere? Profecto Christus non ignem, non gladium, non carceres, non vincula, non violentiam, non confiscationem bonorum, non Regineæ Majestatis terrorem, necque organa consiliunt, quibus veritas sui veri mundo promulgaretur: sed mihi ac diligenti predicatione Evangelii sui mundum ab errore & Idololatriæ converti præcipit. Ipsi non Christi sed Antichristi armis utimur, quibus populum invicem ad vestra sacra compellimus; & non volentes & insinuatum Verbo Dei trahimus. Sed quam malus cufus perpetuatus sit timor, non ignoratis. Certe qui timet, nisi Dei Spiritus semper revocetur, odit. Triadite igitur suberrima præcepta Legis & Evangelii populo Dei, ut pro Christi Ministris per verbum Christi ab omnibus agnoscamini. Ideo enim Ministris Ecclesiæ Christi esset constituti, ut tantum Christi doctrinam populum Dei docerent, & non ut novum, & à Christo alienam obtruderent. Quæ jam vos in Ecclesia agitis, si coram æquo iudice amitam ac Christianam dispositionem non recoverseritis; ex Verbo Dei offendemus, vel à Lege Mofaica mutata, vel per Antichristum, & pseudoministros in Ecclesiam fuisse introducta, ut hoc brevi tractatu excellæ Parliamenti Curia facili constabit. Scio inter vos esse tam turgido & iniquo spiritu prædicatos, qui putant nos tantum inanem glorie, superbie, arrogantia, & famæ nostræ summo duci, & ideo velle potius semper male currere, quam admonitos de errore bene recurrere. Sed hoc Deus novit, quod tantum illius gloriam, nostramque salutem in Christo querimus, dicant adversarii quid velint. Meminerint autem nostri adversarii & cogitent, quamquam apud illos nec pro doctis nec piis hominibus habeamur (& haud dubie nos ipsos omnis impetatus & peccati apud Deum quotidie accusamus) tamen homines sumus ratione præditi. Et quis (nisi infans) jactura & amissione omnium bonorum suorum, æoris, liberorum, libertatis & vitæ redimet famæ aut inanem gloriæ titulum? Profecto tanti perire (ut dicitur) non emerimus. Igitur alius verbi veritatem nostris bonis omnibus ac vitæ ipsi præferimus: Et si centies (Deo nos adjuvante) moriendum nobis fuerit; ad idololatriam & impium cultum Dei, quæ Dei misericordia hactenus reliquimus, non revertemur. Domini sumus, siue vivamus, siue moriamur; ejus

igitur voluntas in vobis & in nobis cum misericordia fiat, Amen.

Vestra salutis in Christo

studiosissimus,

Job. Hooperus.

A Note of Bishop Farrer.

Doctor Leson, Doctor of Law, a Civilian, a Justice of Peace, the same who is mentioned before, would not suffer Bishop Farrer (when he was at the Stake to be burnt) to speak his mind, and about half a year after the said Doctor Leson died, and when he would have spoke himself he could not.

The Trouble and Examination of Thomas Hitton Martyr, with his Examinations, Answers, Condemnation and Martyrdom, Anno 1529. the 20th of February.

Thomas Hitton of Marham in the Diocese of Norwich, an honest poor man and religious, ever fearing God from his youth, and loving his Word; when persecution for the same Word in the days of King Henry the Eighth grew to be somewhat hot, took his Journey toward Rochester in Kent, intending to have gone to Dover, and so to have crossed the Seas into France and other Countries for a time, where repeating himself a while, he might be free from the heat of Persecution. As he was going on his intended Journey, one Thomas Swainsland, Bailly to William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, meeting him by the way, and suspecting him to be (as they called them) an Heretic, caused him to be staied and brought before the said William Archbishop of Canterbury, his Master; who demanded of him from whence he came, and whether he intended to have gone, if he had not been intercepted? The said Thomas answered; that he came out of the Diocese of Norwich, and purposed to have gone beyond the Seas, if God had so permitted. Then the Bishop asked him, if he had ever been beyond the Seas before, and what Books he had brought over. He answered, that he had been once beyond the Seas before, and had brought certain Books with him from thence; namely, two New Testaments, and one Primer in English. The Bishop asked him to whom he gave the said Books. He answered, he would not declare. For (saith he) such is your bloody Cruelty, that you would never sleep quietly till you have sucked their Blood, as you mean to do mine. The Bishop seeing he could extort no more out of him, and perceiving his constant spirit and fervent zeal to the Truth, commanded him to Prison till further opportunity might serve for the shedding of his Blood.

The second Appearance of Thomas Hitton before the said Archbishop of Canterbury.

Within a while after the Bishop commanded the said Thomas to be brought before him again, who demanded of him how he judged and believed of the Religion then in force; and of the Authority of the Bishop of Rome. The said Thomas answered, that the Religion then used was most abominable Idolatry, and contrary to the holy Word of God. And as for the Pope (quoth he) he is Antichrist, the First-born of Satan, and hath no more power or authority; than any other Bishop hath in his own Diocese, nor so much neither. The Bishop hearing this, was in such a pelting chafe, that at that time he would talk no more with him; but returned him from whence he came, namely to Bocardo, with commandment to appear before him again upon the thirteenth day of the same Month following, at his Mannor of Knoll, to answer to such Articles and Interrogatories as should be objected ex officio against him.

The third appearance of Thomas Hitton before the said Archbishop of Canterbury.

*The Hitton
refuseth to
swear ag-
ainst him-
self.*

THe said *Thomas Hitton* at the day prefixed, made his personal appearance before the Bishop at the place appointed, to whom the Bishop ministred certain Articles and Interrogatories for him to answer unto, commanding him to swear, to answer truly and unfainedly unto them, and every part of them. The said *Thomas Hitton* refused to swear, saying, It is against Gods Laws and good Conscience for any man to swear to shed his own Blood, for so he should be a Murderer of himself, and become guilty of his own Death. But notwithstanding that he refused to swear to answer, yet he answered truly and directly to every particular Article and Interrogatory propounded unto him, but so as was finally to their contentation, yet no doubt to the great glory of God, and comfort of the godly. This done, the Bishop brake off his Session for that time, and commanded him to Prison again, and to appear before him in the place aforesaid upon the Friday next following, to answer further as should be demanded of him, granting him liberty withall to add to, or subtraçt from his former answers, or else utterly to deny and revoke the same.

The fourth appearance of Thomas Hitton before the said Archbishop of Canterbury.

THe day and time approaching, the said *Thomas Hitton* appeared again accordingly, and having heard his former answers and confessions distinctly by the Notary read unto him, hee reformed them in certain points, to some hee added, from other some hee substracted, but none hee denied. Then the Bishop perceiving his unmoveable constancie in the truth, setting learning and reason apart, being not able to convince him by arguments and truth, nor yet to reprove the Spirit which spake in him, fell to exhorting of him to have respect to his Soules health, and not so wilfully (as they termed it) to cast away himself for ever, but to repent, and abjure his errors, and in so doing, he would be good unto him, he said. When the Bishop with all his persuasions could do no good with him to withdraw him from the Truth of Gods Word, then the Doctors and other the assistants attempted the like: all which notwithstanding, the said *Thomas Hitton* would not desist nor shrink one jot from the truth, but both affirmed and confirmed his former Articles and confessions to the end; Inferring withal, that they sinned against the Holy Ghost, in as much as they knew that Gods Word was the Truth, and that the Mass and all Popish Religion is nothing but Idolatry, Lies, and open Blasphemy against the Majesty of God and his word, and contrary to Gods Word in every respect, and yet they would allow and maintain the same, contrary to their own Consciences: whereat all the Bench was greatly offended, and commanded him to Prison again, assigning him a day to come before them again.

The fifth appearance of Thomas Hitton before the said Archbishop of Canterbury.

*Another ap-
pearance of
T. Hitton
before the
Archbishop.*

AT the day appointed, the said *Thomas Hitton* appeared, to whom the Bishop said, *Thomas*, dost thou believe that any man either spiritual or temporal, is of sufficient Authority to set forth any law or fanchion of himself, the breach whereof is mortal or venial sin? To whom *Thomas Hitton* answered, that no man either spiritual or temporal might make any law or fanchion, the breach whereof is mortal or venial sin, except the same law or fanchion be drawn out of the Word of God, or else grounded upon the same with a good Conscience. And therefore the Church cannot set forth any law, the breach whereof is Mortal or Venial sin, unless it be grounded upon the Word of God also. But if any man, or the Church of God it self, do set forth any Law grounded upon the Word of God and good Conscience, the breach thereof to the violator is mortal and deadly sin. After all manner of ways and

means attempted to draw this poor man from Christ and his Truth, the Bishop, seeing that he could not prevail, determined to send him to the Bishop of Rochester, and so did, who assayed by all means possible to remove him from his former professed truth. But seeing all his endeavors frustrate, and that he profited nothing, he signified the same to the Archbishop, and withal both went himself unto him, and carried the poor Prisoner with him thither also.

In the afternoon of the same day, the said Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, and divers other assistants, called the said poor man before them again, and caused all the former Articles, Interrogatories, and Demands to be read unto him in English, to the end he should either have revoked the same, or else, recanted them altogether, using both threats and fair promises to the performance thereof, but all in vain: for his Faith was built upon the Rock Christ Jesus, and therefore unable to be removed with any storms of persecution whatsoever.

In fine, the Archbishop (with mature judgment you must believe) consulting with the Bishop of Rochester, and other, proceeded to his condemnation, reading the Bloody Sentence of Death against him, and so was he, being condemned, delivered to the secular power, who carried him to the Prison, and soon after he was burned for the Testimony of Jesus Christ, as you may see more at large in his story, for whose constancy in the truth, the everlasting God be praised, Amen.

A Note of a certain good man troubled in Bulloyn the first year of King Edward the sixth, for the Gospel.

THe examination of mee *William Hafflen Gunmer*, in the Castle of high *Bulloyn*, in the year of our Lord, 1547. and the first year of the Reign of King Edward the sixth. As I was in the Church of *Bulloyn*, called the *Stals*, upon the 10. of April being *Easter Tuesday*, reading of a godly Book, called the lamentation of a Christian, against the Citizens of *London*, between the hours of three and four at afternoon, there came certain men to me as I stood at an Altar in the Church reading to my self, and asked me what good Book I had, and I said, they should hear if they pleased: then they desired me to read out that they might hear, and so did I very gladly; but I had not read long, but the Priests and Clerks were at their Latin Even-song, I reading mine English Book, there came a tipstaff for me, taking my two Books from me, and commanded me to go with him, for he said I must go before the Councel of the Town. Then went I forthwith with him, and a little without the Church door, Sir *John Bridge* met us, and bade the Tipstaff carry me to Sir *Leonard Beckwith* Knight, to be examined; and coming before his presence, he asked me what Books they where that I had at the Church, and was reading of one of them openly in the Church to the people: and I said so farr as I had read them they were good godly Books: and he said, they were Heresie, and with that he asked me how I did believe of the Sacrament of the Altar, whether I did not believe that to be the very Body of Christ, Flesh, Blood, and Bones: and I asked him whether he meant that, that was in the Pike or no? and he said, Ye, even that in the Pike: and I said, that since I had sure knowledge of Scriptures, I did not believe it to be the Body of Christ, but a bare piece of Bread, nor by Gods help will I ever believe it otherwise to be: then he said, I was an Heretick, and asked me what I made of the Sacrament: and I said, if it were duely ministred according to Christs institution, that then I did believe that the faithful Communicants, in receiving that blessed Sacrament, did receive into their inward man, or Soul, the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Then said he, dost thou not believe it to remain the very Body of Christ after the words of Consecration pronounced by the Priest? And I said, No. Then said he, What dost thou make of the Church? I said, as it is now used, it is a Den of *Theeves*, and the Synagogue of *Sathan*. Thou Heretick, said he, there remaineth the very Body of Christ. But I said, that Christ being God and man, dwelleth not in the Temples made with mens hands: much other communication had we at that time, but

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The sen-
tence of
condemna-
tion against
T. Hitton.

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but this was the effect that day. Then he asked me whether I would be forth-coming till to Morrow. And I said, Sir, if you think that I will not, you may lay me where as I shall be so. Then he let me go for that night, and said, we shall talk further with thee to Morrow; so I departed home. And about the space of two hours after, Mr. *Huntingdon* the Preacher (which did much good with his Preaching in *Bulloyn* at that time) came to me, and said, that he heard me spoken of at my Lord *Grayes*, which was then Lord Deputy of the Town and Country of *Bulloyn*; and I perceive, said he, that you are in great danger of trouble; if you escape with your life: for there are some of the Council marvellously bent against you. I said, the Lords will be done: Well, said he, without you feel in your self a full purpose, by Gods help, to stand earnestly to the thing that ye have spoken, you shall do more hurt than good: Wherefore; said he, if you will go to *Caices*, I will send you where you shall be well used, and be out of this danger. Then I thanked Mr. *Huntingdon*, saying, I purpose by Gods assistance to abide the uttermost that they can do unto me. Well then (said he) I can tell you, you will be sent for to Morrow betimes before the whole Council: that is (said I) the thing that I look for. Then rose I betimes in the Morning and went into the Market-place, that I might spy which way the Officer should come for me; I had not tarried there long, but I spied a Tipstaff and went toward him, and asked him whom he sought; and he said, A Gunner of the great Ordnance in the Castle of *Bulloyn*: and I said, that I am he: Then said he, you you must go with me to my Lords: and I said, therefore I looked. When I came there, I saw my Lord and the whole Council were assembled together in a close ParLOUR. Doing my duty to them, my Lord said to me, It is informed me that thou hast seditiously congregate a Company together in the Church, and there in the time of Service thou didst read unto them an Heretical Book, and hast not reverently used silence in the time of the Divine Service, what sayst thou to this? I said, if it please your Honour, I was in the Church a good while before any Service began, and no Body with me, reading to my self alone, upon a Book that is agreeable to Gods Word, and no Heresie in it that I read, and when it drew toward Service time, there came Men to the Church, and some of them coming to me whom I knew not, asking me what good Book I had; I said it was a new Book that I had not yet read over: then they prayed me that I should read so that they might hear some part with me; and so I did, not calling, pointing, nor assembling any Company to me. And for the Service being in Latin, that for the strangeness of the Tongue, besides much Superstition joyned with it, was not understood of the most part of them that said or sung it, much less of them that stood by and did hear it, whereas by the Word of God all things in the Church or Congregation should be done to the edifying of the People: and seeing I could have no such thing by their Service, I did endeavour to edifie my self, and other that were desirous of reading godly Books. And because the Church is so abused contrary to the Word of God, being beset round about with a sort of abominable Idols, before whom no man ought to kneel, nor do any manner of reverence, because the Scriptures do curse both the Idol and the idol-maker, and all that do any Worship or Reverence unto them, or before them, for that cause I used no Reverence there. Well, said my Lord, I would thou couldst answer to the rest, as well as thou hast done to this; but I fear me thou canst not: for it is told me that thou hast spoken against the blessed Sacrament: And I said, if it please your Lordship that did I never in all my life, nor ever will do by the Grace of God. With that my chief Accuser, Sir *Leonard Beckwith* Knight, said to me, Didst thou not say to me yesterday, that thou didst not believe the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration by the Priest, to be the very Body of Christ, flesh, blood and bones, as it was born of the Virgin *Mary*? It is true indeed that I said so; for neither do I believe it to remain Christs Body, nor ever will by the Grace of God believe it so to be: for I believe that Christ with that Body that was conceived and born of the Virgin *Mary*, did ascend up into Heaven, and there (according to our

Belief) he sitteth on the Right hand of God the Father, and from thence that Body shall come at the Day of Judgment to judge the quick and the dead; and yet in the mean while I believe, that (the Sacrament duly ministered according to Christs Institution) all the faithful Receivers of this Sacrament, lifting up the eyes of their mind into Heaven where Christs Body is, they do receive in that Sacrament into their Soul or Inward man, the very Body of our Saviour Jesus Christ: yea, and I believe further, that Christ concerning his Divine Power, or the Power of his Godhead, is whosoever two or three be gathered together in his Name, that he is in the midst even amongst them; and that he is so with his faithful Flock even to the Worlds end. Tied they laid their heads together and had privy talk: after that two of them said to me, that it was rank Heresie that I did believe it to remain bare Bread after the Priest had consecrated it; and not believing it to be the very Body of Christ, I was worthy to be burned: then said I earnestly unto them, Think you not; though I be a vile Abject in your sight, and he that is most base among you to seek my Blood, but that my Blood shall be required at his or their hands? Then had they privy talk together again, after the which my Lord said unto me, Thou hearest that they here lay Heresie to thy charge, and I am a Man of War, and have no skill in such high Mysteries, wherefore thine Accusers say, that thou must suffer here as an Heretic, that all the rest of the Garrison may beware by thee that they fall not into the like Heresie, and so cast away themselves. Then said I, I appeal from this Council to the Council of *England*: then said my Lord, I am very glad that thou hast appealed to the Council of *England*, for there are Learned men and Divines that can skill of such matters, thither shalt thou be sent ere it be long. Then was I carried to Sir *John Abridges* House, and having Pen and Ink, I was bidden to write mine Articles, which were in effect those points of Religion which you have heard before in my Examination: then on the Morrow, being *Thursday*, and the 15th of *April*, I was brought to the Prison in the Town, called the *Marshalsea*, where I was very gently used: for a good Gentleman, one Mr. *Wagham* was the Keeper there at that time; but surely when I was apprehended, I had not so much as one penny to help my self with, for we had been long unpaid: furthermore I thought in that Town of War, that there were very few or none that favoured the Word of God, for I looked for no help there, but to be hated and despised of all Men there: for I knew not past two or three there that had any love to the Gospel till I was in Prison, and then there came very many Soldiers unto me that I never knew before, and gave me Money, so that I had as good as three Pound given me in a small time that I was in Prison. The 14 day of *May* toward night, I was sent into *England*, one Mr. *Messinger* and one other man brought me to *London* even the same day, being *Sunday* at Night and the 15th day of *May*. There was a great talk over all the City of one Doctor *Smith* that recanted that day, they brought me to the *Marshalsea* and there left me, I hearing no more of them that brought me thither: but Mr. *Huntington* as a faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, that gave me warning before of all this trouble, came from *Bulloyn* to *London*, causing my Articles to be sent, so that by his painful diligence to the Council for me, after that I had been there little more than one month, I was discharged out of Prison, and bid get me home to *Bulloyn* to my Living again.

But surely if I had not appealed to the Council of *England*, I had been burned in *Bulloyn*; for it was told me of them that knew much in that matter, that it was already determined shortly to have been accomplished, if I had not appealed: for the which deliverance I give praise to the Everliving God.

This was laid in Queen *Maries* Closet upon her Desk, against her coming unto her Prayers.

O Lovesom Rose most redolent,
Of fading Flowers most fresh;
In *England* pleasant is thy scent,
For now thou art Peeries.

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This

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This Rose which beareth such a smell,
Doth represent our Queen:
O listen, that I may you tell
Her colours fresh and green.

The Love of God within her heart,
Shall beautifie her Grace:
The fear of God on the other part,
Shall stablish her in place.

This Love and Fear her Colours are,
Whereby if she be known;
She may compare both nigh and far,
Unable to be overthrowen.

The Love of God it will her cause,
Unfained if it be,
To have respect unto his Lawe,
And hate Idolatry.

If that she have the Fear of God,
And be thereto right bent:
She will do that he her bode,
And not her own intent.

O Noble Queen take heed, take heed,
Beware of your own intent:
Look ere you leap, then shall you speed,
Haste maketh many hent.

Remember Saul that Noble King,
What shame did him befall:
Because that unto the Lords bidding
He had no lust at all.

The Lord hath bid you shall love him,
And other gods desite:
Alas take heed, do not begin
To place Idolatry.

What greater Disobedience
Against God may be wrought,
Than this; To move mens Conscience
To worship things of nought?

What greater folly can you invent
Than such men to obey?
How can you serve your own intent
Not foreseing your own decay?

And whereas first ye should maintain
Your Realm in perfect Unity:
To rent the Peoples hearts in twain
Through false Idolatry.

Is this the way to get you fame,
Is this to get you love?
Is this to purchase you a Name,
To fight with God above?

Is this your care to set up Mass,
Your Subjects Soules to stroy?
Is this your study no more to ease,
Gods People to annoy?

Is this to Reign, to serve your will,
Good Men in Bonds to keep;
And to exalt such as be evil,
And for your Grace unmet?

Such as made that fond Divorce,
Your Mother to deface;
Are nigbest you in power and force,
And most bounden unto your Grace.
Well, yet take heed of bad-Lawis,
Let Gods Word bear the Bell:
If you will reign, learn to know Christ,
As David doth you tell.

What great presumption doth appear,
Thus in a week or twain;
To work more shame than in seven years
Can be redrest again?

All is done without a Law,
For will doth work in place:
And thus all Men may see and know
The weakness of your cause.

That miserable marking Mass,
Which all good Men do hate;
Is now by you brought up again,
The root of all Debate.

Your Ministers that love Gods Word,
They feel this bitter Red;
Who are robbed from house and goods,
As though there were no God.

And yet you would seem merciful

In the midst of Tyranny,
And holy, whereas you maintain
Most vile Idolatry.

For fear that you should hear the Truth,
True Preachers may not speak;
But on good Prophets you make ruth,
And unkindly them intreat.

Him have you made Lord Chancellor,
Who did your Blood most stain:
That he may suck the Righteous blood,
As he was wont again.

Those whom our late King did love,
You do them most disdain:
These things do manifestly prove
Your colours to be but vaine.

Gods Word you cannot abide,
But as your Prophets tell:
In this you may be well compared
To wicked Isebel.

Who had 400 Prophets false,
And fifty on a rout:
Through whose false preaching poor Ely
Was chased in and out.

Gods Prophets you do evil-intreat,
Balls Priests defend your Grace:
Thus did the Jews put Christ to death,
And let go Barrabas.

Hath God thus high exalted you,
And set you on a Throne:
That you should prison and deface
His flock that maketh moan?

The Lord which doth his flock defend,
As the Apple of an eye;
Of this fall quickly will make an end,
And bewitch Cruelty.

Therefore my counsel pray you take,
And think thereof no scorn:
You shall find it the best counsel,
It had since you were born.

Put away blind affection,
Let Gods Word be Umpire.
To try our true Religion,
From this evil-favoured gear.

The Instruction of King Edward the Sixth,
given to Sir Anthony Seyntleger, Knight
of his Privy-Chamber; being of a cor-
rupt Judgment of the Eucharist. Upon
this saying of an ancient Doctor of the
Catholick Church.

Dicimus Eucharistiam Panem vocari in Scri-
pturis, Panis in quo gratia actus sunt, &c.

IN Eucharist then there is Bread,
Whereunto I do consent:
Then with Bread are our Bodies fed,
And farther what is meant?

I say that Christ in Flesh and Blood
Is there continually,
Unto our Soul a special food,
Taking it spiritually.

And this Transubstantiation I
Believe as I have read:
That Christ Sacramentally
Is there in form of Bread.

St. Austin saith, the Word doth come
Unto the Element:
And there is made, be saith in sum,
A perfect Sacrament.

The Element doth then remain,
Or else must needs ensue:
St. Austins words be nothing plain,
Nor cannot be found true.

For if the Word, as he doth say,
Come to the Element:
Then is not the Element away,
But bides there everment.

Yet whose eateth that lively food,
And hath a perfect Faith,
Receiveth Christ: Flesh and Blood,
For Christ himself so saith.

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Not with our Teeth his Flesh to tear,
Nor take Blood for our drink:
Too great an absurdity it were,
So grossly for to think.

For we must eat him spiritually,
If we be spiritual:
And who eats him carnally,
Thereby shall have a fall.

For he is now a Spiritual meat,
And spiritually we must
That Spiritual meat spiritually eat,
And leave our Carnal lust.

Thus by the Spirit, I spiritually
Believe, say what men list,
None other Transubstantiation I
Believe of the Eucharist.

But that there is both Bread and Wine,
Which we see with our eye;
Yet Christ is there by power Divine
To those that spiritually

Do eat that Bread and drink that Cup,
Effecting it but light;
As Judas did, which eat that Sop,
Not judging it aright.

For I was taught not long ago,
I should lean to the Spirit:
And let the Carnal flesh alone,
For it doth not profit.

God save him that teaching me taught,
For I thereby did win,
To put from me that Carnal thought,
That I before was in.

For I believe Christ Corporally
In Heaven doth keep his place:
And yet Christ Sacramentally
Is here with us by Grace.

So that in this high Mystery
We must eat Spiritual meat,
To keep his Death in Memory,
Lest we should it forget.

This do, I say, this have I said,
This Saying say will I:
This Saying though I once denaid,
I will no more to die.

F I N I S.

This young Prince became a perfect School-Master
unto old erroneous Men, so as no Divine could amend
him, and therefore this piece is worthy of perpetual
memory to his immortal fame and glory.

When Queen Mary came to her reign, a Friend of
Mr. Sentiger, charged him with this his Pamphlet.
Well, quoth he, content your self. I perceive that a
Man may have too much of Gods Blessing. And
even here Peter began to deny Christ, such is mens
frailty.

Finit quod W. M. as it is supposed.

A Note of a Letter of one John Melvin, Prisoner in
Newgate.

Christi Electis salutem, Etdr. A.

*Hoc seculum fecit Alissimus propter multos; futurum
autem propter paucos.*

The Almighty Lord hath made this World for many, but
the World or life to come but for a few.

Most certain it is, dearly Beloved, that Christs Elect
be but few in comparison of that great number
which go in the broad way into everlasting perdition,
which live after the flesh, loving this present evil
world, deny God in word and deed, whose eyes are
blinded, and their hearts hardened.

Molt certain it is also, that our Saviour Jesus Christ
hath and knoweth his own, whose Names are written in
the Book of Life, redeemed with the most precious
Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. So that the eternal
Father knoweth them that be his.

Pauci electi.
Matt. 20.
Pauci qui
salvabuntur,
Luke 13.
2 Tim. 2.
Cognovit
Dominus
qui sunt
eius.

The Almighty and Eternal God grant, that we may
have the testimony of our Conscience, and the Spirit
of God to bear record with our Spirits, that we be his
elect Children, walking in the Spirit, not fulfilling the
lusts of the flesh, but as Christs Members, having Christ
Jesus fixed before our eyes, he being to us the true Way,
the infallible Verity, and the eternal Life. Christ hath
given us example, let us follow him as dear Children,
for Gods delight is to behold his Saints which be in the
Earth. Let us put on the whole Armour of God, and
walk in the light in these evil days, in the which Satan
in his Angels seeketh whom he may devour. The Al-
mighty Lord deliver us from the mouths of those un-
flamefast Dogs. They truly seek ours, and not us unto
the Lord. *Edras* faith and writeth truly, The World is
made for them, and they for the World. Dearly bought,
let us remember Christ which faith, I have chosen you
out of the world, you shall be hated of all worldly Men.
Did ever the Covetous, Idolaters, Oppressors, or Whore-
mongers love us? Nay, they love Masi-mongers, which
say, Peace, peace, when there is no peace. Nay, either
they flatter the ears, or else they say nothing, as dumb
Dogs not able to bark, of whom be you ware; for
though they come in Sheeps clothing, they be ravening
Wolves, whose damnation sleepeth not, from whose
captivity the holy will of God save and preserve you,
Amen.

Dearly Beloved, we having the record of our Confi-
dence, that we be very Members in Christs Body, separate
from that malignant Antichrists Church: Let us rejoyce
in Conscience, and in the Lord, having heavenly hope
in all his Promises, which be eternal and most sure to us
in Christ our Saviour, who lovesth none of all them,
whom the Eternal Father hath given him, but at his
appearing to be our merciful Judge, shall raise us up at
the last day; for the Trumpet of God shall blow, and
be heard of all Adams Posterity, founding, *Venite ad
Judicium*, Come unto Judgment, come and be judged.

Let us therefore be prepared, having the wedding Gar-
ment, yea, the whole Armour of God, the marriage
Garment, clear Lamps, that is, pure hearts, and burning
heavenly light in the same. Let us prepare our selves
richly to restore to our Lord and Master our Talents,
with the increase of heavenly living and occupying;
then without all doubt, we shall hear that most blessed
with of our alone Saviour Jesus Christ, who shall then
say, Rejoyce good Servants, I will make you Stewards
over many things: Enter into the everlasting Rest and
Kingdom, which hath been prepared for you from the
beginning. This is the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, which
at this present is in *Babylon*, and banished to the Desert,
the troublefom Waters of Satan in the Antichrist and
his Shavelings, spewed out of Christs mouth. The Lord
be our aid, avenger and deliverer when his holy will is,
Amen.

Dearly bought with the most precious Blood of our
Saviour Jesus Christ, that we be not deceived by the
Antichrist; let us ponder, weigh, mark and study the
heavenly Doctrine of our Saviour Christ in his last Sup-
per: the Text is, *Benedixit, dixit hunc, gratias egit*;
he spake heavenly and well, he gave thanks, he took
Bread, brake it and gave it to his Disciples, saying, Take,
eat this Sacramental Bread, and me the Bread of Life
which came down from Heaven, which giveth life to
the World; take true Faith, heavenly Hope kindled
with Christian Charity, thanksgiving for my death;
Let these heavenly Vertues enter into your Souls, then
enter I. This is my Body: This is the true eating of my
Body, which is given to the death of the Cross, for the
ransom and sins of Gods Elect. Likewise after Supper
he took the Cup, he spake well, gave thanks, and gave
it them, saying, Drink ye all of this: drink, I say, by
this infallible Verity and everlasting Word joynd and
annexed with this Cup, my Blood which is shed from
before the beginning of the World, for many, in remis-
sion of sins: he or the that thus dwelleth in me, and I
in him, eateth my flesh and drinketh my Blood. *St. Au-
gustine* faith, Why preparest thou thy Tooth and Belly?
believe and thou hast eaten. *St. Bernard* faith, When
Faith, Hope, Christian Love, and thanksgiving for
Christs death enter into a Christian, Christ entereth.
And

B b b 3

quid para-
dentem de
venrem?
crede &
audacitati

Ecceſſa cum
pauca die
bus habuit
quantum ad
humanitatem
modo fide
tatem, oculis
non videt.

And again St. Augustine ſaith upon theſe words of Chriſt
*You ſhall always have the poor with you, but me ſhall ye
not have always with you:* The Church had him but a
few days touching his humanity, now they have him by
Faith, with theſe eyes they do not ſee him. O Jeſus Chriſt
thou Son of the living God, which art in the boſom of
thy Father, God with God, the very image of God the
Father Eternal, give us victory over this Antichriſt in
thy moſt precious Blood. Be faithful to the end, and our
Saviour ſhall crown us in glory; let us ſanctifie the
Name of God in thought, word and deed.

*I ſay unto the Popiſh, and will not flatter,
Our God is in Heaven whom they will not ſee:
And is no ſuch little pretty matter,
As their god the Pope ſaith him to be.
Pray for all the Preachers of the Verity,
That God may give us grace and conſtancy.
They ſing and ſay, they have him in a ſtring:
Tye not the Dog ſo, for fear of hanging.
To all the Faithful, whoſe Names in general,
In the Book of Life, by Chriſt are written all.
The godly thought and patient mind,
Doth liberty in Priſon find.
Whoſe to patience can attain,
Shall find in Priſon is no pain.
Thralldom, trouble, bound or free,
As pleaſeth God, ſo ſhall all be.
Wherefore I never will forſake
What pleaſeth God lay on my back.*

John Melvin, Preacher and Priſoner
in Newgate.

A Note concerning the Trouble of Julius Palmer, lately
come to my hands.

To his aſſured Friend and Brother in Chriſt, Mr. Perry,
Preacher at Beverſtone, greets theſe.

MAfter Perry, after my hearty Commendations in the
Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto you and your Wife, &c.
whereas you have written unto me for my help in ſtop-
ping the malicious and envious mouth of Thomas Thack-
am, I would be as glad as any man to teſtifie the
Truth, both for that I know of the ſhameleſs malice of
the ſaid party againſt the Members of Chriſt, as alſo the
godly and virtuous behaviour of Palmer both before he
was in Priſon, and after in Priſon, with the credit of that
good and godly work of that Hiſtory: but ſurely many
things are out of my head, which I cannot as yet remem-
ber. And for thoſe things I know, I write unto you. And
fiſt as touching the friendſhip ſhewed unto the Lady
Vane, and his zeal therein uttered, truth it is that he re-
ceived her into his houſe for Money for a ſmall ſpace, in
the which time they two did not well agree, for that ſhe
could not ſuffer his wickedneſs of words and geſtures
unreproved, but that his Wife many times, being of
more honeſty, made the matter well again: but to be
ſhort, ſuch was his friendſhip in the end towards that
good Lady, being out of his houſe, that he feared no
man more for her life than him. And I being her Man,
ſhe gave me great charge always to beware of him. As
touching his friendſhip towards John Bolton in Priſon, I
am ſure he never found any, as they that uſed to viſit
him can ſomewhat ſay: Except you account this friend-
ſhip, that he being bereft of his ſenſes, Thackam wrought
him to yield unto the Popiſts, and as a right Member of
them became his Surety that he ſhould be obedient unto
them. And he being burdened in Conſcience therewith,
fled away unto Geneva: for the which flying Thackam
had nothing ſaid unto him, which ſheweth that he was
their Inſtrument. And this friendſhip to John Bolton:
for Downer, I have heard no evil of him; for Gaſelyand
Radley now Vicar of St. Lawrence, and Bowyer a Tan-
ner, they three left no means unpractiſed to catch and
perſecute the Members of Chriſt, as I my ſelf can well
prove. As touching Palmer, for that I many times fre-
quented his company in his Lodging, he would utter
ſometimes unto me the grief of his mind. Among other
things once he told me, that for that he heard he was
ſomewhat ſuſpected with the Woman of the houſe, he

was much grieved withal, the which he uttered with
many tears, I then counſelling him to depart thence to
avoid the occaſion of offence, he ſaid no, but the Lord
ſhould try him ere it were long: for, ſaid he, Thackam
hath let me his School, and now would have it again, and
becauſe I will not let him have it this he hath brought
upon me, but God forgive him. Afterward being in
Priſon, I talking with him at the Grate, he ſhewed me
his Judgment of the Scriptures, and delivered it unto me,
what became of it I know not now. He praiſed God
highly for his eſtate, and then he ſaid he truſted it would
appear whether Thackam had ſaid of him well or not.
And further he ſaid, that now Thackam hath his will to
have his School again: for if I would have yielded up
the School, he would have ſent me away. I never truſted
him ſo well, ſaid he, to communicate my mind unto him
before witneſs, but ſometimes alone, and therefore he hath
deſired a Letter in my Name, and brought it to light, to
cauſe me to be examined of my Conſcience. This is as
much as I can ſay at this time. Thus fare you well in
the Lord, Amen. From Croſſy this 18. of May.

Tours to Command in Chriſt
John Meyer Miniſter.

Have me commended, I pray you, to all my Friends
at Reading.

A Note of Julius Palmer.

ALſo being at Magdalen Colledge about a Month be-
fore he was burned, and reaſoning againſt one Bar-
wick Maſter of Art, ſometime his familiar Friend and
old Acquaintance in the ſaid Colledge; after much talk
Barwick ſaid unto him, Well Palmer, now thou talkeſt
boldly and ſtoutly at thy pleaſure; If thou wert brought
to a Stake, thou wouldeſt tell me another tale. Take heed,
it is an hard matter to burn. Hereunto Palmer answered,
Indeed it is a hard matter for him to burn that hath his
Soul linked to his Body, as a Thieft Foot is tied in a pair
of Fetters. But if a man be once able, through Gods
help, to ſeparate and divide the Soul from the Body, for
him it is no harder thing to burn, than for me to eat this
Crumb of Bread.

A true Copy of the Confession of Patrick Patingham,
ſent out of Newgate to certain of his Friends.

I Patrick Patingham, being condemned for the Verity of
Gods Truth, that is to ſay, in conſiſſing of one God,
which was the Creator of all things viſible and inviſible,
and alſo that he made thoſe by his Son, whom he hath
made heir of all things. And alſo I confeſs, that he is the
only begotten Son of God, in whom we have redemption,
even the forgiveness of ſins. And alſo in confeſſing
Gods moſt holy Church, being builded upon the founda-
tion of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Chriſt Jeſus being
the Head Corner ſtone. In whom, ſaith St. Paul, every
building coupled together groweth to an holy Temple
in the Lord, in whom I believe I am builded together as
a Member, and made an habitation for God in the Spirit.
And alſo I confeſs, that Chriſt is the Head of the Holy
Church, as St. Paul ſaith, and that God is Chriſts Head.

And alſo I had ten Articles, that is to ſay, againſt
their wicked Traditions and Commandments which they
uſe, which are againſt the Commandments of God,
whereof they did condemn me, not ſuffering me to ſpeak
in the Conſultory-houſe, but condemning me, my cauſe
not heard. But yet I did proteſt unto them, that their
Church or Synagogue is of Satan, that is to ſay, Satan
being the Head thereof: Furthermore, my Friend or
Friends unknown, I have received your Letter, and
read it over, wherein you ſay that I am in a blaſphe-
mous Error. Indeed Friends I confeſs, that it is an Er-
ror; If you will make my belief, that is to ſay, that
Chriſt is the Son of the Living God to be an Error,
and to believe that there is one God, as St. Paul ſaith,
and one Mediator betwixt God and Man, even the Man
Chriſt Jeſus. And although there be that are called
Gods, whether in Heaven or in Earth, as there be Gods
many, and Lords many, yet unto us there is but one
God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and
we in him, and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all
things,

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Patrick Patingham.

A note of a certain Letter of William Tyms.

Race, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through the mercies of his dear Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and only Saviour, with the comfort of his holy Spirit, that as you have full godly begun, even so you may continue to the end, to the Glory of God, and your everlasting comfort, which thing to do I pray God to give you grace, who is the giver of all good and perfect gifts to the glory of his holy name, Amen.

My dear Sisters, after most hearty commendations unto you, and also most hearty thanks-giving unto you for all the great kindness that you have always shewed unto me most unworthy of the same: I certify you that I am very glad to hear of your good health, which I pray God long to continue to his glory. And especially I do much rejoice in your most godly Constancy in the Gospel of Christ, which is the Power of God unto Salvation, unto so many as believe it. Therefore (my dear hearts) go forward as you have godly begun: for the time will come that these cruel Tyrants, which now so cruelly persecute the true Members of Christ, shall say for very anguish of mind; These are they whom we sometime had in derision, and jested upon. We foolish thought their life to have been very madness, and their end to have been without honour: But lo how they are counted among the Children of God, and their Portion is amongst the Saints. Therefore we have erred from the way of Truth. The light of righteousness hath not shined unto us, and the Sun of understanding rose not upon us. We have wearied our selves in the way of wickedness and destruction. Tedious ways have we gone, but as for the way of the Lord we have not known it. What good hath our pride done unto us? or what profit hath the Pomp of Riches brought us? All these things have passed away as a shadow, or as a messenger running before: As a Ship that passeth over the Waves of the Water, which when it is gone, by the Trace thereof cannot be found, neither the path it the floods, &c. For as soon as we were born, we began inordinately to draw to our end, and have shewed no token of virtue, but are consumed in our own wickedness. Such words shall they that thus have sinned speak in the hell, &c. But the righteous shall live for evermore, their reward is also with the Lord, and remembrance with the Highest: therefore shall they receive a glorious Kingdom, and a beautiful Crown at the Lords hands; for with his right hand shall he cover them, and with his holy Arm shall he defend them &c. The Souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and the pains of death shall not touch them, but in the sight of the unwise they appear to die, and their end is taken for very destruction, but they are in rest. And though they suffer pain before men, yet is their hope full of immortality. They are punished but in few things, nevertheless in many things shall they be well rewarded: for God proveth them, and findeth them meet for himself:

yes, as the gold in the Furnace doth he trie them, and receiveth them as a burnt offering; and when the time cometh, they shall be looked upon, the righteous shall shine as the sparks that run through the red Bush, they shall judge the Nations, and have dominion over the Peoples, and their Lord shall Reign for ever. They that put their trust in him shall understand the Truth, and such as be faithful will agree unto him in love, and he shall be a Pillar in the Temple of God, and shall no more go out, and there shall be written upon him the name of God. And they shall lie under the Altar (which is Christ) crying with a loud voice, saying: How long tarriest thou Lord, holy and true to judge and avenge our Blood on them that dwell on the earth? and they shall have long white Garments given unto them, and it shall be said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, till the number of their fellows and Brethren of them, that should be killed as they were, were fulfilled. For as St. John faith, they are worthy that thus overcome, to be clothed in white Array, and their names shall not be put out of the Book of life, but shall be separated from the Goats and set on Christs right hand, hearing his sweet and comfortable voice, when he shall say; Come ye blessed of my Father, and possess the Kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the World: And the very ready way to obtain the same, is, as our Master Christ faith, to forsake our selves, taking up our Cross, following our Master Christ, which for the joy that was set before him abode the Cross, and despised the shame, and is set down on the Throne at the right hand of God: therefore let us follow his example in suffering for his Word, seeing that he of his merciful goodness suffered so much for us when we were his enemies: for it was our sin that killed Christ, and he by his death hath made us alive. Therefore with joy (seeing all these his merciful benefits purchased for us only by his death and blood-shedding) let us with boldness confess his holy Word before this wicked generation, even to death, when we be called thereto, and to be well assured, that our lives be not in the hands of men, but in Gods hands. Therefore (my dear Sisters) as you have godly begun, so go forward even through many Tribulations, even into the everlasting Kingdom of Heaven. To the which, God the Father of all mercy, for his dear Son Christs sake, bring both you and all yours, Amen.

Towrs to command, to my poor Powers,
William Tyms.

Continue in Prayer,

Ask in Faith,

And obtain your desire,

Praying for you, as I know that you
do for me.

Another Sermon of Master Latimer concerning his playing as Cards

Now you have heard what is meant by this first Card, and how you ought to play with it, I purpose again to deal unto you another Card, almost of the same sute; for they be of so nigh affinity, that one cannot be well played without the other. The first Card declared, that you should not kill, which might be divers ways, as being angry with your Neighbour, in mind, in countenance, in word, or deed. It declared also how you should subdue the passions of Ire, and so cleave more your selves from them: and where this Card doth kill in you these stubborn Turks of Ire; this second Card will not only they should be mortified in you, but that you your selves shall cause them to be likewise mortified in your Neighbour, if that your said Neighbour hath been through your occasion moved unto Ire, either in countenance, word, or deed. Now let us hear therefore the Tenour of this Card.

When thou makest thine oblation at mine Altar; and there dost remember that they Neighbour hath any thing against thee, lay down there thy oblation, and go first and reconcile thy Neighbour, and then come and offer thy oblation. This Card was spoken by Christ, as testifieth St. Mark in his fifth Chapter, against all such as do perfume to come unto the Church to make oblation

oblation unto God either by Prayer, or any other deed of Charity, not having their Neighbours reconciled. Reconciling is as much to say, as to restore thy Neighbour unto Charity, which by thy words or deeds is moved against thee: when if so be it that thou hast spoken to, or by thy Neighbour, whereby he is moved to ire or wrath, thou must lay down thy Oblation. Oblations be prayers, alms-deeds, or any work of Charity; these be called oblations to God. Lay down therefore thine oblation, begin to do none of these foresaid works before thou goest unto thy Neighbour, and confess thy fault unto him, declaring thy mind, that if thou hast offended him, thou art glad and willing to make him amends, as farre forth as thy words and substance will extend, requiring him not to take it at the worst. Thou art sorry in thy mind, that thou shouldest be occasion of his offending. What manner of Card is this will some say? Why? What have I to do with my Neighbours or Brothers malice? As Cain said; Have I the keeping of my Brother, or shall I answer for him and for his faults? This were no reason: As for my self, I thank God I own no man malice nor displeasure, if other own me any, at their own peril be it. Let every man answer for himself. Nay Sir, not so, as you may understand by this Card: for it saith; If thy Neighbour hath any thing, any malice against thee, through thine occasion, lay even down, faith Christ, thine oblation; Pray not to me, do no good deeds for me, but go first unto thy Neighbour, and bring him again unto my flock, which hath forsaken the same through thy naughty words, mocks, scorns, or disdainous Countenance, and so forth: and then come and offer thine oblation, then do thy devotion, then do thy alms-deeds, then pray, if thou wilt have me hear thee. O good Lord, this is an hard reckoning, that I must go and seek him out that is offended with me, before I pray or do any good deed. I cannot go unto him. Peradventure he is an hundred miles from me, beyond the seas, or else I cannot tell where; if he were here nigh, I would with all my heart go unto him. This is a lawful excuse before God on this fashion, That thou wouldest in thy heart be glad to reconcile thy Neighbour, if he were present, and that thou thinkest in thy heart, whensoever thou shalt meet with him, to go unto him, and require him charitably to forgive thee, and so never intend to come from him, until the time that you both depart one from the other true Brethren in Christ. Yet peradventure there be some in the world that be so devilish and so hard-hearted, that they will not apply in any condition unto Charity. For all that, do that lieth in thee by all charitable means to bring him to unity: If he will in no wise apply thereunto, thou mayst be sorrowful in thy heart, that by thine occasion that man or woman continueth in such a damnable state: this notwithstanding, if thou do the best that lieth in thee to reconcile him, according to some Doctors mind, thou art discharged towards God. Nevertheless, St. *Augustin* doubteth in this case, whether thy oblations, prayers, or good deeds, shall avail thee before God, or no, until thy Neighbour come again to good state, whom thou hast brought out of the way. Doth this Noble Doctor doubt therein? what aileth us to be so bold and count it but a small fault or none, to bring another man out of patience for every trifle that standeth not with our mind? You may see what a grievous thing this is to bring another man out of patience, that peradventure you cannot bring in again with all the goods that you have: for surely after the opinion of great wise men, friendship once broken will be never well made whole again. Wherefore you shall hear what Christ saith unto such persons; Saith Christ, I came down into this world, and so took on mee bitter passion for mans sake, by the merits whereof I intended to make unity and peace in mankind, to make man Brother unto me, and so to expel the dominion of Satan the Devil, which worketh nothing else but dissention: and yet now there be a great number of you that have professed my name, and say you be Christian men, which do rebel against my purpose and mind. I go about to make my fold; you go about to break the same, and kill my flock. How darest thou (saith Christ) presume to come unto my Altar, unto my Church, or into my presence, to make oblation unto me, that takest on thee to spoil my Lambs? I go about like a

good Shephard to gather them together: and thou dost the contrary, evermore ready to divide and lose them. Who made thee so bold to meddle with my silly beasts, which I bought so dearly with my precious Blood? I warn thee out of my sight, come not in my Presence, I refuse thee and all thy works, except thou go and bring home again my Lambs which thou hast lost: wherefore, if thou thy self intend to be one of mine, lay even down by and by thine Oblation, and come no further toward mine Altar, but go and seek them without any questions, as it becometh a true and faithful servant. A true and faithful servant, whensoever his Master commandeth him to do any thing, he maketh no stops nor questions, but goeth forth with a good mind: and it is not unlike he continuing in such a good mind and will, shall well overcome all dangers and stops whatsoever betides him in his journey, and bring to pass effectually his Masters will and pleasure. In the contrary, a foolish servant, when his Master commandeth him to do any thing, by and by he will ask questions, where, when, which way, and so forth, and he putteth every thing in doubt, that although both his errand and way be never so plain, yet by his untoward and foolish behaviour, his Masters commandment is either undone quite, or else so done, that it shall stand to no good purpose. Go now forth with the good servant, and ask no such questions, and put no doubts, be not ashamed to do thy Masters and Lords will and commandment. Go, as I said, unto thy Neighbour that is offended by thee, and reconcile him (as is aforesaid) whom thou hast lost by thy unkind words, by thy scorns, mocks, and other disdainous words and behaviours, and be not nice to ask of him the cause why he is displeased with thee, require of him Charitably to remit, and cease not till you both depart one from the other true Brethren in Christ. Do not like the foolish servant thy Masters message with cautions and doubts; come not to thy Neighbour whom thou hast offended, and give him a pennyworth of ale, or a banquet, and so make him a fair Countenance, thinking that by thy drink or dinner he will shew thee like Countenance. I grant you may both laugh and make good cheer, and yet there may remain a bag of rusty malice, twenty year old, in thy Neighbours Bosom; when he departeth from thee with a good Countenance, thou thinkest all is well then. But now I tell thee it is worse then it was, for by such cloaked Charity, where thou dost offend before Christ but once, thou hast offended twice herein: for now thou goest about to give Christ a mock, if he would take it of thee: Thou thinkest to blind thy Master Christs commandment. Beware, do not so, for at length he will overmatch thee, and take thee tardy whatsoever thou be, and so as I said, it should be better for thee not to do his message on this fashion, for it will stand thee in no purpose. What? some will say, I am sure he loveth me well enough. He speaketh fair to my face, yet for all that thou maiest be deceived. It proveth not true love in a man to speak fair. If he love thee with his mind and heart, he loveth thee with his eyes, with his tongue, with his feet, with his hands and his Body; for all these parts of a mans Body be obedient to the will and mind. He loveth thee with his eyes that looketh cheerfully on thee, when thou meetest with him, and is glad to see thee prosper and do well. He loveth thee with his tongue, that speaketh well by thee behind thy back, or giveth thee good Counsel. He loveth thee with his feet, that is willing to go to help thee out of trouble and busines. He loveth thee with his hands, that will help thee in time of necessity, by giving some alms-deeds, or with any other occupation of the hand. He loveth thee with his Body, that will labour with his Body, or put his Body in danger to do good for thee, or to deliver thee from adversity, and so forth, with the other members of his Body. And if thy Neighbour will do according to these sayings, then thou maiest think that he loveth thee well, and thou in like wise oughtest to declare and open thy love unto thy Neighbour in like fashion, or else you be bound one to reconcile the other, till this perfect love be ingendered amongst you. It may fortune thou wilt say, I am content to do the best for my Neighbour that I can saving my self harmless. I promise thee Christ will not hear this excuse; for he himself suffered harm for our

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Now I trust you wot what your Card meaneth, let us see how that we can play with the same. Whensoever it shall happen you to go and make your Oblation unto God, ask of your selves this question, Who art thou? the answer as you know is, I am a Christian man. Then you must again ask unto your self, What Christ requirith of a Christian man? by and by cast down your trump, your hearty, and look first of one Card, then of another. The first Card telleth thee thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not be angry, thou shalt not be out of patience. This done, thou shalt look if there be any more Cards to take up, and if thou look well, thou shalt see another Card of the same fute, wherein thou shalt know that thou art bound to Reconcile thy Neighbour. Then cast thy trump upon them both, and gather them all three together, and do according to the vertue of thy Cards, and surely thou shalt not lose. Thou shalt first kill the great Turks, and discomfit and thrust them down. Thou shalt again fetch home Christs Sheep that thou hast lost, whereby thou maist go both patiently, and with a quiet mind unto the Church, and make thy Oblation unto God, and then without doubt he will hear thee. But yet Christ will not accept our Oblation (although we be in patience, and have reconciled our Neighbour) if that our Oblation be made of another mans substance, but it must be our own. See therefore that thou hast gotten thy goods according to the Laws of God and of thy Prince. For if thou givest thy goods by polling and extortion, or by any other unlawful ways, then if thou offer a thousand pound of it, it will stand thee in no good effect, for it is not thine. In this point a great number of executors do offend, for when they be made rich by other mens goods, then they will take upon them to build Churches, to give Ornaments to God and his Altar, to gild Saints, and to do many good works therewith; but it shall be all in their own name, and for their own glory. Wherefore (saith Christ) they have in this world their reward, and so their Oblations be not their own, nor bethey acceptable before God. Another way God will refuse thy voluntary Oblation, as thus: If so be it, that thou hast gotten never so truly thy goods, according both to the Laws of God and man, and hast with the same goods not relieved thy Poor Neighbour, when thou hast seen him hungry thirsty, and naked, he will not take thy Oblation when thou shalt offer the same, because he will say unto thee: When I was hungry, thou gavest me no meat; when I was thirsty, thou gavest me no drink; and when I was naked thou didst not cloath me. Wherefore I will not take thy Oblation, because it is none of thine. I left it thee to relieve thy Poor Neighbours, and thou hast not therein done according unto this my commandment; *Misericordiam volo, & non sacrificium*, I had rather have mercy done, than Sacrifice or Oblation. Wherefore until thou doest the one more than the other, I will not accept thine Oblation. Evermore bestow the greatest part of thy goods in works of mercy, and the less part in voluntary works. Voluntary works be called all manner of offering in the Church, except your four offering days, and your tithes; setting up candles, gilding and painting, building of Churches, giving of Ornaments, going on Pilgrimages, making of High-ways, and such other, be called voluntary works, which works be of themselves marvelous good, and convenient to be done. Necessary works, and works of mercy are called the commandments, the four offering days, your tithes, and such other that be long to the commandments; and works of mercy consist in relieving and visiting thy Poor Neighbours. Now then, if men be so foolish of themselves, that they will bestow the most part of their goods in voluntary works, which they be not bound to keep, but willingly and by their devotion; and leave the necessary works undone;

which they are bound to do; they and all their voluntary works are like to go unto everlasting damnation. And I promise you, if you build an hundred Churches, give as much as you can make to gilding of Saints, and honouring of the Church, and if thou go as many Pilgrimages as thy Body can well suffer, and offer as great Candles as Oaks, if thou leavest the works of mercy and the commandments undone, these works shall nothing avail thee. No doubt the voluntary works be good, and ought to be done; but yet they must be so done, that by their occasion the necessary works, and the works of mercy be not decayed and forgotten: If you will build a glorious Church unto God, see first your selves to be in Charity with your Neighbours, and suffer not them to be offended by your works. Then when ye come into your Parish Church, you bring with you the Holy Temple of God; as St. Paul saith, you your selves be the very Holy Temples of God: And Christ saith by his Prophet; In you will I rest, and intend to make my mansion and abiding place: Again, if ye lift to gild and paint Christ in your Churches, and honour him in vestiments, see that before your eyes the poor people die not for lack of meat, drink, and clothing. Then do you deck the very true Temple of God, and honour him in rich vestures, that will never be worn, and so forth use your selves according unto the commandments; and then finally fit up your Candles, and they will report what a glorious light remaineth in your hearts, for it is not fitting to set a dead man light Candles. Then, I say, go your Pilgrimages, build your material Churches, do all your voluntary works, and they will then represent you unto God, and testify with you, that you have provided him a glorious place in your hearts. But beware I say again, that you do not run so far in your voluntary works, that ye do quite forget your necessary works of mercy, which you are bound to keep: you must have ever a good respect unto the best and worthiest works toward God, to be done first and with more efficacy, and the other to be done secondarily. Thus if you do with the other that I have spoken of before, ye may come according to the tenor of your Cards, and offer your Oblations and Prayers to our Lord Jesus Christ, who will both hear and accept them to your everlasting joy and glory, to the which he bring us, and all those whom hee suffered death for, Amen.

A Note of William Gie.

One William Gie, Servant with Master Revet Merchant, brought a Bible and Service Book of Richard Waterston, who then dwelt with Master Duxlie in Pauls Church-yard, and one Spilman bound the Book: and when the said Gie, had inquired for the said Richard to have his Book at Duxlies, answer was made that he was not within, and so the said Gie went his way to Spilman for the Book; and because he found it not done, he left it there, and immediately search was made in Spilmans house, and the said Bible and Service Book was found and carried to Bener then Bishop of London. He having the Books, commanded Spilman for the binding thereof to Lellard's Tower; and as Cluny went for the key thereof Spilman conveyed himself away. After that, Waterston and Gie being apprehended by Robin Calie, John Hills, and John Avaler, and being two days in the Counter, were brought before Bener and other Commissioners. Being examined, Doctor Story demanded Gie; Wherefore, he brought the Bible? He answered, to serve God withal. Then said Bener; Our Lady Mattins would serve a Christian man to serve God. The Bible, said Story, would breed Heresies; a Bible Bable were more fit for thee. So they concluded that either of them should have forty stripes lacking one, and Bener said it was the law. And they said to Waterston, if he would pay forty pound, he should be released of his stripes: at length they came to 10. pound, and when they saw he would not, they made a Warrant to Master Grafton, and sent Waterston and Gie to Bridewell to be beaten upon the Cross. And because the matter should not be slightly handled, Story was sent with them to see it done. Gie being whipped upon the Cross, intercession was made that he might be forgiven part of his penance.

A Note

A Note of Michaels Wife.

Michaels Wife aforementioned, being Prisoner in Ipswich for Religion, resorted daily from the Prison to her Husbands house, and returned again, keeping Faith and promise. And her Husband thereat being fearful, she would comfort him, saying, she came not to trouble him, neither should he sustain trouble by her. Wherefore she would will him to be of good cheer, for her coming was of good will to see him and her Children, and not to bring them into trouble, but to shew her duty therein while she might have liberty.

A Note of John Spicer.

IN Queen Marys time there was one John Spicer, of whom mention is made before, he being at the Stake, ready to give his life for the Truth, a Bag of Gunpowder was brought him by his Son. And another standing by (one named Master Beckingham) took the Gunpowder of his Son, and put it under the Girdle of the said Spicer, and exhorted him to be strong in the Lord; also divers of the Sheriffs Servants comforted him in like manner, and desired him not to faint. Unto whom Spicer answered? Doubt you not of me (saith he) my Soul is quiet; but be ye strong and stand fast in the Lord Jesus, and commit your selves to him in the confession of his holy name, and profession of his Truth.

A Note of Mandrel.

Mandrel standing at the Stake, as is mentioned before, Doctor Gessery the Chancellor spake to him, wishing him to yield to the Doctors, who many hundred years had taught otherwise then he doth believe, &c. To whom Mandrel answered; Master Chancellor (saith he) trouble me with none of your Doctors whatsoever they say; but bring me the Book of God, the old Testament and the New, and I will answer you. What sayest thou Mandrel (quoth he) by the Saints in the Church, the Image of our Lady, of the Crucifix, and other holy Saints? be they not necessary, &c. Yes, Mr. Chancellor (saith he) very necessary to roast a shoulder of Mutton. Then Doctor Billing a Friar once, stand in by, saith; Master Chancellor (quoth he) hear how these Hereticks speak against the Crucifix and the holy Crofs, and yet the holy Crofs is mentioned in all the Tongues, both Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. For in Latin it is called *T* in Greek *Tau*, &c. Whereupon one Thomas Gilsford, a Merchant of Pool, standing by, saith; Ah merciful Lord (saith he) is not this a marvellous matter for a poor man thus to be charged, and put to the pains of fire for *T Tau*?

When Mandrel and Spicer were examined before the Chancellor, the Chancellor called them, saying: Come on, come on, saith he, thou Spicer art too blame, for thou hast taught Mandrel these Heresies. Thou art by thy occupation a Bricklayer: Yea, that I am. And can sing in the Quire: Yea, that I can, saith he. And can play on the Organs. True, saith he. Well then, saith the Chancellor, and thou hast married this poor man, and hast taught him all these Heresies. No, Master Chancellor (quoth he) I have not taught him, but I have read him. He is able, thanks be to God, to teach both you and me.

A Note of Elizabeth Pepper.

Elizabeth Pepper before mentioned, when she was burned at Stratford, was eleven weeks gone with Child, as she then testified to one Bosmes Wife, who then unloosed her Neckcloth; and moreover, when she was asked, why she did not tell them, answered; Why (quoth she) they knew it well enough. Oh, such are the bloody hearts of this cruel generation, that no occasion can stay them from their mischievous murdering of the Saints of the Lord, that truly professed Christ crucified only and alone, for the satisfaction of their Sins.

A Note of one confessing Gods Truth at the Gallows.

A Notorious Felon, one Dick Adams, being upon the Gallows, making his confession, and ready to be cast down from the Ladder, was desired at that instant by one Mrs. Harris, the Grammar-Schoolmasters Wife, to remember the blessed Sacrament before he died, to whom the said Adams said; Marry Mistress never in better time, who went up to the Top of the Ladder, and said it was the most abominable Idol that ever was, and willed all men to take it so; for we have been greatly deceived thereby. Whereupon the Sheriff caused him to hold his peace, and to take his death patiently. He went down to his place, and was cast from the Ladder, speaking to his last word, that it was an abominable Idol: his Body therefore was buried out of the Churchyard by the High-way; who although he was a Thief in his life, yet he earnestly repented thereof, so that I doubt not but he died the Child of God, and not unworthy to be put in the Register of the Lords accepted Confessors.

A note of Gertrude Crockhay.

IN the late days of Queen Mary, among other strange dealings, of the Papists with the faithful, this is not with the rest to be forgotten, that a godly Marton named Gertrude Crockhay, the Wife of Master Robert Crockhay, dwelling then at St. Katherines by the Tower of London, obtained her self from the Popish Church. And the being in her Husbands house, it happened in Anno 1556. that the foolish Popish Saint Nicholas went about the Parish, which she understanding, shut her doors against him, and would not suffer him to come within her house. Then Doctor Mallet hearing thereof (and being then Master of the said St. Katherines next day came to her with twenty at his Tail, thinking belike to fray her, and asked why she would not the night before let in St. Nicholas, and receive his blessing, &c. To whom she answered thus; Sir, I know not Saint Nicholas, said she, that came hither. Yes (quoth Mallet) here was one that represented Saint Nicholas. Indeed Sir, (saith she) here was one that is my Neighbours Child, but not Saint Nicholas. For Saint Nicholas is in Heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him to have had my purse cut by them. For I have heard of men robbed by Saint Nicholas Clerks, &c. So Mallet perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and the for that time so escaped.

Then in Anno 1557. a little before Whitsonide, it happened that the said Gertrude answered for a Child that was baptised of one Thomas Saunders, which Child was christened secretly in a house, after the order of the Service Book in King Edwards time, and that being shortly known to her Enemies, she was sought for, which understanding nothing thereof, went beyond the Sea into Gelderland, to see certain Lands that should have come to her Children in the right of her first Husband, who was a stranger born. And being there about a quarter of a year, at the length coming homeward, by Antwerp, she chanced to meet with one John Johnson a Dutchman, alias John de Wille of Antwerp Shipper, who seeing her there, went of malice to the Margrave, and accused her to be an Anabaptist, whereby she was taken and carried to Prison. The cause why this naughty man did thus, was for that he claimed of Master Crockhay her Husband a piece of money, which was not his due, for a Ship, that the said Master Crockhay bought of him; and for that he could not get it, he wrought this displeasure. Well, she being in Prison, lay there a fortnight; in which time she saw some that were Prisoners there, who privily were drowned in Rheinf Wime fats, and after secretly put in Sacks and cast into the River. Now the good Woman, thinking to be so served, took thereby such fear, that it brought the beginning of her sickness, of the which at length she died.

Then at the last she was called before the Margrave, and charged with Anabaptistry, which she there utterly denied, and detested the Errour, declaring before him in

Dutch

Anno
1558.Refer this
to the year
of the Lord,
1556.

Anno 1558. Dutch her faith boldly without any fear. So the Margrave hearing the same, in the end being well pleased with her profession, at the suite of some of her Friends delivered her out of Prison, but took away her Book, and so she came over into England again. And being at home in her Husbands house, he thinking to find means to get her to go abroad, made one Vicars a Yeoman of the Tower his Friend, who was great with Boner, to work that liberty for her. Now this Vicars making means to Boner for the same, Boner put the matter over to Darbshire his Chancellor who enjoyed her to give certain money to poor folks, and to go on the Wednesday and Sunday after to Church to Even-song, which she so did, and afterward had such trouble in her Conscience thereby, that she thought verily God had cast her off, and that she should be damned, and never be saved: so not long after this, it hapned that Mr. Rough, of whom mention is made before, came to her house, unto whom she made moan of her unquietness for going to Church, and desired his Counsel what she might do, that should best please God, and ease her troubled

Read before. Soul, &c. Unto whom Mr. Rough replied many comfortable Sentences of Scripture to comfort her, and in the end gave her Counsel to go to the Christian Congregation, which secretly the persecuted had, and confes her fault unto them, and so to be received into their fellowship again; who hearing that was glad, and intended so to do, and so would have done, if sore sickness had not immediately prevented the same. But when Doctor Mallet heard by one Robert Hemmings Woodmonger, that she lay very sick indeed, which Hemmings was her great Enemy, he came to her twice to persuade her to recant, and to receive (as the Papists term it) the Rites of the Church. Unto whom she answered, she could not, nor would, for that she was Subject to vomit; and therefore he would not (he was sure, she said) have her to cast up their God again, as the should do, if she did receive it. And so immediately vomited indeed? wherefore he seeing that, went from her into the Hall to her Daughter named Clare Sacke, and told her, if her Mother would not receive, she should not be buried in Christian burial, as he termed it. Then Clare went and told her sick Mother what he said unto her. Who hearing the same, spake these words following; Oh (said she) how happy am I, that I shall not rise with them, but against them. Well (quoth she) the earth is the Lords, and all that therein is; and therefore I commit the matter to him, &c.

Shortly hereupon, that is, the 27. day of March 1558. the said Doctor Mallet came again to her with one Doctor West, Queen Marias Chaplain. And coming in, he saluted her, and told her that he had brought her a good learned man to persuade her, who was one of the Queens Chaplains, &c. and therefore he desired her to hear and believe him in that he should say, &c. Then Doctor West exhorted her to receive their Sacrament, and to be aneled, for he said, she was strong enough for it, &c. Unto whom she answered, that she was able and strong enough to receive it indeed, but she would not, for that it was abominable, &c. Then said West, ye be in an ill mind: Do ye think to die a Christian Woman? Yea, said she, that I do. I pray you, said West, how came you first into that Opinion. Marry, said she, there is he that first taught it me (meaning Doctor Mallet) at the Marriage of my Brother and his Sister, where I heard him earnestly preach this Doctrine, which I now do hold. And if God shall lay our sins to our charge, if we repent not, much more damnable is his offence, being once a publick Preacher of the same, and now to turn from it. Then Mallet told her he was then deceived by little new-fangled two-penny Books, as you be now (said he) but now I am otherwise persuaded, as I would have you, and to receive the Sacrament, which if you would, you should, I warrant you, be saved, my Soul for yours. At whose words she earnestly desired them to be content: for (saith she) ye be come to rob and to draw me from my Christ, which I tell you Truth you shall not do, for I will never consent to you while I live. When West heard her say so, he drew his stool nigher to hear her speak, and being drunken, he fell down, whereby Mallet was faine to help him up again, and so immediately after they departed thence. And the thirteenth day

of April next after that, she died constantly in the Lord, and yielded her Soul and life into his holy hands, with these words? Oh Lord, into thy hands receive my Soul, and so immediately gave up her life unto the Lord, to whom be praise for ever, Amen.

While she was beyond Sea, as it is said before, Master Crockbay her Husband, by the procurement of Doctor Mallet, was cited to come before Master Hussey the Com-missary who (had it not been for that he made means unto the said Hussey before) would have sent him to Prison, and bound him in Recognizance to seek her out. But he more easily escaped their hands by friendship, as before I have said.

Now when Dr. Mallet heard of her death, Master Crockbay, and one Robert Hemmings Bayliff of Saint Katherine, being before him for the burying of her, he said plainly, she should be buried nigh to some Highway, and a mark set up, in token that an Heretic was buried there. Then the said Hemmings told him, the Hogs would scrape her up, which were not decent, nor best? and Mr. Crockbay intreated he might be buried in his Garden, which at length he granted, and willed the said Hemmings to see it done, and that he should be sure he buried her there indeed.

After, when the Corps was brought to the said Garden, the said Robert Hemmings, the Bayliff would needs see it opened: which when the Cover was taken off, the Wife of the said Hemmings put her hand within the sheet, and felt the hair of the said dead Corps, saying; Now will I justify that she is here, and so she did, telling Mallet that those her hands did feel her; this is the effect of this Story.

Now since the coming in of Queen Elizabeth, the said Doctor Mallet came to the said Master Crockbays, and asked him forgiveness, alleging this Verse of the Poet.

Amantium ira amoris redintegratio est.

The Lord give him repentance and grace to seek perfect friendship with him, if it be his blessed will, Amen.

A Note of William Wood.

According as I have sent unto you the true record of my Examination before the Doctors above mentioned, so I thought it not inconvenient to send you likewise certain Notes of my other two deliverances in Queen Marias time, and this I do not (as God knoweth) to get any praise to my self, or to reproach any other, but that God may be glorified in his works, and that our Brethren may know, that though there be many times but little help on earth, yet that there is more in Heaven. About a month after my Examination, one Apleby and his Wife (that were persecuted from Maidstone in Kent) came to my house in Stroud, and desired me that he might have a place in my house for him and his Wife for a time, because Persecution was so hot, that he could no longer stay there; and I at his instance let him have a place with me: but within a fortnight after the Papists espied him, and complained of him to the Bishop of Rochester, and the Bishop sent his chief man, called Ralph Crouch, and he carried him to Rochester before the Bishop, and the said Apleby stood in the defence of the Truth boldly, and the Bishop sent both him and his Wife to the Jail of Maidstone, and there they were burned for the Testimony of the Gospel of God. And the Friday fortnight after I was in the Market at Rochester talking with another man, and the said Ralph Crouch was sent for me; and he coming within a Stones cast of me where I was talking with my Neighbour George Smally, one William Stanley a Papist, dwelling also in Stroud, met with the said Crouch, and they two talked together a while, and I doubted that they talked of me, because many times in their talk they looked on me, and then the said Ralph Crouch went over the street to another Officer or Constable which knew not me, and sent the said Constable for me, and coming for me, knowing my Neighbour George Smally, took him instead of me, and carried him to the Bishop, and when he came before him, the Bishop said to the Officers, this is not the Knaave, this is

The notable deliverances of W. Wood.

not

the Bishop checked the Major and his men, and said that they mocked him, because he was the other man for me, such was the mighty providence of God to defend me, and the Major the same night sent forty bills and men with other weapons to beset my house to take me; but the Lord kept me from them and delivered me out of their hands, to him be glory therefore, Amen.

The third time that the Lord delivered me was on Easter day next after. I had been at London all the Lent, and on Easter Even at night I came home to Sir and to my wife, and a Child of three years old told one of the Neighbours that her Father was come home. And on Easter day, after their Popish Even-song was done, came Master Reade, Thomas Crowch, Brother to the above-said Ralph Crowch, William Stanley, Thomas Bets, Lionell Newman, and Roger Braunch, with three score people or thereabouts, and searched my house very frantically for me: but as Gods Providence was there was Maule a drying upon the Kill, and they searched so narrowly for me, that I was glad to heave up a corner of the hair whereon the Maule lay, and went into the Kill-hole, and there stood till they were gone, and so I escaped from them; but within an hour after there came a Woman to my Wife to borrow a brush, and spied me thorow the key-hole of the door, and there the carrying rydings abroad, immediately came a great company of men and beset my house round about, and I said to my wife, You see that these four men seek for my life, that is, Master Reade, Thomas Crowch, William Stanley, and Thomas Bets: for I do think that none of the rest will lay hands on me; and therefore I pray these wife follow these four men, and talk loud to them that I may hear, and so escape, and if they search on the backside, I may avoid on the street side; and be of good comfort, for our lives are in Gods hand, and though there be little help here on Earth, yet there is help enough from Heaven, and when these men were searching on the backside, I went into the street, among (as I guess) an hundred people, and none of them laid hands on me, neither said they any thing to me, so I went out of the Town, and lay there at an honest mans house at the Parish of Cobham that night.

And at the same time also two of my Neighbours, honest men and of good wealth, the one called John Penman a Fisherman, the other named John Bailly a Glover, because they came not to their Popish Church to buy some of their Idolatrous wares, were complained of to the Justices, who did bind them to answer for their faith before the Judges at the Assizes which were holden at Midsummer after (as I remember) at Rochester in the Palace-yard; and there was at that time a Sail cloth of a ship tied to the top of the Bishops Palace wall, to keep away the Sun from the Judges, because it was hot, and the wind blew and shook the Sail, so that when these two men were called to be examined, and when they should have answered, there fell from the top of the wall three or four great stones upon the Judges necks, so that some of them which fate on the Bench were sore hurt and maimed, so that they arose suddenly all amazed, and departed, and the two men were delivered.

From Tuddenham in Suff. the 25. day of July, 1583. Per me Gulielmum Wood, Vicarium de Tuddenham.

The Story of John Alcocke.

This John Alcocke or Aulcke, of whom mention is made before, was a very faithful honest man, by his occupation a Wood-fetter, singularly well learned in the Holy Scriptures, and in all his Conversation a just and righteous man that feared God, and studied to do indeed that thing that he had learned in the Scriptures. Now after that Sir Richard Teoman was driven away, and the people on Sundays and other days came to the Church, and had no man to teach them any thing (for as yet Parlon Newel was not come to Hadley to dwell, nor had gotten any Curate. Besides that, the Laws made by King Edward were in force, and the Latine numblings not received every where.) John Alcocke

therefore took the English Book used by King Edward, exhorting the people to pray with him, and to read certain prayers in English before them: and moreover, he gave them godly lessons and exhortations out of Chapters that he read unto them. For this, the Bishop of Winchester Stephen Gardiner sent for him, and cast him into Newgate at London: where after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the Pope, and to be reconciled to the Romish Religion, he was cast into the lower Dungeon, where with evil keeping, and sickness of the house, he died in Prison. Thus died he a Martyr of Christs Verity, which he heartily loved and constantly confessed, and received the Garland of a well foughten battle at the hand of the Lord. His Body was cast out, and buried in a dunghill; for the Papists would in all things be like themselves; therefore would they not so much as suffer the dead Bodies to have honest and convenient Sepulture.

He wrote two Epistles to Hadley, which follow here.

The first Epistle of John Alcocke.

Grace be with you, and peace from the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, which gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God our Father, to whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen.

Oh my Brethren of Hadley, why are ye so soon turned from them which called you in the Grace of Christ, unto another Doctrine? which is nothing else but that there be some which trouble you, and intend to pervert the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Nevertheless though these should come unto you that have been your true Preachers, and preach another way of Salvation, than by Jesus Christs death and passion, hold them accursed. Yea, if it were an Angel came from heaven, and would tell you that the sacrifice of Christs Body upon the Cross once for all even, for all the sins of all those which shall be saved, were not sufficient; accused be he. If he were an Angel, or whatsoever hee were, that would say that our Service in English were not right Gods Service, but will better allow the most wicked mumming that you now have: These, whatsoever they be, except they do repent and allow the Gospel of Jesus Christ, they shall never come into that Kingdom that Christ hath prepared for those that be his. Wherefore, my dearly beloved Brethren of Hadley, remember you well what you have been taught heretofore of the Lord Gods true and simple Prophets, that only did with your health and Consolation.

Do not (my good Brethren) I pray you, forget the comfortable word of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Matthew 11. Come unto me all you that are troubled and laden, with the dangers that ye are in the stormy daies, and hear my words, and believe them, and you shall see the unspeakable comfort that you shall receive. The Lord is my Shephard, saith the Prophet David, so that I can want nothing, Psalm 23. He feedeth his Sheep in green pastures, and leadeth them unto clear and wholesome waters of comfort. I am that good Shephard, saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, John 10. for I give my life for my Sheep, and I know my Sheep, and my Sheep know me; but my Sheep will not know an hireling: for he careth not but only for his god the belly, and so seeketh the destruction of their Souls. Therefore beware of hirelings, you that count your selves the Sheep of Jesus Christ. Be sure that ye know his voyce and obey it, and be not deceived through strange voyces, but go from them, and earnestly abide by your profession that you have made in your Baptism, and think not from it. For if you do, you shall declare your selves to be a vain people, and without understanding. And for this cause doth God plague his People, and suffereth them to be deceived with false Prophets and wicked men. I pray you note what the Prophet Esay saith to the people of those days, Esay 1. because they were slipping from the Lord their God, which had done so Marvellous works for them, as you well do know in the Histories of the Bible. Hear O Heaven (saith he) and hearken thou Earth, for the Lord hath

Gal. 3.

Heb. 9. 10. Christs sacrifice.

Church Service.

True Prophets.

Hirelings.

A vain people.

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anno 1558.
hath spoken, I have nourished and brought up Children, but they have done wickedly against me. The Ox hath known his Owner, and the Ass his Masters Crib; but *Israel* hath received no knowledge, my People hath no understanding: Alas for this sinful Nation, a People of great Iniquity, a froward Generation, unnatural Children.

They have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked his wrath, and are gone backward. Hearken also what the Prophet *Jeremy* saith, *Jer. 2.* Be astonied ye Heavens, be afraid, and ashamed at such a thing, saith the Lord, for my People hath done two evils. They have forsaken me, the Well of the waters of Life, and digged them broken Pits that can hold no Water. Is *Israel* a Bond-servant or one of the household of the Lord? Why then is he so spoiled? Why then do they roar and cry upon him as a Lion? Understand those things now in these days that the Prophet spake of them. Oh my Brethren of *Hadley*, why cometh this plague upon us, that we have now in these days and other times? Hearken what the Prophets say, Cometh not this upon thee because thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God? Thine own wickedness shall reprove thee, and thy turning away shall condemn thee, that thou maist know and understand how evil and hurtful a thing it is, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and not feared him, saith the Lord God of Hosts, the holy One of *Israel*; that is to say, he that maketh *Israel* holy. And understood by *Israel* the Children of God, and those things that were spoken to the carnal *Israel*, are spoken unto us, that are or should be the spiritual *Israel*. Grace be with you all, Amen.

Thurs, John Alcocke, Prisoner for Gods Word in Newgate at London.

The second Epistle of John Alcocke.

A Letter. MY Brethren of *Hadley*, note well what *St. Paul* said in the tenth Chapter to the first of the *Corinthians*; Brethren, I would you should not be ignorant of this, that our Fathers were all under the Cloud, and all passed through the Sea, and were baptized unto *Moses* in the Cloud and in the Sea, and did eat one spiritual meat and drank of one spiritual drink. They drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, which Rock was Christ: Nevertheless in many of them had God no delight, for they were over-fittin in the Wilderness. These are examples unto us, that we should not lust after evil things as they lusted; that is to say, we should stand forth to defend the Verity of God, which we would do right well, alas, were it not for loss of goods: we do so much lust after them, that we will rather say there is no God, than we will profess his Word to be truth to the losing of our goods. And our Saviour Christ saith, *Mark 10.* He that is not content to forsake Father and Mother, Wife and Children, House and Land, Corn and Cattel, yea, and his own life for my Truths sake, is not meet for me. And if we be not for our Lord God, then we must needs be meet for the Devil, and we must needs be servants to one of them. If we be not ashamed of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, but earnestly confess it to the uttermost of our power, then are we sure to be confessed of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that before the Angels in Heaven, to be his Servants. But if we will so lust to keep our goods, and rather deny him than to lose our goods, then doth it follow whose Servants we are. Therefore (my dear Brethren of *Hadley*) beware that you do not consent to any thing against your Conscience. For if you do, beware of Gods great wrath: I exhort you therefore (my beloved Brethren in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ) to stand fast in your Profession, and become not manifest Run-aways from the truth of our Lord God, but stick earnestly to it, and doubt not but our God will be unto you a strong defence and refuge in the needful time. Bow down thine ear, O Lord, (saith *David*, *Psal. 86.*) and hear me: for I am poor and in misery. Be merciful unto me, O Lord, for I will call daily upon thee: comfort the Soul of thy Servant; for unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my Soul. For thou Lord art good and gracious, and of great mercy unto all them that call upon thee. Give ear Lord unto my prayer, and ponder the voice of

my humble petition. All Nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy Name. For thou art great, and doest wonderful things: Thou art God alone. Teach me thy ways, O Lord, and I will walk in thy Truth: Oh knit my heart unto thee, that I may fear thy Name. I will thank thee, O my God, with all my heart, and will praise thy Name forever. O you Christian People of *Hadley*, comfort your selves one another in these notable *Psalms of David*, and the whole Bible. Embrace the noble Jewel of our Lord God the Bible, and endeavour your selves to walk the way that it doth teach you.

My good Brethren, we as helpers, saith *St. Paul*, *2 Cor. 6.* do exhort you, that you receive not the grace of God in vain. For behold now is the accepted time, now is the day of Salvation. Let us beware that we take sure hold while we have time; for time will away. While ye have the light walk in it, lest when ye would desire it, ye cannot have it. Understand the Light to be the knowledge of Christ, and to obey, that is to have the light. For that cause came our Saviour Jesus Christ, to make himself known, *John 12.* Unto those that did receive him he gave power to be the Sons of God, and so to be made Inheritors of his Kingdom, which shall never end, *John 1.* who would not be glad to become the Kings Son, that he thereby might be partaker of the Kingdom that never shall have end? O pain man, what art thou that wilt refuse everlasting life for a day or two, or an hour? thou canst not tell how short. Open thine eyes, and see thine own comfort and refuge to Christ. O fly and refuse this worldly wisdom; for worldly wisdom doth shut out the wisdom of God. For the word of the Cross is foolishness unto them that perish; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God. For it is written, *1 Cor. 1.* I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will cast away the understanding of the prudent. Where are the wise? where are the Scribes? where are the Disputers of this world? hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness? For inasmuch as the world by the wisdom thereof knew not God in his wisdom, it pleased God through foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. For the Jews require tokens, and the Greeks ask after wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified, saith *St. Paul*, to the Jews an occasion of falling, and unto the Greeks (a People that are wise in their own conceits) to them is the preaching of Christ crucified foolishness. But unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, we preach Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God. For the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men.

Brethren, look upon your Calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many of high degree are called. But that which is foolish before the world hath God chosen, that he might confound the wise; and that which is despised before the world hath he chosen, and that which is nothing, that he might destroy that which is ought, that no flesh should rejoice. Of the same are ye also in Christ Jesus, which is made of God unto us wisdom and righteousness, and sanctifying and redemption, according as it is written, that he that rejoiceth should rejoice in the Lord, that your Faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. We speak of this wisdom among them that are perfect, not the wisdom of this world, nor the Rulers of this world, which go to nought; but we speak of the wisdom of God, which the carnal man doth not understand. The natural man perceiveth nothing of the Spirit of God. It is foolishness with him. But God hath opened it to us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth out all things. Wherefore (my dear Brethren) try your selves *Spirit of Christ*, well, whether you have the Spirit of Christ, or no. If you have the Spirit of Christ, then are ye dead concerning sin; but ye are alive unto God through Jesus Christ. If this Spirit dwell in you, then will ye increase and go forward in your Profession, and not fear what flesh may do unto the Carcass. Therefore stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and be not wrapped up again in the yoke of bondage, that is to say, to go from God by wicked life, or serve God another way than he hath commanded in his holy Word.

Cccc

Psalms of David are comfortable: The Bible is a Jewel.

Many try of this life. Worldly wisdom.

Spirit of Christ.

Gale. 2.

I trust you go forward (my dear Brethren and Sisters) in your promise that you made to your Lord God in your Baptism: I pray God open unto you the knowledge of himself, and lighten the eyes of your understanding, that you may know what is the hope of your calling, and what the riches of his glorious Inheritance is upon the Saints. For ye are the chosen Generation, the kingly Priesthood, that holy nation, that peculiar people, that should shew the virtues of him which hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light, that is to say, to fear God, and to work righteousness and so to receive the end of your Faith, the salvation of your Souls. This is a true saying; If we be dead with Christ, we shall live with him also. If we be patient, we shall also Reign with him. If we deny him, he also will deny us. If we believe not, yet he abideth faithful, he cannot deny himself. The very God of peace sanctify you throughout, and I pray God that your Spirit, Soul, and Bodies be kept blameless, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus. Faithful is he that hath called you, which will also do it. Brethren, pray for us, and greet all the Brethren among you.

1. Pet. 2.

2. Tim. 1.

1. Thes. 5.

By me your Brother in the Lord and
Saviour Christ, *John Aloccke*,
Prisoner of the Lord at
Newgate.

Give glory to God.

God be merciful to thee (O England) and send thee a great number of such faithful Fathers and godly Pastors, as *Doctor Taylor* was, to guide thee, feed thee, and comfort thee after thy great miseries and troubles, that thou hast suffered under the Tyrannous captivity and rage of the Roman Antichrist, and such ravening Wolves, as have without all mercy murdered the godly and learned Preachers, and give all men grace to consider that such horrible Plagues and mutations have justly fallen upon this Realm for Sin, and with unfained hearts to turn to God, who as he hath scourged us with less Plagues then we deserved, so he calleth us again by his undeserved and unfeakable mercy unto repentance and amendment of our living. It is doubtless now high time to turn unfainedly to God, and to correct our sinful livings, and to remember what Saint *John Baptist* saith, *Matth. 3.* The Axe is now set to the Root of the Tree, and every Tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewen down and cast into the Fire. For this may all men assure themselves of, both rich and poor, high and low, old and young, that the Almighty, jealous, and Righteous God, will not suffer the sinful and wicked life of the ungodly unrepentant that contemn his mercy now profered unto them, to be unpunished, but as he hath from the beginning of the World shewed himself a Righteous Judge, and punisher of wickedness, even so will he do still now. God expelled our first Parents *Adam* and *Eve* from Paradise, and laid upon them and upon us all these miseries, sickness, calamities, and death, that we daily feel, and miserably are oppressed withal, *Gen. 3.* God in *Noahs* days drowned the whole World, onely eight persons were preserved, *Genes. 8. 9.* God burnt up *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* with Fire and Brimstone from Heaven, and destroyed those Cities and all the Country about, *Genes. 18.* God gave over *Jerusalem* called the holy City of God, and delivered his own people the Jews into perpetual Captivity, *Luke 19.* If we seek the cause of these punishments, was it not sinful living and unrepentant hearts? What should I recite the calamity of other lands, seeing Gods judgments have not been unexecuted upon this Realm of England for sinful living? The old *Britains* were with *Cadwalader* their King constrained to flee and leave this land, because of Pestilence and Famine: What miseries and destructions brought the *Danes* in with them? and what troubles sustained the Inhabitants of this Realm afore the same were again driven out? What bloodshed was here in King *William* Conquerors days? were not the Noble men slain, and Gentlemen brought into Bondage? were not their Matrons defiled, and their Daughters given to be Kitchen Drudges under the *Normans* proud Ladies? were not their lands, houses, and possessions divided by lot unto strangers? Their gold and silver wherein they

Read Bible
and our
English
Chronicles.

trusted, was the bait that their enemies hunted after: What a plague was the Civil War between the King and Barons? what horrible bloodshed was in this Realm? till at the last Gods merciful providence ended those miseries by the happy joyning of the two Regal houses together in the Marriage of King *Henry* the Seventh. What miseries have chanced in our time, we have not onely seen and heard, but we have felt them; and God be praised, had our parts of them. Doubtless this all hath chanced for the sins of the people, as the Prophet *Jeremy* plainly teacheth, saying, *Iere. 6.* Who is a wife Man that understandeth this? And to whom shall the word of the Lords Mouth come, that he may Preach it forth? why hath the land perished, and is burnt like a Wilderness, so that no man may pass through it? And the Lord saith, because they have forsaken my Law which I have given them, and they have not heard my voice, and have not walked in them, and have gone after the vanity of their own hearts, and after *Baalim* the Images of *Baal*, which they have learned of their Fathers. We see here plainly the contempt of Gods Word, and of the Preachers of the same, walking after their covetous minds and lewdness of their Hearts, and following of their Idolatrous inventions, brought the Wrath of God upon the people, as witnessed also *Jesus Syrach*, saying, *Eccles. 10.* Because of unrighteous dealing, wrong, Blasphemies, and divers deceits, a Realm shall be translated from one people to another. And a little after he saith; The Lord hath brought the Congregation of the wicked to dishonour, and destroyed them unto the end. God hath destroyed the seats of proud Princes, and set up the meek in their stead. God hath withered the Root of proud Nations, and planted the lowly among them. God hath overthrown the Lands of the Heathen, and destroyed them unto the ground. He hath caused them to wither away: He hath brought them to nought, and made the memorial of them to cease from the Earth. But what availeth it to read such threats of God, if we believe them not? Or, if we believe them to be Gods threats, and despite them? Doubtless, the Lord is Righteous, a jealous God, a punisher of sins, as he himself saith, *Exod. 20. 1.* I punish the sins of the Fathers upon their Children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me. God give us grace to remember this, and with speedy and unfained repentance to turn unto God. I say (unfained repentance) and not (alas) as we have done in times past like Hypocrites to dissemble with God and Man, making Gods holy Word nothing else but a Cloak to cover our malice, covetousness, whoredom, pride, excess, gluttony, wrath, envy, hatred, murder, with all other wicked living most detestable in the sight of God. If men will well consider themselves, they have long enough dissembled, and heaped the wrath of God heavy enough upon their heads. It is now high time to become a new people, to amend indeed, and to follow the Counsel of the holy Ghost, saying unto us by the Prophet *Jeremy*, *Iere. 3.* Why do mortal men murmur against God? let them murmur against their own sins. Let us search our own ways, and let us seek and return unto the Lord. Let us lift up our Hearts and Hands unto the Lord in Heaven, for we have done wickedly, and provoked the Lord to wrath: and therefore wilt thou not be intreated. Doubtless, the Lord will not be intreated, except men very earnestly turn unto him. We have felt in our selves, and seen before our eyes, that when God striketh, no man can be able to abide the heavy stroke of his fist. He hath hitherto corrected us with mercy, as a Father, let us thank him, and return unfainedly, so will he not extend his wrath as a Judge. His will is, that we should return and live, and not perish with the wicked. I live (saith the Lord) and will not the death of a sinner, but that he be converted and live, *Exech. 33.* Here the godly Oath certifieth us of forgiveness, and requireth an unfained Conversion unto God, that is, that men acknowledge in heart their wicked living, and be sorry that ever they have with wicked living offered against that so good and loving a Father, and trust to have forgiveness through Christs Blood, and fully and firmly set their hearts to serve God, and to walk the ways of his commandments all the days of their life. Then shall we be true Christians, built upon the Corner-Stone Christ,

Anno
1558.

Sin is the
cause of
plagues.

High time
to turn to
God.

not

Anno 1558. not wavering or changing at every puff of wind, not seeking an Epicurish life in all voluptuous and vain vanity, not ravening, exhorting, or with ulury, oppressing the poor and needy, but steadfast, unmoveable, living in the fear of Gods judgments, and trust upon his mercy, mortifying our brutish and carnal lusts, being merciful and helpful to the poor and needy, waiting for the blessed time when Christ shall call us, to be ready and accepted before him. Our merciful Lord and good Father grant us grace so to do, for the love of his dear Son Jesus Christ, our certain and most dear Saviour, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour for ever and ever, Amen.

Pal. 115.

Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints.

Apocalyps 6.

These are they which are come out of great troubles, and have washed their clothes, and made them white in the Blood of the Lamb.

Certain Cautions of the Author to the Reader, of things to be considered in reading this story.

AMongst other escapes and oversights in the Edition of this story committed, part of them we leave to thine own gentle Cognition, gentle Reader: certain other specialities there be, whereof we thought it good and expedient to give thee warning, as hereafter followeth.

Cautions of the Author to the Reader.

First, when mention is made of *Peters* being at *Rome*, and suffering at *Rome*, following certain Authors; yet, so far as such as other Writers there be, and reasons to prove that he was not at *Rome*, I desire therefore that this my affirmation may not prejudice other mens judgments, if any see or can say further in that matter.

Touching the story of the Turks, whereas I in following our Christian Authors writing of the Turks, have noted *Solimannus* to be the 12. Turk after *Ostmannus*, as they do all record: I have found since by the computation of the Turks set forth in the Table of their own descent, the said *Solimannus* to be the sixth Emperor of the Turks; and this *Solimannus* his Son, which now Reigneth, to be but the twelfth. Which I thought here to signify unto thee, because of their own Turkish prophetic noted before, left in construing of that prophecy, being in the same place expounded, thou be deceived.

Item, where *Master George Blag* is named to be one of the privy Chamber; here is to be noted also, that although he were not admitted as one of the privy Chamber, yet his ordinary resort thither, and to the Kings presence there was such, as although he were not one of them, yet was he so commonly taken.

Item, in the story of the Duke of *Somerset*, where it is said, that at the return of the Earl of *Warwick* out of *Norfolk*, there was a consultation amongst the Lords assembling themselves together in the house of Mr. *York*, &c. against the Duke of *Somerset*, here is to be noted that the coming of the Lords to the said house of Mr. *York* was not immediately upon the Duke of *Northumbreland* return, but first he went to *Warwick*, and from thence after a space came to the house aforesaid.

Item, here is also to be noted touching the said Duke of *Somerset*, that albeit at his death relation is made of a sudden falling of the people, as was at the taking of Christ, this is not to be expounded, as though I compared in any part the Duke of *Somerset* with Christ.

And though I do something more attribute to the commendation of the said Duke of *Somerset*, which dyed so constantly in his Religion, yet I desire thee (gentle Reader) so to take it, not that I did ever mean to derogate or impair the Martial praise or facts of other men, which also are to be commended in such things where they well deserved.

Item, touching the same Duke of *Somerset*, where the story saith, he was attainted, read, indicted.

Item, where mention is made of one *Nicholas Underwood* to be the betrayer of the Duke of *Devonshire*, with the said *Underwood* also *Nicholas Lawrence*, alias *Nicholas Eibel*, Keeper of *Aspley-Park*; who taking upon him and promising to keep the Duke for two or three days, until he might find some means to escape, conveyed him into an hollow Tree, and after most traitorously betrayed him.

Item, in the story of Sir *Thomas Wyat* there is also to be corrected, that where the story saith, that he was taken by Sir *Clement Parson*, which was not so, and he no such Knight; amend it thus: that he first came to *Chesham*, being sent unto him, and afterward yielded him to Sir *Morris Bartley*. Briefly and in general, besides these castigations above noted, if thou find any other committed in the printing hereof, gently I desire thee (gentle Reader) to bestow a little pains with thine own hand to amend them.

Notes omitted of them that were burnt at Bristol.

THe eighth day of *August* was brought *William Sartons*, Weaver of *Bristol*, before one *Dalby Chancellor* of *Bristol* aforesaid, and by him committed to Prison, and also condemned, for holding that the Sacrament was a sign of an holy thing; also he denied, that the Flesh and Blood of Christ is there after their words of Consecration; he was burned the eighteenth of *September*, Anno 1556. and as he went to the fire, he sung Psalms. The Sheriff, *John Griffith*, had prepared *Green-wood* to burn him; but one *Master John Pikes*, pitying the man, caused divers to go with him to *Ridland*, half a mile off, who brought good store of *Helme-sheaves*, which made good dispatch with little pain, in comparison to that he should have suffered with the *Green-wood*. In the mean space, whilst they went for the sheaves, the said *Sartons* made many good exhortations to the People, and after died constantly and patiently with great joyfulness.

A Note of Prests Wife of Excceter.

IN *Cornwall*, not far from *Lanceston*, within the Diocess of *Excceter*, in Queen *Maries* days, dwelled a poor man, whose name was *Prest*, his Wife being an honest Woman, very simple, but of good zeal and upright life, being taught by God in hearing of his Word (albeit it was in those days very seldom preached any where) and feeling a sweet taste thereof, framed her life anew after the Rule of the same. And banished quite from her all the Popish dregs of Superstition and Hypocrisie, and gave her self wholly to Prayer, and invoking the name of God, both for the afflicted Church of Christ in those days very dangerously tossed and troubled; as also for her own inward contentation and spiritual consolation, which she not a little felt to her unspeakable joy and incomparable comfort. And when some, who before had known her, saw that marvellous change in her and (as the cruel Serpent) envied her felicity, they went upon the same immediately, and accused her to certain Justices of the Shire, being extreme enemies to the truth, and very persecutors of the same; who taking the matter in hand, as very glad of such occasion, sent for her to the place where she was, and began at the second, if not at the first dash, to demand her belief in their Popish Sacrament of the Altar.

The good poor woman, who had learned not to be ashamed to confide her Master Christ before men; and to render account of her Faith when it was asked; told freely and frankly her opinion therein, and hid back nothing that either she thought might profit them, if they had any Grace to receive it; or else might found to Gods glory and praise, though it were never so much by them threatened and rebuked. Whereupon she was forthwith committed to the Goal of *Lanceston*, where she remained a quarter of a year, or thereabouts, and afterwards was dispatched of that vile and filthy Prison, and delivered over to the hands of two Champions of the Popes, the one called *Doctor Reynolds*, Dean of *Excceter*, and the other named *Master Blaxton*, Treasurer of the same Church, men surely fervent hot in the furtherance of the

C c c 2 Romish

Romish Affairs, and in withstanding the truth of the pure Evangelical Gospel. So the time that this good poor Woman was under their hands, she had many fore conflicts by them. And the said *Blaxton* having a Concubine, which sundry times resorted to him with other of his Gossips, always when they came, this said good Woman was called forth to his house, and there to make his Misson with the rest of his company some mirth, he would examine her with such mocking manner, deriding the Truth, that it would have vexed any Christian Soul to have seen it. Then when he had long used his foolishness in this sort, and had sported himself enough in deriding this Christian Martyr; in the end he sent her to Prison again, and there kept her very miserably, saving sometimes he would fend for her, when his foresaid Guest came to him, to use with her his accustomed folly aforesaid. But in fine, the vile Wretches (after many combats and scoffing persuasions) when they had played the part of a Cat with a Mouse, at length they condemned her, and delivered her over to the Secular Power, who within short space after most cruelly brought her forth to the place where she should suffer, and there in great contempt of the Truth (which she most constantly confessed) they consumed her Carcass immediately with fire into Ashes; which she very patiently suffered and most joyfully received, yielding her Soul and Life unto the Lord and her Body to the Tormentors; for which the Lords Name therefore be praised, Amen.

The Martyrdom of one Snel, burned about Richmond in Queen Maries time, omitted in this History.

The Martyrdom of one Snel by Richmond.

AT Bedaile a Market Town in *Yorkshire*, were two Men in the later days of *Queen Mary*, the one named *John Snel* and the other *Richard Snel*. Who being suspected for Religion were sent unto *Richmond*, where *Dr. Dakins* had Commission from the Bishop of *Chelster* to have the Examination of them.

This *Dr. Dakins* many times conferred with them, sometimes threatening Fire and Fagot if they would not recant, and sometimes flattering them with fair Fables if they would return into the holy Catholick Church. But they stood constantly to the sure Rock *Jesus Christ*, in whom they put their whole trust and confidence, whilst at last being so sore imprisoned, that their Toes rotted off, and the one of them could not go without Crouches, they brought them to the Church by compulsion, where the one of them heard their abominable Mass, having a certain sum of money given him by the benevolence of the People, and so departed thence: but the first News that was heard of him within three or four days was, that he had drowned himself in a River running by *Richmond*, called *Swaile*.

Immediately after, *Dr. Dakins* giving Sentence that the other should be burnt, came home to his house and never joyed after, but died. The Commissary of *Richmond*, named *Hillings*, preached at his burning, exhorting him to return to the Church; but his labour was in vain, the constant Martyr standing strongly to the Faith which he professed.

Then being brought to the Stake, whereunto he was tied by a Girdle of Iron, there was given unto him Gunpowder, and a little Straw was laid under his feet and set round about with small Wood and Tarr-barrels; the fire was put in the Straw, which by and by flaming about his head, he cried thrice together, *Christ help me*: In somuch that one *Robert Atkinson* being present, said, Hold fast there, and we will all pray for thee. Thus this blessed Martyr ended his life.

A Story of one Laremouth, omitted in the body of this Story.

ALbeit I am loth to insert any thing in this Book which may seem incredible or strange to ordinary working for quarrelling Adversaries, which do nothing but spy what they may cavil: yet forsomuch as besides other Reporters, the person is yet alive, called *Thorne*, a godly Minister, which heard it of the mouth of the party himself, I thought therefore first for the incredible strangeness thereof, neither to place this Story in the

body of these Acts and Monuments, and yet in some out-corner of the Book not utterly to pass it untouched, for the Reader to consider it, and to credit it as he seeth cause. The Story is this: There was one *Laremouth*, otherwise called *Williamson*, Chaplain to the Lady *Anne of Cleve*, a Scotishman, to whom being in Prison in *Queen Maries* days, it was said (as he thought) thus founding in his ears, Arise and go thy ways. Whereunto when he gave no great heed at the first, the second time it was said to him again in the same words. Upon this, as he fell to his Prayers, it was said the third time likewise to him, Arise and go thy ways, which was about half an hour after. So he arising upon the same, immediately a piece of the Prison-wall fell down, and as the Officers came in at the outward Gate of the Castle or Prison, he leaping over the Ditch escaped, and in the way meeting a certain Beggar changed his Coat with him, and coming to the Sea-shore, where he found a Vessel ready to go over, was taken in, and escaped the search, which was straitly laid for him in all the Country over.

A little short Letter of *William Hunter* sent out of Prison to his Mother a little before his Martyrdom, to be referred and placed in his Story.

Most reverend and loving Mother, after my most humble wife I have me most heartily commended unto you, desiring you to pray unto God most heartily for me, that I may have his blessing and yours, the which I esteem more worth unto me than any worldly Treasure. In this present Letter you shall understand the cause of my writing unto you at this time, that I am in good health and prosperity, as ever I was in this present life. Wherefore I tender thanks unto Almighty God for us, who alone is most worthy of all praise, trusting in God you be in health also. Furthermore, I certify you wherefore my Father continueth here, to the intent to bear some godly and joyful tidings both for Soul and Body, which I trust it shall be to your singular comfort and consolation, and to the great rejoicing of all other of my Friends. Therefore I desire you (gentle Mother) to admonish my Brother unto a godly life with diligent attendance, and to pray for me, considering his bounden duty, that God may by your faithful Prayer aid and strengthen me in this my prosperous journey and course which I run, trusting to obtain a Crown of everlasting Life, which doth ever endure.

No more unto you at this time, but God preserve you unto everlasting Life.
So be it.

The Orator in effect of Sir Nicholas Bacon Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, spoken in the Star-Chamber the 29th of December, in the 10th year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. And in the year of our Lord God 1567. Then being present.

*Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury.
William Marques of Northampton.
Francis Earl of Bedford.
Lord Clinton Admiral of England.
William Howard Lord Chamberlain.
Bishop of London.
Lord Gray of Wilton.
Sir Edward Rogers Knight.
Sir Ambrose Cave Kt. Chancellor of the Duchy.
Sir William Cecil Knight, Principal Secretary.
Sir Francis Knoll Knight, Vice-Chamberlain.
Sir Walter Mildmay Kt. Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Castlene Chief Justice of the Kings-Bench.
Lord Dyer Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.
Sir William Cordale Knight, Master of the Rolls.
Justice Wesson, Justice Welch, Justice Southcoates, Justice Carowes.*

IT is given to the Queens Majesty to understand, that certain of her Subjects by their evil dispositions do

Anno 1558.

The marvellous deliverance of one Laremouth.

Gods part upon the Doctor that condemned Snel.

ANNO 1558. do sow and spread abroad divers seditions, to the derogation and dishonour, first of Almighty God, in the estate of Religion established by the Laws of this Realm, and also to the dishonour of her Highness, in disproving her lawful right of Supremacy amongst her Subjects. And this that they do, is not done as in secrecy or by stealth, but openly avouched, and in all Companies disputed on. And thus by their bold attempts they seem not to obey or regard the Authority of Laws, nor the quiet of her Subjects. As for example, by bringing in and spreading abroad divers lewd Libels, and seditious Books from beyond the Seas, and in such boldness, that they do commend those writers in their Seditious Books, containing manifest matter against the estate established. Which boldness of men, so universally and every where seen and heard, cannot be thought to be done but by the comfort and aid, or at the least way winkt at by them whom the Queens Highness hath placed in Authority to repress these insolencies. And the Queens Highness cannot more justly charge any for this disorder, than such who be in Commissions chosen to repress these disorders. If it be answered me, that they cannot see such open boldness and Factious disorders, I must say that they have no eyes to see? and if they hear not of such contemptuous talk and speech, I may say that they have no ears. I would have those men judge what will come of these unbridled speeches in the end, if reformations be not had thereof. What cometh of Factions and Seditions, we have been taught of late years, and what the fruits thereof be, which I beseech God long to defend us from. If such disorders be not redressed by Law, then must force and violence reform. Which when they take place, may fortune to fall as soon on them that seem to have least consideration in this matter. If force and violence prevail, then ye know that Law is put to silence, and cannot be executed, which should only maintain good order. If it be replied against me, that to the suppressing of these open talks there is no Law, which by special Letter can charge any man offenser; I must say, that whatsoever the Letter of the Law be, the meaning of the Law was and is clean contrary to the liberty of these doings. If it be said, that no man can be charged by the Law, except it can be proved against him that his speech and deeds be done maliciously; what ye call malice I cannot tell. But if the bringing in of these Seditious Books make mens minds to be at variance one with another, distraction of minds maketh Seditions, Seditions bring in Tumults, Tumults work Insurrections and Rebellion, Insurrections make Depopulations and Desolations, and bring in utter ruine and destruction of mens Bodies, Goods, and Lands: And if any sow the Root whereof these men come, and yet it can be said that he hath no malice, or that he doth not maliciously labour to destroy both publick and private wealthe, I cannot tell what Act may be thought to be done maliciously. And further, if it be said to me, that the man which should be charged with offence, must be proved to have done his Act advisedly: To that I answer, If any bring in those Books, distribute them to others, commend and defend them, and yet cannot be charged to have done advisedly, I have no skill of their advisedness. If it be said, that the Law entreateth of such Acts as be directly derogatory and of none other, what is direct overthrowing the Law, when the contrary thereof is plainly treated, holden, and defended, and the Truth by Arguments condemned? It may be said again, that the world doth not now like extremity in Laws Penal, and calleth them bloody Laws. As for extrem and bloody Laws, I have never liked of them; But where the execution of such Laws toucheth half a dozen offenders, and the not execution may bring in danger half a 100, I think this Law not the execution thereof may justly be called extreme and bloody. In such like comparison I may utter my meaning, as to make a difference between whipping and hanging. Indeed, though whipping may be thought extreme, yet if by whipping a man may escape hanging, in this respect, not whipping bringeth in this bloodiness and extremity, and not the execution of the Law; and better it were, a man to be twice whipped, then once hanged: The pains do differ, but wise men will soon consider the diversity. The Truth is, to suffer

disobedient Subjects to take boldness against the Laws of God and their Prince, to wink at the obflinate minds of such as be unbridled in their affections; to maintain a forain power of the Bishop of Rome, directly against the Princes Prerogative established by Laws, is not this to hatch Diffention, and to cherish Sedition? To extol the writings of such, who by all their wits devise to supplant the Princes lawful Authority? If these doings be not means to the disturbance and utter ruine of this Realm, I know not what is good governance. If these be not the sparks of Rebellion, what be they? Thus much having spoken to your Wisdoms, I doubt not of your assenting with me; the rather also because I utter them unto you as from the Queens Majesty by commandment, who doth require of us all a more diligence in execution of Laws, than is spied commonly abroad: Whereby we shall do our duties to Almighty God the better, declare our allegiance to our Sovereign, regard the Majesty of the Laws, love the quiet of our Country, and procure the safety of our selves.

God save the Queen.

And here I trust, we are now come to an end of all our English Martyrs which hitherto have been burnt for the verity of the Gospel, if we add besides to the same a godly Countreiman of ours, one named *Richard Atkins* an *Hartfordshire* man, who of late about two years past in the Reign of this our gracious Queen, Anno 1581 most miserably was tormented at *Babylon*, that is, in the City of *Rome*. The cause and manner of whose suffering and Martyrdom here ensteth, taken out of a certain late printed Story, and testified by such as were present witnesses and beholders of the same most tragical execution. The purport of which Story in words, as it is put down by the said Reporter, here under followeth.

A true report of the horrible and merciles Martyrdom of one Richard Atkins, an English-man, with extreme Torments, and most cruel rage of furious Tyrants, Persecutors, put to death at Rome.

ABout the month of *July*, Anno 1581. one *Richard Atkins* born in *Hartfordshire*, an Englishman, came to *Rome*, and having found the English Colledge, knocked at the door, To whom divers of the Students there came out, to welcom him, understanding that he was an English-man. Among other talk had with him they willed him to go to the Hospital, and there to receive his meat and Lodging, according as the order was appointed: whereunto he answered, I come not (my Countreimen) to any such intent, as you judge, but I come lovingly to rebuke the great misorder of your lives, which I grieve to hear, and pity to behold: I come likewise to let your proud Antichrist understand, that he doth offend the heavenly Majesty, rob God of his honour, and poysoneth the whole world with his abominable blasphemies, making them do homage to Stocks and Stones, and that filthy Sacrament, which is nothing else but a foolish Idol. When they heard these words, one *Hugh Griffin*, a Welchman, and Student in the Colledge, caused him to be put in the Inquisition? where, how they examined him, and how he answered them I know not, but after certain days he was set at liberty again. And one day going in the street, he met a Priest carrying the Sacrament; which offending his Conscience, to see the People so crouch and bow down to it, he caught at it to have thrown it down, but missing of his purpose, and it being judged by the People, that he did catch at the holiness that (they say) cometh from the Sacrament, upon meer devotion, he was let pass, and nothing said to him: few days after he came to *St. Peters Church*, where divers Gentlemen and other were learning Mass, and the Priest at the elevation; he using no reverence, stepped among the People to the Altar, and threw down the Chalice with the Wine, striving likewise to have pulled the Cake out of the Priests hands; for which divers rose up and beat him with their fists, and one drew his Rapier, and would have slain him: so that in brief he was carried to Prison, where he was examined, wherefore he had committed such a haynous offence; whereunto he answered, that he came purposely for that intent, to rebuke the Popes wickedness and their Idolatry. Upon

this he was condemned to be burned; which Sentence (he said) he was right willing to suffer, and the rather, because the sum of his offence pertained to the glory of God. During the time he remained in Prison, sundry English men came unto him, willing him to be sorry for that he had done, and to repent from his damnable Opinion; but all the means they used were in vain, he confuted their dealings by divers places of Scripture, and willed them to be sorry for their wickedness, while God did permit them time, else they were in danger of everlasting damnation; these words made the Englishmen depart: for they could not abide to hear them. Within a while after, he was set upon an Ass without any Saddle, he being from the middle upward naked, having some English Priests with him to talk with him, but he regarded them not, but spake to the People in so good Language as he could, and told them they were in a wrong way, and therefore willed them for Christs sake, to have regard to the saving of their Souls. All the way as he went, there were four that did nothing else but thrust at his Body with burning Torches, whereat he never moved, nor shrunk one jot, but with a cheerful countenance laboured to persuade the People, often bending his body to meet the Torches as they were thrust at him, and would take them in his own hand, and hold them burning still upon his Body, whereat the People not a little wondered. Thus he continued almost the space of half a mile, till he came before St. Peters, where the place of Execution was. When he was come to the place of execution, there they had made a device, not to make the fire about him, but to burn his Legs first, which they did, he not dismayed any whit, but suffered all marvellous cheerfully; which moved the People to such a quandary as was not in Rome many a day. Then they offered him a Cross, and willed him to embrace it, in token that he died a Christian; but he put it away with his hand, telling them that they were evil men to trouble him with such paltry, when he was preparing himself to God, whom he beheld in Majesty and mercy, ready to receive him into eternal rest. They seeing him in this mind, departed, saying, Let us go and leave him to the Devil, whom he serves. Thus ended this faithful Souldier and Martyr of Christ, who is, no doubt, in glory with his Master: whereunto God grant us all to come, Amen.

This is faithfully avouched by John Young, who was at that time, and a good while after in Rome, in Service with Master Doctor Morton; who seeing the Martyrdom of this man, when he came home to his house, in presence of Master Smith his Son, Mr. Creed, and the said John Young, spake as followeth. Surely this Fellow was marvellous obstinate, he nothing regarded the good counsel which was used to him, nor shrunk all the way when the Torches were thrust at his naked Body. Beside, in the place of execution he did not faint nor cry one jot in the fire, albeit they tormented him very cruelly, and burned him by degrees, as his Legs first: put him to the greater pain; yet all this he did but smile at. Doubtless, but that the Word of God cannot be but true, else we might judge this Fellow to be of God; for who could have suffered so much pain as he did? but truly I believe the Devil was in him.

The cursed Life and bloody End of Dr. Story, a cruel Persecutor of Christ in his Members.

I Had thought (Christian Reader) here to have made an end, and to have concluded the Volume of this Book, had not the remembrance of Dr. Story, an Arch-enemy to Christs Gospel, and bloody Persecutor of Gods People, come into my mind. The discourse of whole life and doings, I thought good here briefly to lay open to the view of the world, as followeth. This Dr. Story being an English man by birth, and from his infancy not only nursed in Papistry, but also even as it were by nature earnestly affected to the same, and growing somewhat to riper years, in the days of Queen Mary became a bloody Tyrant, and cruel Persecutor of Christ in his Members (as all the Stories in this Book almost do declare.) Thus he raging all the Reign of the foresaid Queen Mary against the infallible Truth of Christs

Gospel, and the true professors thereof, never ceased till he had consumed to Ashes two or three hundred blessed Martyrs, who willingly gave their lives for the Testimony of his Truth; and thinking their punishment in the fire not cruel enough, he went about to invent new Torments for the holy Martyrs of Christ, such was his hatred to the Truth of Christs Gospel: but in the end the Lord God looking upon the affliction and cruel blood-shedding of his Servants, took away Queen Mary the great Pillar of Papistry. After whom succeeded Lady Elizabeth now Queen of England, who staying the bloody Sword of Persecution from raging any further, caused the same Doctor Story to be apprehended, and committed to ward, with many other his complices, sworn enemies to Christs glorious Gospel. The said Story having been a while detained in Prison, at the last, by what means I know not, brake forth of hold, and conveyed himself over the Seas, where he continued a most bloody Persecutor, still raging against Gods Saints with fire and Sword. Insomuch as he growing to be familiar and right dear to Duke Doria in Antwerp, received special Commission from him to search the Ships for goods forfeited, and for English Books, and such like.

And in this favour and authority he continued there for a space, by the which means he did much hurt, and brought many a good Man and Woman to trouble and extreme Peril of life through his blood-thirsty cruelty: but at the last the Lord (when the measure of his iniquity was full) proceeded in judgment against him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the prayers of many a good man; which came to pass in order as followeth. It being certainly known (for the bruit thereof was gone forth into all Lands) that he not only intended the subversion and overthrow of his native Country of England, by bringing in forin Hostility, if by any means he might compass it; but also daily and hourly murdered Gods People, there was this Platform laid (by Gods providence no doubt) that one Master Parker a Merchant should saile unto Antwerp and by some means convey Story into England.

This Parker arriving at Antwerp, tuborned certain to repair to Dr. Story, and to signify unto him, that there was an English Ship came, fraught with Marchandise, and that if he would make search thereof himself, he should find store of English Books, and other things for his purpose. Story hearing this, and suspecting nothing, made haste towards the Ship, thinking to make the lame his Prey; and coming aboard, searched for English Heretical Books (as he called them) and going down under the Hatches, because he would be sure to have their Blood if he could, they clapped down the Hatches, hoisted up their Sails, having (as God would) a good gale, and sailed away into England: where they arriving presented this bloody Butcher, and Traitorous Rebel Story to the no little rejoicing of many an English heart. He being now committed to Prison, continued there a good space: during all which time he was laboured and solicited daily by wife and learned Fathers to recant his devilish and erroneous opinions, to conform himself to the Truth, and to acknowledge the Queens Supremacy. All which he utterly denied to the death, saying, that he was sworn Subject to the King of Spain, and was no subject to the Queen of England, nor the his Sovereign Queen; and therefore (as he well deserved) he was condemned (as a Traitor to God, the Queens Majesty, and the Realm) to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; which was performed accordingly, he being laid upon a Hurdle, and drawn from the Tower along the streets to Tiborn where he being hanged till he was half dead, was cut down and stripped; and (which is not to be forgot) when the executioner had cut off his privy Members, he rushing up upon a sudden, gave him a blow upon the ear, to the great wonder of all that stood by: and thus ended this bloody Nimrod his wretched life, whose judgment I leave to the Lord.

A Note of Ralph Lurdane, Persecutor of George Eagle.

IN the history of George Eagle, alias Tindgeover-the-world, mention is made of his apprehension in a corn field, where, by the benefit of the height of

Anno
1558.

Story inventing new torments for the Martyrs.

Story apprehended.

Story conveyed himself over the Seas, where he continued a bloody Persecutor.

Story intended the overthrow of England.

A Platform laid to apprehend Story.

Story searched the English Ships for books, and is apprehended, and brought into England.

Story Traitor hanged, and quartered.

Storys education and birth.

Storys bloody Persecution.

Anno 1558. the corn, and breadth of the field, he had escaped, had not one of his persecutors with more malicious craft climbed a high tree to view over the place, and so defied him. This persecutor named *Ralph Lurdane* (as we have since learned) a lewd fellow of life for theft and whoredom, was, within few years after he had apprehended the foresaid *George Eagles* for gain of Money, attached of felony for stealing an horse, condemned, and hanged in the same place and Town of *Chelmsford*, where *George Eagles* before suffered Martyrdom.

A brief Note concerning the horrible Massacre in France, Anno 1572.

The cruel
Massacre in
France.

Persecution
in the City
at Orange.

Anno 1570
Persecution
at Roane.

40 slain
coming from
a Sermon.

Persecution
at Diepe.

The horrible
Massacre at
Paris.

The Kings
dissembled
pretence.

The names
of all the fa-
vours of the
Admiral
described.

A bloody
marriage
between the
Kings Sister
and Prince
of Navarre.

Here, before the closing up of this Book, in no case I would be unremembered the tragical and furious Massacre in France, wherein were Murthered so many hundreds and thousands of Gods good Martyrs. But because the true narration of this lamentable story is set forth in English at large, in a Book by it self, and extant in print already, it shall the less need now to discourse that matter with any new repetition; only a brief touch of summary notes for remembrance may suffice. And first for brevity sake to overpass the bloody butchery of the Romish Catholics in Orange against the Protestants, most fiercely and unawares breaking into their houses, and there, without mercy, killing Man; Woman, and Child; of whom some being spoiled and naked, they threw out of their lofts into the streets; some they smothered in their houses with smother, with sword and weapon sparing none, the Carkasses of some they threw to dogs, with was *An. 1570* in the Reign of *Charles 9.* Likewise to pass over the cruel slaughter at Roane, where the Protestants being at a Sermon without the City Walls upon the Kings Edict, the Catholics in fury ran upon them coming home, and slew of them above 40. at least, many more they wounded. This example at Roane, stirred up the Papists in Diepe to practise the like rage also against the Christians there returning from the Sermon; whok slaughter had been the greater, had they not more wisely before been provided of weapons for their own defence at need. All which happened about the same year aforesaid Anno 1570. But these with such like I briefly overslip, to enter now into the matter above promised, that is, briefly to entreat of the horrible and most barbarous Massacre wrought in Paris, such as I suppose was never heard of before in any Civil dissension amongst the very Heathen. In few words to touch the substance of the matter.

After long troubles in France, the Catholick side, foreseeing no good to be done against the Protestants by open force, began to devise how by crafty means to entrap them, And that by two manner of ways: The one by pretending a power to be sent into the lower Countrey, whereof the Admiral to be the Captain; not that the King he meant indeed, but only to understand thereby what power and force the Admiral had under him, who they were, and what were their names. The second was by a certain marriage suborned, between the Prince of Navarre, and the Kings Sister. To this pretended marriage, it was devised that all the chiefest Protestants of France should be invited, and meet in Paris. Among whom first they began with the Queen of Navarre, Mother to the Prince, that should marry the Kings Sister, attempting by all means possible to obtain her consent therunto. She being then at *Rochel*, and allured by many fair words to repair unto the King, consented at length to come, and was received at Paris; where she after much ado, at length being won to the Kings mind, and providing for the marriage, shortly upon the same fell sick, and within five days departed, not without suspicion, as some said, of poison. But her Body being opened, no sign of poison could there be found, save only that a certain Apothecary made his brag, that he had killed the Queen by certain venomous odours, and smells by him consorted.

After this notwithstanding the marriage still going forward, the Admiral, Prince of Navarre, Comde, with divers other chief States of the Protestants, induced by the Kings Letters and many fair promises, at last were brought to Paris. Whose with great solemnity they

were received, but especially the Admiral. To make the matter short, The day of the marriage came, which was the eighteenth of August. Anno 1572. Which marriage being celebrate and solemnized by the Cardinal of *Borbone*, upon an high stage set up of purpose without the Church Walls, the Prince of Navarre and Comde came down, waiting for the Kings Sister being then at Mass. This done, they resorted all together to the Bishops Palace to dinner. At evening they where had to a Palace in the middle of Paris to supper. Not long after this, being the two and twentieth of August, the Admiral coming from the Council Table, by the way was stricken with a Pistolet, charged with three Pellets, in both his Arms. He being thus wounded, and yet still remaining in Paris, although the Vidam gave him Counsel to flee away, it so fell out that certain Soldiers were appointed in divers places of the City to be ready at a Watch-word at the commandment of the Prince, Upon which Watch-word given, they burst out to the slaughter of the Protestants, first beginning with the Admiral himself, who being wounded with many fore wounds, was cast out of the Window into the street, where his Head being first stricken off, and embalmed with spices to be sent to the Pope, the savage people raging against him, cut off his Arms and Privy Members, and so drawing him three days thorow the streets of Paris, they dragged him unto the place of execution out of the City, and there hanged him up by his heels to the greater shew and scorn of him.

After the Martyrdom of this good Man, the armed Soldiers with rage and violence ran upon all other of the same profession, slaying and killing all the Protestants they knew or could find within the City gates inclosed. This Bloody slaughter continued the space of many days, but especially the greatest slaughter was in the three first days, in which were numbred to be slain, as the story writeth, above ten thousand, Men, Women, old and young, of all sorts and conditions. The Bodies of the dead were carried in Carts to be thrown in the River: so that not only the River was all stained therewith, but also whole streams in certain places of the City did run with gore Blood of the slain Bodies. So great was the outrage of that Heathenish Persecution, that not only the Protestants, but also certain, whom they thought indifferent Papists, they put to the sword in stead of Protestants. In the number of them that were slain of the more learned sort, was *Petrus Ramus*, also *Lambinus*, another notorious learned man; *Platanus*, *Lomenius*, *Chapsius*, with others.

And not only within the Walls of Paris this uproar was contained, but it extended further into other Cities and quarters of the Realm, especially *Lyons*, *Orleans*, *Tholous*, and *Roane*. In which Cities it is almost incredible, nor scarce ever heard of in any nation, what cruelty was shewed, what numbers of good men were destroyed; inasmuch that within the space of one Month thirty thousand at least of Religious Protestants are numbred to be slain, as is credibly reported and storied in the Commentaries of them which testifie purposely of the matter.

Furthermore here is to be noted, that when the Pope first heard of this Bloody stir, he with his Cardinals made such joy at Rome, with their Procession, with their gunshot, and singing of *Te Deum*, that in honour of that festival act, a jubile was commanded by the Pope with great indulgence, and much solemnity. Whereby thou hast here to discern and judge, with what Spirit and Charity these Catholics are moved to maintain their Religion, which otherwise would fall to the ground without all hope of recovery. Likewise in France no less rejoicing there was upon the 28. day of the said Month, the King commanding publick Processions thorow the whole City to be made, with bonfires, ringing, and singing; bloody day, where the King himself, with the Queen his Mother, and his whole Court resorting together to the Church, gave thanks and laud to God, for that so worthy victory achieved upon *St. Bartholomews* day against the Protestants, whom they thought to be utterly overthrown and vanquished in all the Realm for ever.

Admiral
Wounded
with a Pisto-
let shot out
of a Win-
dow.

Admiral
lain in his
bed, and
threws out
of the Win-
dow.

10 thousand
slain in his
three days.
Ex historia
Reg. Nino-
thi, lib. 5.

Petrus Ramus
Lambinus,
with other,
slain.

Commen-
taries de Baro
Galles part. 7

The Spirit
and Charity
of the Pope
to be noted.

28. of August
St. Bartholo-
mews, a
bloody day;

The great distress of the Protestants in France.

Gods helping hand at need.

The Town of Rochel example to other Towns. The Cities of the Protestants take courage to defend themselves.

Thereupon.

Rochel sets hand to their defence.

Rochel sets battle by Breau.

The whole power of France set against Rochel.

The siege of Rochel during seven Months.

7. A. D. 1573. A. D. 1573. A. D. 1573.

And in very deed to mans thinking it might appear no less after such a great destruction of the Protestants, having lost so many worthy and Noble Captains as then were cut off, whereupon many, for fear revoking their Religion, returned to the Pope, divers fled out of the Realm, such as would not turn, keeping themselves secret, durst not be known nor seen, so that it was past all hope of man, that the Gospel should ever have any more place in France: but such is the admirable working of the Lord, where mans help and hope most faileth, there he most sheweth his strength and helpeth, as here is to be seen and noted. For whereas the little small remnant of the Gospel side, being now brought to utter desperation, were now ready to give over unto the King, and many were gone already against Conscience, yielding to time, yet the Lord of his goodness so wrought, that many were staid and reclaimed again through the occasion first of them in Rochel: Who hearing of the cruel Massacre in Paris, and slaughter at Tholous, most constantly with valiant hearts (the Lord so working) thought to stand to their defence against the Kings power by whose example certain other Cities hearing thereof took no little courage to do the like: as namely Montauban, the City called Nemanium, Sanjer in Occitania, Millialdum, Mirebellum, Fudussa, with other Towns and Cities more: who being confederate together, exhorted one another to be Circumspect, and take good heed of the false dissembling practices not to be trusted of the merciles Papists, intending nothing but Blood and destruction.

These things thus passing at Rochel, the King hearing thereof, giveth in commandment to Captain Sirocassius and Guardius to see to Rochel. After this he sendeth a Noble man, one Birominus, requiring of the Rochel men to receive him for their Governour under the King. Of this great Consultation being had, at length the Rochel men began to confend upon certain conditions; which being not easily granted unto, and especially they hearing in the mean time what was done to others of their fellows, which had submitted themselves, thought it so better to stand to the defence of their lives and Consciences, and to adventure the worst. Whereupon began great siege and battery to be laid against Rochel both by land and sea, which was Anno 1572. about the fourth day of December. It would require another Volume to describe all things, during the time of this siege, that passed on either side, between the Kings part, and the Town of Rochel; briefly to run over some parts of the matter: In the beginning of the next year following, which was Anno 1573. in the Month of January, commandment was given out by the King to all and sundry Nobles and Peers of France, upon great punishment, to address themselves in most forcible wise to the assailing of Rochel. Whereupon a great concourse of all the Nobility, with the whole Power of France, was there assembled, amongst whom was also the Prince of Anjou, the Kings Brother (who there not long after was proclaimed King of Polonia) accompanied with his other Brother Duke Alanson, Navarre, Conde, and other a great number of States besides. Thus the whole power of France being gathered against one Poor Town, had not the mighty hand of the Lord stood on their side, it had been impossible for them to escape. During the time of this siege, which lasted about seven Months, what Skirmishes and Conflicts were on both sides, it would require a long tractation. To make short, seven principal assaults were given to the poor Town of Rochel, with all the power that France could make. In all which assaults ever the Popes Catholick side had the worst. Concerning the first assault this I find written, that within the space of 26. days were charged against the walls and houses of Rochel, to the number of thirty thousand shot of Iron bullets and Globes, whereby a great breach was made for the Adversary to invade the City: but such was the courage of them within, not men onely, but also of Women, Matrons, and Maidens, with spits, fire, and such other weapon as came to hand, that the Adversary was driven back, with no small slaughter of their Soldiers; onely of the Townsmen were slain and wounded to the number of sixty persons. Likewise in the second assault 2000. great Field-pieces were laid against the

Town; whereupon the Adversary attempted the next day to invade the Town, but through the industry of the Soldiers and Citizens, and also of the Women and Maids, the Invaders were forced at length to flee away faster then they came. No better succels had all the assaults that followed: whereby consider (gentle Reader) with thy self, in what great distress these good men were, not of Rochel onely, but of other Cities also, during these seven Months above mentioned, had not the mighty hand of the Lord almighty sustained them. Concerning whose wondrous operation for his Servants in these hard distresses, three memorable things I find in History to be noted.

The one concerning the siege of Sanjer; which City being terribly battered and razed with Gunshot of great Canons, and Field-pieces, having at one siege no less then three thousand Bullets and Gunstones flying upon them, wherewith the crests of their helmets were pierced, their sleeves, their hose, their hats pierced, their weapons in their hands broken, their wals shaken, their houses rent down; yet not one person slain nor wounded with all this, save onely at the first a certain Maiden, with the blast of the shot flying by her, was stricken down, and died.

The second thing to be noted is this, that in the same City during all the time of the siege, which lasted seven Months and a half, for all the Ordinance and Battering-pieces discharged against them, which are numbered to six thousand, not so much as 25. persons in all were slain.

The third example, no less memorable, was at Rochel: Whereas the poorer sort began to lack corn and victual, there was sent to them every day in the river (by the hand of the Lord no doubt) a great multitude of fish (called Swindones) which the poorer people did use in stead of bread. Which fish, the same day as the siege brake up, departed and came no more. Testified by them which were present there in Rochel all the time.

What number was lost on both sides during all this seven Months Warr, it is not certainly known. Of the Kings camp what number was slain, by this it may be conjectured, that 120. of their Captains were killed and slain, of whom the chiefest was Duke Dersmoale.

To close up this Tragical Story, concerning the breaking up of this seven Months Siege: thus it fell out, that shortly after the seventh assault given against Rochel, which was Anno 1573. about the Month of June, word came to the Camp, that Duke Anjou the Kings Brother was proclaimed King of Polonia. Whereat great joy was in the Camp. By occasion whereof the New King, more willing to have peace, entred talk with them of Rochel: who, as he shewed himself to them not ungente, so found he them again to him not uncomfortable. Whereupon a certain agreement pacificatory was concluded between them upon conditions. Which agreement the new Polonic King effusions preferred to the French King his Brother, not without some fute and intercession to have it ratified. The King also himself, partly being weary of these chargeable Wars, was the more willing to assent thereunto. And thus at length through the Lords great work, the Kings Royal consent under form of an Edict was set down in writing, and confirmed by the King, containing 25. Articles. In which also were included certain other Cities of the Protestants, granting to them benefit of Peace and liberty of Religion. This Edict or Mandate sent down from the King by his Herald at Arms, Birominus in the Kings name caused to be solemnly proclaimed at Rochel. An. 1573. Junii 20. the tenth day of June.

The year next following, 1574. for two things seemeth fatal and famous; for the death first of Charles the ninth th French King, also most of all for the death of Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, Brother to Guise. Of the manner of the Cardinals death, I find little mention in stories. Touching the Kings death, although Ric. Dinsith saith nothing, for fear belike, because he being a French-man, his name is expressed and known: but another story (whom the said Dinsith doth follow) bearing no name, saith thus: That he died the 25. day of May, upon Whitsun even, being of the age of 25. years: and addeh more; Pro fluxivo sanguinis illum laborasse certum est.

Certain

Anno 1558.

Three notable examples of Gods great mercy in preserving his servants.

The second example.

The third miraculous work of Gods blessing in fish.

120 Captains of the Kings Army slain. Peace concluded between the King and the Protestants. Duke Anjou made King of Poland.

Peace agreed and concluded between the King and Protestants of Rochel, & certain other Cities.

Anno 1573. Junii 20.

The Death of Charles the ninth the French King, and of the Cardinal of Lorraine.

1558. Anno Certain it is, that his sickness came of Bleeding. And tū'th further: *Confans fert fama, sūm dum ē variis co-porū paribus sanguis emanaret, in lēto saepe volutatus, inter horribilium blasphemiarum diras, tantam sanguinis vim projecisse, ut paucas post horas mortuus fuerit.* That is, The constant report goeth, that his Blood gushing out by divers parts of his Body, he tossing in his Bed and casting out many horrible Blasphemies, laid upon Pillows with his Heels upward and Head downward, voided so much blood at his mouth that in few hours he died. Which story, if it be true, as is recorded and testified, may be a Spectacle and Example to all persecuting Kings and Princes polluted with the Blood of Christian Martyrs. And thus much briefly touching the late terrible Persecution in France.

Es com-
ment de
S^r. Gallie
part. 4.

The Conclusion of the Work.

And thus to conclude (good Christian Reader) this present Translation, not for lack of matter, but to shorten rather the matter for largeness of the Volume, I here stay for this present time, without further addition of more discourses, either to over-weary thee with longer tediousness, or to overcharge the Book with longer prolixity, having hitherto set forth the Acts and Proceedings of the whole Church of Christ, namely of the Church of England, although not in such particular perfection, that nothing hath overpassed us; yet in such general sufficiency, that I trust not very much hath escaped us, necessary to be known, touching the principal affairs, doings and proceedings of the Church and Churchmen. Wherein may be seen the whole state, order, descent, course and continuance of the same, the increase and decrease of true Religion, the creeping in of Superstition, the horrible

troubles of Persecution, the wonderful assistance of the Almighty in maintaining his Truth, the glorious constancy of Christs Martyrs, the rage of the Enemies, the alteration of Times, the travels and troubles of the Church, from the first Primitive age of Christs Gospel, to the end of Queen Mary and the beginning of this our gracious Queen Elizabeth. During the time of her happy Reign, which hath hitherto continued (through the gracious protection of the Lord) the space now of 24 years, as my wish is, so I would be glad the good will of the Lord were so, that no more matter of such lamentable Stories may ever be offered hereafter to write upon. But so it is, I cannot tell how, the elder the World waxeth, the longer it continueth, the nearer it hasteneth to its end, the more Satan rageeth, giveth still new matter of writing Books and Volumes: inasmuch that if all were recorded and committed to History, that within the said compass of this Queens Reign hitherto hath happened, in Scotland, Flanders, France, Spain, Germany, besides this our own Country of England and Ireland, with other Countries more, I verily suppose one Eusebius or Polyhistor, which Pliny writeth of, would not suffice thereunto. But of these incidents and occurrences hereafter more, as it shall please the Lord to give grace and space. In the mean time the Grace of the Lord Jesus work with thee (gentle Reader) in all thy studious Readings. And while thou hast space, so imply thy self to read, that by reading thou mayst learn daily to know that which may profit thy Soul, may reach thee experience, may arm thee with patience, and instruct thee in all Spiritual knowledge more and more to thy perpetual comfort and salvation in Christ Jesus our Lord; to whom be all glory in Secula Seculorum, Amen.

Edward Bulkeley to the Christian Reader.

Whereas that excellent Man, both for learning and godliness, Mr. John Foxe of blessed memory, ended this worthy Work with this short declaration of that horrible Massacre and Murder of Gods Saints and Servants in France; I have thought good to set down the same more particularly and largely, and afterward to add thereto a Declaration of other outrageous Cruelties, committed in France by the Favourers and Followers of the Church of Rome upon faithful Christians, both before and after the said Massacre: All faithfully collected and taken out of the History of that honourable man James August Thuanus, President of the Parliament of Paris, and Counsellor of State to the late French King Henry the Fourth. And thus I have done, that we may thereby be the more moved to hate and abhor that bloody Babylon of Rome, and to take the better heed, that by our sins and contempt of Gods holy Word, by his great mercy committed unto us, we do not again fall into the cruel clays thereof, and into the bloody hands of her Followers; as most certainly we had done, if God in great mercy had not prevented that savage, barbarous, and monstrous Powder-Treason: of which great and merciful Deliverance God make us mindful and truly thankful in glorifying his Name, and serving him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life, Amen.

Jacob An-
g. 8. Thuan.
Hist. lib. 11.
Pag. 17.

Pag. 18.

Pag. 16.

Pag. 19.

Pag. 19.

Pag. 41.

Pag. 43.

Pag. 45.

When the Admiral was wounded in both his Arms, he immediately thereupon said to Maure, Preacher to the Queen of Navarre deceased; O my Brother, I do now perceive that I am beloved of my God, seeing that for his most holy Names sake I do suffer these wounds. Then he whispered in the ear of one of them that bare up his Arm, that he should deliver an hundred Crowns to Martin his Preacher, to be given to the Poor of the Church of Paris.

The Admiral was slain by Bemius, of whom Alineus (one of them that came to kill him) did afterwards report, that he never saw man in so present peril, so constantly and confidently suffer death.

Many honourable Men and great Persons were then murdered, as Count Rochefcauld, Telineus the Admirals Son-in-Law, Antonius Clavomontus Marquis of Ravely, Lewes Bullius, Bandineus, Pluvialius, Bernius, &c. Francis Nompas Caumontius, being in Bed with his two Sons, was slain with one of them: the other was strangely preserved, who after came to great honour and dignity.

Stephen Cavalerie Prime, chief Treasurer to the King in Paysters, a very good man, and careful of the Common-wealth, after he had paid for his life a good sum of Money, was cruelly murdered by some Cut-throats, whom Stephen Fargen Patandery, that gaped for his Office, had sent for that purpose.

Magdalen Briffonet, an excellent Woman and learned, the Widow of Ieremus, Master of Requests to the King, flying out of the City in poor apparel, was taken, cruelly murdered, and cast into the River.

Two thousand were murdered in one day; and the same liberty of killing and spoiling continued certain days after.

Peter Placie was stabbed in with Daggers, and killed. At Meldis two hundred were cast into Prison, and being brought out as Sheep to the slaughter, were cruelly murdered. There also 25 Women were slain.

At Orleans a thousand of Men, Women and Children were murdered.

The Citizens of Augustobona, when they heard of the Massacre at Paris, shut the Gates of their Town that no Protestant might escape, and cast all that they suspected into Prison, which afterward were brought forth and murdered.

At Avaricum in like manner the suspected for Religion were cast into Prison, and afterward murdered.

At the Town of Charite, a Troop of Lewes Gonzaga's Horsemen killed 18 Persons.

At Lions there were 800 most miserably and cruelly murdered; the Children hanging at their Fathers necks, and the Fathers embracing their Children, &c. Three hundred were slain in the Archbishops house. The Monks would not suffer their Bodies to be buried.

At Romanium seven were killed.

At Tholossa 200 were murdered.

At Roan 500 were put to death. At the last Thuanus writeth thus; This example passed unto other Cities, and from Cities to Towns and Villages, so that it is by many published, that in all the Kingdom above 30000 were in these tumults divers ways destroyed; although I think the number was somewhat less.

A little before this Massacre, a Man, Nurse, and Infant carried to be baptized, were all three murdered.

There was wonderful great joy in Rome for this Massacre, and the Pope with his Cardinals went in solemn Procession to the Church of Saint Mark, to give thanks unto God for this great benefit bestowed upon the See of Rome and the Christian world. And the Monday following there was solemn Service in the Church of *Minerva*, at which the Pope and the Cardinals were present.

A Jubile also was published, and in the evening the great Ordinance was flung off in the Castle of *St. Angelo*. The Cardinal of *Loren* gave a thousand Crowns to him that brought News of it.

Bricamotus an old Man of seventy years, and *Carogamus*, were laid upon Hurdles and drawn unto Execution: and being in the way reviled, and defiled with dirt cast upon them, they were hanged. *Bricamotus* might have been pardoned, if he would publicly confess, that the Admiral had conspired against the King; which he refused to do.

After a City in the County of the *Albigenis*, held by the Protestants, being upon the Kings great promises of their safety, delivered up into the hands of *Cruce* a Noble man, was notwithstanding with murders and spoil cruelly wasted.

At *Burdeaux*, by the instigation of a Monk, called *Esmond Angerius*, were 264. cruelly murdered, of whom some were Senators. This Monk continually provoked them in his Sermons to this slaughter.

There was great rejoicing in the Camp of the Duke *Albis*, for the murder in *Paris*.

I have thought good to add herewith the like Cruelty, committed at sundry other times before this Massacre, by the followers of the Church of Rome, against the true Professors of Christ his Gospel; taken also out of the Histories of the said honourable man James August Thuanus, who in the first part of his second Tome, lib. 29. writeth thus.

AT *Agendicum* in *Main*, a cruel slaughter of the Protestants was committed by the instigation of *Amatus*, inquisitor of Criminal causes, Cardinal *Guisse* (as was thought) not being ignorant thereof, being Archbishop of that City, who, to the stirring up of more hatred against him, was accused to have been at the stir and slaughter at *Vassy*. A rumour being spread abroad, that the Protestants had taken secret Counsel to invade and spoil the Churches, above an hundred of every estate and sex were by the enraged People killed or drowned in the River *Isanna*, which runneth by the City, the houses of many were spoiled; the Church without the City where the Protestants assembled, was pulled down and made equal to the ground, and their Vines pulled up by the Roots.

The Duke of *Guisse* entred into *Blaise*; which although he got without any fight, yet all furious liberty was permitted to the Souldiers, houses were spoiled, many Protestants which had remained were slain, or drowned in the River; neither were Women spared, of whom some were defiled, and more murdered: Amongst whom one Matron of good birth, having escaped drowning in Water, could not escape from the hands of the murderers. From thence he went to *Mere*, a Town two Leagues from *Blaise*, where Protestants had frequent assembly at Sermons; which for many days together was spoiled, and many killed, and *Cassibonius* the Pastor was drowned in the next River.

At *Lagolun* certain men were strangled, the Preachers eyes pulled out, and he burned by a loft and flow fire.

At *Anjou*, *Alitons* the Pastor was murdered, certain Women slain, and some defiled; amongst which two Sisters were abused in the sight of their Father, who was bound to a Well to behold that sight.

John Timry a Preacher, above 70. years old, being taken was drowned in the River *Clavum*.

An hundred and twenty being put into the Church at *Celadum*, were cruelly murdered and drowned in the River *Liger*. Many more Men and Women, which would not go to Mats, were slain by the procurement of

one *Antus Phylax Rulul*, who had been a Monk, and was then a leader of footmen. Children that had been baptized by the Protestants, were by them re-baptized.

John Burgeon, President of *Turen*, an old man, being suspected to be a Protestant, having bought with a great sum of money his life and safety, was notwithstanding taken and beaten cruelly with Clubs and Staves, and being stripped of his Cloaths, was brought to the Bank of the River *Liger*, and was hanged his feet upward, and head downward in the Water up to his breast; then (he yet alive) they opened his Belly, pulled out his Guts, and threw them into the River, and taking his heart, put it upon a spear, carrying it with contumelious words about the City.

Renatus Campanus did throw above fifty whom either for Religion he suspected, or otherwise hated, into his great Water Pond, which in jest he used to call his great Cup. In the Water Pools of one *Bojordanus* were found above fifty Bodies of men that had been cruelly slain.

At *Samararobridge* certain were slain, Bibles in the French Tongue and other Books were burned, and the Pulpit overthrown.

At *Abbat-villa*, *Robert Sanderisus Allocarius* was slain, and his Son *Francis*, who first was wounded and left in the way for dead, and after being alive, and carried into an Inn, was taken out and killed. *Francis Cantalape Seconvilla*, and *Antony Cancellarius Altamrius* Kinman flying away, were taken and killed.

At *Valonia* a Tumult of purpose was raised, *Huswill*, and *Cocavill* dwelling thereby were slain with certain men of the Town, of whom was one *John Gifford*, who being overwhelmed with Stones, and being supposed to be dead, yet after lifting up his head, and calling for help, was with Spits and Spears thrust thorow and killed; the hatred of the furious People being fearfully fatished with his double death.

In *Andomaribridge* the Pastor or Prescherling sick, was taken, and having his eyes put out, and his ears cut off, was slain, and his Body was drawn thorow the Town unto the Gallows.

Three Women were drawn thorow the streets and cast into the River, and drowned.

The Town of *Barre* being taken by the Papists, all kind of cruelty was there used, Children were cut up, and the Guts of some of them and hearts pulled out, which in rage they gnawed with their Teeth. They that were in the Castle, when they had yielded themselves to the will of the Conquerors, were almost all hanged. One *Ralet* spared not his own Son, but suffered him in that Tumult to be hanged.

The Italians which served the King did for hatred of Religion break forth into such fury, that they did rip up a living Child, did take his Liver, being as yet red hot, and eat it as meat.

A young Maid of 16. years old was murdered.

When the City *Maisson* was taken by corrupting the Keeper of the Keys, whom yet they killed, great cruelty was shewed, so that they counted it a sport to cut off mens Legs and Arms.

Sampontius inviting Gentlemen to Supper, would walk with them, and having his Souldiers about him used to cast some of his Prisoners (of which he had many) from the Bridge into the River, and with that Spectacle did satisfy the eyes of his guests; of whom he would often ask, whether they did ever see men leap betwixt.

When *Gensrimus* a follower of the Duke of *Guisse* was slain, there were found amongst his Papers Letters of the said Duke; wherein he gave commandment for slaying of the Protestants in every City of his Government.

Samarivins having taken without bloodshed the Town of *Cisterion*, yet obtained not from shedding of Blood; but having killed above 200. of them that did not resist him spoiled the Town.

At *Albia* of *Cabars* upon the Lords day the 16. kal. of *December*, the Papists at the ringing of a Bell did break open the doors, where the Protestants were assembled, and killed without difference, some in the place, some as they were fleeing away; were here and their slain, among whom was one *Guaceries* a Rich Merchant;

Anno 1558.
Ibidem.

Fig. 241.

Fig. 243.

Fig. 245.

Fig. 246.

Fig. 249.

Fig. 251.

Ibidem.

Fig. 294.

Fig. 300.

Fig. 302.

Fig. 307.

Fig. 308.

Fig. 309.

Fig. 312.

Fig. 313.

Fig. 314.

Fig. 315.

Fig. 316.

Fig. 317.

Fig. 318.

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Fig. 334.

Fig. 335.

Fig. 336.

Fig. 337.

Fig. 338.

Fig. 339.

Fig. 340.

Fig. 341.

Fig. 342.

Anno 1558. who being drawn into his own house, was with his Wife and Children murdered, and his house spoiled. About 45. were that of Tumult murdered, and their bodies contumeliously used.

Page 595. At *Galliacum*, which is a Town by the River *Tarvois*, a great slaughter of Protestants was committed by the means of *Lawrence Strossius* Cardinal, Bishop of *Albiens*, in which, above 150. were murdered: of which, some were drawn thorow the streets, and after death cast into the fields, to be eaten of Kites; other were drowned in the River, or cast head-long from an high place. Protestants houses were marked with Chalk to be murdered.

Lib. 39. Page 447. In a Town called *Penna*, 300. (notwithstanding the safety of their lives was promised to them) were cruelly murdered by Spaniards, which were newly come to serve the French King; who also killed certain Women there scoffingly saying, that they were Lutheran men, dissembling their Sex by their apparel.

Lib. 34. Page 619. Anno 1563. *Columbarius* was slain in the siege of *Mentalbane*, whose cruelty had been so great, that he counted it but a sport to burn Women, Children, and old Men in an house together.

Page 524. The Town of *Nonne* being yielded to the Papists, upon condition, that the forain Souldiers should depart safe with horse and Armour, leaving their Ensigns, and that the Enemies Souldiers that were foot-men should not enter into the Town, and that no harm should be done to the Townsmen; but that they might (if they would) go into the Castle: after the yielding of it, the Gates were set open, and straight they came to murdering and spoiling without any regard of the forsaide conditions. Men and Women without difference were killed; the streets founded with miserable mourning, Blood flowing in the ways, and the lascivious Souldiers Swords shining in the flames of the fire, which they had cast upon the houses. Many were cruelly killed, being thrown down headlong from on high. Among others, this example of inordinate filthiness and cruelty is reported. A certain Woman being drawn out of a privy place, into the which to avoid the rage of the Souldiers she had fled with her Husband, was in his sight shamefully defiled: and then being commanded to draw a Sword, not knowing to what end, was forced by others, who ordered her hand, to give her Husband a deadly wound, whereof he died; the Souldiers not being content to defile her Body, but also to make her to defile her hands with the slaughter of her Husband.

Page 619. Anno 1564. *Thuanus* in his 36. Book, maketh a large declaration of a horrible conspiracy of some in France with King *Philip*, for the taking and destruction of the Queen of *Navarre*, her Son *Henry*, and *Katherine* her Daughter, which was by Gods providence strangely discovered and defeated, but the Conspirators not punished.

Page 628. In *Turone* the Protestants being assembled to hear a Sermon, some were beaten, and some slain; the preacher in the Pulpit thrust thorow and slain.

ibidem. *Philibert Careus*, a noble and virtuous man, and an earnest Protestant, was by Conspiracy of adversaries slain, as he was hunting and going to his Brother.

Lib. 39. Page 480. Anno 1566. An *Augustinian* Friar called *Fulcarelus*, coming to the Town *Fuxium*, and falsely lying, in saying that the Protestants, whom he called *Hagometers*, had killed all the Catholics in *Apamea*, caused 35. Protestants to be pulled out of their houses, and to be murdered.

Lib. 44. Page 571. Anno 1593. At *Samarobridge* in *Picardy*, in the time of Peace, above an hundred Protestants were murdered: and at *Autissiodore*, where the Protestants having held in the last War, had now yielded up, 150. were cruelly killed, and their dead Bodies were drawn, and cast partly into Jakes, and partly into the River.

Page 275. Anno 1568. *Cyprianus*, the Count of *Tendas* his Son, as he was returning from the Duke of *Savoy* his Kinsman, was with his retinue, to the number of 35. cruelly murdered at *Forum Julii*.

Page 273. Within the space of three months, in time of Peace were about 10000. murdered.

Page 109. *Berdus* a Captain under the Prince of *Conde* at *Mirabellum*, was contrary to promise cruelly killed, and his naked Body cast into the street, that being unburied the Dogs might eat it.

The Prince of *Conde* being taken Prisoner, and his life promised him, was thor in the Neck by *Montisquius*, Captain of the Duke of *Anjou* Guard of whom *Thuanus* writeth thus; *Hic exitus fuit Ludovici Borbonici Condei regie stirpis viri supra natalium splendorem magnitudine animi ac virtute illustrissimi; qui fortitudine, constantia, ingenio, solertia, verum usus, comitate, facundia, liberalitate, quae omnes simul virtutes in illo uno excellabant, paucos aequales, neminem sua aetate, vel inimicorum confessione, superiorem habuit*: That is, This was the end of *Lewis Bourbon* Prince of *Conde*, of the Kings Blood, a man above the honour of his birth most honourable in courage and vertue; who in valiancy, constancy, wit, wisdom, experience, courtesie, eloquence, and liberality, all which vertues excelled in him, had few his equals, and none, even by the confession of his Enemies, superior to him.

Page 134. *Robert Stuart* (a valiant Scottish Gentleman) being taken Prisoner, was notwithstanding stabbed with Daggers, and killed.

Page 180. At *Orleance* an hundred Men and Women being committed to Prison, were by the furious People that rushed in most cruelly murdered.

Lib. 46. *Nucetium* was yielded up by the Souldiers, upon promise made to them of the saving of their lives; yet most of them being brought to *Sigishebona*, were cruelly slain by the furious People.

Lib. 59. Page 777. Anno 1571. Many Men and Women were murdered for the space of 3. daies at *Orange*.

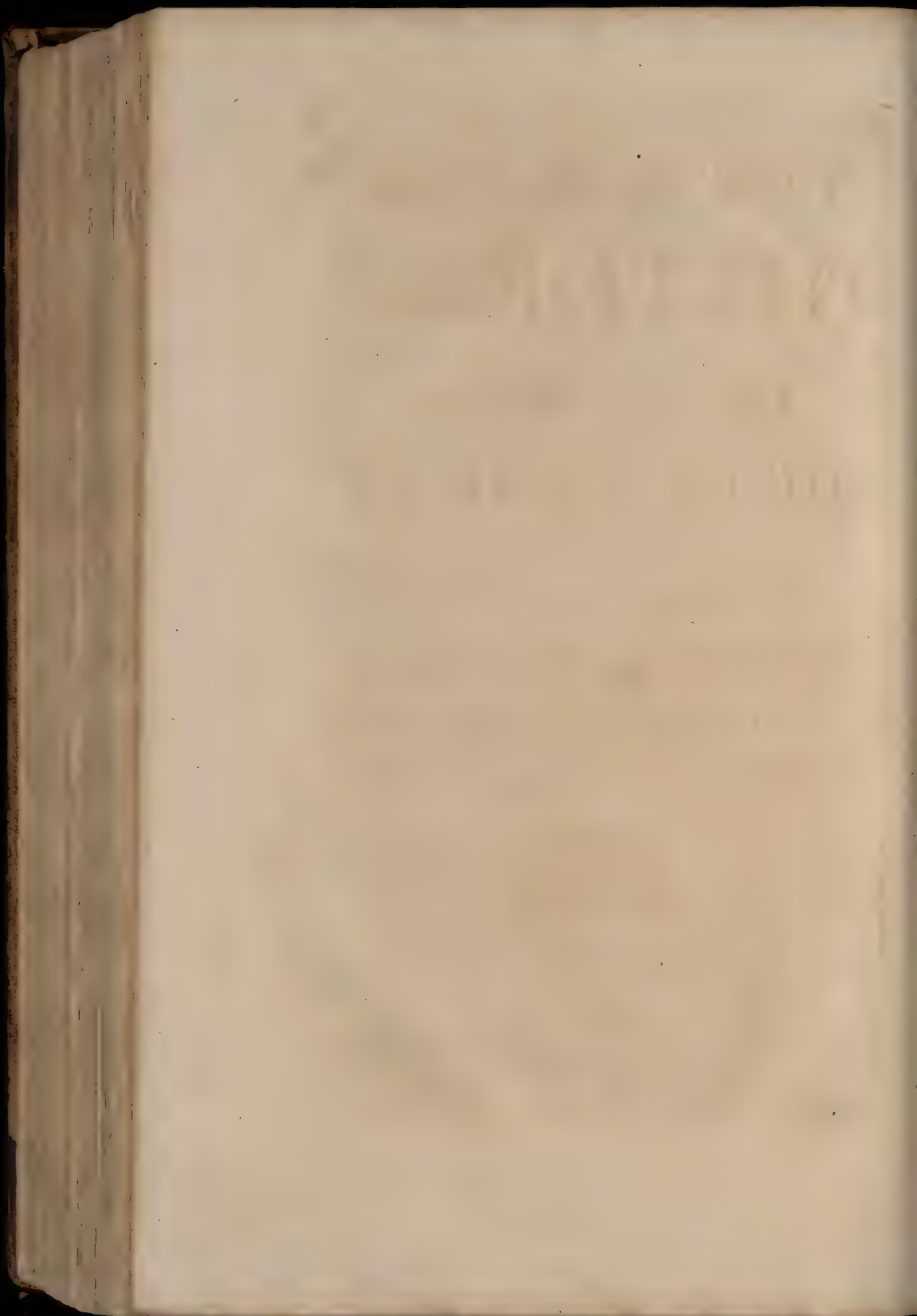
Hitherto out of the history of *Jacobus Augustus Thuanus* (who is reported to be a Catholic) which endeth in the year 1578. wherein I have for shortness sake omitted sundry particular outrages and murders committed by that bloody Babylonical Generation; from whose boody hands God in mercy defend and preserve us.

Hereunto I will only ad the murdering of *Henry* the third, and *Henry* the fourth, late French Kings, by Papists: the former murdered by *Clement* a Monk; the other by *Francis Ravelliac* a *Franciscan* Friar: and to make up the full measure of impiety and cruelty, the Barbarous and monstrous Powder Plot shall follow; whereby it was intended and purposed to have blown up the Parliament house, when our gracious King *James*, Prince *Henry*, all the Nobility, Bishops, Knights and Burgesses should be assembled therein. To the effecting of which devilish device, about thirty four Barrels of Gunpowder were laid under the said Parliament house, and there found. This bloody conspiracy was practised by precise Papists, whose Consciences would not permit them to come to our Churches; but did easily suffer and allow them to attempt this savage and horrible practice: *Viz.* *Francis Tresham* two Winters, Sir *Everard Digby*, *Percy*, &c. Hereunto also three Jesuits (or rather Jesuites) *Henry Garner* (who suffered death for it) *Oswald Tesmond*, and *John Gerrard* were privy and consenting. *Tesmond* encouraged *Bates* unto it, absolved him; and ministered the Sacrament to him. *Gerrard* ministered the Oath of secrecy to *Catesby*, *Percy*, *John Wright*, *Thomas Winter*, and *Fawkes*; absolved them, and ministered the Sacrament unto them, as it is more largely declared in the Book intituled, *The Relation of the proceedings against the barbarous Traitors, Garner a Jesuit, and his confederates*, Page 50. & 62. & 133. This bloody device should have been executed the fifth of *November*, 1605. but was by Gods great mercy discovered and defeated, to the just destruction of those detestable Traitors, who fell into the Pit that they digged for others, and to the eternal shame and confusion of that bloody *Babylon* of *Rome*, and her favourers and followers.

John 8. 44.

Ye are of your Father the Devil, and the lusts of your Father ye will do: he hath been a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the Truth, because there is no Truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, then speaketh he of his own; for he is a liar, and the Father thereof.

FINIS



A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
HISTORIES

OF
Forreign Martyrs:

From the happy Reign of the most Renowned
QUEEN ELIZABETH.
TO THESE TIMES.

With fundry *RELATIONS* of those Bloody *MASSACRES*
executed upon the *PROTESTANTS* in the Cities
of *FRANCE*, in the Year 1572.

Whereunto are annexed the two famous Deliverances of our *English*
Nation: The one from the *Spanish Invasion* in 1588. The other from the
Gunpowder Treason, in the Year 1605.

Together with the Barbarous Cruelties exercis'd upon the *PROFESSORS*
of the *GOSPEL* in the *Valtoline*, 1621.



L O N D O N,

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MDCLXXXIV.



A T R E A T I S E

O F AFFLICTIONS and PERSECUTIONS of the FAITHFUL, preparing them with Pati- ence to suffer Martyrdom.

C H A P. I.

Shewing, That such as will live godly in Christ Jesus; must needs suffer Afflictions.

WE are all prone by Nature to decline Afflictions, each one supposing to find out some back way to escape them. First, Some are of opinion, that they can quit themselves by playing the Temporizers: Secondly, Others, by hiding and concealing themselves: Thirdly, Another sort, by flying from those places where Tyrants vex and domineer: Fourthly, A fourth, thinking to bear off blows by their greatness and credit they have gotten in the World: Fifthly and lastly, A fifth sort imagining to find some evasion, either by reason of their Allies, or good Services which they have done, dreaming farsooth, that either these or the like projects should yield them good respect, and preserve them from being called into question by those that hate them. In a word, which of us hath not some fetch or other to break loose, if he should be either examined or pursued?

This is the true cause that so few are prepared, and careful timely to foresee what belongs to suffering shame and disgrace for the truth, as the discommodities of long imprisonment, or what appertains to the constant and patient bearing of hideous torments and death for the Cause of the Gospel. But alas, all these are but as fig-leaves, and vain hopes, which being somewhat pleasing to the flesh do only dull and deceive us; causing us to grow secure and careless, and so unprovided to suffer till we be surprised, and in safe custody in our enemies hands. So that when we should be able to give a reason of the hope that is in us, we have not a word to say.

To prevent these so great inconveniences, let us hold this for a sure Principle, That it is impossible to live godly, and not suffer persecution. For God hath so decreed, That if we will partake of the glory of his Son, we must first be conformed to him in his Sufferings. Yea, this is that strait gate and narrow way which leadeth unto life. Through much tribulation we must enter into the Kingdom of God, Acts 14. 22. and whosoever bears not the Cross of Christ, following him, cannot be his Disciple. The Apostle in the Epistle to the Hebrews plainly tells us, That if we be Children, we must taste of that Discipline which God nurtures his spiritual in his family. It is and must be the portion of Gods beloved ones, to live in this World as sheep amongst Wolves.

Indeed, if we could live without sin, we might then conceive some hope of freedom from the Cro's. But whilst corrupt Nature lives in us, and brings forth such bitter fruits, God hath, and will in all Ages raise up some Tyrant or other, as means to mortifie and tame the pride and rebellion thereof. Devils may as soon cease to

be, as that enmity should cease between the Seed of the Woman and the Seed of the Serpent. As long as the Church continues to be Christs poor Barque in the Salt Sea of this World, she must make her account to be tossed with storms and tempests of Persecutions.

What should I say, no Crown is to be expected in Heaven, if we will not fight the good fight of faith here on earth; nor to reap in joy, if in this world we refuse to sow in tears: The life of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot be manifest in us, except we bear about in our body the dying of the Lord Jesus.

Let every Christian then hold this for certain, That when the World ceaseth to hate the Children of God, and the Devil to envy them, then may they look, and not before, to live in the World without Persecutions.

Hath not the Way, the Life, and the Truth said it? John 16. 33. In the World you shall have tribulation. And therefore let not the great ones of the World think to be exempted out of this rank, more than the small: For to the Saints and Members of the true Church afflictions are even as ordinary, as is Baptism, Faith, and the Spirit of Adoption.

Was not Moses the adopted Son of Pharaohs Daughter, slain to fly out of Egypt to save his life? Was not David, though anointed King, hunted by Saul his pursuer, as a Partridge into the Mountains? Isaiah and Daniel were of the blood Royal, yet they escaped not; and the one, from being cruelly rent in sunder with a saw after he had preached unto his Nation sixty years; nor the other (although next unto the King he swayed the affairs of the Babylonish Empire) to be cast into the Lyons Den.

In the times of the great Persecutions under Dioclesian the Emperor of Rome, who were the first that were sacrificed, but Nicomede, and the principal Favourites of the Court? Who is ignorant that two of the most noble Princes of our times that ever Germany had, notwithstanding their munition and means, were taken Prisoners by the Emperours, or held captive five or six years in great distress? What should I here mention Lady Jane Gray proclaimed Queen of England, and yet cruelly put to death? Or Thomas Cranmer Primate of England, burned to ashes at Oxford? Or the Lord Cobham that religious and valiant Knight, hanged, and burned hanging in S. Giles's in the Fields? All these, with many more, were apprehended, and not long after put to death, even then when they might seem most to have flourished in the World.

Seeing then that neither Age, Sex, Power nor Place can secure us from suffering, which are every where foretold in the holy Scriptures to abide us, whether we be high or low, let us in the name and fear of God prepare to take up

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WE are all prone by Nature to decline Afflictions, each one supposing to find out some back way to escape them. First, Some are of opinion, that they can quit themselves by playing the Temporizers: Secondly, Others, by hiding and concealing themselves: Thirdly, Another sort, by flying from those places where Tyrants vex and domineer: Fourthly, A fourth, thinking to bear off blows by their greatness and credit they have gotten in the World: Fifthly and lastly, A fifth sort imagining to find some evasion, either by reason of their Allies, or good Services which they have done; dreaming forsooth, that either these or the like projects should yield them good respect, and preserve them from being called into question by those that hate them. In a word, which of us hath not some fetch or other to break loose, if he should be either examined or pursued?

This is the true cause that so few are prepared, and careful timely to foresee what belongs to suffering shame and disgrace for the truth, as the discommodities of long imprisonment, or what appertains to the constant and patient bearing of hideous torments and death for the Cause of the Gospel. But alas, all these are but as fig-leaves, and vain hopes, which being somewhat pleasing to the flesh do only dull and deceive us; causing us to grow secure and careless; and so unprovided to suffer till we be surprised, and in safe custody in our enemies hands. So that when we should be able to give a reason of the hope that is in us, we have not a word to say.

To prevent these so great inconveniences, let us hold this for a sure Principle, That it is impossible to live godly, and not suffer persecution. For God hath so decreed, That if we will partake of the glory of his Son, we must first be conform'd to him in his Sufferings. Yea, this is that strait gate and narrow way which leadeth unto life. Through much tribulation we must enter into the Kingdom of God, Acts 14. 22. and whosoever bears not the Cross of Christ, following him, cannot be his Disciple. The Apostle in the Epistle to the Hebrews plainly tells us, That if we be Children, we must taste of that Discipline which God nurtures his withal in his Family. It is, and must be the portion of God's beloved ones, to live in this World as sheep among Wolves.

Indeed, if we could live without sin, we might then conceive some hope of freedom from the Cross. But whilst corrupt Nature lives in us, and brings forth such bitter fruits, God hath, and will in all Ages raise up some Tyrant or cruel, as means to mortifie and tame the pride and rebellion thereof. Devils may as soon cease to

be, as that enmity should cease between the Seed of the Woman and the Seed of the Serpent. As long as the Church continues to be Christ's poor Barque in the Salt Sea of this World, she must make her account to be tossed with storms and tempests of Persecutions.

What should I say, no Crown is to be expected in Heaven, if we will not fight the good fight of faith here on earth; nor to reap in joy, if in this world we refuse to sow in tears: The life of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot be manifest in us, except we bear about in our body the dying of the Lord Jesus.

Let every Christian then hold this for certain, That when the World ceaseth to hate the Children of God, and the Devil to envy them, then may they look, and not before, to live in the World without Persecutions.

Hath not the Way, the Life, and the Truth said it? John 16. 33. In the World you shall have tribulation. And therefore let not the great ones of the World think to be exempted out of this rank, more than the small: For to the Saints and Members of the true Church afflictions are even as ordinary, as is Baptism, Faith, and the Spirit of Adoption.

Was not Moses the adopted Son of Pharaohs Daughter, fain to fly out of Egypt to save his life? Was not David, though anointed King, hunted by Saul his pursuer, as a Partridge into the Mountains? Isaiah and Daniel were of the blood Royal, yet they escaped not; the one, from being cruelly rent in sunder with a saw, after he had preached unto his Nation sixty years; nor the other (although next unto the King he swayed the affairs of the Babylonish Empire) to be cast into the Lyons Den.

In the times of the great Persecutions under Dioclesian the Emperor of Rome, who were the first that were sacrificed, but Nicomede, and the principal Favourites of the Court? Who is ignorant that two of the most noble Princes of our times that ever Germany had, notwithstanding their munition and means, were taken Prisoners by the Emperor, or held captive five or six years in great distress? What should I here mention Lady Jane Gray proclaimed Queen of England, and yet cruelly put to death? Or Thomas Crammer Primate of England, burned to ashes at Oxford? Or the Lord Cobham that religious and valiant Knight, hanged, and burned hanging in St. Giles's in the Fields? All these, with many more, were apprehended, and not long after put to death, even then when they might seem most to have flourished in the World.

Seeing then that neither Age, Sex, Power nor Place can secure us from sufferings, which are every where foretold in the holy Scriptures to abide us, whether we be high or low, let us in the name and fear of God prepare to take up the

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A2. 20. 25.

Prov. 6. 6.

the Crofs of Chrift becomes; learn we of the silly Ant in Summer, to store up food against the cold and Stormy Winter of Affliction: Imitating those, who dwelling in the defended Cities, are careful to provide themselves of munition before they be besieged.

CHAP. II.

Shewing, How the Faithful ought to bear Persecutions patiently.

Forasmuch as Afflictions are thus necessary and inevitable to Believers, that whether they will or no, they must pass this strait way: they ought to betlink them how to make hard things easie. And herein to follow the dealing of the Physician with his Patient, who, intending to give him some bitter Potion or Pill, is wont to sweeten the one with Syrrup, and to wrap up the other in Gold, lest he should abhor to take in, or swallow down, either the one or the other. Even so are we, by committing to memory some elect and choice Sentences of Holy Scriptures concerning the Crofs, to cover over the same therewith, that it may not appear so dreadful unto us, as we apprehend it to be. For that which causeth us to fly and fear Persecution, is a prejudicate opinion we have conceived in our minds, that some deadly Poison lurks under it. And therefore we shun so much as to taste a little sup thereof, in regard we imagine it to be the only bitter drug in the World.

Now, that which makes us fall into, and breeds in us this Error, is because (as therein so almost in all things else) we are led rather by sense, than by the word, by which we ought to ballance and regulate all our persuasions and resolutions. For could we believe what the Prophets and Apostles (inspired of God) have preached and written for the use of Posterity, as touching Persecutions, we would not only have them in a more honourable esteem, but thankfully and patiently bear them.

To which end, let us endeavour firmly to imprint in our minds these and the like Sentences. S. Paul tells us, That if we be reproached for the Name of Chrift, we may think our selves happy; for the Spirit of Glory and of God (saith he) resteth upon you. And S. Paul speaking of himself and his Associates, saith thus, And not only so, but we glory in tribulation also, knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, &c. And in another place, God forbid that I should glory save in the Crofs of our Lord Jesus Chrift. These places, with sundry others to the same purpose, do sufficiently manifest how much the true Christian ought to think himself honoured of God, when he pleaseth him to call such an one forth to suffer for his name in the defence of his Truth.

What other thing else, I pray you, was the cause of S. Pauls glorying, and that glory in a higher degree, which Chrift hath obtained for us by his death; with which glory he is now crowned in the Kingdom of his Father? What else is it which is promised to the Elect, as a recompence of their Faith in Gods promises and all their loyal services, but glory to the righteous? What is the principal glory which we attribute to the Martyrs? Is it not in regard of their invincible patience and constancy of faith, by which they overcame the world and their own flesh, which is not to be esteemed a small or mean victory?

If Alexander obtained so great renown by conquering Darius; and Scipio for discomfiting Hannibal, &c. who slew but a few mortal men like themselves; how much are we, in comparison of them, to admire their valour, who have not only warred against men, but against their threats, gibbets, fires, yea against death it self, and in the end triumphed over it? We worthily magnifie the prowess of Sampson and Shamgar; the one for killing a thousand men with the Jaw-bone of an Ass; the other for killing six hundred men with an Ox goad. Yet did the force of the Martyrs far excel theirs, who with the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, were enabled to overcome the Devil with all his Retinue.

Judg. 11. 19. Chap. 3. 11.

Eph. 6. 17.

Tertullian tells us, That there is no better Order of Knighthood, nor Chains of greater price, than those to which the Martyrs of Jesus Chrift are fastened, nor richer Bracelets than the Manacles wherewith their hands are bound. In the Ecclesiastical History it is reported of a good Bishop, who by the Emperor Decius being cast into a filthy stinking Prison or Hole for the Name of Chrift, with as many Irons as he could bear, intreated his Friends (who sometime came to visit him) That after his death they would bury with him the signs and tokens of his Valour; meaning his Bolts and fetters which were put upon his legs and hands; reaching us, That when we see it is the will of God to impose them upon us, and thereby to dub us Knights of his Order, we should esteem our selves no less honoured, than if a King, by way of gratifying a valiant Champion for some great Services done for him, should reward the same with some of his own precious Jewels, and then no less to brave it out in these our Ornaments, than a woman when she see her self decked with all costly array from top to toe.

If that which Cicero writes be true, That no vertue gives to man greater lustre than Magnanimity: we may thence safely conclude, That none ought in this kind to be preferred before a Christian Martyr, who neither loves, desires, or admires ought, save that which is honest and praise-worthy, nor gathers any riches to himself but what he knows to be lasting, and hopes to possess for ever in the Kingdom of Heaven: and therefore sleighting either mens favours or displeasures, as those that are High-born contemn the one, when they seem to smile, and are not much daunted with the frowns of the other, knowing right-well that all things under the Sun are but vanity, and subject to change with their Ages and Seasons.

We read in the Ecclesiastical Story of one Phamutius Bishop of Thebaid, who under the tyranny of Maximinus, having one of his eyes put out, never presented himself before Constantine the Great, but that good Emperor embracing of him would kiss that eye, which being lost, we know how unseemly it causeth that part to be. But thus the Emperor would shew, That nothing ought to be in higher esteem with us, than the Crofs of Chrift; and the marks thereof when we bear or wear them on any part of our Bodies.

If the good and holy life of a Christian be so much set by of us, then must the death of such a one be much more glorious, when for the Name of Chrift, he takes the same joyfully. Who could be more dear in the eye of God the Father, than his Son Jesus Chrift? Yet gave he him to suffer death for our sins; and by suffering the same, according to the will and appointment of his heavenly Father, hath he not obtained a name which is above every name, That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, &c?

If Gods glory ought to be preferred before all things, yea, our own salvation; and that Chrift by dying to save us, hath obtained the greatest glory that ever was; what may we judge of that death we endure for his Honour, his Word, and for the maintenance of his pure Worship and Service?

Abraham never performed a more honourable act, than in offering up his Son Isaac at Gods command, nor for which he is more praised. I demand then, that seeing our own life is more dear and precious to us than the life of another, whether the Martyrs, who according to the will of God, and for his honour, have been so prodigal of their blood, have not deserved greater, or at least an equal praise and commendation with Abraham?

The Bishops of old had such an honourable esteem of Martyrdom, that they preferred it before their Episcopal Dignities; so as both themselves, and their Disciples and Followers whom they had taught, were so ambitious thereof, that when they wanted opportunity to suffer, being excluded therefrom by the interceding of Friends, were not the first that suffered, they took it so to heart, that some of them carried the grief thereof to their Graves.

Think, I pray you, what a shame it were for a Gentleman, who being called by his Prince to fight in his wars, should buse himself only about combing, curling, and perfuning his hair, tooting all day long in a Looking-glass, to deck and attire himself: and then judge by that, what valiant Soldiers we are, and what a goodly reputation

of his Epistle to the Martyrs of his time. It was Tertullian Bishop of Autun in the year 150 A.D. Chapt. 5. c. 16.

In his Book of Offices.

Matth. 1. 17.

tation we shall reap either at the hands of God, or of good men, if in our spiritual warfare, wherein we are to be employed during our whole life, whilst the alarm is struck up, and every one mounted to give the onset in the face of the enemy, we in the mean time will play least in sight, hiding our selves behind every bush, as Scholars that are loth to go to School for fear of the Rod.

Good God! That men of noble spirits should so much affect the renown of being valiant, fearing nothing more than to be reputed for base Fellows and Cowards; yea some are so jealous thereof, that they cannot endure to hear so much as a suspicion of flying, and yet all this their valour tends only to cover a fame which consists in skill how to kill and destroy mens lives.

Now we being Kings; then and the adopted Children of God, if either greatness of our Courage, or nobleness of our House or Birth whence we are descended, may prevail any thing with us: then who, I pray you, ought to shew forth more valour than the faithful, or more dread the staining of their honour by playing the Dastards? This being yet one Argument more to put Spirits in them; namely, that their prowess tends not to kill and slay mens bodies, as that of worldlings doth, but to save, heal, support and succour, as the Arm and Power of God, which is far more honourable than the other.

CHAP. III.

Manifesting the great profit and benefit which the Faithful reap by Persecution.

HAVING shewed in the former Chapter that a more honourable Condition cannot befall a Christian than to suffer Affliction for the Name of Christ; we are here to shew how nothing is more beneficial and profitable, which will the better appear if we reckon up some few particulars thereof. To begin with the first then. In affliction God manifests his readiness to comfort us, and his power in sustaining and upholding us, that we sink not under the weight of them. Examples whereof we have in Joseph and David, and sundry others; who by the afflictions they suffered for righteousness sake, were prepared (in that which God had appointed) the one to be Governour over the Land of Egypt, the other over the Kingdom of Israel. For as in the time of war, a Captain or a General of an Army, takes occasion there to let his Soldiers see his fidelity, vigilancy, fortitude and skill he hath in leading them out and in; and as a Physician among the sick and diseased, is accustomed to exercise the profundity of his Art and Experience he hath attained; Or as Friends, when we are in distress, do give us to understand what love they bear towards us, and how mindful they are of us; Even so, or much more, doth God declare how greatly he loveth us, and how faithful he is in performing his promises; in the time of our distresses, which is no mean benefit.

For the Experience which we get from his bounty, love, power, and care of our welfare, causeth us with greater confidence to stay and rest our selves wholly upon him; and the trial also of his fidelity doth more and more confirm us in waiting for the performance of his promises, which consequently occasions him to accomplish the same in us.

Again, had we no other good for which we ought to rejoice in afflictions, and accustom our selves to bear them both patiently and thankfully, but this, that they serve to set forth Gods glory, which after a sort shines in us, while during our troubles he upholds us in them, and in due time delivers us out of them; what can we desire more? For his glory ought to be so dear unto us, that if our damnation itself might be a means to advance it, we should not refuse to undergo it, but freely and willingly offer our selves to be cast into Hell. Subjects and Servants joy in nothing more than in seeing their Lords and Masters highly honoured, as on the contrary nothing vexeth them more, than when they see them disesteemed,

or ought to be braced tending to the impeaching or dis-favouring their estimation or honour. Shall we then, who are not only Subjects and Servants, but have obtained the Privilege to be accounted Sons and Friends in our Fathers House and Family, shall not we, I say, rejoice? The second fruit which we reap from afflictions, is, that hereby God multiplies his gifts and graces upon us, as it is written, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my power is made perfect in weakness, 2 Cor. 12. 9. Humility, Faith, Patience, Prudence, and Repentance, are augmented and increased in us by suffering percutious. For look as bodily exercise is an help to increase health, strength, and heat in the outward man; and catechising or passing of children (to which we often call them) is the way whereby they grow in knowledge; even so the several trials and troubles, through which God exerciseth, and makes proof of our Faith, cause it to go from a less measure and degree thereof unto a greater.

A Captain, who hath once or twice besieged a City or Castle, becomes much more expert, hardy, and wary than a fresh-water Souldier; so also is the prudence, counsel, courage, fortitude, and zeal much greater, and resolution stronger, in such as have often passed through the pikes of tribulations, than theirs who never knew what such trials meant. Yet I affirm not that Persecutions have always this effect in all, who have but once burnt their fingers in this fire of afflictions; as if they should not cause them sometimes to grow cold, and forsake their Handing: for as concerning such, their Faith was never truly grounded in them, they have only had the outside and shadow of Faith. Even as the Seed sowed upon the stones easily drieth away for lack of good moisture, and rooting, by the excessive beating of the Sun; so this formal Professor, with his painted shew of Religion, and outward appearance of Faith, when the heat of Persecution approacheth, vanisheth away and comes to nothing.

But where Faith is lively rooted in the heart of the Believer, and always watered by the Holy Ghost, although through storms and tempests it may come to be shaken, yet do the roots therefore grow more strong and settled; as the Root of a Tree planted in a high place, which hath the winds still beating upon it, is fortified, and grows daily by the sap, which the other wants that is sated in a low and shady place. In a word, Persecution may be compared to fire, which hardeneth the clay, and melts the wax, and consumes the stubble: so it works divers effects, according as it meets with sundry Subjects; for either it adds courage to one strong in Faith, or else softens such as are yet weak, or in the end ruins such as are Backsliders and Apostates. So did the red Sea save the people of God, who believed in him and his promises, and drowned Pharaoh and his Host (being infidels) in the bottom thereof as a stone.

Now whereas I said, That Persecutions do cause unto us the multiplying of Gods spiritual gifts and graces, my meaning is not only concerning the spiritual, but even of temporal good things also: for howsoever the latter of these happens not so usual to the faithful as the first, because the Lord according to his wise dispensation (knowing mans Nature to be altogether corrupted) would not occasion such, by enriching them, to forget him, and fixing their minds on things earthly, to make them their Treasure; yet it oft comes to pass, that the Faithful have been greatly enriched even by Persecutions.

Among others, Abraham prospered more in power and worldly substance amongst heathens and strangers, than ever he had like to have done in his own Country. Also Joseph, in his Fathers house but a silly Sepherd, being banished thence by the hatred and persecutions of his Brethren, became the Governour of a whole Kingdom, Gen. 42. 6. Did not Daniel also obtain such honours and dignities in Babylon among Idolaters, as he could never have expected to be raised to the like in Judea? But to say no more of ancient examples, I could alledge many like the like, and that of late years. But these formerly mentioned may suffice; but only this I think, that of all such as have been persecuted for the Truths sake, there is not one (if he would speak uprightly) but must acknowledge, that he was never unprovided for in his afflictions, nor left altogether without necessities; God thereby teaching him by

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experience, what care be had over him.

Let not Persecution therefore too much daunt us, lest we or our Posterity should by means thereof fall into Poverty. For as we read in the History of Job, after the Sabaeans and Chaldeans had stripped him of all that ever he had, yet God in the end restored to him more than he had lost. Say then that our Goods be confiscated by Tyrants; let us not fear we shall be utterly impoverished thereby; for it is the course which God takes in providing as of food and raiment, by way of rendering us a reward when we have lost our livelihood in his service.

Simile.

King: are usually wont to recompence such as have ventured the loss of their Lives and Livings: in their quarrel. And do we not see many Italians banished out of Naples, and other parts, who have obtained great Pensions in France? Shall we think then, that God hath left love or respect of his, who shew themselves forward to defend his Kingdom and Honour? We may therefore assure our selves, that if we walk with a right foot in the way of Gods Commandments, it is in a manner impossible for us to escape Persecution; but yet on the other side, we ought much more to believe, that his blessings shall never cease to accompany us, and to restore unto us an hundred fold back again that which Tyrants either can or would snatch away from us, be it food or raiment.

Afflictions

serve in the Church, as rods hang'd up here and there in Schools.

The third fruit which we may reap out of our Afflictions, is, That God useth them as his Fatherly rods to correct the offences which we his Children have and daily do commit against him: So as they are no less needful for a Church than rods in a School, or household Discipline in a well governed Family. For we cannot long persist in the right way without them, our Nature being so corrupt as it is; we should grow to be disorder'd, if we were not held in by Persecutions and Afflictions. What should become of a Commonwealth, if every one were left to do as him list? So if God should forbear to correct his Children, the City of God would in time come to be a Sodom, and the Sheepfold of Christ an Hogstie or a Colledge of Devils.

Simile.

A loving Father, that puts forth a Son to be a Scholar, treats his Master now and then to correct him: And if through indulgency be negligent to do it, the Father will complain of him that he marries his Child. Would we be Scholars in Christs School, and not suffer him to do that to us, which we would a Schoolmaster should do to our Children? So indeed, if we shall refuse to bear the yoke in your youth, we may worthily be condemn'd with the world when we are old. It is good for a man, saith the holy Prophet, That he bear the yoke in his youth; for such as the untamedness of our simple Nature, that if it be not betimes curbed, and continually kept short, it will hardly be reclaimed or brought within compass. But if God once take the rod into his hands, we begin then to have some fear of offending him; and if we do, we are ready to confess it. The rod awakens the dead and drowsie Conscience: It makes us mourn and weep, as also to accuse and condemn our selves for our ingratitude towards so good and gracious a Father; we begin to tols and rouse our selves this way and that way to find ease, waiting from whence it will spring forth unto us.

Lam 3.27.

In the perturbation and anxiety of Conscience the holy Spirit of God, seeing us cast down and humbled, sets before our eyes Gods mercy in Christ: Whose blood applied by faith, purgeth and heals the wound which is made therein. This done, he will carry such an hand over us, as shall withhold us from vice, and draw us on to the love of vertue. And thus we see how the Lord doth by little and little correct our sinful disposition, by exercising us with manifold Afflictions; whereby the whilst he provides for his own glory. Let us therewith consider his admirable bounty, seeing thus he covers our shame: for whereat we might justly cause us to suffer for our sins which we have committed against his Majesty, he instead thereof turneth it to suffering for his Truth and holy Names sake; putting this honourable Title as a veil over us, to shadow our nakedness.

For first he alters the nature of the punishment, which is due unto us for our misdeeds, into an assured hope of recompencing all our labour and travail we undergo for

righteous causes. And in the second place, he turns the dishonour which we ought to receive, as a token of the vengeance which he might to our ignominy execute upon us, into an immortal Troopie of Honour, wherewith we are crown'd in the presence of God and of his Angels. Thirdly, hereby he graciously provides for the peace of our Consciences, which, in stead of sorrow and grief wherewith they might be wounded for guilt of sin, on the contrary do sensibly rejoyce and glory in these sufferings for the Name of Christ. And fourthly, in the midst of all these joyes, and most singular consolations, yet the Conscience (for all that) ceaseth not to retain a scruple or dram of Rubard mingled herewith, to purge out now and then some corrupt humours, and by Persecutions to put us in mind of our sins committed against the Lord in times past.

But yet he so tempers and moderates these his Druggs, and that in so exquisite and artificial manner, that while he humbleth us with his left hand, he supporteth us with his right hand; if he causeth grief, by and by he comforts us; in smiting he heals us; in which mixture and tempering of things, so much differing in nature and quality, consisteth the salvation of our souls: Even as the skilful and expert Physician, by measuring out an equal and just proportion of contrary Druggs, meeting with our corrupt humours, provides for the safety of our Bodies.

We see that an hot or dry Summer, or a fast Spring Simile, time, brings many Diseases therewith; and how fast Weeds sprout forth among the good Herbs; besides siling our Houses with flies, fleas, and like annoyances; the air and streets with unsavoury and infectious smells: all which in Winter in cold and frosty weather, do take their leave, and are gone: So whilst outward joy and prosperity, with other contentments last, the Body of the Church is pestered with sondry and divers spiritual bad humours and dangerous diseases; which on the contrary it is preserved and freed from by the variety of Gods fatherly rods and chastisements.

Now to proceed to the fourth benefit of Afflictions, (4) which is to kill the pride of the rebellious Nature: The Hebrews use these two words, so abject and humble for one and the same thing; as if the later were the fruit of the former. Nor do we want examples which may sufficiently admonish us, that as worldly prosperity usually causeth our hearts to swell, and to be puffed up; so on the contrary, adversities and afflictions deject and humble us. Whilst Nebuchadnezzar abounded in all his delights, his heart was swollen so far with pride, that he began not only to oppress his Subjects, but to justify even against God himself by his Blasphemies. But when God had once cast him into the Furnace of Affliction, he then became as meek and humble a person as was in all his Kingdom.

Manasse reigning in peace and liberty over the people of Judah, grew so insolent, that there was no impiety or injustice wherein he oversteered not; but being surprised by his enemies, and laid in iron bands and fetters, he was changed in an instant, and became as low in his own esteem as ever he thought himself high: which appeareth in his Prayer made to God in his Affliction, wherein he prostrates himself before him, confessing his offence with great compunction of heart and humility.

S. Paul bare himself like a fierce and cruel Lion all the while he enjoyed favour from the High Priests, raging hither and thither, breaking forcibly into houses, and apprehending such as he found to be Professors of the Gospel; but the same man, being touched by Gods hand in the way as he was journeying towards Damascus (intending there to exercise his Commission upon the Saints and Servants of Christ) suddenly became also as meek as a Lamb, and was ready to prefer his service in whatsoever the Lord would enjoy him to do.

Eusebius, in his Prologue to the eighth Book of his Ecclesiastical History, relates, how God seeing the pride which began to bud and spring forth in the Church, and principally among the Pastors thereof (who out of their ambition strove about Dignities and Preferments therein) was moved for that very thing to raise up that great Persecution which befell the Church under the reign of Diocletian and Maximian, to crack their pride, and to pro-

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voke them to prayer, yea rather to watch over their flocks, than to contend who should be the greatest.

Wherein we may see, that by the blessing of God there is a kind of virtue in affliction, to humble and bring those home who through prosperity have forgotten themselves, and strayed out of the right way. Nay, so forcible are they to abate and take down the pride of such who otherwise are hardened and grown obstinate, that even Pharaoh, as rebellious and stiff-necked as he was, seemed sometimes to bend and bow under the mighty hand of God. Whilst God gave him some respite, it is true, he still hardened his heart; but when the next judgment fell upon him and his people, he by and by became as pliable as a glove for ones hand.

Seeing then all of us naturally are thus inclined to wax proud by prosperity, a vice which God sets and opposeth himself against above other, as most abominable in his sight, we ought not methinks so much to be terrified at the approach of Persecutions, forasmuch as they withhold from, and correct in us the same our pride, sooner than all the instructions which are taught us by word of mouth.

The next benefit Afflictions bring us, is to quicken us up to the prayer of faith, which is never better discerned than when Afflictions lye heaviest upon us. In my distress (saith David) I cried unto the Lord. For as our desires to obtain mercy grow stronger, so are our requests more or less fervent; our desire always being according to our necessity. Let a man be sick, poor, or lye under any other great trial, the prayers of such do beyond comparison exceed in earnestness and fervour theirs, who are well and at their hearts ease. David in many of his Psalms pressed the Lord in such wise by prayer, when troubles lay heavy upon him, as if he meant to take no denial.

With what vehemency prayed the Apostles to God for strength, being persecuted by the Rulers, Elders, and Scribes of Jerusalem, inasmuch as the place was shaken where they were assembled? He that shall duly weigh with what prayers and tears our Lord Jesus Christ solicited his Father in his passion, being nigh unto his death, will confess that fire is not more apt to be kindled by the wind which blow upon it, than the prayer of Faith is fired and augmented by Affliction. Would any man have imagined that ever such voices of prayers and praises should have been made in the belly of a Whale, as Jonas made, being there as it were in the bottom of Hell?

receive exceeding contentments therefrom: So Persecutions, albeit in and of themselves naturally abhorred, proceeding partly (as we have said) from Gods displeasure, and partly from Satan and his Instruments; yet do they fit and prepare us for the enjoying of those great Consolations which God hath promised to his Elect. Afflictions cause us to seek first, That God is the Father of Mercies, and of all Comfort: Secondly, That the Office of Christ his Son is, to revive the desolate and broken in heart; Thirdly, That the Holy Ghost is the Comforter of his Church: Fourthly, That the Word of God is it that ministers comfort to us in all our tribulations and adversities which for the most part befall us for adhering thereto.

For as he who would taste meat savoury to his palate, useth salt therewith; so if we would (to purpose) find the Word of God tasteful to us, commonly it is when we are in affliction. When did the Apostles rejoice more, than after they had tasted of the whip for the Name of Christ? When did S. Stephens face appear as if it had been the face of an Angel, but when he stood before the Council at Jerusalem to answer for his life? He that looked upon the three young men in the hot fiery furnace, saw them walking up and down there, as in some pleasant and delightful Meadow or Garden. Behold that ancient Father Ignatius, who (as himself records) being led from Syria to Rome, there to be devoured, accompanied by Sea and Land with a Band of Souldiers (which he terms ten Leopards) wished by the way as he went that he were in the midst of those Beasts which were ready to rent him in pieces, and that their appetites might be whetted to digest him quickly; fearing lest it should happen to him as to some other Martyr, that the Beasts out of a kind of reverence and humanity would not dare to approach unto him; being ready, he said, rather to provoke them to the fight, than that they should suffer him so to escape: Pardon me, I pray you, saith he, for I know what is profitable for me: I now begin to be a Disciple of Christ, I affect nothing this world affords: What is dear to me as Christ? If it be not sufficient for me to be torn with Beasts, let Fires and all the Tortures of Men and Devils be prepared for me; let all my Body be dissembred, my Bones bruised to pieces, so that I may enjoy communion with my God, and come into the presence of my Saviour. And when he heard the Lions roaring, he said, I am the Lords wheat, I must be ground with the teeth of wild Beasts, that I may be found pure bread.

May we not now conjecture by the wishes of this holy Bishop, what sweet delight he found in himself in approaching nigh unto his Martyrdom? As a Queen then, or great Lady takes no greater content than when she perceives in her Husband some apparent signs of his favour, especially then when she hath conceived some suspicion of alienating his affection from her; so it seems to be any way cooled or abated: So the faithful souls who loves the Lord entirely, desires nothing more, nor taketh at any time more delight, than when she feels from her Husband Christ, love for love, but chiefly in the hour of temptation and tribulation, which oft times causeth our heads and hearts to be possessed with jealousies and suspicions that we are out of his favour. Let us conclude then, that seeing (in regard of the reasons heretofore alleged) Persecutions are so honourable, every way profitable and delectable to the true Christian; What cause hath he either to be grieved or terrified when they befall him? Nay, he ought with the Apostles and Martyrs to triumph and rejoice.

To which purpose may fitly be applied that saying of Themistocles to his Children, when he saw the great honours that the King of Persia had conferred upon him by their Exile, finding kinder entertainment among Strangers than in their own Country; We had perished, said he, if we had not perished. So may we say, That did not our natural life perish here by Persecutions, we had never been saved in the Kingdom of Heaven.

Run we then (my Brethren) with patience the race that is set before us; let us not be ashamed, with Simon the Cyrenian, to carry the reproachful Cross of Christ; and seeing we must dye once, let us desire rather to dye gloriously for righteousness sake, than ignominiously by humming it. If Princes had rather dye in a breach than in their bed; and to lose their life in the field, than an

Exod. 1. 9.
& 9. 17.
& 10. 16.

Psalm 110. 1.

Psalm 17. 1.
& 21. 1.

Act 4. 1. 6.
24. 29.

Hebr. 1. 7.
Luke 22. 44.

Jonah 2.
read the
whole Chap.
ter.

2 Cor. 1. 1.

Mat 11. 28.
John 16. 18.
Rom 15. 4.

Act 6. 1. 1.

San. 1. 4.

Simla.

CHAP. IV.

Wherein is shewed that Afflictions are not only profitable, but pleasant also.

I Grant that Afflictions considered in themselves are no way joyous but grievous, as the Apostle declareth, Heb. 12. 11. because they are rather Messengers of Gods displeasure; the root also from whence they spring being indeed our sins. But as we see how our Apothecaries in their Shops have the skill to mix poisons with good and healthful Medicines: So our God, being infinitely more wise, knoweth so to temper our afflictions for our good, that out of things, bitter and distasteful to us in their own nature, he can compose not only a profitable, but a most pleasant potion.

Yea, even as Bees out of the bitterest Herbs draw the most sweet honey, so the Lord out of the rarest troubles extracteth such sweets, that at length we shall with Sampson be forced to say, Out of the Exater came forth meat, and out of the Strong came forth sweetness. Hunger in itself is sharp, and hard to be endured; yet our taste is greatly delighted, when we can eat with an appetite. Could any man judge how beneficial a fire were, if he were not some times pinched with cold? Or with what delight could we accept of drink in the heat of Summer, if we were not almost dried up with thirst? Or how acceptable is it, if we were not tired out with travel and labour? As we see then, that these accidents (how grievous or incommensurable soever, now incident unto our nature corrupted by sin) do notwithstanding dispose us to

Judg. 14. 14.

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eye at Tilt or Tourney; let us imitate them in this our spiritual Conflict, earnestly entreating the Lord, if it be his blessed will, that we may fight and dye valiantly in the defence of his Truth, and for the honour of his Son. If worldly minded men can and will suffer many hard adventures, some for their honour, others for their profits and pleasures, though but vain and temporary; with what longing should we aspire to that certain and eternal happiness, rest, and glory, wherewith all those shall be crowned who fight manfully and constantly for the cause of Christ?

But the world and worldlings smile at this wisdom, counting it foolishness; the flesh also joyning therewith, thinks all we have said to be either idle phantasies, or meer paradoxes; and no marvel, for both of them being from the earth, can savour nothing but what is earthly, as Christ saith. Between the judgment of the Church, and that of the World, there is a broad difference, when the question is of determining what is true honour, profit, or pleasure; whence it is that in a manner the one scorns that which the other admires and adores. So as they never consent in approving or condemning with one voice that which is questioned; for the belly hath no ears. If therefore we mean to be ruled aright either in the matter of faith or outward manners, let us not be guided therein either by the world's judgment, or yet that of the flesh; for the world is poreblind, and the belly, as we have said, hath no ears.

Ponder we then these things, that so we may be prepared to obey the will of God: let us not wilfully rush into

danger; only if God shall call us forth to suffer, purposing thereby to conform us to our Head, and so to accompany that great cloud of Witnesses through the narrow way that leads to his Kingdom, yield we our necks to bear the sweet and easie yoke of Christ. Be it that Satan and his Confederates do persecute the Church of Christ, yet hath she an assured hiding place. The faithful may be imprisoned, but in the mean while they leave the world in a worse Prison, viz. shut up under the wrath of God. They may be in bonds, yet is not that so bad as to lye bound in the bonds of iniquity; they are left shut up in dark and unsavoury places, but how can darkness be grievous to them who are the children of light, especially when God shines upon them with the light of his countenance? Stinking holes and odious smells cannot so offend and annoy them, but that the sweet savour of a good conscience, purified by faith, surmounts all. They may be put into dungeons in the world, yet being chosen of God out of the world, they have their conversation in heaven. Be it that they lose a few commodities here, it is but as if they forsook counters to receive gold, things terrestrial for celestial. A Christian may suffer, but he cannot dye; he may lose his life, but he cannot lose Christ; when he leaves the world he goes to God.

Wherefore let us then put on the whole armour of God, Eph. 6. 11. and as good souldiers of Jesus Christ, enure our selves to 2 Tim. 2. 21. endure hardness. So shall it come to pass, that continuing faithful in this spiritual warfare unto the death, we shall at length receive the Crown of Eternal Life. Rev. 2. 10.

THE HISTORY OF

Four MARTYRS Burnt at *Lisle* in *Flanders*, in the
Year 1556. whose Names are *Robert Oguier*, and his
Wife, *Baudicon* and *Martin*, their two Sons:

THe example which is set before us in this so Godly a Family may well serve for an entrance to the Continuation of the History of forein Martyrs, in that we may thence learn, what those true Ornaments are wherewith both Parents and their Children ought to be decked and adorned, namely with such a light shining forth from the sound knowledge of the Gospel, as whereby the Church of God may be edified and confirmed in seeing them to hold the profession of their Faith constantly even unto the death.

THe City of *Lisle* may well be placed in the first rank of those Cities of Merchandize in the Low Country of *Flanders*, *Artois* and *Haynault*, upon which the Lord hath multiplied his blessings, not so much of Worldly good things, as of his Spiritual Graces; yea; in so abundant measure, that even under the Tyranny of Antichrist in the Countries aforementioned, few places can be named where the Gospel in that time was more freely published and preached, or with greater zeal received than there.

For, for three years together the Gospel was secretly taught among them, sometime in Houses, then in woods, in Fields, and in Caves of the Earth, not without the hazarding of their dearest life, if they had been discovered: yet could not these apparent dangers under such tyranny cool or abate the burning zeal which almost consumed the heart of this people, hungering and thirsting after the spiritual food of their Souls.

What was among them preached, was accordingly practised: works of mercy and charity were there exercised, not only towards those of the household of Faith, but even towards them which were without; so as many by means hereof were drawn and brought on to the knowledge of Christ. They obtained in their assembly certain Deacons to receive the Alms which were given, men fearing God, being well approved of, who went weekly from House to House to collect the Alms of such as they knew to be Faithful: admonishing every one how to carry themselves in their vocations, and of their duty in contributing towards the relief of the poor Saints.

And thus each one according to his place endeavoured to express and manifest his Faith by the fruits thereof, namely good works.

In a very short space of time, the Lord by the Ministry of his Word (though preached in secret) erected here a flourishing Church, so as the Congregation consisted of a competent number of Men, Women and Children, not only of the City, but out of four or five Villages besides bordering nigh unto it, who came also with an eager appetite to be instructed.

In the mean while, you may conceive that Satan and his adherents ceased not to storm and rage hereat, not being able long to endure these their holy meetings; but when the time was now come, that God had given them power to prove and try his Church, they forefollowed not to exercise their cruelty upon it, which long before they had plotted and contrived.

Upon Saturday then the sixth of March, Ann. 1556. between nine and ten of the Clock in the Night, the Provost of the City with his Sergeants Armed themselves to make search, if they could find any met together in Houses; but as then there was no assembly. Therefore they came to the House of one whose Name was *Robert Oguier*, which was a little Church, for all both great and small, men-servants and maids were familiarly instructed there in the knowledge of God, as the issue well manifested.

Being violently entred into the said House, and seeking here and there for their prey, they found certain Books which they carried away. But he whom they principally aimed at was not then in the House; viz. *Baudicon* the Son of the said *Robert Oguier*, who at that time was gone abroad to commune and talk of the Word of God with some of the Brethren, as he oft used to do. Returning home, he knocked at the door: *Martin* his younger Brother, watching his coming, bad him be gone, willing him not to come in. But *Baudicon*, thinking his Brother mistook him for some other, said, it is I, open the door: with that, the Sergeants approaching nigh unto it, opened the same, and calling him to enter in, said, Ah Sir, you are well met, to whom he answered, I thank you my friends, you also are welcome hither.

Then said the Provost, I arrest you all in the Emperors Name, and with that commanded each of them to be bound, to wit, the Husband and his Wife with their two Sons, leaving their two Daughters to look to the House. Now as they conveyed them along through the Streets, *Baudicon* with a Voice somewhat extended (which might easily be heard at that time of the night) said, O Lord, assist us by thy Grace not only to be Prisoners for thy Name sake, but to confess thy holy truth in all purity before Men, so far as to Seal the same with our Bloods for the edification of thy poor Church.

Thus were they brought into several Prisons, where they were severally handled; yet ceased they not to praise and bless the Lord with one consent; within a few days after, the Prisoners were presented before the Magistrates of the City, and examined as touching their course of life, who directed their Speech first to *Robert Oguier* in these words: It is told us that you never come to Mass, yea, and also dissuade others from coming thereto; we are further informed that you maintain Conventicles in your House, causing erroneous Doctrines to be preached there contrary to the ordinance of our Holy Mother the Church, where-

The Prayer
which Baudicon made as
he was led
to Prison

whereby you have transgressed the Laws of Imperial Majesty.

Robert Ogner answered, whereas first of all you lay to my charge that I go not to Mass; I refuse so to do, indeed, because the death and precious Blood of the Son of God, and his Sacrifice is utterly abolished there, and trodden under foot. *For Christ by one Sacrifice hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.* The Apostle saith, *by one offering.* For do we read in all the Scriptures, that either the Prophets, Christ, or any of his Apostles ever said Mass? for they knew not what it meant. Christ indeed instituted the holy Supper, in which all Christian people do communicate together, but they Sacrificed not. If you please to read the Bible over, you shall never find the Mass once mentioned therein. And therefore it is the meer invention of Men. You know then what Christ saith,

In vain do they worship me, teaching for Doctrines the commandments of Men. If either my self, or any of mine had been at Mass, which is ordained by the commandment of Men, Christ would have told us, *we had worshipped him in vain.*

As for the second accusation, I cannot nor will deny, but there have met together in my House honest people fearing God; I assure you not with intention to wrong or harm any, but rather for the advancement of Gods Glory, and the good of many. I knew indeed that the Emperor had forbidden it, but what then? I knew also that Christ in his Gospel had commanded it. *Where two or three, saith he, are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them.* Thus you see I could not well obey the Emperor, but I must disobey Christ. In this case then, I choose rather to obey my God, than Man.

One of the Magistrates demanded what they did when they met together.

To which *Baudicon* the eldest Son of *Robert Ogner* answered; if it please you my Masters to give me leave, I will open the business at large unto you.

The Sheriffs seeing his promptness, looking one upon another said, well, let us hear it then. *Baudicon*, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, began thus: when we meet together in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ to hear the Word of God, we first of all prostrate upon our knees before God, and in the humility of our Spirits do make a confession of our Sins before his divine Majesty. Then we pray that the Word of God may be rightly divided, and purely preached: we also pray for our Sovereign Lord the Emperor, and for all his honourable Counsellors, that the Common-Wealth may be peaceably governed to the Glory of God; yea we forget not you whom we acknowledge our superiours; intreating our good God for you, and for this whole City, that you may maintain it in all tranquillity. Thus I have summarily related unto you what we do: think you now, whether we have offended so highly in this matter of our assemblies. Moreover if you will not be offended to hear the tenour of the Prayers we make there, I am ready to recite the same unto you.

One of the Magistrates gave him a sign by which he might understand that they desired to hear it. *Baudicon* then kneeling down before them, prayed with such fervency of affection, that the like ardency of zeal never appeared in him in so admirable a manner as at that time; in so much that the Magistrates were forced to burst forth into tears; beholding what a gracious Spirit the young man was endued withal. Then standing up, he said, now your Masterhips may take a scantling by this, how we are employed in our meetings.

Whilst they were thus examined, each of them made an open confession of the Faith which they held. After this being returned again into Prison, they not long after were put to the torture, to make them confess who they were that frequented their House, but they would discover none, unless such as were well known to the Judges, or else were at that time absent. About four or five days after, they were conveyed again before their Judges, namely, the Father and his two Sons; and after many words passed, they asked them whether they would submit themselves to the will of the Magistrates. *Robert Ogner* and *Baudicon* his Son, with some deliberation, said, yes, we will.

Then demanding the name of *Mari*, the younger bro-

ther, he answered, that he would not submit himself thereto, but would accompany his Mother; so he was sent back again to Prison, whilst the Father and the Son were adjudged to be burnt alive to ashes. Now as they went to receive the Sentence, one of the Judges sitting in his place, after sentence pronounced, said, to day you shall go to dwell with all the Devils in Hell fire (which he spake as one transported with fury in beholding the great patience of these two Servants of Christ) for they took all things quietly, vanquishing their enemies cruelly by patient bearing the Cross, and in praying God for the same. Having received the sentence of death, they were returned to the Prison whence they came, being joyful that the Lord did them that honor to be enrolled in the number of his Martyrs. No sooner entered they the Prison, but a band of fryers came in thither: one amongst the rest told them, the hour was come in which they must finish their days. *Robert Ogner* and his Son answered, we know it well. But blessed be the Lord our God, who now delivering our Bodies out of this vile Prison, will receive our Souls into his glorious and Heavenly Kingdom.

One of the Fryers whose Name was *Lazarus*, a notable limb of Antichrist, endeavored to turn them from their Faith, saying, Father *Robert*, thou art an old Man, let me intreat thee in this thy last hour to think of saving thine own Soul: And if thou wilt give ear unto me, I warrant thee thou shalt do well.

The old Man answered, poor Man, how darest thou attribute that to thy self which belongs to the Eternal God, and so rob him of his honour? for it seems by thy speech, that if I will harken to thee, thou wilt become my Saviour. No, no, I have one only Saviour Jesus Christ, who by and by will deliver me from this miserable World. I have one Doctor, whom the Heavenly Father hath commanded me to hear, and I purpose to hearken to none other.

A Fryer, called the Father of Saint *Clare*, exhorting him to take pity of his Soul which Christ hath redeemed: Thou wiltst me, said *Robert*, to pity mine own Soul, dost thou not see what pity I have on it, when for the Name of Christ I willingly abandon this Body of mine to the Fire, hoping to day to be with him in Paradise? I have put all my confidence in God, and my hope wholly is fixed upon the merits of Christ his Death and Passion, he will direct me the right way to his Kingdom. I believe whatsoever the holy Prophets and Apostles have written, and in that Faith will I live and dye.

The Fryer hearing this, said, Out Dog, thou art not worthy the Name of a Christian; thou and thy Son with thee are both resolved to damn your Bodies and Souls with all the Devils in the bottom of Hell.

As they were about to sever *Baudicon* from his Father, he said, Let my Father alone, and trouble him not thus, he is an old Man, and hath an infirm Body, hinder him not I pray you, from receiving the Crown of Martyrdom.

Another of the Fryers said, Away varlet, thou art the cause of thy Fathers perdition. The Fryers then returning themselves towards the Executioner, said, On, on, Officer, do thine Office, for we will be gone, we lose but our labour, seeing the Devil hath betwixted them.

Baudicon was then conveyed into a Chamber apart, and there being stripped of his Clothes was fitted to be sacrificed; now as one brought him Gunpowder to put to his Breasts an odd fellow standing by said, Wert thou my Brother, I would sell all that I am worth to buy Fagots to burn thee, thou findest but too much favour. The young Man answered, Well Sir, the Lord shew you more mercy. Some that were present, saying, Good God, is it not a pitiful sight to behold these poor Men? A Doctor being by answered, And what pity would you have shewed towards them? I would in stead of allowing them this powder have them fried on Gridirons, as *S. Lawrence* was.

Whilst they spake thus to *Baudicon*, some of the Fryers closed in with the old Man, perswading him at least to take a Crucifix into his hands, lest the people (said they) should murmur against you; adding further, that he might for all that lift up his heart to God, because you know, said they, it is but a piece of Wood.

Thus they fastened it between his hands, but as soon as *Baudicon* was come down, and espied what they had done

Anno
1556.

Mat. 17:1

Saint Lawrence was roasted on a Gridiron by the Romans, in this age the Gentry find the like from false and fained Christians. A gentle perswasion.

Anno
1556.

done to his Father, he said, Alas Father, what do you now, will you play the Idolater even at our last hour. And then pulling the Idol out of his hands which they had fastned therein, he threw it away, saying, What cause hath the people to be offended at us, for not receiving a Jesus Christ, of Wood? We bear upon our hearts the Cross of Christ the Son of the everliving God, feeling his holy Word written therein in Letters of Gold.

As they were led to execution, a band of Souldiers were attendant upon them, no less then if a Prince had been conducted into his Kingdom. Being come to the place where they were to suffer, they ascended up the Scaffold which was there prepared for them. Then *Baudicon* asked leave of the Sheriffs to make a Confession of his Faith before the people. Answer was made, That he was to look unto his Ghostly Father and Confessor; confess your self (said they) to him. He was then hailed rudely to the Stake, where he began to sing the sixteenth Psalm. The Fryer cried out, Do you not hear my Masters, what wicked errors these Hereticks sing, to beguile the people withal. *Baudicon* hearing what he said, replied thus; Now simple Idiot, callest thou the Psalms of the Prophet *David*, errors? But no marvel, for thus you are wont to Blaspheme against the Spirit of God.

Then turning his eyes towards his Father, who was about to be chained to the Stake, he said, Be of good courage Father, the worst will be past by and by. As the Executioner was fastening him to the Post, he chanced to hit him with his hammer on the foot, to make him stand nearer to the flame. The old Man being sensible of the blow, said, Friend, thou hurtest my foot, why dost thou abuse me thus? The Fryer hearing this, said, Ah these Hereticks; They would be counted Martyrs forsooth; but if they be but touched a little, they cry out as they were killed. To which *Baudicon* thus replied: Think you then that we fear the Tormentors? No such matter, for had we feared the fame, we had never exposed our Bodies to this so shameful and painful a kind of death.

Then he often reiterated these short breathings, O God, Father everlasting, accept the Sacrifice of our Bodies, for thy well beloved Son Jesus Christs sake. One of the Fryers cried, Heretick, thou lyest, he is none of thy Father, the Devil is thy Father. And thus, during these conflicts, he bent his eyes to Heaven, and speaking to his Father, said; Behold, for I see the Heavens open, and millions of Angels ready prest to receive us, rejoicing to see us thus witnessing the truth in the view of the World. Father let us be glad and rejoyce, for the joys of Heaven are set open to us.

Then said one of the Fryers, I see Hell open, and millions of Devils present to carry you thither. But the Lord, who never forsakes any that put their trust in him, stirred up the heart and opened the mouth of a poor Man who stood among the multitude, beholding this spectacle, who being moved with compassion, cried aloud, Be of good comfort *Baudicon*, stand thou to it, thou fightest in a good quarrell, I am on thy side; after which words he departed thence; and a way being made for him, saved himself from danger.

Fire was forthwith put to the Straw and Wood which burnt beneath, whilst they (not thinking for the pains) spake one to another; *Baudicon* often repeating this in his Fathers ears, Faint not Father, nor be afraid, *Tet a very little while and we shall enter into the Heavenly Mansions.*

In the end the Fire growing hot upon them, the last words they were heard to pronounce, were *Jesus Christ thou Son of God, into thy hands we commend our Spirits.* And thus these two slept sweetly in the Lord.

Within eight days after, *Jane* the Mother, and *Martin* her Son, were executed in the same City of Lisle; but of this more hereafter.

Jane the Wife of Robert Ogquier, and Martin her Son, Martyrs.

THe Wife here follows her Husband, and accompanies her Son: her Conversion is admirable; for being severed from him, the Fryers having seduced her, laboured with her to turn her Son still out of the right way; but he understanding thereof recovers his Mother

again, and so they both gave their lives for the truth, to the great confusion of their enemies.

But before we come to describe their happy ends; we will, as briefly as may be, note by the way the great conflicts of Spirit which both of them sustained.

There were sent unto them many of the Popish rabble, to turn them from their Faith. Now that this their devilish enterprise might the rather be effected, they furnished one of them from the other; so as by the politick device of a Monk, the poor Woman began to waver, and let go her first Faith. At this their enemies rejoiced not a little, whilst the poor little flock of Christ, hearing such sad news, were in continual perplexity, but the Lord left them not in their mournful condition.

For on a day one of the Monks resorted to her in the Prison, counselling her to win her Son *Martin*, and to draw him from his errors: which she promised to do. But when he was come to his Mother, and perceived that she was not only fallen, but also quite turned out of the right way, he began with tears to bewail her miserable estate.

O Mother, saith he, what have you done? Have you denied him who hath redeemed you? Alas, what evil hath he done you, that you should requite him with this so great an injury and dishonour. Now I am plunged into that woe, which I have most feared. Ah good God, that I should live to see this, which pierceth me to the very heart.

His Mother hearing these his pitiful complaints, and seeing the tears which her Son shed for her, began again to renew her strength in the Lord, and with tears cried out, O Father of mercies, be merciful unto me miserable Sinner, and cover my transgression under the righteousness of thy blessed Son; Lord enable me with strength from above, to stand to my first Confession, and make me to abide stedfast therein even unto my last breath.

It was not long after this her change, but the false Instruments of Satan, who had seduced her, came in, supposing to find her in the same mind wherein they left her: whom the no sooner espied, but with detestation said, *Woe to Satan, get thee behind me: for henceforth thou hast neither part nor portion in me.* I will by the help of God stand to my first Confession; And if I may not sign it with Ink, I will Seal it with my Blood. And so from that time this frail Vessel, who for a while relented, after her recovery grew stronger and stronger.

The Judges seeing their constancy, delayed not to dispatch them out of the way, condemning them to be burnt alive, and their Bodies being reduced to ashes, the same to be scattered and dispersed in the air. The Mother and the Son having heard their Sentence read, in the way as they were going back again to Prison, said, now blessed be our God, who causeth us thus to triumph over our enemies: *This is the wished hour, our glad some day is come.* Let us not then, said *Martin*, forget to be thankful for the honour he doth us, in thus conforming us unto the Image of his Son. Let us remember those who have traced this path before us: for this is the High-way to the Kingdom of Heaven. Let us then, good Mother, go on boldly out of the Camp with the Son of God, bearing his reproach, with all his holy Martyrs; for so we shall find passage into the Glorious Kingdom of the everliving God.

Some of the company hearing, but not being able to brook these words, said, We see now thou Heretick that thou art wholly possessed, Body and Soul, with a Devil, as was thy Father and Brother, who are both in Hell. *Martin* said, Sirs, as for your railings and curplings, our God will this day turn them into blessings in the light of himself and of all his holy Angels.

A certain temporizer said to *Martin*, Thou silly youth, thou sayest thou knowest not what; thou art too well conceited of thy self and of thy cause. Seest thou not all this people here about thee? what thinkest thou of them? they believe not as thou dost, and yet I doubt not but they shall be saved. But you imagine to do that which will never come to pass, though you pretend never to much that you are in the Faith, and have the Scriptures for you.

The good Woman hearing this, answered, Sir, Christ Jesus our Lord saith, That it is the wide gate and broad way

See here the
satan
light of
Satan

Mat 7:13

Mac. 7. 12.
How we
may know
we are in the
right way.

way which leads to destruction, and therefore many go in the heat: but the gate, faith he, is narrow that leads to life, and few there be that find it. Do ye then doubt whether we are in the straight way or no, when ye behold our sufferings? would you have a better sign than this, to know whether we are in the right way or no? Compare our Doctrine with that of your Priests and Monks: we for our parts are determined to have but one Christ and him crucified; we only embrace the Scriptures of the old and new Testament. Are we deceived in believing that which the holy Prophets and Apostles have taught?

Mat. 22. 29.
Job. 5. 12.

One of the Friars turning towards *Martin*, said, Young Man, be well advised; for thy Father and thy Brother have acknowledged the seven Sacraments of the Church together with us and thou poor silly youth hast heard some wicked Heretick who hath deluded thee: thinkst thou thy self wiser than so many learned Drs. as have lived in so many Ages? *Martin* answered, I pray you Sir, doth not Christ our Lord tell us, that his Father hath hid the secrets of his Kingdom from the wise and prudent, and revealed them to Babes? And doth not the Lord of times carch the wife in their own craftiness?

And whereas you say my Father and Brother have confessed seven Sacraments, I well perceive by this that I ought not to give credit to ought you say; know ye not that the Devil is the Father of lies, and all liers? Is it not sufficient that I acknowledge so many Sacraments as God himself hath instituted and ordained, to wit, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord?

1000. p.
mount to
two hundred
Crowns, but
this faithful
Martyr of
Christ was
not like Ju-
da, who for
love of Mo-
ney sold his
Misther.

Then came there into the Prison two Men of great Authority in the City of *Lisle*; the one called *Monsieur Barras*, the other *Beaufremes*, who promised *Martin* great matters, if he would recant and return to the Roman Church. *Beaufremes* among other speeches said thus unto him, Young Man, I have compassion on thy tender years, if thou wilt be ruled by us, I will promise thee thou shalt not dye this shameful death: moreover, I will give thee one hundred pounds Sterling.

Martin gave him this answer. Sir, you present before me many temporal commodities: but alas, do you think me so simple, as to forsake an eternal Kingdom for enjoying of a short transitory life? No Sir, it is too late to speak to me now of worldly commodities, but of those spiritual, which God hath prepared for me to day in his Kingdom: nor do I purpose to hearken after any other: only, I pray you let me crave one hours respite to give my self to prayer, and calling upon the Name of my God: for you know now it is eight days since my Father departed this World, and hitherto I have scarce enjoyed an hours rest; That which I have had, hath rather been to slumber in, than have any quiet sleep, having continually had eight or nine persons environing me about, and talking unto me.

After these great Men were forced to go even as they came, *Martin* declared the effect of this his combat to certain Brethren who were there detained with him in Prison; saying moreover. Let us lift up our heads, Brethren, the brunt is over, this I hope is their last assault; forget not, I pray you, the holy Doctrine of the Gospel, nor those good lessons which you have learned from our Brother *Guy*. Manifest it now to all, that you have received them not only into your Ears, but also into your Hearts; follow me, we lead you the way; fear not, God will never leave nor forsake you: farewell Brethren, said he, and so departed from them.

*tis very
likely he
means Guy
de Bros, a
Godly Mini-
ster, whom
you shall
read more,
God willing,
hereafter.

Soon after *Martin* and his Mother were bound and brought to the place of their Martyrdom: His Mother having ascended the Scaffold, cried to *Martin*, Come up, Come up my Son. And as he was speaking to the people, she said, speak out *Martin*, faith she, that it may appear to all, that we dye not Hereticks. *Martin* would have made a Confession of his Faith, but could not be suffered. His Mother being bound to the Stake, spake in the hearing of the Spectators, We are Christians, and that which we now suffer is not for Murther or Theft, but because we will believe no more than that which the Word of God teacheth us: Both rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for the same.

The Fire being kindled, the vehemency thereof did nothing cool or abate the fervency of their zeal, but they

continued constant in the Faith, and with lifting up their hands to Heaven, in an holy accord said, *Lord Jesus into thy hands we commend our Spirits*. And thus they blessedly slept in the Lord. These were the fruits which these holy assemblies in the City of *Lisle* brought forth. None need to enquire whether the rest were suffered to live in peace; for what other spectacles were to be espied in the High-ways and Fields, but poor fugitives flying hither and thither, for safeguard of their lives. So great was the cruelty which was then and there exercised among them: and yet, when all is done, God will be glorified in his Saints and Children.

Anno
1556.

The happy
death of the
Mother and
her Son.

John Rabec, Martyr, burned at Aniers in France, the 24. of April, 1556.

This Robert had his Tongue cut out because he would not pronounce *Jesus, Maria*, to join them both in one Prayer; for being urged thereunto with great threats, he boldly answered, that if his Tongue should but offer to utter those words at his bidding, himself would bite it aunder with his teeth.

A Martyr
Tongue cut
out, for not
saying to call
upon the vi-
gin Mary.

Bartholomew Hector, Martyr, was burned according to the Sentence of the Parliament of Turin in Piedmont, in the year 1556. June the 19.

Being called before Authority to be examined he would answer them to nothing before he had made his prayer to God. Whereupon falling down there on his knees, he besought him to open his Mouth, and to direct his Speech only to utter that which might tend to his honor and glory, and to the edification of his Church. Afterwards when he was bound to the Stake, Gunpowder and Brimstone was brought to be placed about him, he lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, and saying, *Lord how sweet and welcom is this to me?*

The Mar-
tyr would
not answer
the adverse de-
ty still had
his creeds
in difference
from God.

Charles Covinck, or le Roy de Gand, once a Frier Carmelite at Gand in Flanders was apprehended and executed at Bruges in the same Countrey, Anno 1557. April 27.

Being perswaded by his Brother to return again to *Covent* his Order, and take upon him his Friars habit; he made him this direct answer, what needs that, faith he? now I have cast off that Popish weed, I will never resume it again. Christ hath now let me free, I will be no longer of the Order of the Slaves of Satan.

would none
of his Popish
habit which
he had once
rejected.

One of the Magistrates of *Bruges* conferring with him, promised to procure his deliverance if he would yield but a little; and if his Friars Coat displeased him, he would get him a dispensation from the Pope to forbeare the wearing of it, and provide him a Canonship. Sir, said *Charles*, I give you many thanks for your good will and these your kind offers: would to God I could accept of them without offending his Majesty you offer me a Canonship, that I might live quietly and in security; but know you Sir, That rest is no true rest and quietness which is obtained against the peace of a good Conscience?

A few days after his execution, one of them, who had his hand deepe in procuring his cruel death, died himself in such terror and horror of Conscience, that it gave sufficient testimony to those of *Bruges*, that they had put to death an Innocent, and that God was highly offended with those that had persecuted him.

That is now
worthy the
name of rest
which is pro-
cured with
offence of
Conscience.
A judgement
of God upon
a persecutor.

Philibert Hamelin of Tournay, Minister and Martyr, was there executed in the year 1557.

While he remained Prisoner some of his friends dealt with him to break Prison, and offered him means tending thereto. But he on the contrary, having resolved to give his Life for so just a quarrel as he maintained, refused, saying, I esteem it altogether unbecoming for a Man that is called to preach Gods Word to others, to run away and break Prison for fear of danger, but rather to maintain the Truth taught even in the midst of the flaming Fire.

Preachers
to must be no
breakers of
Prisons.

After Sentence of death was passed upon him by the Court, whereby he knew he had not long to live, yet did he

eat

Anno 1557
 A good conscience is a continual feast.

eat his dinner with the rest of the Prisoners, as joyfully as though he had been in no danger, speaking unto them of the happiness of eternal life, comforting all that fate at Table with him in the *Cohficiency*.

That none might hear what he said at the place of Execution, the Trumpets were caused to be sounded continually; yet might it be seen, both by his gestures and cheerfulness of his countenance, that they could not, let him from speaking to God.

Archambant Seraphon Martyr, in the year 1557.

A praefice of the Psalms.
 The Martyrs ready to seal the truth with their blood.

Being demanded what he thought of the Pope and his Authority, he answered, I think verily the same is he of whom S. Paul speaks in his second Epistle to the *Thefaloniens*, Chap. 2. Which words he being willed to sign with his hand; *Yea, yea Sir*, said he, *I am now ready to sign it with my Blood rather than with ink.*

A Taylor of a Lamb.
 An exhortation to get the Psalms without Book.

He reports in a Letter written to his Wife and Friends, that whereas this Jaylor was wont to carry himself as sternly towards him as a Lion, roaring always in such wife upon him, that all the Prisoners were amazed at it, the Lord had now so mollified his heart, that he became as meek as a Lamb, declaring how he would come and visit him himself in his Prison, and as well as he was able, comforted him, saying, Take no care, God will assist you; nor shall it be so ill with you as you think for. For what do your Enemies say? Alas! he is but a silly Pedlar, who, passing along this way, broached his Opinions none: that also which he holds concerning the same, he keeps to himself; therefore be of good cheer. Sir, said he, I praise God I am of good comfort, being ready to receive whatever it shall please him to appoint; *If life, life; if death, death be it.*

One thing I had like to have omitted concerning him, which yet is worth the noting, namely, this:

This Archambant, in a Letter to his Wife, puts his Brethren in mind to learn *David's Psalms*; *My Brethren, faith he, I exhort you in the Name of God, that you would learn, yea, learn the Psalms without Book whilst you have time and leisure; for when you shall be cast into dark Prisons (I say, when God shall call you to suffer for his sake) you shall then have no Book with you, whether of a small or great print, to see what part succeeds another, which I now utter to your great grief and shame; for if I should tell you I lacked forewarning long ago, you can bear witness to the contrary: Nor do I know now what to do, but even to humble my self before the Lord, crying unto him, Mercy, mercy, Lord have mercy upon me. Blessed and happy are they who are careful to get knowledge and faith, as Oyl into their Vessels, before the Bridegroom come.*

When he looked on his hands, he was wont to say, *O Flesh, thou must suffer and be turned into ashes, until the last day.*

Jeffery Vergale Martyr, in the year 1557. he was burned at Turin the last of December.

Standing upon a stool at the Stake, the Executioner, according to the custom, prayed him to forgive him his death.

The death of the Martyrs is not without fruit.

Jeffery answered him, *I not only forgive thee, but those also who first imprisoned me at Burges, yea, those that brought me to this City, and have condemned me to this death. Be not afraid, do thine office, my death shall not be unprofitable.*

Nicholas Jewville Martyr, in the year 1557. who with two others mentioned hereafter, were burned in the place called *Mawbert* without Paris in France.

This godly Martyr being condemned to be burned alive, and his Tongue to be cut out, the Tormentor being there present offered to put the Halter about his neck; but he repulled him twice, appealing from the Sentence. But because he was pressed upon to receive it the third time, and thinking his appeal would not take place, he took it, saying; *Praised be God! for I am now counted worthy to be one of the heavenly Order:*

Two Innocents condemned to suffer death, the one of them being called Henry the Taylor.

His Henry rejoiced at the hearing of the Sentence read, saying, *This is the day we have long expected, and therefore give our selves willingly to dye, but as for the punishment, my Masters, that we leave to you: yet we pray that God would pardon you this injustice.*

At which speeches the Magistrates turned away their faces, not willing to hear it; but *Adrian*, who was the other Martyr, told them boldly, That God would require the Blood of the Just at their hands, whom they daily put to death.

The next day being appointed for their Execution, a great multitude were assembled into the Market place, to behold the behaviour of these godly men, who, as they were led to death, protested, That the cause why they died, was only for bearing witness to the truth of the Gospel, which words they uttered with such courage, that the Officers, who in ironed them round about, strove to damp the same by a great noise; which they made, left their voice should be understood. Whilst the Executioner fastened them to the Stake, there was on an instant such an hurly burly amongst the people, that with one voice they cried, *Kill, kill*, rushing one in upon another. By and by the Shops and doors of Houses were shut up. The Hangman let fall all his preparations, leaving the two Patients standing at the Stake. The *Margrave* being on Horseback, could by no means get away, being compassed in on each side. The Officers trembling for fear, threw down their Halberds. The Spy who attended there to hearken, not knowing where to bestow himself, forsook his Horse, and ran into a Church for fear.

And though one told him that a Cutpurse had cauled all this ado, he would not be drawn to believe him, but said, I know we are but dead men; it is not the Thief, but the seditious People who now begin to work their revenge. Thus God confounded these blood-thirsty, shewing how he could have brought all their preparations to nothing, if it had pleased him.

As soon as this Hubbub was quieted, the Servant of the Executioner ran and strangled the two Martyrs, who had now a good space been fastened to the Stake, still calling upon the Name of the Lord. The Fire being afterward kindled, the Bodies were consumed to ashes the 19. of January, 1559.

A Recantation fathered upon a Martyr called *Cornelius Hallevin*, which he never consented to, and how he took the same, in the year 1559.

The Father of this *Cornelius*, soliciting the *Margrave* and his Wife (who as it was thought was Godmother to *Cornelius*) to get his Son out of Prison; it was so agreed among them, that a Libel should be framed under the name of *Cornelius*, wherein he should now acknowledge his Error, be confessed to a Priest, would also receive his Maker, and come again into the state of Grace, as a good Child of his holy Mother the Church. And further should say, That Sermons were of no worth, because they were not made upon holy ground. Also requiring that if he had failed in ought else, the same should be attributed to his young years, and therefore craved pardon. Howbeit the said *Cornelius* wrote Letters daily in the mean while to the Brethren, shewing forth an admirable constancy in defending the Faith; gladdening the hearts of many, who gave God thanks for the Graces of his good Spirit wherewith he had indued him.

The Minister of the Flemish Church hearing of this Libel, by the means of some friends, got a Copy thereof, and having read it, considering how the tenor thereof tended to a great scandal, made the Elders and Deacons of the Church acquainted therewith, who were not a little grieved for the infirmity of their weak Brother. Whereupon, the Minister wrote a sharp Letter unto him, willing him to turn and repent him of his backsliding, by making a true Confession thereof before the Council. When *Cornelius* had received this Letter, and read it, he was so vexed and perplexed in his spirit, that he knew not how

E c c e

There were they in great fear, where no fear was, for as faith the Psalmist, God is the generation of the righteous; Psal. 145.

to demean himself, so as all the godly his Prison-fellows had much ado to stay and comfort him. The blood gushed out of his nose, he spread abroad his arms, and made pitiful outcries. What, to deny the truth (said he) God forbid? Oh that the faithful should conceive so hardly of me! Good God, thou knowest that I am guiltless, nor have I this way offended. Then the residue of the Brethren advised him to get a sight of his Indictment, which if it contained no such thing, then to send it to the Church, and so manifest to them his innocency touching that whereof he was accused: besides, making a plain confession of his Faith, to impart the same to the Council, and therewithal to shew how he was abused by the *Margrave* and his Parents, which he accordingly did.

The said *Cornelius* being condemned to dye, the *Margrave* offered him so much more favour as to dye a more easy kind of death, if he would but give ear to the Priests whom he had brought with him into the Prison. *Cornelius* replied, No Sir, God forbid I should do such a thing: do ye with my body what ye will. As they bound him and *Herman Janssen* (who both suffered together) *Herman* willed the *Margrave* to take heed what he did: forsaith he, this will not go for payment in Gods sight in bereaving us thus of our lives. With you to repent therefore before it be too late, you cannot long continue this tyrannous course, for the Lord will shortly avenge it. The *Margrave* commanded they should have a Cross or Crucifix put into their hands, promising *Cornelius* that if he would so do, he should only be beheaded, and not burned: but they both rejected the Cross, saying, *They would not give the least sign that might be of betraying the Truth, and that it was all one to them what death they put them to, so they died in and for the Lord.* The punishment, they said, could last but for a while, but the glory to come was eternal.

Then were they led towards the Market place, and *Herman* rejoicing in the Lord, sung the hundred and thirtieth Psalm. *Cornelius* followed him, and gave the people godly Exhortations. Being come to the place of Execution, the Sword was laid there ready to behead them, if they would take the Cross into their hands, and admit the Priests into their Company: But because they would not yield one whit unto them, wood was made ready to burn them. Then *Cornelius* fell on his knees, praying God to forgive his Enemies, who had sinned through ignorance. After which they were put into a little Lodge made of Fagots, and strangled at the Stake. But whilst this was a doing, there fell out such a tumult amongst the People, that they were not a little afraid of an uprore; the Hangman, he caught hold of his Sword to defend himself, thinking they would kill him first; but the business was as suddenly quieted as raised. The fire being kindled, flamed forth upon the Bodies of these holy Martyrs. The *Margrave* thought, according to the usual course, to have quenched the fire, that so conveying the Bodies away half burnt, they might be laid upon the Wheels nigh unto the City, in the accustomed places where they were to lye, as Spectacles to be gazed on. But the peoples wrath being stirred, crossed him in his purpose, so as his Serjeants and Halberdiers leaving him, he stood as one astonished, causing the Executioner to finish out the rest of this Tragedy.

Notes upon the occasion of a Sedition at Paris, the fifth of March, 1559.

The fifth day of *March*, there was a great uprore raised in the Church of *S. Innocents* in *Paris*. The Preachers all the *Lent* never ceased to move the people to kill all the *Lutherans* they could meet withal, and not leave the execution thereof to the Magistrates. Amongst the rest a *Minister*, who preached in the said Church, spent all his Sermons upon that Subject. The same day taking his Text out of the eighth of *S. Johns* Gospel, concerning the Woman taken in Adultery being brought to Jesus Christ; he uttered execrable things against the Magistrate: shewing that it was no wonder if the Judges did not cast the first stone at the *Lutherans*, because they themselves were also *Lutherans*: and there-

fore the people were not to attend them any longer, but to rise and make open war against them, yea, upon the chieftest of them, which were but suspected to hold that Doctrine. In this garbail a poor Priest (with a brother of his, a Captain, passing by, and thinking by fair Language to pacifie the disordered Tumult) had his foot no sooner out of the Church door, but he was set upon by this Blood-thirsty Crue, who although he asked forgiveness in the name of the Saints, desiring to be confessed, and shewed all outward signs of being one of their own by the providence of God, it tell an end of their own side, yet could he of this headless Beast, the Multitude, obtain no favour, but was stabbed into the belly with a Dagger, and fell down dead. And yet they were not satisfied so, but the very meanest among them had a blow at him, raking with their hands in his wounds, and then in triumph lifting him up, bragged that they had bathed their hands in the blood of a *Lutheran*.

The Captain with much ado getting into the Vicars House, they beset the House left he should escape their fingers. And hearing that the Magistrate was coming to deliver him, they feared not with one voice to say, That they would spare none, no not the King himself, though he came in his own Person. If any more pitiful than the rest uttered but so much as the least word tending to compassion, they were cruelly handled on all sides, so as many met with hard usage even for that.

Not fully a year before this, there fell out the like, if not a worse Spectacle of Cruelty in the Church of Saint *Eustace*,

For a Doctor of the *Sorbonists*, commonly called the *Soul of Picardy*, who in his Sermons preached out nothing but Fire and Fagots, encouraged the *Parisians* to slaughter the *Lutherans*, making many goodly promises to all such as would undertake such a bloody design: which was not so soon propounded, as accepted of by the people. For a poor Scholar, who out of devotion was present at the Sermon, happening (upon some accident) to laugh at his Fellow Pupil; an old Turncoat sitting by and observing it, cried out forthwith, That a *Lutheran* mocked the Preacher. The people at the sound of this voice began to stir, not knowing upon what ground: and haling him out of the Church, miserably massacred him, till they had forced both his eyes out of his head, buffeting him with their fists; and one among the rest, caused his Horse to trample upon him thrice.

John Barbeville of Normandy, being questioned by three of the Council about the Sacrament, answered, That in the holy Supper, being administered according to Christs Institution, he received by Faith the Body and Blood of the Lord, but not after any carnal manner: so farasmuch as being now ascended into Heaven, he shall not return thence, till he come to judge the quick and the dead. Upon which Article one of the Council added this scoff, Which ascended into Heaven, and drew the Ladder up after him.

Upon some occasion they laid unto him, That he was but a silly Ass, and therefore could not understand the Scriptures. Well, saith he, be it that I am an Ass, yet did you never read, that God opened the mouth of the Prophet *Balaams*'s Ass to reprove him, for loading him with stripes when he was going to utter his lies against the Children of God? If God opened the Asses mouth, do ye now wonder if he opens mine, to cause me to speak against the fallhood and lies which you spread abroad against the people of God? For as the Ass spake being overcharged with blows, which the false Prophet gave him, so now in regard of the heavy burden where-with in times past you have oppressed me by your Traditions, I am constrained to speak as I do.

Another Inquisitor, a Monk called *Benedict*, told him, That he was come to comfort and instruct him in the Truth. How can you, said *Barbeville*, say, you come to instruct me in the Truth, when your self doth wear the habit of a Liar? I cannot expect it from you; for no man can gather Figs of Thistles, or Grapes of Thorns.

Anno
1559.

And thus
thinking to
merry the
Christians,
by the pro-
vidence of
God, it tell
an end of
their own
side.

See here
what mock-
ery this
be who con-
demn the
poor Chris-
tians.

A retorting
speech well
applied.

Anno

1559.

God so wrought here, and the Truth so prevailed, that though it was plainly confessed, yet the Prisoners were delivered Anno 1559.

The Court of the Parliament of Paris, willing to moderate the Cruelties used against those of the Reformed Religion, solicited them what they could, to dissemble and to yield in some points; wherein the well-minded of that side were not yet rightly informed: but to this their advice they would by no means consent. Then they took another course, and that was simply to examine them touching the manner of eating Christs Body in the Sacrament, without mentioning Transubstantiation, or any Carnal Presence; hoping this way to free them from the Crime of Sacramentaries, upon which point for the most part the Sentence of Death was pronounced: seeing they had heard formerly from the Prisoners, that the Churches of France held, how the Body of Christ was received by the Faithful, not in imagination, but truly and indeed, and that the signs were neither naked nor empty Elements, but exhibited that whereof they were signs.

This was propounded to four young men who were in the flower of their Age, and lying Prisoners in the Confeigery of the Palace, it might be, to flatter them. Now when this Confession was presented in the Court, all that were well affected were glad of it in regard it was drawn so favourably; some being of opinion that it would work their deliverance. Others there were which opposed this Project, and requested they might be examined what they thought of the Mass, it being necessary an Article; provided, that there might be some moderation in the ordinary course of such Interrogations. Notwithstanding it was thought, that this would rather hinder than further their deliverance; yet did the better part persist in their purpose of freeing them.

Being therefore asked again what they thought of the Mass; they answered, That they would stand to their first Confession. It was replied, That the Court would rest satisfied with that Answer, if so be they would now only go to Mass. But with one voice they affirmed, That they would never yield to come there where God was so dishonoured. The Court, to make it appear that no advantage should be taken against them for this their Answer, gave them leave severally to shew their Reasons. This pleased the Prisoners well, and therefore they spared not to paint forth the Mass in its lively colours; that all might perceive there was cause sufficient why they should detest it.

The Mass
despised
in its co-
lours.

First, one of them by way of opposition shewed how contrary the Mass was to the Lords Supper. The second declared, it was Blasphemy to affirm, that there was any other Propitiatory Sacrifice for sins than the Blood of Christ. The third avouched, That if the Article of Transubstantiation (whereon the Mass depends) were allowed, Christ his Deity and his Humanity should be abolished, and therefore it must be flat Idolatry to worship Almighty God in a corruptible piece of Paste. The fourth told them, That the fruits of the Sacrament could not be received where the Word was not joined with the sign, where one of the signs were withheld, or where there was no Communion.

Thus was the Mass anatomized, with the abominations thereof, with all boldness; so as some of the Judges were constrained to aver openly, That there was a great abuse in it indeed, being a manifest wrong done to the Institution of Christ; as also that the Laitie were there deprived of the Cup, and the Bread only given, the whole being performed in a Language which the poor people understood not.

It was beyond the expectation of all men, that so free a Confession would have passed for current in that place, in which whosoever came before them formerly, and made the like, was condemned to dye. But now the Truth so prevailed, that against all hope and ordinary proceedings in times past, yea, contrary to the minds of those which were Gods chiefest enemies, the order was this, That howsoever Sentence of Death had been pronounced against three others of this Company, by the inferior Judges, yet these four should have their lives saved; provided, that they departed the Country within fifteen days. Which exception, though it favoured of some Injustice, yet was

it nothing in comparison of the former Cruelties; and this banishment turned rather for a benefit to them, than an hurt, for by this means they had liberty to go to such places where God was purely served.

The Story of Peter Chevet, Martyr.

Being asked whether he durst affirm that he had the Spirit of God? Yea, said he, for I am one of Gods Children, and therefore have the Spirit of God given unto me, as the earnest of my Adoption.

It is to be feared, said some, that you will bring yourself in danger of the Law, and so be burned. Truly, said he, I do not think to escape better cheap; and though you scorch and roast me alive, yet will I never renounce Jesus Christ. Is it not written, He that shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in Heaven, &c. Being asked whether he desired not to be absolved, confessed, and to receive Pardon, having stood excommunicate now three years? He answered, I confess my faults every day to my God; but where is that goodly Absolver that will take upon him to pardon me? The Official answering, said, That is even I. Now poor man, said Peter, it is a question whether thou canst save thyself, and wilt thou take upon thee then to save others? The Official finding himself galled with this Answer, threatened him with longer Imprisonment. Alas, said he, though I should rot in Prison, yet shall you still find me the same man.

Being come to the place where he was to suffer, the Executioner would not take the pains to help him from off the Cart, but tumbled him down with his head forward. Notwithstanding all this and other Cruelties, he manfully overcame the same with invincible Contancy. And when they pulled off his Clothes, he was heard to say intelligibly, How happy, how happy, O how happy am I with his eyes still lifted up to Heaven.

He was burned in the place called Maubert, nigh to the City of Paris, the 11. of March, 1559.

A notable Speech uttered by Anne du Burg, Counsellor for the King in Parliament, in the Month of June, Anno 1559.

Among the rest there was a Counsellor called Anne du Burg, a man of singular understanding and knowledge, bred and nursed up in the bosom of the Church of Christ. This man having rendered thanks to God, for moving the Kings heart to be present at the decision of so weighty a cause as that of Religion is, and having exhorted himself well to consider thereof, being the Cause of Christ himself, which of good right ought to be maintained by Princes, spake boldly thereto, as God gave him utterance: It is not, said he, a matter of small consequence, to condemn such as in the midst of the fiery flames call upon the Name of Jesus Christ. This I do but note here by the way, because the consequence is touched before by Master John Foxe, where he mentions the terrible end of such as were Persecutors of the Truth.

Only one thing more touching the said Anne du Burg I could not here omit, and it is this; A certain woman being Prisoner (for the same Cause) right over against him, had a little window in her Chamber which opened towards that where Mr. du Burg lay; from whence either by words or signs (when she was not otherwise letted) she encouraged him to persevere constantly in the Truth; by whom he was so comforted, that the same du Burg, being importuned by some of his Friends to recant, used these words: Nay, I trow not, said he, for a woman hath taught me my Lesson, how I ought to carry my self in this business to which God hath called me: feeling in himself, as it seemed, the force and power of the godly admonitions of this poor woman.

Whose godly zeal was such, as that her story may not (as I think) be well omitted, but fully set down as I find it recorded in the Volume of the French Martyrs. Her name was Margaret Rich, who suffered the nineteenth of August in the place called Maubert, not far from the City of Paris in France.

Four witnesses of the Truth gently concerned by their Judges.

He was in outward appearance a silly poor man, a Vine-dresser, of the age of 80 years and upwards.

Mat 10. 35.

He could say sheweth refinement by heart, and was so prompt therein in all his answer, that the people who heard him, said if he were suffered to speak, he would convert all the City of Paris.

In the History of the Martyrs mention is made of one Peter Chevet, whose confancy was so admirable in suffering the extremity of death, that it was the more bold in the Company of the godly admonitions of this poor woman.

Christian women, saith the Heretic, behold here the courage and zeal of this *Margaret* your Sister, who is set before you for a pattern to imitate: she encouraged both great and small, who at the same time were Prisoners with her.

Margaret Rub was born in *Paris*, the wife of *Anthony Ricant* Bookseller, dwelling in *Paris*, in the place called the *Mans of Saint Hillary*, at the sign of the great *Quad*. This woman was as virtuously disposed as could be; she had gotten some small insight into the mystery of iniquity, by means of her husband, who yet suffered her to observe the Superstitions of Popery, without urging her any farther; for he was a man indifferent in the matter of Gods Service: but yet her Conscience gave her, that knowing her course to be evil, it was not sufficient to her that, unless she did cleave to the contrary good which leads to life and salvation, namely to true God according to his Word. Understanding then, that there were godly meetings of good Christians, which assembled together in the City, she found the means to come in amongst them, and profited so well thereby, that she resolved in her self never to go again to Mass, but to dye rather.

At length, being hardly used by her husband because of this her sudden change, he threatened her so far as to carry her himself to the Mass, (the next day which was *Easter Sunday*) rather than that she should not go. After she had endured much from this man, who would have her to play the dissembler, she to preserve her self therefrom, being also afraid of her husbands fury, upon *Easter-day* withdrew her self to a friends house of hers: thinking it safer to displease her husband, than God, to whom she had dedicated her self.

This day being past, because she would not over-long absent her self from her own home, she determined to return back again to him, whom God had bound and conjoined her with, though she could not but foresee the great evils and inconveniences which would follow thereupon, in regard of her said husbands crooked disposition. She came no sooner home, but she was discovered by the Curate of *S. Hillary*, committed Prisoner, and brought into the *Conciergerie*. They asked her where she had kept her *Easter*: she without feigning told them, she had kept her self from home, that she might abide a while with some of her loving Friends, lest she should be urged to prophane the Supper of the Lord, as others usually did; and therefore had kept the same according to Gods Ordinance, in the Assembly of faithful and devout Christians. Being asked whether indeed she had been present at those secret Meetings: she answered, Yea, and esteemed her self happy that ever she came among them. And thus being questioned by the Council, with other Prisoners about the Mass, Purgatory, Auricular Confession, and such other points, she freely told them what she had learned concerning the same out of Gods Word; so as the fifth of *May* she was ordered to be reclaimed by his Official, to see if by any means she might be reclaimed. But the Official prevailing nothing with her, because she persisted constant in the profession of the Truth, he pronounced Sentence against her, declaring her to be a pertinacious and obstinate Heretic; yea, such a one as was to be redelivered over to the Secular Power, and thence to be sent back to the *Conciergerie*.

Being brought back into the Court, certain Doctors and others were sent to reason with her: yet her faith for all that staggered not, but remained victorious, notwithstanding all their batteries laid against it.

Then by the Sentence of the Court she was condemned to be carried in a Dung-cart to the place called *Maubert*, a gag to be put into her mouth, and there to be burned and consumed to ashes. But before she should suffer death, she was sentenced to be put to the extraordinary Torture, to make her confess whom she knew, and was conversant withal, and to name the House where she received the Communion: yet did this woman undergo all these her afflictions, with incredible joy, singing Psalms, and praising God continually: she was never seen to shrink at her imprisonment, she daily exhorted the women who were Prisoners with her, and comforted them. Such of the Martyrs as went from the *Conciergerie* to suffer death, passed by the Chamber where she lay, yet was

she not disheartened to see them in the hands of their Executioners, but cried to them, exhorting them to rejoice, and with patience to bear the reproach of Christ.

But to return to the manner of her death; after Sentence she was led to the Chappel, as the manner is; yet she ceased not all the way to exhort the people, and to sing Psalms, till she was put into a Dung-cart to be conveyed to the place of Execution. The renown of her constancy was so famous from the beginning of her troubles, that no small multitude of people were gathered together in the streets, for the desire they had to behold her: God so appointing that the great and more than ordinary graces of his Spirit (which were in this woman) might be manifested before so great a confluence of Spectators; and Eye-witnesses. She passed on then, as it were triumphing, through the midst of this Assembly, not shewing any sign of the fear of death, but with a fresh colour and cheerful countenance passed on with her eyes lifted up to Heaven, nor did her Gag to disfigure her, but that she shewed an amiable aspect upon all that viewed her. So as even the rude and obstinate Multitude admired her, laying one to another, *Do you not see how this Heretic smiles and laughs?*

Coming to the place of her Martyrdom, they told her, if she would relent, she should be strangled. She answered, That her Resolution was so rightly founded upon the Word of God, that she never meant to change. And to let them see that Death terrified her not, she began to disrobe her self without troubling the Hangman at all. Being hoisted up in the air, they asked her again, if she would not accept of the grace which the Court offered her, to be strangled. She gave them a sign, that she would not. Then was the fire kindled, and so she yielded up her Soul into the hands of God.

How one that was naturally deaf helped himself.

It is recorded of *John Bessy* a Lock-smith, dwelling in *Paris*, that he had a long time behaved himself very religiously, never denying his House for Christian Meetings, what danger soever might ensue thereupon. He had an incredible desire to profit by the preaching of the Gospel. And therefore being hindered by a natural infirmity of deafness to understand what was spoken, he used this help, commanding a Lad which he kept to hearken to the Sermon attentively, and at his return home made the said Boy to tell him in his ear all that he had heard. Inasmuch that he became exceedingly expert in the knowledge of the Truth, wherein he persisted constantly to the death, and was (after he had received the extraordinary Torture) burned for the same in the place called the *Grave*, in the Month of September, Anno 1549.

Another Relation of Anne du Burg.

Du Burg being asked if he had conferred with any about certain Articles formerly mentioned, answered, That he had conferred with his Books, but especially the holy Scriptures.

Having framed a Confession of his Faith which he intended to have presented to the Court of Parliament, certain Counsellors which were Advocates in the said Court, pretending Friendship towards him, being yet but time-servers, shewing themselves also discontented therewith, laboured with him to make another Confession, not directly contrary to the Truth, but somewhat ambiguous and doubtful, so as it might give satisfaction to his Judges. *Du Burg* having of a long time resisted, was in a manner overcome (by their intreaties) to consent to their counsel; telling him, it sufficed that himself understood his own true meaning, though ambiguously expressed; as also that his Judges would not stand strictly to examine such a Confession as had only an outward appearance of consenting to their Doctrine. Now this disguised Confession was no sooner come into the hands of his Judges, but great hopes were conceived of his enlargement. But when the Assembly had got a true Copy thereof, they were greatly grieved, being more careful of the saving his soul, of Gods glory, and the edification of his Church, than of such a deliverance, which could not be obtained without great dishonour to God.

And

Anno
1559.Of the
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after.

And therefore they gave order to M. Augustin * Martyr to write a large discourse concerning the duty of such as were called of God to bear witness to his eternal truth before the Magistrate; wherein were also set down Gods threatnings and judgments against such as either directly or indirectly in what kind soever did dilavow the same. Exhorting him more highly to prize the Glory of God, than his own liberty; the truth of the Gospel, than a short and transitory life. That it befel him not now to give over, having already made so happy a beginning, and to good a progress in his Christian course. That the report of his constancy was spread not only through the Kingdom of France, but throughout all Christendom. That he had been a means to confirm many weak ones, and caused others to enquire after the means of salvation. That the eyes of all were fixed on him, to expect the manner of his coming out of Prison. So as it now through fear, or faint heartedness he should enterprise ought that might contrarie his first confession, he would thus, become an occasion of much scandal and offence. And there exhorted him to give glory to God, and his Church, assuring him that God would never leave nor forsake him. These Letters wrought in the Conscience of Du Burga sense of his sin, so that he being pardon'd of God, without any farther delay, he was committed to his Judges, in which remanding this his course, he professed to stand unto his suit.

Slaves were called by the Sorbonists against the Protestants of Rome in France, and what was the issue thereof.

Three Doctors of the Sorbonists, whose Names were Secard, Colomaz, and Francon, their Collators to their Parish, were accused (wile of the Religion with their wonted ill designs, that they committed Whoredom one with another, after the candles were put out, and were taught to rebel against their King and Governors; which Governors also these Sorbonists accused to connive and hold with them, inciting the people to run upon those of the Religion, since the Magistrates forbore to do their duty. But he God caught the wife in their own craftiness; for by means hereof many began to look into these matters whereof the Godly were accused; Namely, to enquire both what they did and spake in their Assemblies. Where seeing and finding the clean contrary to these accusations before mentioned, they were drawn to abhor these lying Spirits, and by little and little came to cleave unto the said Assemblies themselves; yea many who were lawfully given, and came in among them to another end.

But these accusers, not content herewith, went in the night into Churches, not sparing to deface the Images that stood therein, and then charged the Protestants to be the only actors thereof. Whereupon the Cardinal of Bourbon Archbishop of Roan was often fain to repair them with many Ceremonies. But at last a Monk of Magdalens Hospital was taken with the manner of breaking down these Images in the Churchyard of Saint Mark. For which he received no correction, excusing the matter, by saying, that whatsoever he had done therein proceeded from a good meaning. Yet among all these disorders the Church of Roan still subsisted, though not without great peril and danger.

The Story of a Locksmith, Martyr, who being dry had holy Water given him to drink.

About this time was a Locksmith burnt in the City of Agen, upon the clamorous and Seditious Sermons of a Frier called Melchior Flavin, who denounced this Locksmith to be an Heretic, because he had made a Christian and good confession, and therefore pursued him unto the death. A little before he was to dye, Redon the Lieutenant of Agen asked him if he would drink. Sir, saith the Prisoner, if you please to give me drink, I will. Then the Lieutenant brought him a glass of Water, of which he drank a little. Now, said the other unto him, what hast thou drunk? The Prisoner answered, Water. Saith the other, Thou hast drunk holy-water, which I gave thee to drink; the Devil work of thee. I know, saith the poor Man, that every Creature of God is good in its own nature; but had you told me it had been such as now you say it is, I would

not have drunk it, for it is detest with Idollatry. At this answer the Lieutenant hurled the glass of Water at the poor Mans face with such force, that the glass breaking to pieces hurt him. For which inhumane act he was approved by his fellows, and answered to my ten prison. But the Locksmith took his death patiently, and ended it constantly.

The miserable death of a Consul who was both an Accuser and a Judge.

Josias Simler, a learned Divine of our time, in the Life of Master Henry Bullinger, a worthy servant of God, and a Faithful Minister of the Church of Zurich, recordeth an History which he saith happened in a City of Switzerland among the papist, An. 1559. He expreth it neither the Cities Name, nor the City, the thing being sufficiently known to the Inhabitants thereof. Thus Consul, being a rich and potent Man, intending to build a brave and magnificent House, sent far and near for the rarest and most exquisite Workmen he could hear tell of. Amongst the rest he sent to the City of Trent (so much renowned among Papists in regard of the last Council the Pope held there) for an excellent carver and Master Builder called John, a Man very Religious, and a lover of the Truth: for which cause the said John refused at the first to go thither, alleging for himself that he was of a contrary Religion to that which the Consul professed, and therefore could not safely inhabit among such as would observe his contempt of the Mass and their other Ceremonies. The Consul promised him liberty in respect of his person, and that he should be need to nothing against his Conscience. Upon this his promise John came and wrought a long time with the Consul: but when he came to demand his wages they entered into some terms of discontent. In the end at the command of this Consul, John was committed to Prison, and by the same Consul accused for a sleigher of the Romish Religion, yea, to have spoken unreverently thereof; wherefore he was Condemned to be beheaded.

As they led him to Execution he went towards it with undaunted courage, and dyed very constantly; protesting in the presence of all the Spectators, that he most gladly laid down this life present, for the maintenance of that Religion whereof he had made profession, believing undoubtedly that it was the Truth; but added, that the Consul who was the Author of his Death should himself dye within three days, and appear before Gods Judgment Seat to render an account of his Sentence. Which came to pass according as this pious Man foretold: for the Consul being then in the prime of his youth, and of an healthy disposition of Body, from that day began to be afflicted first with an exceeding heat, and then with an extraordinary cold; and thus was he smitten with a new kind of sickness, so as within three days he followed him of whom he had bin both the most unjust Accuser and Judge.

The speech of a poor Porter called Chevilon, whipped for the Truth, and after confined to the Gallies.

Being whipped thorow the Streets of Roan, he said to him that lashed him, Lay on my friend, lay on and spare not, chastise this Flesh which hath so often rebelled against his God: thinking himself happy that he suffered in so good a quarrel.

The miserable end of one called Aubespine, a Counsellor of Grenolle, and a persecutor.

After these Bloody Persecutions, this Aubespine fell in love with a Gentlewoman, and therein gave such way to his passion, that he forsook his calling, casting off all care of his own welfare, to follow her whithersoever she went. But the disregarding him, he took it so to heart, that he neglected his own person: by reason whereof swarming full of lice, he could by no means be rid of them; for they increased upon him, and came out at all the parts of his Body, as they are seen to issue out of a dead carcase. It was not long before his death, but feeling himself smitten with Gods hand, he began to despair of his mercy,

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Anno
1559.

Gag them
said he, for if
we suffer
them to
speak, they
will do more
harm at
their death
than in their
life: which
practice was
not only
liked but
executed.

and to shorten his days he concluded to famish himself: in the mean while the lice gathered so thick about his throat, as if they would strangle him. Some beholding this so lamentable aspect, being much moved therewith in commiserating his estate, agreed to make him eat whether he would or no, forcing him to take some broth, or a *Callis*, which he refuting with all his might, they bound his Arms, gagging his Mouth with a stick to keep it open, whilst they put somewhat thereinto. Being thus gagged he died like an enraged Beast, with the abundance of lice which crept towards his Throat. And thus it was spoken even by some of the Romish Religion, that look what torment he had devised for the Ministers of *Valence*, sending them gagged to their Execution, he was by the just Judgment of God punished after a sort in the same kind.

John Ponce of Leon a Gentleman of Sevil in Spain.

AMong those that with a firm faith sealed the truth of the Gospel with their Blood in the Spanih Inquisition at Sevil the four and twentieth of September 1559. Don *John Ponce of Leon*, the Son of *Roderic Ponce of Leon* Count of *Baylen*, may of good right deserve to be placed in the first rank. For besides the Noble Race from whence he sprang, the Lord had indued him with singular vertues well becoming so worthy and Christian a Gentleman. Those who were of his familiar acquaintance, and did well observe his conversation, gave this testimony of his sincerity, that his like was not known in Spain of a long time, in that a Man of his Estate was so forward to exercise his charity towards such in whom he saw but any good inclination to Religion: Yea, his yearly revenues, which were also great, were not only employed that way, but he seemed to exceed the chiefest of his Rank, in yielding his help and aid towards the relief of the poor. All which the World taking knowledge of, attributed (as it is wont) that which proceeded from his so Christian bounty, rather unto wastefulness and prodigality.

The Inquisitors of Sevil envying the sweet favour of such a Life and conversation as he led before them, flowing from an inward taste of true Religion, spared him no more than those of meaner condition. For having gotten him into their hands, they left no means untried, but used the utmost of their devices to weaken his Faith. The truth is, that at the first this noble personage was much perplexed, but at the last the Lord fortified him so with his Grace, that he was set in the first round of the guilty. Concerning his Sentence (howsoever this holy Tribunal mixed the same with many untruths to bear the eyes of the ignorant withal) yet may it easily be collected out of the tenor of his Sentence, what he confessed and professed.

For in the said Sentence were read his Articles for which he was principally condemned to the Fire, Namely, That he abhorred the Idolatry which is committed in adoring the Sacrament, calling it a breaden God. Also, that when he met it as it was carried through the Streets, either in solemnity or to some sick Body, he passed into another Street going apace before it, that he might give no reverence unto it. That coming often into the Cathedral Church where Mass was said, he turned his back towards the Priest, because he would not see him elevate his God. That he used much to walk to and fro about the Scaffold where the Faithful were executed, with a kind of delight, coveting to stand near unto them, that by accustomed himself in beholding the place and torments he saw others endure, he might be the better emboldened to suffer the like when God should call him thereunto.

These were in effect the Articles which were inserted in his Sentence, a part whereof also was drawn out of the Confession of his Faith, the sum being this: First. That a Man is justified and accepted of God only for the merit of Jesus Christ apprehended by Faith. That the Popes Pardons and Indulgences sent from Rome are meer delusions, and that the Pope is Antichrist, &c. That it was the desire of his heart to be burned, or to suffer some other extremity for the maintenance of the Faith which he professed. That he endeavoured to employ the goods and riches wherewith God had blessed him, only for the defence

and further enlarging of the Doctrine of the Gospel; Yea, to forsake life, Wife, Children, and all, for the same: to which end he had daily sent up many hearty Prayers to God.

In all this business, the holy Tribunal laboured by cunning devices to obscure this Confession, causing it to be bruited that he held not out to the end, with many other like inventions to make the people believe they had turned him to their Law: but herein they shewed themselves not well advised, in that they belied both in him and themselves. For in publishing his crimes and offences with the manner of his death, what did they else but declare and manifest the truth of the fact, which plainly appeareth in these words of the Sentence, *John Ponce of Leon*, burned for an Heretick and obnoxious *Lutheran*, &c. Which words made their fraudulent dealing apparent to such as doubted any way of the constancy and perseverance of this pious Christian Knight.

John Gonzalve a Preacher in Sevil, Martyr: with whom were executed two of his Sisters, their Mother remaining in Prison, reserved to act her parts in another Tragedy.

Gonzalve a renowned Preacher throughout the Country of *Andalusie*, was also led in this Inquisitorial triumph: who forsaking his School Divinity, in which learning he excelled all his fellows, gave himself wholly to the study of the holy Scriptures, according to the purity whereof his whole conversation was ordered, both inwardly and outwardly. He was often observed in all his Sermons to aim at this mark, namely to deliver Mens minds from that blind conceit of meriting by works; that so way might be made for justification only by Faith in Christ Jesus, and deeply to ingraft into them the knowledge of the sole merit of his plenary satisfaction. For which his labour he expected to receive from Man the same reward which all the true Servants of God have had in their times.

Being then seized upon by those of this Spanih Inquisition, he yielded a reason of his Faith in that Purity and sincerity, as did the afore said *John Ponce*, who as they had been friends and of familiar acquaintance, so were they joyned together in the same confession, and led to the same execution together. The night before he suffered he had a fore conflict with an old Sect of Priests, who were of the Inquisition, but in the end he caused them to return vanquished and ashamed. He was led from the Castle and Prison of *Trion* with his two Sisters unto the place appointed for his end, that they with him might drink of the same Cup, leaving his Mother and one of his Brethren behind him in Prison, reserved to be executed when their turn came about. He never shewed the least sign of being dismayed; but contrariwise with great constancy and courage of heart standing above all the people, to whom he had formerly preached and delivered the pattern of sound Doctrine; He began with a loud voice to recite the Psalm which begins thus, O Lord my Rock be not thou silent to me, &c. not changing his countenance at all upon the Scaffold, though they had gagged him there, because he comforted and freely exhorted one of his Sisters to be constant: whose spirit he feared might otherwise faint. Harkening very attentively to his Sentence which was there again recited, he was not any thing at all abashed or troubled thereat, but took his solemn degrading patiently, receiving the marks and garments of his confession, to wit, his yellow Robe and Haltar, and a painted Miter, with a joyful and a cheerful heart; knowing that howsoever they were disgraceful in the eyes of the World, yet he esteemed of them as ornaments of honour in the sight of God and his Angels, abhorring his Masling attire, whereof they had disrobed him.

When the time was come that those which should be burned were brought to the place of Execution, they were every one commanded to recite the Articles of their belief, which they willingly did: but when they came to the Article, *I believe the holy Catholick Church*, they were bidden to add this word *Romane*, whereupon they were silent: then did the Monks and Friars importune *Gonzalves* Sisters, and other Christian Women who were to be burned with them, to repeat the

said

Anno 1559. said word *Romane*; who answered they would, if they might hear *John Gouzalvee* pronounce it (not that they intended so to do, but being confident of his renouncing the same) hoping, by this means to free him of his gagge, and so to obtain the liberty of speech, by which he might render a reason of his Faith, and so of this Article among the rest. Being ungagged, the first word he spake was, that they should be of good courage, and not to add one word more than what they had recited. Upon this their last confession they were forthwith strangled, as the Fire was kindled upon them, to burn and consume them.

Isabel of Vaenia, Mary of Viroes, Cornella Mary of Bohorques, and Jane her Sister burnt at Sevil in Spain.

Among all the most ancient professors of true Religion that had their abode in the Church of God at *Sevil* (who in a manner were all waited by the Tyranny of the Inquisition) the power of faith appeared in these four women above specified. Now howsoever they were all endued with singular piety and godliness, yet the younger of them named *Bohorques*, being under the age of one and twenty, was instructed above the rest in holy Letters, and by daily reading and conference with good and Godly Men, wherewith *Sevil* at that time was well furnished, she had obtained such promptness in the knowledge of the Texts of the old and new Testament, that many who were esteemed learned in that City, have confessed they were often put to a non-plus by such reasons as she alledged out of the Scriptures.

As touching the first of these, *Vaenia*; her House was a School or Colledge of piety, being the place also where all the meetings were, to publish the praises of God. No evil example was to be seen there, nor ought that favoured of feigned holiness, but such as proceeded from uprightness of Heart and Sincerity. But the Inquisitors, who always live in wait to take hold, though but with the least thread of their net, caught these four Women with other their Neighbours, in the same, when God knew they were fitted for the confession of his holy truth. Now as the Latin Tongue did much aid the said *Mary Bohorques* to retain her in reading of the Holy Bible, whilst the Popes Tyranny forbade the same to be read in the vulgar Tongue; so she came quickly to be invironed with the more adversaries during her captivity. Doctor *Egidius* (whose memory was renowned throughout *Spain* among all such as truly worshipped God) had been her Instructor, and was wont to say of this Maid, that he always went from her more learned by conferring with her, then when he came to her.

During her Captivity there came many Monks to dispute and reason with her, above all, those of the order of Saint *Dominick*, who were enforced to admire the Spirit of Wisdom, wherewith this *Damsel* was inspired, as also at the pregnant answers which she gave to their demands. She suffered so many kinds of torments, that by the violence thereof they forced her to nominate her Sister *Jane Bohorques*, and to confess that she had often been present at the Preaching of the Gospel. This *Jane* was the Wife of one called *Frances Varquis*, Lord of *Higuera*, a Man of excellent Note. She was six Months gone with Child when she was committed to Prison, and therefore was not so straightly used, nor hardly dealt with all as other of the Prisoners were. But within eight days after her delivery, her Child was taken from her, and then giving her no longer time of breathing, they began to deal with her after the guise of the Spanish Inquisition, forming her Inditement agreeable to the rigour and severity thereof. It which her extremity she had comfort of none, but of a virtuous young Maiden, who afterwards was burned for the profession of the truth; which maid being one day brought by the Inquisitors to the torture, was in a manner dismembered, and then laid upon a Bed of Straw, whence both were laid in the Prison, serving rather to vex than any way to ease them, yet did the other yield her all the relief which her self or the place could possibly afford. Scarce had this poor *Damsel* recovered some ease after these intolerable bruises, but this aforesaid *Jane Bohorques* tasted of the same bitter Cup, where she was so cruelly tormented on

the *Barro*, as they call it, which is a bench or form whereon they give the Towel or Napkin, that the cords pierced through the Flesh into the Bones, both of her Arms and Leggs, and in this pitiful plight the Blood gushing out, she was returned to her Prison, where within eight days after it pleased God to free her out of the clutches of these bloodthirsty, into his eternal happiness and Glory. Now they were very loth it should be bruited abroad that this Gentle, so well born and delicately bred, should dye under so cruel Torments: but they who were the beholders of such inhumanity could not be silent. Yet these good Fathers, being under no controule, take their liberty thus to imbrue their hands in the Blood of Gods Saints.

Her Sister *Mary* being led with the rest of her fellows to the place where they were to suffer, she went thereto with such joy and gladness, as one triumphing over her enemies: which the whole tribunal observing, and fearing lest others would be imboulded by her constant defence of the truth and singing of Psalms as she went, gagged her. And when she came to the place of Execution, that they might obscure the glory of this Heavenly constancy they presently strangled her.

Julian Hernaudes burned in Sevil in Spain, Anno 1559

This *Julian*, who for his small stature was called, *le petit*, was Servant to *John Piers* a Spaniard, and Minister of the Gospel in *Geneva*, where, through much resort of many learned Men thither, Religion flourished. At which time being moved with Godly zeal, rather then being counselled thereto, he undertook a business, which as it was of great importance, so of no small peril and imminent danger; for he brought with him thence and caused a great number of Books of the holy Scriptures in Spanish to be conveyed into *Spain*, earnestly thirsting after the increase and growth of the light of the Gospel in his Native Country; which Godly enterprise of his the Lord so guided, that he brought the same to a prosperous issue; Yea, which is yet the more admirable, even within the Walls of *Sevil*, notwithstanding all the watch and ward the Officers of the Inquisition used.

These Books to the poor Christians there were welcomed with no less joyfulness, then the rain when it showers down upon the parched ground. For the Gospel by means hereof grew, and was enlarged; so as the Lord thereby reaped a very great Harvest. But the news hereof coming to the ears of the holy Fathers, first, by the indiscretion and fool-hardiness of one more zealous then wife, and then by the treachery of wily spies of the Inquisition, who counterfeited a profession of the Gospel, merely to ensnare and betray the sincere professors thereof, by their disloyal practices: no sooner had these venerable Fathers, or hunters rather, gotten a scent of this game where it lay, but coming violently upon them, took the Dam with her young ones. By which great surprisal the whole flock was scattered; but so many was the number of them even at their first apprehension, that it amazed the huntmen themselves.

For the Prisoners were so replenished, that they were fain to borrow private Houses to shut up the Prisoners in. At once they burned twenty and upwards of them together, whilst in *Sevil* they detained in bonds 8000. Amongst whom this *Julian* was one of the first which they met withal, whom they kept in Prison above three years laden with Irons: during which time, every day afforded new spectacles of catching their prey. But such was his wonderfull constancy, that he wearied his Tormentors from vexing him any more; so as new forces never failed this little lean Body, to suffer any torture the Inquisition could devise. He was naturally of a cheerful Spirit, and God so increased the same in him, that he came from the torture with no less courage then when he was wont to come unto it as neither pain of the rack, nor the threats of the Officers, nor yet the cruelties they exercised upon him could withhold him from manifesting to his Prison-fellows, as he went along by them in his conquest and victory, to the shame and reproach of his adversaries, using to say in Spanish; These Hypocrites are gone away confounded, no less then Wolves which have been long hunted.

After

Would to God many
in these days
might desire to be
so commended.

1st. 72. 6.

Deut. 32. 4.

Such honour
have all
Gods Saints.

man, since encounters in sharp disputes with
 others of the Popish crew, being
 the Prisoner in the Court, there to receive
 the sentence of Christ the Son of God, with the rest
 of the Prisoners, it was reported, that he with a bold
 courage and staid countenance thus spake unto them, *Courage*
my valiant and constant Brethren, upon the hour come
in which our true Champion of Jesus Christ, we must
engage, to be either Men, or for a short while for his
Glory, to be vanquish'd him for ever and ever. But
 the Officers, who had before put him in chains,
 by putting a gag in his Mouth, with which he
 continued until he should be dyed. Murthering then
 upon the Scaffold, where he was to stand, by manifold
 torments, he thus shew'd the constancy of his Faith,
 which by words he could not show, by doing up the steps
 of the Scaffold, kneeling down he kiss'd down; and using
 salutes to the Sould, murthered and compell'd coun-
 about with Tapers, the sundry times brought his head with
 in the point of Wood, as if he desired to tie by his head.
 he turned up his Soul into the hands of God, to the great
 admiration of the Spectators, and the animating of his fel-
 low Martyrs who were to suffer with him. When he was
 brought to the Scaffold called *Redmundo R. d. g.*, con-
 sidering his intention, made the Faith of his wife little
Julian much more glorious, for he thought, in terrify-
 ing him with the apprehension of the punishment he
 was to receive, to much favour of the Sheriff, as
 some infirmities of his recantation, which is the utmost tri-
 umph that the holy Fathers of the Inquisition thirst
 after, but it proved clean contrary, for *Julian* recover-
 ing liberty of speech, did with a more clear evidence con-
 demonstration of his Faith than formerly he had done, and
 to confute this Doctor *Rodriguez*, calling him a Seducer,
 and one that spake against his Country, that by and
 by in an outrage, to cover his shame, he cryed out like
 a Bedam, *Multa pain*, which committeth silence to his
 many, thus troubled now with this so contemptible a
 wretch, but almost hatched him, etc. At which words, the
 Tormentors being tuck at a black, forthwith kindled the
 Fire upon him.

¶ Now having thus formerly mentioned what tor-
 ments were exercised upon the Bodies of Gods Saints by the
 merciless Instructors of Spain: and that also upon
 those of their own Nation: it shall not be much from
 the purpose, if now thence we take occasion more particu-
 larly here to relate unto thee, Christian Reader,
 with what inhumanity such are used who for the cause
 of Religion fall into the hands of these carnal Tyrants,
 according as I find the same set forth at large by my
 Author, with footsteps in the whole Work I under-
 take to follow.

When they purpose to torture any one, the Jay-
 ners are commanded to bring forth his Prisoner in
 to the accustomed place where it is to be given, which
 place is under the earth, and very obscure. Hanging the
 rowning, turnings, and throw sundry doors, so as the
 howling cries of those who are there tortured, can in no
 way be heard, there is a seat prepared for the Inquisitor;
 on high, with a Register also to behold that tragical act.
 The touches being lighted, those who are to cast their parts
 in the woful Tragedy are brought in the Tormentor who
 attend their coming, is covered over with a black Gar-
 ment, close to his Body, covers his Head with a black Hood,
 which hides his face from being seen; having only two
 or three holes made the entrance himself to see and breath
 at, and all this is the way to terrify the poor Patient, who
 beheld, as it were a grim Devil ready to torment him.
 These Fathers being let upon their seat begin again
 to charge the Prisoner voluntarily to confess the truth:
 which if he refuse to do, and if it then happen that an Arm
 or any other Member of his Body be broken, or that
 they dye on the torture (for that is all the favour he hath
 shewed him) they make it his own fault and none of theirs.
 After they have used all the terrible threats that can be,
 they cause him to be stripped stark naked, whether
 Man, Woman, or Maid, though they be never so modest
 and bashful. Many having fallen into their Bloody fingers,
 thus to have their shame discovered to the sight of others,

was more grievous than all their torments besides which
 they endured. Laying aside than all Humanity in un-
 clothing them, they put upon them, a shame it is to speak
 of, linnen breeches, as if their secrets parts were better
 and more honestly covered with breeches than with a shirt
 or smock, or as if the torments they meant to put them to
 would not pierce deep enough as well in the one as in the
 other: with such shameful spectacles the chaff Inquisi-
 tors fed their Ayes, and with such a cruel lust satisfied
 their infamous and detestable virginity.

The Man or Woman standing naked then, and their
 nakedness covered only with linnen breeches, as was said,
 they beckon to the Tormentor, signifying thereby what
 kind of torture he is to put them to. For he is also in
 many things of a like nature, they have some secret watch-
 word or sign among themselves; and the Officers being
 well acquainted therewith, can readily discern what
 torments the holy Fathers would have Men put unto, to
 teach them the Faith of the Roman Church. The most
 usual are the cords with the pulleys, sinews, fire, and water,
 All which we will speak in place convenient. Whist
 they thus stand naked, they exhort them once again
 to tell the truth. If the Patient be to endure the Cold,
 they tie his hands behind his back, pulling him up eight or
 ten times, according to the number of twitches limited by
 the Inquisitor to the Tormentors, that so nothing may be
 done there without order. At the last Inquisitor
 then, looking up to him all his Articles; and then, be-
 side, the binding of his hands, they tie his thumbs
 very hard together with a small Cord, then they tie his
 hands and thumbs unto a greater Cord, holding him up by
 a pulley very high, which done, they put upon his legs
 heavy loads, if he have them not on before: to which
 are yet added, the first pullan from weight of five and
 twenty pound, which is hang'd to these bolts between
 his feet. Being thus arrayed the Tormentor draws him up
 on to the Register, and the Inquisitor mixing therewith
 their former exhortations to confess. When he comes to
 touch the pulley with his head, they will him yet then to
 confess: if he obey, they presently let him down, if
 not, then they let him hang in this condition, until he
 have answered their demands. Now, after he hath hung
 thus without making any confession, they let him down,
 to redouble on his feet the former weight. And then pul-
 ling him up again, threaten him to hang till he there dye,
 if he declare not to them that which they ask of him;
 commanding the Tormentor to let him hang a long while
 in the air, that through the heaviness of the weight which
 hangs at his feet, all his members and joynts be stretched
 out beyond measure. When the Patient through extremi-
 ty of torment, which he endures, cries out, they in like sort
 cry as loud as they can, that he should now confess what
 he knows: if not, then they let him fall. For when they
 perceive he continues constant, then they command the
 Officer to let go the Cord, which is as soon done as spoken,
 yet not wholly and altogether to the mid way, but to a cer-
 tain stop, which hinders his falling to the ground, by reason
 whereof he receives such a sudden check, that there is
 neither nerve, muscle, sinew, nor joynt in the Arms or
 Legs, nor in the whole Body, which are not with extrem
 torture disjoynted and displaced; so as being thus stopp'd
 in his fall, in the mid way, his Body is pitifully and misera-
 bly stretched out.

But yet this sufficeth not. For if then through their im-
 portunity he will confess nothing, they augment the
 weight the third time, and thus in a manner being as good
 as dead cause him to be pulled up: to which cruelty they
 add railing and reviling speeches, calling him Dog and He-
 retick, who being obstinate conceals the truth from them,
 and therefore deserves to be left dying there. If the poor
 creature in regard of his intolerable agony cryeth unto
 Jesus Christ to help him, and to have mercy upon him, as
 all such do suffer for the truth, when they scoff and mock
 him, saying, *Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ, let this Jesus* ^{Impious}
Christ alone a while, and tell us what it is ^{highly}
as thou callest upon Confess to us that which we demand
 of thee, the which testifies to their Faces how odious and
 hateful a thing it is unto them to hear such as suffer in
 the quarrel of Christ to call upon his name. If the
 sorrowful wretch desire to be let down, promising to
 confess and to tell them somewhat, they will for all
 that

Anno 1560. that torment him again. For having paused a little, then they tell him that is not all, and so continue threatening him with the Strappado as before.

This hellish Torture beginneth at nine of the Clock, and lasts till noon, or one of the Clock; and when they please to make an end, then they ask of the Tormentor if he have his other Engines ready, which they do to strike the greater terror into the bruised and Martyred Patient, whom they now have in their hands. He answers he hath them not there, then they command him to sit and prepare them against the next day, and not to fail: we will see, say they, whether we can fetch the whole truth out of this fellow or no. And at their going out, they comfort the desolate Soul thus: *This shall suffice for this time, but look between this and tomorrow thou advise thyself well, what thou oughtest to confess, otherwise thou art like to dye on the Torture; nor think to escape by what thou hast endured, for that is but as a Bed of Roses in regard of the torment which is to come.* Being gone, the Hangman endeavours to set together the joyns of the Patients Leggs and Arms, as well as he can. Then his Clothes being put on, he is brought again into his Prison, and if he be not able to go, then he is carried thither; and sometimes this help proves a vexation unto him, in that they churchlyly hale him by his Arms and Leggs. The Taylor also in scorn asks of him, if he need a Chirurgion now if they mean to torture him no more, then he is called for two or three days after, and as he passeth from the Prison, they make him come nigh the door where he was tortured, where the Tormentor presents himself before him in all points as hath formerly been related, that at this very sight the Prisoner in his passage might be put in mind of what he had but a while since suffered. When he is come before them, there he finds the Inquisitor, the Register with others set in their Seats attending for him, where according to the guits, they adjure him to speak the truth. If at that time they can draw nothing out of him, they send him to Prison again. But if he happen to disclose ought serving their turn, then they ply him hard to utter all: and thereupon make him turn thence to the Torture, hoping thereby to get something more out of him.

If they purpose to exercise this their cruelty with all extremity upon the same Patient, they send for him the third day, whilst his sinews and joyns are in the prime of their pain, and to renew their horrible threats unto him, to reveal his Heresies, and those which he had formerly mentioned, and who they be that are of his opinion; otherwise he must prepare himself for the Torture, wherein if he any way miscarry in his Body, or if death it self do follow, the fault shall be his, and not theirs. If he continue unmovable in his mind, they cause the Taylor to bring him to the place of Torture, and there they sitting in their Tribunal, command him to be stripped naked, and then tormented as you have formerly heard. Besides, as an addition thereto, they tie his thighs and hamstrings together with a small cord, forcing the same so with pieces of wood, that the said cords do eat into his very Flesh, in which extremity they leave him for some three or four hours, or as they please, plying him the while with infinite threats and derisions, which is all the comfort they minister to him in this his miserable condition.

They have yet another kind of torment, which Justices in other places exercise upon such as are the most notorious offenders, whereof this holy Tribunal make use, as fitting well to their cruel humour. They call it the *Burne*, which is a plank of timber made hollow in form of a gutter or trough, wherein a man may lye on his back; Now just where the Back-bone should repose it self, there is a round piece of Wood lying overthwart, keeping up the back from resting in the bottom of the hollow place, so as it giveth no rest to him that is tormented thereon. Now this Trough is so framed, that the heels of him who is put therein lye much higher than his Head. Being put into his Calf or Coffin, his Leggs, Arms, and Thighs are bound hard with small cords, which by little and little are so strained with certain ticks, that they eat into the Flesh, yea pierce to the bare Bone. Then they lay a linnen cloth on his face, to hinder his breathing at the nostrils, whilst they pour water into his Mouth, which is distilled from above by this cloth to a certain quantity, (as it

seems good to his Judge) not by drops, but streaming down, to cause the said cloth to go down into his throat. The poor patient the whilst lies in this torment as one in a manner dead, not being able either to stir or breathe. Now when this wet Cloth is pulled out of the depth of his throat, to make him to answer unto their demands; If you should behold how Blood and Water comes out together, you would imagine they had plucked the very Bowels out of his Belly: in which woful plight he is held as long as they think good, even until with horrible threats and torments he be returned back again to Prison.

If they please to proceed further in adding more torments, within a Month or two after the said cruelties are renewed, either in more terrible or moderate manner, to some once, to others to the sixth time.

This is yet another torment which is peculiar to this holy seat of the Inquisitors. They cause a great fire of hot burning Coals to be brought, which they apply nigh unto the Soles of his Feet whom they intend to torment, which are first thoroughly anointed with grease or suet, that the heat of the fire may pierce more deeply.

Thus much be said as touching these Torments used by those cruel Tormentors of the Bloody Inquisition of Spain upon the Bodies of poor Christians.

A Note of Francis Oliver Chancellor of France.

This Chancellor, who in the former Persecutions not behaving himself according to a good Conscience, (being in times past so far enlightened as to make profession of the truth) was visited with a mortal disease, in which sickness he was observed to cast forth hideous sighs without ceasing. In which perplexity the Cardinal of Lorraine came to visit him, standing aloof off from him. To whom the Chancellor uttered these words; *Ab Cardinal, thou wilt damn us all.* It is also reported, that he much and often bewailed the death of *Anne du Burg*, of whom mention was made heretofore. And thus living a while in this miserable condition he ended his days.

A Papist defined by Jacques de Lo.

Having called the vows of Papists papistical vows, he was asked what a Papist was. He is a Papist, said *De Lo*, who squares his actions and conversation according to the Popes Laws. Anno 1560.

Being pressed by the Papists to confess whom he knew of the Reformed Religion, he would name none but such as had suffered; and withal further added, I entreat you my Brethren in the name of God, that you conceive no sinister opinion as touching me in this behalf: for I am resolved, by the help of my God (without whose assistance I can do nothing, and with which I can do all things) to suffer my Flesh rather to be rent in pieces, than to reveal any whole persons might thereby be endangered.

Note his admirable constancy.

The notable conversion of a notorious evil liver, by Name John Herwin, of Houtkerk in Flanders, Martyr; who by degrees was so far brought into Christs Fold, that he was called forth to bear witness of the Truth, from which he was once as far remote as the Heavens are from the Earth, in the year 1560.

This John Herwin, born in Geeserveen, &c. in the West side of Flanders, was of a dissolute life, such as Souldiers for the most part are of; but God having a purpose to shew forth in him the admirable work of conversion, to draw him to Christ, put it into his heart to leave his own Country, and come to the City of London. Being arrived there about Easter, the Lord going on with his work brought him by his providence into a Brew-house, being a Brewer by his calling, where he met with a Master and fellow Servants fearing God; a thing seldom seen in Men of that Profession, seeing ordinarily they are excessive drinkers. His Master caused him oft to resort to the Dutch Church in the said City of London, where by ordinary hearing of the Word Preached he began first to tast, and after to increase more and more in the saving knowledge of Christ. News coming

over,

over, that Wars were likely to be in *Flanders*, caused him to leave *England*, and to return again into his own Country. He came thither at the same time that three other Martyrs were there apprehended, but he was not taken with them.

The Bayliff of *Furne* when he saw he could not meet with him, understanding that he was at *Houfot*, advertised the Bayliff of the said place, that he might take him at his Sisters House. As soon as he heard thereof he delayed no time, but in the night time came with his Sergeants and apprehended him. Now leading him to Prison, the Bayliff meeting certain drunkards in the Streets, said, They say, We have many Gospellers in *Houfot*, but it little appears by these disorders.

John Herwin hearing him say so, and not willing to balk it, replied, Is drunkenness a sin, Master Bayliff? Then said the Bayliff, What of that? *Herwin* made this conclusion; Why then commit you not these fellows to Prison, seeing it is your Office to punish vice, and to protect such as fear God. The Bayliff was mute: yet for all that *Herwin* was fain to take up his lodging in Prison, where he behaved himself so vertuously, that every one admired it. But because he was not called forth before the Magistrates of *Houfot* so soon as he desired and expected, he grew heavy and sad, asking of some whom he knew well, if they could tell why they so delayed the matter? For his heart was fixed with an holy zeal to confess Jesus Christ before his Judges. Many feared him much, who knew what he had been in times past; he being as yet but a Novice, and a new comer on in the profession of the Gospel; in which case men for the most part have but some glimmering of the light, and are unsettled in their Judgments.

At length he was brought before the Sheriffs of the Town, who commanded a Priest to dispute with him. At the first Encounter he asked *Herwin* how long it was since he was confessed? also what he thought of confession, asking him sundry other trivial questions, to which *Herwin* answered no less modestly than Christianly, in so much as they who were of sound Judgment easily discerned how he was not the Man he had been in times past, but that his Prison had been to him a good School where he had well comend his lesson. The Priest demanded further whether he believed there were seven Sacraments or not? The Bayliff helping the Priest, said, what's that to the purpose, whether there be seven or two, he will acknowledge no more then he list (for he had confessed there were but two). The chief Sheriff demanded of him in these terms, whether he believed that the Lord remained upon the Altar, Flesh, Body, and Bone. I answer (saith *Herwin*) with Saint *Steven*, that the highest dwelleth not in Temples made with hands. Heaven, saith the Lord, is my throne, and the Earth is my footstool; what house will ye then make unto me, and where is the place of my rest? Hath not my hand made all these? And then took occasion to admonish the Judges which sat there, to examine the Doctrine of the Roman Church, by the true touchstone which is the holy Scripture, that so they might discern how opposite and contrary the one is to the other. Consider also, saith he, what the words of Saint *Peter* import, where he affirms that we ought to obey God rather than Man. Yea it is high time for you to think upon what I say, and that seriously also, for at the last day it is neither your Priests, nor your placards (which you think to stop our Mouths withal) that shall any way excuse you then. And as for the Title of the Roman Catholic Church, which you hold out against us, I deny not but in the Apostles time and afterwards there was a true Church in *Rome*, as well as in *Corinth*, *Galatia*, among the *Philippians*, and in other Churches; but after that she fell from the pure Word of God, and falsified the Sacraments thereof, turning Ecclesiastical Discipline into Auricular Confession, God hath also forsaken her, and she ought now no more to be called a Church of God, but rather the Synagogue of Satan. As soon as the chief Sheriff (who is called the first speaker) heard this, he commanded him away.

Having then given sufficient Testimony of his Faith, before those of *Houfot*, he craved for Justice either one way or another. But they on the contrary urged him to desist from his opinion. To which he answered, that his

faith was not built of an opinion, but said he, the Lord hath taught me to eschew evil and do good. Yea, said they, but seek thou not how these opinions have troubled the World? And also how many of the learned sort do contradict them? Answer So far is it off that the Doctrine of the Gospel should be the cause of troubles, that it only is the means of quieting the debates, and strikes which Reign in the World. These troubles arise indeed from the malice of Men. And as touching your learned Men you speak of, it is impossible for humane wisdom to comprehend the Doctrine of God: for which cause Christ saith, *Father I thank thee, that thou hast hid these secrets from the wise Men of the World, and hast revealed them to Babes*. Now as the Sergeants conveyed him to Prison, they counselled him to speak more mildly, and then he might do well enough.

Before his death he was sorely set upon by certain *Sophisters*, who alledged to him the sayings of many of the ancient Fathers upon the point of the Lords Supper, but he overcame them, by holding close the true sense of Christs Words. In Prison he comforted himself in singing of Psalms and spiritual Songs, some of which he indited himself. The Canons and Priests seeing the people flock together to the Prison door to hear him, especially upon the Sundays and holy days, strove by all means to put him by his singing. They coupled him with two malefactors, to be a grief unto him: who obtaining certain Instruments by the help of their comforts, brake Prison and fled. *Herwin* might thus have escaped if he would; but fearing his flight might be imputed to the Godly Christians in the City, he resolved rather to remain there, than to flee. His Sentence in the mean while coming from the Court, he was no sooner advertised of it, but he thanked God for advancing him to so high an honour as to be counted worthy to suffer for his Name: Testifying the joy he inwardly had, by a Letter which he sent to the Brethren; praying and exhorting them to be constant and to persevere in that Doctrine which they had received from God.

The fourth day of November between four and five of the Clock in the morning *Herwin* was sent for by the Magistrates from Prison into the place of Judgment, where by intreating and goodly promises they urged him to recant and receive their breaden God, which was then to be offered up; or at least to confess that Jesus Christ was there corporally present, upon which he should by and by be delivered out of all dangers. Now *Herwin* refusing their offer was bound and brought by force into the Chappel: but he in sign of his detestation, turned his back always upon it, shutting his eyes, and stopping his ears. At the elevation of their Host, one who was kneeling to it, asked him if Jesus Christ was not now between the Priests hands, No, no, said *Herwin*, he is in Heaven at the right hand of his Father.

Soon after the Sentence of death was read against him, and so was he delivered into the hands of the Tormentor. As he passed out of the Townhouse, standing upon the first step, and viewing the people who waited to see him, See here (saith he) how this wicked World rewards the poor Servants of Jesus Christ. Whilst I gave my self to drunkenness, to playing at Cards and Dice, living in all dissolusion and ungodly behaviour, I was never in danger of these bands (lifting up his hands which were bound) I was then counted a good fellow, and at that time who but I? But no sooner began I by conversion to ask after a Godly life, but the World made war upon me, and became my enemy, persecuting and imprisoning me, and now last of all sending me to the place where I must pay my last debt. But the Servant is not better than his Lord: For seeing they persecuted him, no question they will persecute us.

Being come to the place where he was to suffer, one of the assembly reaching him forth his hand drew nigh unto him, comforting him, never leaving him till he entered into the Cabbins of Wood in which he was to be burnt. He then began to sing the thirtieth Psalm, of which having sung only the first staff, a Fryer hearing the same halloed towards him (not without much difficulty) through the throng, that he might come near to interrupt him, who kneeling on his knees said, Oh *John*, there is yet time and space. The Martyr, deighting his glowing words, turned

Anno

1559.

Mat. 13.

Mat. 14.

Mat. 15.

Mat. 16.

Mat. 17.

Mat. 18.

Mat. 19.

Mat. 20.

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Mat. 76.

Mat. 77.

Mat. 78.

Mat. 79.

Mat. 80.

Mat. 81.

Anno 1561. turned his back upon him. And many there present cried to the Fryer, Turn thou, thou Hypocrite: and thus was he suffered quietly to finish the Psalm. The Fryer seeing himself disappointed this way of his purpose, continuing still in his impudency, said to the people, be ye not offended good people in hearing this Heretick sing of God. They cried again to him, Hold thy peace thou Balamite, here is no Body offended. Many sung with a soft voice with the Martyr, and some again sung aloud without fairing.

There were more than four hundred which encouraged him to continue to the end, as he had well begun. Then he said unto them, Brethren, I fight under the Standard and in the quarrel of my great Lord and Captain Christ.

Having ended the Psalm he made his Prayer to God upon his Knees. Then rising up, and being about to enter into his Lodge made with an heap of fagots, he said to the people, I am now going to be sacrificed; follow you me when God of his goodness shall call you to it. When he was gone in, the Fryer put him in mind again, that yet there was time to repent: but he, as one little minding what this deceiver said, commended his Spirit into the hands of God. He that reached him forth his hand stood in the midst of the Sergeants, and not far off from the Tormentor, still encouraging the Patient, and yet none laid hold on him; they were stricken with such astonishment, partly with the Martyrs courage, and partly with their own shame in putting to death an Innocent. The Executioner not being his craftmaster strangled and burnt him most cruelly, so as the people were heard to bewail the manner of it, whilst the Martyr yielded up the ghost the said fourth day of November, Anno. 1560. His Body was consumed to ashes, which were buried in the Market-place of Houscos.

Here it shall not be amiss to insert a Godly Prayer which a like notorious wretch (before his conversion) made at his death after he was converted, and suffered for the same cause. His name was Lievin Blekere, by his Trade a Painter who dwelt in a little Village in the Low Countreies, called Pamelles, Anno 1566.

O Heavenly Father, I give thee thanks that thou hast pulled me out of darkness, and hast revealed the light of thy Gospel unto me, for else I had perished everlastingly. O Father, thou dost ordain me to be one of thy Winepresses, even from my Mothers Womb, yea, before the Foundation of the World was laid. Now therefore Lord let this Sacrifice be acceptable unto thee, receive me thy poor Servant unto thy Grace and favour, and pardon the Sin of my Persecutors.

To one that stood by he said, Brother, fight the good fight of Faith with me, and pray for me so long as you see life to be in me. And while he was yet speaking the Tormentor strangled him. The dead Body, being a little scorched with the Fire was taken thence and hanged on a gibbet by Pamelles, whence he was taken down in the night and buried.

John de Boschane drowned in a tub in Prison, the twenty eighth day of February in the City of Antwerp, Anno 1561.

The evening before he suffered many of the Faithful expected what should be done unto him. But the Magistrates of the Town fearing an uprore, knowing that he was a Man free of Speech, and beloved of the people, took Counsel to drown him secretly in the Prison, which could not be executed without Murder, and cruel Torment. For the Tub (in which he should be drowned) being neither large nor deep enough, the Martyr himself being tall of stature, and the Executioner having provided so little Water that he could not possibly be drowned therein; therefore he was constrained, for the shortning of this so cruel a torment, to wound him in the Body with divers stabs of a Dagger, which were to be seen thereon after he was dead. Thus finished this Boschane Martyr his life, being twenty six years of Age, in the City of Antwerp, in the year of our Lord 1560.

A fire way
to make an
end of him.

The Story of one John de Builons, who was beheaded in the Prison, as John the Baptist was in the night.

His holy Servant of Christ having valiantly stood to the profession of the Gospel, was soon after condemned to dye. Now fearing lest any Tumult or Sedition should be raised in the City of Antwerp, he was beheaded in the Prison about one or two, of the Clock in the night, to the Glory of God, and the Confusion of his Adversaries, Anno 1561.

Simon Harm Martyr, who had Sentence of death pronounced two several times upon him in the City of Lille in Flanders.

His Simon was accused to have uttered some speeches long since against the Church of Rome. Witness being produced against him in the Town-houses, the Magistrate condemned him to be beheaded. Now according to their custom in that place, his Hat being taken from him after Sentence pronounced, he was returned back again to Prison, expecting the hour of his Execution. Then were sent unto him certain Friars to confesse, or rather to vex and torment him. But this godly man being thoroughly fenced with the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, made them know to their shame that they were greatly mistaken: for the Friars returning back to those who had employed them in this business, reported that this Simon was a most notorious Heretick; which the Magistrates of the City hearing, caused him by and by to be called to judgment, sending him his Hat again which they took from him, in token that they had revoked the Sentence first pronounced, to enter a new Process against him. Thus got Simon some leisure the better to dispose of his affairs, also to comfort and counsel his Friends by Letters, not weighing the torments of death which he was to endure. Three days before he suffered, Sentence was pronounced touching another kind of death, namely to be burned, and his Body to be consumed to Ashes. which kind of Martyrdom did manifest to all the People of the said City the admirable power of the Lord, by how much more the pains were exceeding great, beholding how this his Servant sweetly gave up the Ghost in peace in the midst of the fiery Flames.

The Martyr
and his hat
sent him
which was
taken from
him.

A Note of one John Martin, who bragged he would cut off a Ministers Nose.

The Church of God increasing so far in the Valleys of Angromgne in France, that they were fain to build a Church wherein to preach the Word publicly, in regard of concourse of People resorting thither, it happened that the forenamed John Martin, boasting every where that he would cut off the Ministers Nose of Angromgne, was soon after set upon by a mad Wolf who did indeed eat his Nose from his face, dying mad thereof himself, and yet it was never observed that this Wolf had ever hurt any before. Which terrible Judgment was so manifest, that it was noyed among all the Neighbour Villages thereabouts, Anno 1561.

A remark-
able judg-
ment
made
of
God.

A mischief mercifully prevented by the means of Prayer and calling upon the name of God.

A Certain President being come into the City of Pigneroll, sent for one of Saint Johns (very near unto Angromgne) who at that time dwelt there, asking him if he had not caused a Child of his to be baptized at Angromgne, and why he had done so? The poor silly man answered, he had done it because Baptism was there administered according to Christs Institution. The President hearing him say so, in great fury, commanded him in the Kings name, upon pain of being burned, to get it re-baptized. The Father of the Child besought him that he would permit him to pray unto God before he gave him his answer. Which being done in the Hall before all the Company, he further intreated him under his hand and Seal to cause it to be set down, how he could discharge him of committing so great a sin; and that if he would take the guilt thereof upon himself and his, then

he

he would answer him. The president hearing how he came about him, was so confounded in himself for a while, that he could not speak. But by and by he had take away the Villain, and so he was never called before him again.

Papists committed their Children to Protestants, to be preserved from being deflowed.

AMong other things (saith my Author) this is to be observed, that during these troubles in the Valleys of *Angroune* from the year 1555. unto the year 1561. The Papists which dwelt in the Country conveyed their daughters away into the Mountains, and committed the custody of them to these poor persecuted Christians of *Vandois*, for fear lest their chastities should be violated by the common Souldiers, according as they had been threatened by them, who were given over to all villany & cruelty.

An Assembly of the Faithful, descried nigh to Antwerp, was by the enemies of the Gospel put to flight, of which three being apprehended, two escaped, and one named Barthelmei de Hoy was executed, Anno 1561.

The third day of the Month of *August* in the year 1561. when great triumphs were usually made in the City of *Antwerp* about the plays and prizes of Rhetorick (as they call them) to the sight and hearing whereof there commonly came great multitudes from many places: those of the Religion being willing to take all opportunities to meet together in the fear of God, whilst others were busied in seeing and beholding those vanities: a great number withdrew themselves out of the City, and entered into a Wood, nigh unto *Marksem*, that there they might hear the Word of God preached with lively voice by the Preachers thereof.

The *Dorpart* of *Marksem*, being advertised thereof, resorted thither with his Officers, being conducted to the place by certain poor youths, being Nether-lands, whom he promised to apparel, if they could bring him to any place of the wood where the Assembly was; whilst himself staying without, with two or three other on Horseback, sent the rest of his Officers with the Boys into the Wood. At the appearing of these Wolves the poor Sheep of Christ began to be affrighted, and to flee. The Ministers and others seeing this disorder admonished the Assembly not to stir, shewing how great inconveniences would follow upon such an inconsiderate flight. The Persecutors were not above five or six, but the persecuted were about four or five hundred persons; so as without any great difficulty they might have had the better hand of them. The principal aim which the Officers had, was to apprehend the Minister. For having caught one of the Assembly, thinking he had been the Man, they cryed one to another, Hold the Priest fast, striking him with their Pistols and slaves, and so brought him out of the wood. The *Dorpart*, perceiving that this was not the Minister, kept him notwithstanding as his prey, and left not pursuing this scattered flock until night. After this he took two other in the Lordship of *Akeram*.

Thus having apprehended these three Prisoners, and withal having taken up many Cloaks, Hats, and Vails, Forpards, and other Accoutrements, which the poor dispersed had left and let fall, these he took away as a spoil, and returned to *Marksem*. This *Dorpart* lay hold on two others by the way, whom he supposed to be of that number, one of which was *Barthelemi de Hoye*, a Joyner of the age of twenty four years. These five were committed to Prison one from another, some at *Marksem*, and others at *Damme*. Soon after the first three which had been taken in the Jurisdiction of *Akeram* had the means to escape without any danger or detriment, by the assistance of their friends. *Barthelemi* only remained in the custody of the *Dorpart*, before whom he endured many beatings through the Parson of that place, being set on by him: Besides many others who daily by way of scorn questioned with him; asking, Why such a young Man as he could not content himself with their Religion and glorious Church, adorned with Silver, Gold, and precious Stones, in which there was such melodious musick, both of Voices and Instruments, but must needs joyne himself to that

Church which was hated, despised, and exposed to all inconveniences whatsoever. But *Barthelemi* overcame all these temptations by the grace and power of the Almighty, manifesting it to all, that that which is greatly esteemed amongst Men is altogether an abomination in the sight of God. Having then often justified the cause of God, and reproved the Roman Church of false Doctrine, known by the fruits thereof, viz. the hateful lives of the Priests, &c. he was after a few days brought out of Prison, and at last beheaded the nine and twentieth of *August*, between four and five of the Clock, in the morning, Anno 1561.

A relation touching the Massacre at Vassy in the Country of Champagne in France.

The Duke of *Guise* being arrived at *Fainville*, asked of such as he was familiar withal, whether those of *Vassy* used to have Sermons preached constantly by their Minister. It was answered they had, and that they increased daily more and more. At the hearing of which report falling into a grievous chafe, upon *Saturday* the last of *February* 1562. that he might the more covertly execute his conceived wrath against the Religious fort in *Vassy*, he departed from *Fainville*, accompanied with the Cardinal of *Guise* his Brother, and those of their train, and lodged in the village of *Dammartin* the free, which is distant from *Fainville* about two French miles and a half.

The next day being *Sundays*, which was the first of *March*, after he had heard Mass very early in the morning, being attended with about two hundred Men armed with Harquebuses, Pistols, and Couteaxes, he left *Dammartin*, passing along to *Vassy*. As he went by the Village of *Bronzeval*, which is distant from *Vassy* but a small quarter of a mile, the Bell (after the usual manner) rang to the Sermon. The Duke hearing it, asked such as he met with by the way, why the Bell rang so loud at *Vassy*. They told him it was to give the people warning of the Sermon which was to be made there. Then one called *La Montague* said, it is for the assembling of the *Huguenots*: adding moreover, that there were many in the said *Bronzeval* who frequented the Sermons preached at *Vassy*; and therefore that the Duke should do well to begin there, and offer them violence. But the Duke answered, March on, march on, we shall take them among the rest of the Assembly. Many who followed the Duke, to wit, Pages and Footmen, rejoiced not a little concerning this bloody enterprise; not sticking to say, that the booty and pillage would fall to their shares; swearing by Blood and Wounds, that there would be good store of *Huguenots* there.

Now there were certain Souldiers and Archers accompanying the Duke, who compassed about *Vassy*, for having been mustered at *Montbierender*, in stead of returning home, as they were wont to do after the muster was ended, they took their way thence to *Vassy*, most of them being lodged in the Houses of Papists. The *Saturday* before the slaughter they were seen to make ready their Weapons, Harquebuses, and Pistols: but the Faithful not dreaming of such a conspiracy, thought the Duke would offer them no hard measure, being the Kings Subjects; also, that not above two Months before the Duke and his Brethren passing by night unto the said *Vassy*, gave no sign of their displeasure.

The Duke of *Guise* being arrived at *Vassy* with all his Troops, a young Man a Shoemaker stepping out of his House not far from the door where the Assembly was, *Montague* pointing to him with his finger said he was one of the Ministers. Whereupon the Duke called this Shoemaker to him, and asked of him whether he were a Minister, and of what University he was. He answered, that he was not of that Calling, neither was he a Scholar. Notwithstanding he hardly escaped from this Troop, which had invaded him round about: only one of the company told him, That if he had been a Minister he had taken upon him a very base Calling.

From thence the Duke, *La Brosse*, and *La Montague* passed on in the said City with their Souldiers, as if they minded to take their way towards the Village of *Eclairon*, where it was given out he meant to dine. But

Anno
1561.

Luk. 16.45.

So it is deemed in the eye of the world.

Carnal re-
fuses used by
Carnal pro-
prie.

Anno
1561.

passing by the Market-house of *Vassy*, which is right over against and nigh unto the Monastery in the way leading to *Eclairon*, he turned and went directly toward the Common Hall or Market-house, and then entered into the Monastery; where having called to him one named *Desfaller*, the Prior of *Vassy*, and another whose name was *Claude le Sain*, being the Provost of the said *Vassy*, he talked awhile with them, and issuing hastily out of the Monastery was attended by many of his Followers. Then commandment was given to such as were Papists, to retire into the Monastery, and not to be seen in the streets, unless they would venture the loss of their lives. The Duke perceiving others of his Retinue to be walking to and fro under the Town Hall and about the Church-yard commanded them to march on towards the place where the Sermon was, being in a Barn distant from the Monastery, about some hundred paces, quite opposite to that way which the Duke should take to *Eclairon*. This command was by and by put in execution by such of the company as went on foot, going directly thither. Hee that marched foremost of this Rabbie was *La-Bros*, and on the side of these marched the Horsemen, after whom followed the Duke with another company, as of his own followers, so likewise of those of the Cardinal of *Guise* his Brother.

By this time Master *Leonard Morel* the Minister, after the first prayer ended, and having begun his Sermon before his Auditors, which might amount to about 1200 persons, consisting of Men, Women, and Children: The Horsemen first approaching to the Barn within a matter of twenty five paces, shot off two Harquebuses right upon those who were placed in the Galleries joyning to the Windows. The people within perceiving that, they who were nigh to the Dore used means to shut it, but were disappointed, because this disordered company pressed in upon them: who forthwith unsheathing their swords, cried furiously out, Death of God, kill, kill these Huguenots.

The first they seized on was a poor Cryer of Wine, who stood next the door, asking him, if he were not a *Huguenot*, and in whom he believed? Having answered that he believed in Jesus Christ, they smote him twice with a sword upon his Body, which felled him to the ground. Being got up again thinking to recover himself, they struck him the third time, whereby being overcharged with wounds he fell down and dyed instantly. Two other men at the same time were slain at the entry of the said Dore as they were pressing out to escape.

Then did the *Guise* with his company violently enter in among them, striking down main blows upon the poor people with Swords, Daggers, and Cutlaxes, not sparing any Age or Sex. Besides, they within were so astonished that they knew not which way to turn them, but running hither and thither fell one upon another, flying as poor sheep before a company of ravening Wolves entering in among the flock.

Some of the Murderers shot off their Pieces against them that were in the Galleries; others cut in pieces such as they lighted upon; others had their heads cleft in twain, their Arms and Hands cut off, and did what they could to hew them all to pieces; so as many of them gave up the ghost even in the place. The Walls and Galleries of the said Barn were Dyed with the Blood of those who were every where Murdered: yea, so great was the fury of the Murderers, that part of the people within were forced to break open the Roof of the House, if peradventure that way they might save themselves upon the top thereof.

Being got thither, and then fearing to fall again into the hands of these cruel Tygers, some of them leaped over the Walls of the City, which were very high, flying into the Woods and amongst the Vines, which with most expedition they could soonest attain unto; some hurt in their Arms, others in their Heads and other parts of their Bodies. The Duke presented himself in the house with his sword drawn in his hand, charging his men to kill, especially the young men. Onely in the end Women with Child were spared. But pursuing those who pressed to get upon the house top, they cried, *Come down ye dogs, come down*, using many cruel threatening speeches unto them.

The cause why Women with Child escaped, was, as the report went, for the Dutches fake his Wife, who passing along by the Walls of the City, hearing so hideous out-cries which were made amongst these poor creatures with the noyse of the pieces and pistols continually discharged, sent in all haste to the Duke her Husband with much intreaties to cease this persecution, for frightening Women with Child.

During this slaughter the Cardinal of *Guise* remained before the Church of the said City of *Vassy*, leaning upon the Walls of the Church-yard, looking towards the place where his followers were buied in killing and slaying whom they could. Many of this assembly being thus hotly pursued, did in the first brunt save themselves upon the roof of the house, not being discerned of those which stood without: but at length some of this bloody crew epying where they lay hid, shot at them with long pieces, wherewith many of them were hurt and slain. The Household Servants of *Desfaller* Prior of *Vassy*, shooting at the roof people, caused them to fall down from the roof like pigeons: one of that wretched company was not ashamed to boast after the Massacre was ended, That he for his part had caused six at the least to tumble down in that pitiful plight, saying, that if others had done the like, not many of them could possibly have escaped.

The Minister in the beginning of the Massacre ceased not to preach still, till one discharged his piece against the Pulpit where he stood, after which falling down upon his knees, he entreated the Lord not only to have mercy upon himself, but also upon his poor persecuted flock. Having ended his prayer, he left his gown behind him, thinking thereby to keep himself, as unknown: but whilst he approached towards the Dore, in his fear he stumbled upon a dead Body, where he received a blow with a sword upon his right Shoulder. Getting up again, and then thinking to get forth, he was immediately laid hold on and grievously hurt on the head with a sword, whereupon being felled to the ground, and feeling himself mortally wounded, *Psalm 121. 5.*

he cried, *Lord into thy hand I commend my Spirit; for thou hast redeemed me, thou God of Truth.*

Whilst he thus prayed, one of this Bloody crew ran up on him to have houghed him, but it pleased God his sword brake in the hilts. Now to let you understand by what means he was delivered from so imminent a death; two Gentlemen taking knowledge of him, as the rest were about to kill him, said, it is the Minister, let him be conveyed to my Lord Duke. These leading him away by both the Arms, brought him before the gate of the Monastery, from whence the Duke and the Cardinal his Brother coming forth said, come hither, and asked him, saying, Art thou the Minister of this place? who made thee so bold to seduce this people thus? Sir, said the Minister, I am no Seducer, for I have preached to them the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The Duke perceiving that this short and pithy answer condemned his cruel fact, began to curse and swear, saying, Death of God, doth the Gospel preach Sedition? Provolt, go and let a Gibbet be set up, and hang this Bougrer.

At which words the Minister was delivered into the hands of two Pages, who misused him viley. The Women of the City being ignorant Papists caught up dirt to throw in his face, and with extended outcries said, Kill him, kill this varlet, who hath been the cause of the slaughter of so many. Much ado there was to hold off the Women from being revenged upon the poor Minister.

Whilst the Pages had him thus in their handling, the Duke went into the Barn, to whom they presented a great Bible, which they used for the service of God. The Duke taking it into his hands, calling his Brother the Cardinal said, Lo here the Title of the *Huguenots* Books. The Cardinal viewing it, said, There is nothing but good in this Book, for it is the Bible, to wit, the holy Scriptures. The Duke being offended for that his answer suited not to his humor, grew into a greater rage than before, saying, Blood of God how now? what? the holy Scripture. It is a thousand and 500 year ago since Jesus Christ suffered his Death and passion, and it is but a year since these Books were imprinted, how then say you that this is the Gospel? by the death of God you say you know not what. This unbridled fury of the Duke displeased the Cardinal, so as he was heard secretly to mutter; *An unworthy Brother.*

F f f f

This

The dutches
increas for
a Pacifica-
tion; that
chose of her
Soe being
with Child
might not
be affright-
ed. A lamenta-
ble spectacle

This Massacre continued a full hour, the Dukes Trumpeters sounding the whilst two several times. When any of these desired to have mercy shewed them for the love of Jesus Christ, the Murderers in scorn would say unto them, you use the Name of Christ, but where is your Christ now become? And when they said Lord God, they blasphemingly would say, Lord Devil.

A grievous
sawge.

There died in this Massacre within a few days fifty or threecore persons; besides these, there were about two hundred and fifty others, as well Men as Women, who were wounded and spoiled, whereof some died, some were maimed, losing some a Leg, some an Arm; some their Fingers cut off from their Hands and carried away. The Poores Box, which was fastened to the Door of the Church with two Iron-hooks, was wrested thence, with twelve pounds therein, and never restored again. Nothing was to be seen in the Streets but Women with their hair hanging about their ears, faces besmeared with blood, being wounded in many places with Swords and Daggers, with weepings and lamentations. Barbers and Chirurgeons were set on work, that he that had least had threecore under his hand to be dressed, and many perished for want thereof.

The Poores
Money vio-
lently taken
away, and
never after
restored.

The Minister was kept close Prisoner, so as for four and twenty hours none were permitted to supply him with any necessaries at all, nor any suffered to see him or speak with him, and was oft threatened by his Keepers to be sowed up in a Sack and drowned. Fain would they have drawn him to have kept his Easter after the Popish guise, under fair promises of his enlargement; but he would by no means consent thereto. Thus continued he Prisoner until the eighth day of May 1563, at which time he was let free by the suit of the most illustrious Prince of Portien.

Whilst the Duke was at *Eclairon*, the Lackeys and other of their sort put to sale, unto such as would give most, Cloaks, Hats, Girdles, Coifs, Kerchiefs, with other things which they had spoiled the massacred of; Crying them with a loud voice, as if a common Crier had cried Household-stuff to be sold.

A memorable Deliverance.

One called *John of the Gardens*, having lived a long time with his Wife and Child (in regard of the present Troubles) abroad in the fields nigh to a City called *Seulsi* in *France*, at length determining to go back again into the City, cutting himself and his upon the Providence of God, were met in the Suburbs by two of the City, who willed the Souldiers to put them to the Sword. The Mother of the Child kneeling down asked not her own life, but requested that if they must needs die, they would first kill her Child, because seeing it die before her, the night die with the less sorrow, fearing lest the poor Babe should otherwise (in such a time of trouble) be left to shift for it self; which speech of hers so wrought upon the Souldiers, that they saved all their lives.

The strange deliverances of a godly Minister of the Church of Chaalons in Champaign called *J. Fournier*, after he had endured many hard usages.

First, being apprehended and spoiled of all that he had, they stripped him of his good Apparel, and then put an old three-bare Cloak upon him, and carried him away in a Cart, in regard of a hurt which he had formerly gotten in one of his feet; by reason whereof he was disabled to go, and so was conducted with infinite Jest broken upon him, and at every moment in danger of his life for six miles together, till he came to *Manchon*, where he had like to have been pulled in pieces by the rude multitude, but was preserved notwithstanding even by those who had already determined to be his death; the Prison also being nigh unto the Gate of the City.

The 13th of September, a Captain called *Frasne* came to the Prison where he was detained, accompanied with many Souldiers, who with mocks and threats mingled together swore that within three hours he should be hacked and hewed to pieces, and so should be made a Maygame to all the City, with which words he left him. Godet the Kings Lieutenant with other of the Justices

* He at the
first was
Duke of
the Ser-
vice; a man
well learn-
ed and of
an unblame-
able life.

came in after him, demanding wherefore he was brought to *S. Manchon*, and forthwith commanded the Gaoler to load him with Irons, telling him in scorn; you are no better than *St. Peter* I am sure, whom they laid in Iron. But if you have as much faith as he, God will then deliver you, as he did him, by sending an Angel unto you. I will not, said the Prisoner, compare my self with *St. Peter*: yet it is not 12 years ago since (for preaching the same Doctrine that *St. Peter* did) I was imprisoned at *Taylouse*, and yet admirably delivered: and though *St. Peter* was delivered out of Prison, yet to the end he glorified God by his death. And if I should be counted worthy to suffer with him for the Truth, may it not be said that I have the like precious Faith as *St. Peter* had? but for that time he escaped those bolts, having hurt his foot and leg very sore at his apprehension; his Shackles at that time were turned into a far more straight Prison.

The Duke of *Nevers* was a good Friend unto this *Fournier*, by whose mediation he was the rather spared. But the said Duke receiving an hurt at *Dreux* whereof he died, and the Duke of *Guise* succeeding him in the government of *Champaigne*, his Enemies began to renew their former grudge against him, who brought him to be examined by torture.

Where first they strained both his Thumbs so hard with a small Cord, that the blood came forth. Then, turning his Arms behind his Back, they hoisted him with a Rope put between his Thumbs to tied; twisting him up five or six times thereby, sometimes letting him down, and then letting him hang again till his spirits and speech failed him. But not content therewith they tied a great Stone to both the great Toes of his Feet, and then examined him; first if he had not a purpose to preach at *Verdun*, if the Company who conducted him thither came together; his answer was, That he could not determine to do that which he had no hope to perform, nor came it into his thought.

Then they asked him where he had those Cloaths he wore, seeing he was but barely clothed when he came into Prison? He answered, That the Marquess *d'Ule* when he sent from *Chaalons*, sent them unto him by her Taylor. Being further asked who taught him to refuse his Judge; his answer was, That his own reason counselled him so to do, and none else. This was the effect of that for which he was so miserably tortured, and so in conclusion they let him fall with such violence on his face, that he was grievously hurt thereon.

Being from thence removed to another Prison according to their custom for two or three hours, and then returned to that he was in before, he could not be permitted to have so much as a Chirurgeon to cure him of the gashes the Cords had made in his Flesh, even to the bare Bones: by reason whereof he continued in exceeding torment and anguish, not being able to bring his hands to his mouth, which were also so wrung, that he thought if God should grant him life, yet he should yet be deprived of the use of his Limbs.

His Indictment being framed, and his condemnation subscribed by sundry Judges thereunto appointed, some other being of another opinion disappointed that determination. The News also of the Duke of *Guise*'s death coming in the neck of it, changed these Foxes into another shape. The Names of the principal whereof were *Cocot* and *Buffi*. Some that had been his Judges coming into the Prison, demanded of him if he bare them not vermouth of ill-will: He answered that men of his Profession and Religion ought not to malice any, no not their Enemies, being rather enjoyed by God to love and pray for those that persecuted them; shewing furthermore, that whatsoever troubles had befallen him were none other but such as God had before ordained for the setting forth of his own glory; for which he esteemed himself most happy: only he warned them to bethink themselves well what wrong they had offered him, lest the vengeance of God might sometime or other overtake them.

The next day, being the twelfth of April, *Buffi*, having received Letters from the Constable for the enlargement of *Fournier*, being solicited thereto by the Captain of *la Tourneille*; instead of obeying the Constables command, swore that he should be delivered indeed, that is to say, into the hands of the Multitude: and thus

This *Buffi*
was a Go-
down of
Champaigne,
a covetous
Wretch, and
an Enemy
to Religion.

stiffly

ADDD 1562. stiffly refusing either the publication of the Letters, or to observe the Edict, caused three of his Prisoners of the Religion to be put into the Dungeon, because he heard them sing Psalms.

In the mean while the Prince of Portien bringing back the German Souldiers, and passing by Chaalons, the chief men of that City, fearing to be over-run, met him; whom he threatened to leave neither Village nor house standing, unless they restored him the said *Fournier* in safety. Which they promising to do at their return they so far prevailed with *Bussi*, that he consented to what they had so promised. And thus on the last of April (which was eight Months since *Fournier* was first imprisoned) the Lieutenant *Gode*, and the Abbot of *All-Saints*, with some others resorted to him, declaring that they were willing now to set him at liberty: entreating him now to forgive and forget that which was past; that the Prince might see how forward they were to gratifie him herein. *Fournier* was brought into a Cathedral Church not far from the Prison, where he found the Captain of the City with a great Company of armed men ready to conduct him out of the Town. But the place was forthwith beset with People whom *Bussi* to that purpose had stirred up, so that had it not been for those who defended him within, and an extraordinary shower of Rain coming between of long continuance, which caused the greater part of the Seditious to depart, *Fournier* had hardly escaped their hands, if a means had not been found to let him out by a back door.

It is here to be noted, that upon the eighth day of October the Bishop of Chaalons calling *Fournier* into his Garden, endeavoring to turn him from the faith, said, I marvel how you, being an ancient Doctor in Divinity, of the age of fifty eight years, and so well learned in the Tongues, should thus be led aside with these Opinions, giving credit so suddenly to the writings of Calvin and others. To Calvin? said *Fournier*, you should rather have said, by believing and giving credit to the Word of God.

Gode beslurring him, and being now far more willing to save the said *Fournier's* life, than he had been formerly to deprive him of it, in the evening bringing him to his own house, and Lodging him in his own Bed, did what he could the next day very early to send for the Keys of the City Gates. Which when he could not obtain of *Bussi*, who kept the Gates fast shut for fear of the *Suave Rulers*, he then endeavored to bring the said *Fournier* secretly by a back way, to an house near to the Gate of the said City; so as at eleven of the Clock, certain Coaches going out, he was shuffled out amidst them, and himself brought him on the way about a quarter of a mile; where he was by and by received by those who attended there for him, with a charge to bring him to their Prince, who at that time was in the Castle of *Songz*; Where he was kindly welcomed of the said Lord, and of all his Friends besides, having compassion on him, in regard that now being fifty eight years old, he had suffered so many hard encounters. And within two days after he preached before the Prince and all his Followers, and the day following, at the instant request of those of *Vivri*, went thither to preach and baptize Children, the Prince being present there in his own Person. At length *Fournier*, gathering a Church together at a place called *Ver*, spent some small portion of time among his Flock there, with wonderful fruit: being sore weakened when he was in Prison (what with strait dyet, and the extremity of the torture) he soon after finished his course, leaving to Posterity a rare memory of his constancy and piety.

Savage cruelties committed upon the Persons of the godly at Bat upon Seine.

Such was the cruelty of the Executioners after they had slain those of the Religion, that cleaving their bodies in twain, they stuck not to pluck their hearts thence, as they lay upon the ground, gnawing them between their Teeth, and so reaching them from one to another, saying, now they knew they had eaten the heart of an *Huguenot* before they died.

The violent rage of the Souldiers at Mondon, who proceeded so far as to re-baptize the young Children of Protestants after the Popish manner.

The Souldiers in this City of *Mondon* took little Children who had been baptized by the Ministers of the Church there, and caused them to be re-baptized by their Priests, imposing upon them other names; yea, they re-baptized a Girl of thirteen years old, whom they presented stark naked to the Font. Yet the young Infants which began only to speak declared both by evident signs and words that they would not be re-baptized, so as a Girl of two years old, being brought near to the Font, with much struggling cryed with a loud voice, that their doings were too shameful; saying that she would not be baptized again, and therewithal strook the Priest with all the Power he had. Also the Son of *Jean Haies*, of the same age, took the Priest by the Beard, and defended it self as well as it could. But not all this the Priests would not give over.

Another barbarous cruelty committed by the Peasants of Fresnay in the County of Maine.

In the Village of *Fresnay*, distant about some ten miles from the City of *Manu*, a little after that those of the Religion had forsaken the City, a certain Weaver called *Hagannot*, who was wont to read the prayers in the Assembly among some few of the godly in that place, was haled in the night out of his house by the Peasants there, who having cut his throat afterward filled his mouth with the Leaves of a New Testament which they found about him.

Execrable blasphemies and outrages committed in the City of Angiers.

A Company of Rake-hells breaking into a Merchants house, found there many Bibles, which they burned in the City; but choosing out a great Bible amongst the rest, gilt and fair ruled, they fastned it upon the Point of an Halberd, and going thence, went in Procession therewith through the High streets of the City, with a great cry, saying, *Lo, here the Truth hangeth, the verity of the Huguenots, the Truth of all the Devils; lo, here the God, the mighty God hath spoken.* And in this manner they passed along until they came to the Bridge, where they threw it into the River, saying, *Behold the Truth of all the Devils drowned.*

A strange course to make Viduals Cheap.

In the City of *Blays*, whilst those of the Religion were cruelly handled, it so fell out, that in such a disorder even the Roman Catholics themselves drank with them of the same Cup; in regard whereof complaint was made on both parts, to the Duke of *Guisse*, in hope of some redress. His answer was, that the Kingdom was but too much replenished with People, and therefore his purpose was to cut off as many as he could, that so all kind of Viduals might be sold better cheap.

An outrage done to poor Women, who met together to comfort one another.

There was an honest Woman of the City of *Blais*, whose name was *Nichole*, the Wife of one *John le Manchet*, a maker of Sun-Dials, in whose house certain Neighbours meeting together to comfort and edifie one another, and to pray one with and for another, to the number of 9 or thereabouts, with their Daughters, these Murderers hearing of it ran violently in among them, thinking to have found a Minister preaching to them; but when they saw how they were mistaken, they dragged them out by the hair of the head into the midst of the street; where loading them with abundance of stripes they cast them into the River: in which calamity God endued them with such strength and skill, being unbound, that endeavouring to swim, at length they arrived at an Isle: where being seized upon again by certain

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Ferrimen they were stripped naked, and then thrown again into the River: and thinking yet to save themselves, they were in the end knocked down by the Seditious in the Suburbs of Vienna.

A pitiful and Tragical Spectacle.

A Certain poor Woman of *Tours*, whose Husband they had not long before drowned, having an Infant about six or seven weeks old sucking at her breasts, and holding by the hand a Daughter of hers, very beautiful to look upon, of the Age of 15. or 16. years, was by many infolencies haled to the River side, where having made her Prayer upon her knees, the Child sucking at her breast, she shifted it there in the Sun, and after laid it upon the grass, then kneeling down again, commended it to God. Meant while this hellish-rabble used many words to turn the young Maiden from her Religion, some using fore threats, others making her many fair promises. One of the Souldiers, being a braver gallant than the rest, promised her marriage, so as the poor wench stood in a mammering, not knowing what to do. Her Mother seeing her wavering, earnestly exhorted her to persist in the Truth, her self being at that instant ready to be plunged into the Water. The Daughter beholding such an outrage, crying out used these words (all which was afterwards testified by those who were consenting to this murder, being also converted themselves by such a rare example of constancy) I will, said she, live and die with my Mother, whom I know to be a virtuous Woman: as for your threats and promises I regard them not, do with me as you please. The Mother was not yet dead when these merciles wretches threw in the Daughter after her, who making towards her Mother and they both embracing each other, yielded up their Souls into the hands of God. The poor Infant was taken up by a Souldier, who, having kept it a day and a night from the Breast, laid it the next day in a Church-porch, whence being taken up, and given to a Nurse to keep, it would never take the Breast after, but within two days it died.

An History containing the singular constancy of a Christian Woman, together with her gracious Answers to her adversaries.

IN the same City of *Tours*, the death of an honest Matron called *Glee* is very remarkable. This Woman having much profited in the knowledge of Gods Word, was presented before *Chavigny*, before whom she gave a reason of her Faith, confirmed by Testimonies of Scripture, with such constancy in the presence of certain Priests and Priests, that in the end they gave her no other answer but this, that she was in a damnable estate. It seems so indeed, said she, being now in your hands; but I have a God that will neither leave nor forsake me for all that. Thou hast, said they, renounced the Faith. It is true said she, I have renounced your Faith; which I am able to shew is rejected and accursed of God, and therefore deserves not so much as to be called Faith. Upon this they committed her to Prison, where she was again solicited to recant; to which purpose they sent certain Women unto her into the Prison; but all in vain: for on the contrary she spake her mind freely, and comforted the Prisoners which were in the same Prison with her for Religion.

Now it happened one morning, as she was about to take some bodily refreshing, News was brought her that she was condemned to be hanged with three men also. Which News she received with such joy and rejoicing, that the Officer had no sooner ended his message, but forthwith she kneeling on her knees began to praise and magnifie the name of God, in that he had shewed her so much mercy, as to deliver her by such a kind of death out of the troubles of this wretched world; as also for that it pleased the Lord to honour her so far as to die for his Truth, and to wear his Livery, meaning the Halter which the Hangman had now put about her neck. Then sitting down at Table to break her fast with the rest of the Company, giving thanks to God, she exhorted them to be of good courage, and to trust unto the end in his free and only mercy. Lastly, having sent her

Children some such small trifles as she then had about her, she called for a clean Linnen Wastecote, making her self ready, as if she had been going to a Wedding.

Being conducted thus with the rest of the Prisoners about two of the Clock in the afternoon, and passing by *St. Martins Church*, she was commanded to receive a Torch into her hand, and to acknowledge she had offended God and the King. Away, away said she, with it; I have neither offended God nor the King, according to your meaning, nor in respect of the cause for which I suffer. I am, I confess, a sinful Woman; but I need no such light, for helping me to ask forgiveness of God for my sins past or present; use such things your selves, who sit and walk in the darkness of ignorance and error.

Then one of her kinsfolks met her in the way, and presented unto her view her little Children, praying her to have compassion on them, seeing that by renouncing her Religion she might yet preserve her life, and see them provided for. Upon this meeting her motherly affection caused her to shed plenty of Tears: but by and by taking unto her new courage, I must needs tell you, said she, that I love my Children dearly: but yet neither for love I bear to them or any thing else in this world, will I renounce the Truth, or my God, who is and will be a Father unto them, to provide better for them than I could have done; and therefore to his providence and protection I commend and leave them; and so passed on cheerfully without being any further daunted.

Drawing nigh to the place of execution, the called upon God without ceasing, lifting her hands up to Heaven. Now the men which came with her being ready to suffer, when she saw them about to die silent, and not to call on God, she exhorted them thereto, and began aloud to rehearse the Confession of sins, which begins thus, *Lord God Almighty and everlasting Father*, &c. and so continuing forth the ordinary prayers, reciting also the Lords Prayer, and the Articles of the Creed, the with much peace and joy in the holy Ghost finished her life.

A Note touching the King of Navarre that then was.

DURING the siege of *Rovan*, *Anthony* so Bourbon King of *Navarre*, being forsaken of his faithful Friends and Servants for conniving with the Camp of *Trum-Zivat*, was shot into the right shoulder with an *Harquebus*, the fifteenth day of *October*, whereof he died the seventeenth day following. Not many hours before his death, with Tears in his eyes, he asked pardon of God, making confession of his Faith, according to the form then used amongst those of the Religion; protesting that if he might be cured of his wound he would cause the Gospel to be preached throughout all the Kingdom of *France*. He was a Prince endowed with many good gifts of God, naturally of a gentle disposition, and yet a valorous and courageous Warriour, but so addicted to follow his pleasures and delights, that to enjoy them, he easily abandoned the care of his more weighty affairs, and so was subject to no small inconvenience, namely to be ill served and obeyed; in the mean while neglecting the Services of such as had been his loyal and affectionate Subjects: An imperfection which hath cost *France* a million of menslives, with innumerable ruines besides; an end whereof is not suddenly to be expected.

The death and Martyrdom of Augustine Marlorat, one of the Ministers of the reformed Church in Rovane as also of three other Personages, who suffered with him at the same time, Anno, 1562.

AMONGST the garboyls which by the Seditious were moved at *Rovan*, Captain *Saint Esteve* kized upon the bodies of *Augustine Marlorat*, of *Du-Besick*, *Sieur de Mandreville*, *Cruchet*, *Sieur de Sequance*, and *Noel Cotton*. *Mandreville* perceiving this Captain to be no well willer of theirs, yet promised him a thousand Crowns, if he would save his life and the life of *Marlorat*, one of their Ministers: weich he having promised to do, by and by he shewed him the place where into *Marlorat*, was retired, namely a Tower into which himself, his Wife and Children were put, with some others. Thus being both brought together, the door was presently fast shut upon them.

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1562. The seven and twentieth of October the Constable (accompanied with the Duke of Guise) coming to view the place, desired to see *Marlorat*, to whom he said, you are he who have seduced the People. To which he replied, That if he had seduced them, it was God that had been the doer of it rather than he; for, said he, I have preached nothing unto them but his Divine Truth. The Constable told him, that he was a Seditious person, and the cause of the ruine of that City. To which he answered, As for that imputation, I refer my self to all that have heard me preach, be they Papists or Protestants, whether I ever medled with matters of Politick State or no: but contrariwise have according to my ability, labored to instruct them out of the holy Scriptures. The Constable with an Oath replied, That he and his abettors plotted together to make the Prince of Conde, King, the Admiral Duke of Normandy, and *Andelot* Duke of Britain. To which *Marlorat* answering and testifying the innocency of those Noble Personages, gave only this for his labour, the Constable told him (confirming it with a solemn Oath, that within a few days he should see whether his God could deliver him out of his hands or no; and so departed in great rage.

Not long after, these four, to wit, *Marlorat*, *Mandreville*, *Seigneur* and *Cotton*, and other chief men of the Church were brought into the Palace. But the names of the four above specified were only taken, and forthwith their Indictment drawn; whence presently succeeded the Sentence at the instance of *Bigot* Advocate for the King: which Sentence here followeth.

The Court having been informed by the Interrogatories and confessions of the Seditious in the City of *Rouen*, and other parts of the Country, namely by Mr. *J. B. de Mandreville*, President of the Court of Requests in *Rouen*, *Vincent Gruchet* Seigneur of *Seigneur*, an ancient Counsellor in the said City, *Noel Cotton* Seigneur of *Barbouvillie*, the Kings Notary and Secretary, and Counsellor also of the said City with *Augustine Marlorat* Preacher and Minister in the said City, Monk and Priest, having a wife, being all Prisoners in the * *Conseil* of the said Court; conclusions against them being taken by the Kings Attorney General, all and every thing and circumstance considered, the Court hath and doth declare the four Persons aforesaid guilty and convicted of high Treason in every particular: for the punishment and satisfaction whereof the Court hath adjudged and doth adjudge the said *Bote* to be drawn naked, only a shirt upon him, on a Sled or Hurdle, into the old Market place; and there to be beheaded upon the Scaffold of the City; which done, his head to be set upon a Pole and placed upon the Bridge of the said City; and his Body divided into four parts to be set upon four Gibbets, for a Spectacle to the beholders.

And as touching *Gruchet* and *Cotton* it is decreed, that they shall also be drawn in like manner upon a Sled before the Town-house of the City, there to be hanged upon a Gibbet, and afterwards their heads, being separated from their bodies, to be affixed and set upon the Bridge of the said City, and afterwards to be carried to the Gibbet.

And as touching the said *Marlorat*, the Court testifies that he is attained and guilty of being one of the Authors of the great assemblies, which have been the cause of Rebellion and Civil Wars. And therefore as a punishment, to satisfy the Law for these Crimes, the Court hath condemned and doth condemn the said *Marlorat* otherwise called *Pasquier*, to be drawn upon a Sled, and to be hanged upon a Gibbet before our Ladies Church in *Rouen*: this done, his head to be stricken off from his Body, and set upon a Pole upon a Bridge of the said City. All their Goods and heritages to be confiscate to the Kings use, &c.

And underneath it was written;

This present Sentence was pronounced and executed in the presence of the Lords and Commissioners,

Alexander Moyll, Morterule, and Sirend Messengers, the last of October, Anno 1562.

M Andreuville at his death shewed a wonderful constancy, expecting the stroke without being bound, calling earnestly upon God, speaking in the just defence of the reformed Churches, in the Faith of which Doctrine he protested he was now prest to yield up his Soul into the hands of God.

As touching *Augustine Marlorat*, a man excellently learned, and of an unblamable life, who had the Testimony even of the Papists themselves, that in his Sermons he never uttered ought that tended to Sedition or Rebellion: they were not content to see him drawn upon a Hurdle with shame and contempt, but also the Constable loaded him with a thousand disgraceful and outrages; as also a Son of his called *Nauier* in a soon after in the Battle of *Dreux*. *Beteis, Villebon* gave him a twich with a Wand, not without reproachful speeches also. But he notwithstanding bare all indignities very meekly and patiently.

When he was come to the place where he should suffer, he made an excellent speech, according as the time there permitted him; exhorting *Gruchet* and *Cotton*, who were to suffer with him, to stand fast in the Faith unto the end: which they also did. And yet the rage of the People not being herewith satisfied, a Soldier with his Sword strook at *Marlorats* Legs, being already dead. Upon which insolencies God within a while after executed his just vengeance; for the Captain who surpris'd *Marlorat* was slain within the space of three weeks by one of the basest Soldiers in all the band. And as concerning his Judges, two of them died soon after strangely; namely one of them, to wit the President, by a flux of Blood, which they could by no means stanch: the other (which was a Councillor) making Water at his Fundament, with such stinch, that none could endure to come nigh him.

As for *Villebon*, he escaped at no better rate; for the 16th day of February the Marshall *Vieille* of *Ville*, coming to *Rouen* to take order about the affairs of *Diaps*, having invited him to Dinner, among other talk between them, sitting together after they had dined, the Marshall lamenting the miserable estate of that City, exhorted *Villebon* to use some means for the redress of such disorders, being the Kings Lieutenant there. Which words *Villebon* took very harshly, saying, That if any would dare to tax him for not carrying himself as he ought in his place, he would again tell him to his face he lyed. Which words (with often repetitions) he used after such a manner, as the Marshall being therewith very much urged, was forced for saving of his honour to draw his Sword, wherewith he let drive with such violence at *Villebon*, that if he had not received the blow with his hand, he had cleft his head down to his Teeth. So *Villebon* escaped at that time with the loss of his hand, wherewith he had dishonorably smitten *Marlorat* at the place of execution. Which hand he caused to be buried with greater solemnity than himself could attain unto afterwards.

A relation of such troubles and persecutions as happened to those of the Religion in the City of Caen and other Cities of France, as hereafter follow in the year 1562.

Caen.

Such and so long continued the Troubles in the City of *Rouen*, that many were driven to escape for their lives into this City of *Caen*; For albeit the King had commanded, that the pillaging and sacking of *Rouen* should not last above twenty four hours, the Seditious there continued it above twenty four weeks; and albeit they were forbidden to carry any goods out of that City, yet the Merchants of *Paris*, of *Amiens*, *Beauvais*, and others besides, ceased not to load Carts by Land, and Vessels by Water: which some of them notwithstanding enjoyed not long; for such as were the receivers of these spoils were spoiled thereof by Thieves which met them upon the way.

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Valougne

The death of *Mandreville*.

Marlorat used disgracefully as he went to be executed.

his behavior at his death.

Strange judgment of God in killing him, in that he had a hand in his own death.

* The name of a secret Prison.

Valongnes.

THe Body of *Coqueville* being stripped naked, was dragged by the Murtherers (of this Town, being in *Low Normandy*) up and down his house with all derision into a Chamber of his, where the Exhortations were wont to be made; and there spurning the dead Body with their feet, they bade him now pray to his God, and preach if he could; Yea, the Priests who were then present stuck not with the points of their Halberds to stuff the mouths and wounds of the Dead with the Leaves of Bibles, saying to the poor dead Corps, *Preach the truth of your God, and call upon him now to help you.*

Thalaise.

A Trumpeter and the Common Cryer in the City called *Nicholas Bofche*, being commanded by the Seditious to say *Ave Maria*, answered with a stedfast countenance, *Ab, the blessed Virgin: where is she that I might salute her?* Then looking about him this way and that way, he said, *I see she is not here, she is in Heaven, and thither will I go to find her;* and so being brought to the place of Execution, he died constantly.

Gaillac.

THe Murthers which were committed in this place were cruel and horrible; inasmuch as some were forced to go up to the top of an high and great Rock, whereon the Abbey of *St. Michael* was built, having underneath it the River of *Tar* very deep, into which they were thrown down headlong, meeting in the passage with another Rock, on which some were burit and dashed all to pieces; and if any fell into the River escaping with life, he was knocked down immediately by the Murtherers, who attended waiting in Boats upon such occasions.

Among the rest *Peter Dome*, the Servant of an Apothecary, requested he might have leave to cast himself from a place higher than that from which others were thrown down; on condition that if God should in the fall preserve him from being hurt he might then escape with life. He was carried up upon the top of the Abbey, where having made his Prayers unto God, fetching his leap, he flew so right forth, that missing the Rock, he fell safely into the River, whence endeavouring to swim out he also was knocked down, notwithstanding their Promise made to him as touching the contrary.

Souraze.

A Poor Woman called *Castille Raquet* being a Widow, aged about sixty years, being in her poor Cottage in the City of *Souraze*, was set upon by Captain *Durre*, having at his command three hundred men. He caused this Widow to be fast bound with Cords, with another fastened about her neck all right. The next day having half strangled her here and there, he asked how oft she had played the Whore with those of her Religion: to whom she boldly answered, That in their Christian meeting no such Villanies were committed. *Durrs*, fretting and fuming at this her answer, took her by both the Cheeks, forcing her Head against a Wall with such violence, and so often therewithal, that he had almost beaten out her Brains, and then willed her to give him seven hundred pieces of Gold, which she said she had hidden: to which the replying told him, she was a poor Woman, and had only a French Penny; he chafing thereat drew her again by the Neck with the Cord, and then applied roasted Eggs even as they came hot out of the fire under her Arm-holes, so as they were much blistered therewith, and afterwards in derision bade her cry to her Father which is in Heaven. She answered, *I will not cry aloud for thee, and yet he can hear me well enough, and when his will is, he will also deliver me out of thy hands;* being more afflicted with the Blasphemies which this Varlet uttered, than with all the torments which she endured on her Body. He having bemauled her Shins with the Pattens she wore upon her Feet, she told him his cruelty far exceeded that of the Turks and Infidels.

Un Torto-
rois.

Whereupon he calling her *Huguenot Whore*, told her, That these were but the beginnings of her torrows, so as if she did not disclose unto him seven hundred pieces of Gold, he would draw her Cheeks and Breasts with Lard, and then fasten her to a Form and burn her quick, and after mount her up to the highest Steeple in the City, and cast her thence down headlong. *Well, said she, though my Body fall never so low, that shall not let my Soul from being carried up into Heaven.* This Captain being herewith more inflamed with ire than before, seeing that none of these Cruelties could shake the faith and constancy of this poor Woman, he said unto her, Eat this Sugar, taking Loam or Mortar from off the Wall, causing her to open her mouth with his Dagger, and to swallow it down. But not contenting himself therewith, the Villain forced her to drink a glass of Urine, which himself had made in her presence, and then threw the Glass, with what remained therein, in her face. Lastly, he caused her to pass along through the Troops of Souldiers, with intention to have had her slain among them: yet compassion moving them to spare her, he brought her into his Lodging, where this enraged Wolf by strange Cruelties would have caused her to lose her life, had not some of the Inhabitants by giving him ten Crowns redeemed her, and so conveyed her to her own house, where within a short time after she finished her days.

One buried alive.

Peter Robt, Servant to the Lieutenant of *Dignes*, being met withal in the Country, was buried alive; they constrained him to dig his own Grave himself, and so tried whether it were large enough or no; unto which he was compelled by *Bartholomew Chancel-grosse* and his Complices.

Provence.

Two Women Crowned with Thorns.

THe Wife of *Andrew Renaud* being brought through *St. Martins of Casillon* was stripped stark naked; and resisting such as would have violated her Chastity, she was whipped outrageously, then wounded with Swords, crowned with Thorns, then cast into the River, and lastly shot to death with Harquebusses.

Jannetta Calvin, of the place of *Cella*, being of the age of Eighty years, brought into the City of *Brignole* with a crown of Thorns platted upon her head, being whipped till the blood came exceedingly, was first stoned and then burned alive.

Macon.

THe Murtherers in this City having seized upon the Body of *Bonnet Bor* in *Macon*, one of the most noble Houses of the same, a man of great Learning and of an unblameable life, who in other places had served in the Ministry 20 years, having been ranomed three several times, was carried along with a thousand Scoffs and frumps, smitten with fists through the Corners of the Streets, with crying, *That whosoever would bear this devout and holy man preach, should come to the Slaughter-house.* Whither having brought him, they buffeted him and mocked him two full hours.

He only requested before he died, that they would permit him to make his Prayers to God. Whereupon cutting off the one half of his Nose, and one of his Ears, they said, *Now pray as long as thou wilt, and then we will send thee to all the Devils.* Then he kneeled down, and lifting up his eyes to heaven prayed with such fervency of Spirit, that he caused some of his Murtherers to sigh within themselves.

Then directing his Speech to him who had cut off his Nose, he said, *Friend, I am here ready to suffer what thou hast yet further to inflict upon me. But thus I intreat of thee and thy Companions, to betink you well of the outrages committed by you against this poor City; for know there is a God before whose Tribunal you must give an account of these your Cruelties.* At these words the blood issued so fast out of his Nose, that it hindered him from proceeding on in that he was about to have said.

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Anno 1566. A Captain passing by cryed to the Souldiers, Send this wretched man to the Devil. Which one of them hearing, took him by the hand, and brought him to the brim of the River *Saone*, somewhat above the Slaughter house, pretending to wash and cleanse him from the Blood wherewith his visage was besmeared, conducting him to a Boat for this purpose; into which he was no sooner entred, but he there presently turned him over into the River; wherein he striving for life, and crying to God for mercy, these Tyrants battered him with stones till he sunk under the water and so died.

See here in part (saith the Historiographer) the lamentable estate of the Poor Churches of *France*, during the first troubles, which ended with the end of the Duke of *Guise*, the principal actor therein; who was slain at the Siege of *Orleans*, not without the immediate Hand of God, in the year 1562. by a poor gentleman whose name was *John Polrot*, a man very desperate, but of final stature, and therefore commonly called the little *Spaniard*; who shooting the Duke into the Shoulder with a Pistol, as he was riding to his Tent in an evening upon a little Nagg, was for the same fact adjudged to be drawn in pieces by four horses, his head to be cut off, and his torn Body to be burnt to ashes.

A very comfortable Letter written by Wouter Oom Prisoner and Martyr in the City of Antwerp, and full of Consolation against the fear of persecution: directed to a Brother and Sister of his.

Grace and Peace from God the Father, and from his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: Amen.

W Elbeloved Brother and Sister, whom I love dearly for the truths sake and for your Faith in Christ Jesus. These are to certify you that I am in Bodily health, and enjoy the comfort of a good Conscience, I praise my Lord God therefore, who is able to increase the same more and more, by the powerful operation of his holy Spirit. Whosoever they be that will forsake this present evil world, and become followers of their Captain Christ, must make account to meet with many persecutions and afflictions: for Christ hath told us aforehand, that we should be hated, persecuted, and banished out of the world; for his names sake. And this they will do, faith he, because they have neither known the Father, nor me. But be not afraid, faith he, for I have overcome the world. *St. Paul* also witnesseth the same thing, saying, all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution. And again: to you it is given for Jesus Christ not only to believe in him; but also to suffer for his sake. And doth not our Lord Jesus Christ say, blessed are you when men persecute you and speak all manner of evil falsely against you for my name sake? Rejoyce therefore and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven: Now where-to serveth all this, my beloved, but to bring us into a conformity with our Lord and Master Jesus Christ? For Christ hath suffered for us, faith the Apostle *Saint Peter*, leaving us an example, that we should walk in his steps: who also endured the Cross, and despised the shame; for the obtaining of that joy which was set before him, and became poor to make us rich, *1 Cor. 8.9.*

By him also are we brought by Faith into that state of Grace wherein we stand, rejoicing in the hope of the glory of God, knowing that tribulation worketh patience, &c. Wherefore dear Brother and Sister, be not afraid of the fiery trial which is now sent amongst us to prove us. For what Father loving his Child doth not correct it? Even so doth the Lord chastise those whom he loveth: for if we should be without correction, whereof all True Christians are partakers, then were we Bastards and not Sons. And therefore *Salomon* saith, my Son, despise not the chastening of the Lord, neither faint when thou are corrected of him; for whom the Lord loveth, the same he correcteth, even as a Father the Son in whom he delighteth. Fear not then to follow the footsteps of Christ; for he is the head and we are his members. Even as Christ then hath obtained full joy and glory by suffering of anguish and sorrows; so we also according to his example must through many tribulations enter into the heavenly places, even into the new

Jerusalem. Let us then say with *Saint Paul*, Christ unto me is in life and in death advantage. Let us cry out with him, O wretched creatures that we are, who shall deliver us from this Body of death? See here how the faithful have desired to be with Christ: for with *Abraham* they had an eye to that holy City, which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. Let us then, my beloved, cheerfully and willingly follow the Lord, possessing our Souls by patience. For it is a good thing, as saith the Prophet *Jeremiah*, both to hope and quietly to wait for the Salvation of the Lord; and good also it is for a man to bear the yoke in his youth, for such the Lord will comfort in the end, and restore unto them the joy of his Salvation.

Loe here dear Brother and Sister, what Consolations our God hath treasured up for us in his holy word; for us I say, whose desire it is to fear the Lord, and to trust in his grace and mercy. For the Salvation of the Righteous is of the Lord: he is their strength in the time of trouble. Wherefore (q) giving all diligence, let us add to Faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godliness, and to godliness Brotherly kindness, and to Brotherly kindness love; for if these things be in us and abound, they will cause us neither to be idle nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ: The which God our Father grant us for his Sons sake our Lord, Amen.

Out of my hole, December the eleventh, 1562.

Wouter Oom Prisoner for the Truth.

Now because ye may see that this Letter was not without its effect, hearken to the Relation of the History following.

There was one *John Wolfe* of the City of *Audenard*, who because he could no longer inhabit there, without either the danger of his life, or wounding of Conscience, his Wife being great with Child, and as yet but weak in the knowledge of the Gospel, he was forced for these respects to joyn himself to the assembly of the Church in *Antwerp*, where thinking himself in safety, a Neighbour of his owing him ill will accused him to the Margrave about the Baptizing of his Child. Whereupon being then committed, and examined where and in whose presence his Child was Baptized, he without staggering answered, that he had it Baptized according to the institution of Christ, by a Minister far apart to that Office. The Margrave, not content with this answer, often pressed him with sundry threats of the Torture to accuse such as he knew. But the sharpest combat he endured was from his own Flesh, Counselling him during his Imprisonment, for the safeguard of his life, to dissemble and halt between two opinions. The cause was from the inward affection he bore towards his Wife and Child, being yet but young and of singular beauty; in regard whereof many of the Congregation expected no other but that he would sink under this Tryal.

But in the midst of these Assaults hee was heard, with Prayers and sighs, to cry mightily to God to be delivered from the temptation. Which Prayers of his were heard in due season, even then when in the judgment of man he was supposed to be overcome thereof, means ought to fly in time of temptation; was made of bringing to his hands consolatory Letters: as also the said *Wouter Oom* then Prisoner with him, comforted him not a little by his Letters. Whereby in the end he continued so strong in the Lord, as also constant in the Confession of the truth, that in conclusion he received the sentence of Death with the aforesaid *Wouter*. After which his Wife came unto him, and they were permitted to talk together, bursting out each of them in such abundance of tears, that it would have moved the most stony heart that ever was. At parting, with a bitter cry hee commended her to Gods mighty protection, and his Child to be trained up in the True Religion. Soon after; hee was drowned in the Tub or Vat of the Prison; and

Phil. 1. 21.

Rom. 7. 24.

Heb. 11. 20.

Lam. 3. 46.

Phil. 3. 49.

q. 1. Pet. 1. 5.

8. 7. 8.

Mat. 10. 22.

John 1. 6.

1 Tim. 3. 12.

Phil. 1. 24.

Mark 5. 11.

12.

1 Pet. 2. 21.

Heb. 12. 2.

Rom. 8. 2.

Heb. 12.

Prov. 3. 11.

12.

Acts. 14. 22.

whether we ought to fly in time of temptation;

and

and the next hanged upon one of the Gibbets near unto the City.

A Relation of the troubles and Martyrdom of Christian Qackere, Jacques Dionfart, and Jean de Salomez of Steenwerk in Flanders.

To whom God gave such ability to answer their enemies demands, as if they had come from persons much more learned. Which shewes, that God measures out to all the gifts and Graces of his Holy Spirit, according to his good will and pleasure.

Where the persecution continued at this time in sundry places of Flanders, under Philip King of Spain, and that many fled into England under the protection of Queen Elizabeth; these three above mentioned were of the same number, who joynd themselves to the Dutch Church in London, having given publique Testimony of their Faith before all the Congregation. In which place they continued not long, but they were constrained upon some special occasions to return into their own Country again taking boat about the end of June, Anno 1560.

They were no sooner arrived at Neuport, but two of them, to wit, James and Jean, endeavored to pass on to Honscet, leaving Christian to come at his leisure, because he was not well at ease, having also a fardel of small Books of Religion.

The Bailif with some others meeting him upon the way, asked him whence he came and whither he was going, as also what he was. Christian framed them such an answer that they could take no advantage against him (travelling as he did upon the way) only they spied about him that fardel of Books, by occasion whereof they brought him back into the City: and having learned that he came over with two others, the Bailif forthwith sent his lieutenant towards Honscet; who so wilyly handled the matter, that in the end he caught them, and brought them bound to the City of Furn. Where for a few days they were Prisoners together with the foresaid Christian; in which condition they mutually comforted and encouraged one another: but their Adversaries soon separated them, thinking thereby to weaken their strength, constancy, and fortitude.

Upon the first of their interrogatories (which was about the third and fourth of July) they asked James why he separated from the Church of Rome.

Ans. Because it is not the Church of Christ.

Quest. How know you that?

Ans. Because it hath neither the Word of God soundly preached, the Sacraments duly administered, nor the Ecclesiastical Discipline after a right manner executed. James gave good and solid reasons hereof; shewing, that in their Church was taught, that Souls must be saved by saying of Mass, long prayers, Invocation of Saints, Pilgrimages, with other such vain and deceivable hopes; yea, said the Priests, do you thus judge of those who give to Jesus Christ Bread when he is hungry, and drink when he is thirsty, and cloath him being naked, &c. And so went on with multiplying many words, not suffering the said James to finish what he was about to have said. Others asked him if he could prove that they had not the true administration of Baptism.

Ans. You have so obscured it with your own additions, that a man can scarce discern it to be Baptism.

Quest. What think you then of your own Baptism.

Ans. Were I now to be Baptized, I would not receive it from your Church, so well it likes me that I have received it from you. Being demanded what he said to the Sacrament of the Altar, he proved evidently how far off it was from the first institution of the Lords Supper. And as concerning the Ecclesiastical discipline, he uttered more of their corrupting of it, then they were willing to hear.

After this, they were examined by two Friars, who were chosen out for the purpose; one of them was John Campo, superintendent of the Gray Friars of Dixmude, the other was called Peter Pennet Prior of the Carmelites in Ypre. These two examined the three Prisoners first upon the Articles of the Faith; and then, if they believed

that Christ was made of the seed of the Woman? James answered, we are all persuaded that Jesus Christ was made of the seed of the Woman, according as God hath promised, Gen. 3. 15. Moreover, of the seed of Abraham, and of David; and that he was in all things made like unto his Brethren, Sin only excepted.

After many other questions upon divers points, they were asked, whether in the Consecration of the Mass the Body of Christ was present there or no? No, said James. It is nothing like the Lords Supper which Christ gave to them that sat at Table with him: According to which institution the faithful being assembled together, *Abra. 4. 2.* brake Bread, &c. Nor shall ye find in the Scriptures, that one alone receiveth, and that the rest stood and looked on. And if Saint Paul justly challenged the *Corinthians*, because every one was forward to eat his own supper apart; much more are ye worthy of their Reprehension. I do therefore rank you amongst those false Prophets which our Lord Jesus Christ hath warned us of, who will say thus unto us, *Lo, here is Christ, and there he is.*

Hercunto the Adversaries replied, Doth not Christ in express words say, *This is my Body, This is my Blood?*

Ans. The words must not be taken as they found in a literal sense, for so they shall have no agreement with other like places of Scripture. You know the words belonging to the ancient Sacraments were expounded by the Holy Ghost himself; Circumcision is called the Covenant, and the Lamb is called the Paschever, albeit they were but the signs thereof.

They asked if God were not omnipotent.

Yes, said James, but yet he will do nothing against his Word.

Quest. If the Bread be not changed, why doth Saint Paul affirm, That whosoever eats of this Bread unworthily, eats judgment to himself, not discerning the Lords Body.

We acknowledge all this, said they, because a man ought to examin himself, before he presume to come to that Holy Banquet; for in the Supper we receive not only Bread and Wine, but do also truly partake of the Body and Blood of Christ, as Saint Paul teacheth us.

In the fourth place, they were asked if marriage were not a Sacrament? No, said James, for Sacraments are not things indifferent to Christians, as marriage is; for Saint Paul saith, he that gives his Virgin in marriage doth well, but he that gives her not in marriage doth better. We hold wedlock to be an holy Ordinance of God, instituted in Paradise from the beginning of the world, honoured by Jesus Christ with his first miracle, yea we add further, that as marriage is honourable among all, and the bed undefiled, so Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judge.

Quest. But Saint Paul saith, it is a great Sacrament.

Ans. Why do you forbid it then? But that place of Paul by you alledged is not to be understood of marriage, but is meant of that special mystical union and Communion which is between Christ and his Church.

Quest. They asked him if confession were a Sacrament.

Ans. I find but two Sacraments mentioned in the New Testament. If you can find out any more, you shall do well to shew them. But as touching Confession, it is to God, to whom we must confess our sins, according to Davids example, and of the Prodigal Son, and sundry other, who with true repentance acknowledged their offences to God, who is faithful and just to pardon and forgive them. But to confess them to a Priest, it is so far off from being necessary, that I hold it altogether unlawful. These Fathers had their refuge to their wonted place of Saint James, *Confess your faults one to another.*

Ans. The Apostle would have us to confess our faults to such as we have wronged by word or deed. Also God enjoins us to reconcile our selves one with another by such a confession, if we would obtain pardon of him.

Then

Anno

1566.

Gal. 4.

Rom. 1. 9.

Heb. 4. 15.

1 Cor. 11.

Mat. 24. 24.

1 Cor. 11.

29.

1 Cor. 10. 16

Matrimony.

1 Cor. 7. 8.

29. 38.

John 2.

Heb. 13. 2.

Ephes. 5. 32

Confession.

Psalm 32. 7.

Luke 15. 18.

1 John 1. 9.

James. 5. 16

Mat. 6. 12.

Mat. 18. 19.

Ann 1566. Then they alledged that place of Saint *Matthew*, *That whatsoever they bound on earth was bound in heaven.*

Answer. Christ speaks there of Ecclesiastical discipline, which ought to be observed amongst Christians, by admonitions, and then by applying the Censures, according to the Doctrine of the Gospel, that so obstinate Sinners may be cast out of the Church. But all the world may see that you know not what this true discipline of Christ meaneth, nor what a right Ministry is in your Churches.

Quest. At least you acknowledge *Extreme Unction* to be a Sacrament, seeing Saint *James* speaks so clearly of it.

Answer. The anointing that Saint *James* speaks of is nothing like to your anointings. For that was a miraculous anointing for healing of the Body, and that, whilst the gift of healing was usual in the Church. But you anoint such as lye drawing on, and do it for the Salvation of their Souls. It is needful, I grant, to fend for the Minister, to comfort the sick, and to pray with them and for them, but not to besinear and grieve them.

Quest. Well, what say you to Confirmation? is not that a Sacrament?

Answer. In all the Scripture (said *James*) do I not find such a thing as your confirmation, as you now use it, and therefore I know not what it is. Here they cauled the Register to write, *Non credit.*

Then came they to the order of Priesthood, and asked if that were not a Sacrament.

Answer. No, no more than the rest. I am not ignorant that St. *Peter* calls the faithful a *chosen Generation*, a *Royal Priesthood*, an *holy nation*, a *peculiar people*; nor yet where Saint *John* saith, that Christ hath made us *Kings and Priests*; but what is all this to your *Bishops and Priests*?

Quest. What thinkest thou of the Pope.

Answer. I think him to be the same that *Daniel* and St. *Paul* foretold he should be. For he shews himself such a one as they have described him to be, coming with false signs, and lying wonders, sitting in the Temple of God, and exalting himself above all that is called God forbidding marriage, which God hath ordained, and meat which God hath commanded to be received with giving of thanks.

Question. What say you then unto Purgatory?

Answer. We acknowledge none other Purgatory, but the Blood of Christ, which only cleanseth us from all our sins.

Quest. Do not the Saints pray for us, and ought we not to pray to them?

Answer. God alone is to be worshipped, and prayed unto. Whilst the Saints were on earth they would not endure to be adored. *Acts*. 10. 25. 26. Which they then would rather have permitted (being clothed with corruption, and with natural desires of being honoured) then now when they have put off all carnal and human affections. The Angels themselves would not accept of Divine worship, *Revelat.* 19. 10. and 22. 9. They had many other disputes, which *James* could not write for want of paper, as he intimated to them of the Church.

The fourteenth of August they were examined the third time by *Peter Tiselman* Dean of *Renay*, Inquisitor general of *Flanders*, whose cruelties and extortions were exercised upon all the faithful, in all the persecutions and deaths which they suffered in the said Country. This morning was brought before him *Jane Solomez*, of whom he diligently enquired of those of the City of *Steenwerke* where she was born; but especially if she knew one *Charles Vanderkaw*, a man renowned amongst the faithful there. She answered she knew him, but he was now dead. After he had asked her name, he questioned with her, especially about the Sacraments, yea somewhat concerning the Lords Supper, holding her in these discourses about two hours before him.

To *James Dienhart* he propounded no questions, but came about him with these flattering speeches; My Son, you are young and in the prime of your youth; My Son, before the Magistrate of this City is very desirous you should be withdrawn from holding this new Doctrine, that so you might be brought again into the right way; but as I understand, you so persist therein, that there is no removing of you. *James* answered that it could not be cal-

led a new Doctrine, which was built upon the Prophets and Apostles.

To whom the Inquisitor replied; That *Martin Luther* was the first that broached it.

Answer. And what say you then to so many learned men which lived before him, as *John Wickliffe*, *John Hus*, &c. and some after him, as *Calvin*, *John Alasco*, *Martin Mucron*, and others in *England*, *France*, and *Friesland*? And though neither you nor I knew them, God knows them as well as he did the seven thousand of the godly, whom *Lillas* in his days was ignorant of. The Inquisitor, persisting in his old long, pressed him with the succession of his Prelates and Bishops. *James* put him in mind of another mark of the True Church; namely that it was always under persecution; and thence inferred that himself was a true member thereof.

The Inquisitor said, we are now persecuted in *England*: for now they begin to imprison some of our Priests there.

Answer. It is true that *Boner* late Bishop of *London* was committed to Prison, but not for his good deeds. The rest of them have their liberty.

Now this Inquisitor among other matters willing him to shew what service was due to the Virgin *Mary*, said, Is it not written, *Honour all men*? And what honour owe we then to the Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ?

You give her (said *James*) a goodly honour in bowing the knee before an Image of wood or stone, praying thereto as to your God. You may be ashamed of such abominable practices and Blasphemies. Much other reasonings they had, which the said *James*, for lack of paper and leisure, could not commit to writing.

The same day in the afternoon *Christian Luckere*, who was put into Prison apart, was also presented before this Inquisitor, and examined upon many Articles. In all his answers he shewed much courage; and when the other went about to prove that Jesus Christ was corporally present in the Sacraments, *Christian* used six or seven strong reasons to the contrary drawn out of the holy Scriptures, That it could by no means be granted, being repugnant to the truth. The Adversary perceiving the constancy of these three Prisoners, fought by all means to vex and weaken them. First they severed them one from another to deprive them of mutual comfort and Consolation. Secondly, gave charge, that in visiting them none should be so bold as to bring them ought to eat or drink. Thirdly, They were solicited by wicked ones to yield, and not wilfully to hazard their lives. Moreover, they had many other great provocations, and therefore by their Letters instantly requested the continual prayers of the Churches to God for them.

When the godly strangers in *England* were advertised of these their assaults, they solicited their Superintendent *Edmund Bishop of London*, at the request of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and others, to send Letters to the Magistrates of *Furne*, intreating that they would release these three Prisoners, whom they had apprehended as they passed along by the high ways side, without any misbehaving of themselves, or holding any dispute with any, and were innocent in regard of committing ought against the Laws of the Countrey. As touching their Faith which some called into question, they should not for that be molested; because in like manner her Majesty hath given free power and leave in case of Religion hitherto, that none of the Subjects of the Low-Countries, coming into *England*, and carrying themselves modestly, should be meddled withal. But if they shall deal so hardly with those of the Religion, who have submitted themselves as her Majestys subjects under her protection, then shall she be constrained, though to her great sorrow, to mete out the same measure to those of other Nations; but she hoped and expected the Contrary, both from the wisdom and equity of the Magistrates of *Furne*.

These Letters were dated the 26. of July 1568. and subscribed.

Matthew

Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury.
 Edmund Bishop of London.
 William Meyne.
 William Haddon, Master of the Requests, &c.

THe Magistrates of *Furne* having received these Letters sent them to *Bruxels*, where they were read before the Kings privy Council. But to extenuate the Authority thereof, it was noised that they were forged by some *Lutherans*; so as in the end they resolved (notwithstanding) to proceed against the said Prisoners, according to extremity of the Laws established by the King. Now these of *Furne* having in vain by all means assayed to turn the Prisoners from their Faith, they resolved to execute them. Many of the City, and others not dwelling far off, hearing the report of their purposed dispatch, prepared to come to the sight thereof, thinking it would have been on *Wednesday* which was Market-day. But the Magistrates taking notice of the multitude were somewhat amazed, and caused him that was to do execution to ride through the midst of the Market at high noon, as if he had been taking his journey out of the City, and so to make the people believe that they intended not their execution as yet. But on *Wednesday* towards the evening, the chief Bailiff accompanied with some of the Magistrates, came secretly into the Prison, soliciting each of the said Prisoners with many intrigues and enticing persuasions to recant; promising to set them free forthwith, if they would speak but one word to that purpose. But the Lord strengthened them so, that they overcame this dangerous assault. The Adversaries, seeing their expectations frustrated, caused all things the same night to be made ready for their execution the next day; to wit, chains, stakes, fagots, &c. Now the Lord, who hath the disposing of the Moments of time in his own hands, did appointed this project by a vehement shower of rain, which he sent, continuing all the forenoon.

The two Priests formerly mentioned were called for; each of them accompanied with one of their own coat. These began to assail the Prisoners from morning till eight of the clock, either to weaken, or else to turn them from their Faith. Which because they could effect neither upon *James* nor *Christian*, they dealt with *Jane*, thinking to have prevailed with her; but to as little purpose as with the two others. Being thus disappointed of their hopes, then they fled to their accustomed lies, which they term *Fraudes pieuses*, pious beguillings, saying thus unto her; Will you only shew your self singular in cleaving to this opinion, whereas your prison-fellows have renounced it?

The holy Virgin was nothing abashed thereat, but gave them this answer, That she could not believe it; and albeit it were so, yet would shee never go back from so certain a truth, grounded not upon man, but upon Jesus Christ?

These lying Priests, nothing prevailing with her, neither, went their way. Then the Prisoners encouraging one another, and preparing themselves for death, sang the seventy fourth Psalm. The Magistrates of *Furne*, that they might with the more security execute their sentence, caused the Gates of the City to be shut; and yet many got in, leaving their swords and staves at the gate. Now as they brought the Prisoners along to the Town-house. Every one as they went reached forth their hand to them, and bad them that they should be of good courage.

Appearing before the Magistrates they were denounced Hereticks. To which *Christian*, in the name of the rest, said, Not one of your Doctors can prove us Hereticks, nor can they convince us by Scripture. It was replied that they slighted the Sacraments. To which they freely answered, We hold and allow those Sacraments, instituted by God, in much more reverence than you. Upon this the Magistrates consulted together apart, and after a while came to their seats again, pronouncing sentence against these three, *viz.* to be strangled, and then burned or scorched, and the remainder of the Bodies to be hanged on the gibbet. They thanked the Judges for their sentence; yet advertising them well to bethink themselves of what they had done. As they were passing forth of the

houle to be led to the slaughter, many of the godly bad them farewell, comforting, encouraging, and exhorting them to continue constant. Whereat the head Bailiff being much vexed pushed *Jane* so violently with his foot, that she fell down the stairs, at which the people were much moved. *Christian* went foremost, *Jane* next, and *James* followed. In beholding of which spectacle few there were which brake not forth into sighings, cryings, and tears, whilst they gave the people to holy and godly exhortations. One of the Monks called *John Bels*, being by, gave to *Jane* (many of good credit hearing it) his counsel in his Language, *Fight valiantly, the Crown of immortality is ready for you.* Whilst the executioner began to fasten their neck and feet with chains to the Stake, they sung the hundred and thirteenth Psalm, *Out of the deep.*

Frier *John Compone*, being impatient of such an harmony, yelled out like a mad man, saying, This shews you are not Christians; for Christ went to his death weeping. One in the middle of the assembly cried as fast on the other side, Thou liest thou false Prophet. Having finished the two first staves of the Psalm, the hangman being about to strangle *Christian*, the other two ceased, crying to their Brother; Be of good cheer and play the man. And *Christian*, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, said twice or thrice, Lord God heavenly Father into thy hands I commend my Spirit. Add then again, Lord forgive their Sin who have put us to death. *James* and the Maid made the like prayer. But because *James* was last strangled, and the people moved with compassion began to stir, the Hangman kindled the fire upon *James* being but half strangled. The people seeing him to die in the midst of the fire, were yet more moved, so as the Tormentor being in a maze got a staff out of a Boat headed with Iron, and smote the Martyr twice or thrice on the right side, to make an end of him. These three having a while lien in the fire, they were carried thence in a Cart to the gibbet, where being put apart upon 3 poles they were afterward taken down and buried.

Nicaise of *Tombe* born in *Tournay*, Martyr.
 Whose constancy is to be imitated and followed of every good Christian, in suffering for the Truth of the Gospel.

Nicaise dwelling in *Tournay*, and following the trade of Say-making, towards the end of his life, was then by the mercy of God brought to the knowledge of True Religion. Now that he might be the more thoroughly instructed therein, he went with his wife and family into the City of *Wesell* in base *Almaine*. In which City there was at that time an assembly of strangers, and especially of those who are called *Wallons*, exercising themselves in hearing the Word of God purely preached, and in receiving the holy Sacraments. But Satan the mortal enemy of Gods Children, envying their happiness, soon after troubled this Assembly in such wise with sundry questions, that some retired to *Frankfort*, others to *Straussburg*, and some to other places. *Nicaise* returned to *Tournay* whence he came, not to communicate there with the superstitious and abominations in which he had formerly been inwrapped, but to joyn himself to the Christian Assembly which met together in that place; to manifest the truth of that heavenly knowledge, which he had received out of the word of God.

Where notice being taken of him, they received him into their society, amongst whom he carried himself in so Christian a sort, as they well perceived him to be a man of an holy conversation, joynd with an earnest desire to advance the glory of God, and the Kingdom of Christ, in the edification of his Church. Now forasmuch as affliction is the true touchstone whereby the faithful are discerned from Hypocrites; *Nicaise* then shewed outwardly what he was within. For being importuned to take an Oath from those who were deputed thereunto by the King of *Spaine*, to live according to the custome of the Romish Church, and to observe the traditions invented by her; he, notwithstanding the threats and injuries done unto him, constantly held out against the said Oath, not casting how dear it might cost him in the end. Some of his kindred wished him at leastwise to withdraw himself aside for awhile into another City, till the urging of

Anno
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Anno 1566. this Oath was over, as also that his Wife should change her Lodging in his absence.

To this counsel he consented; but the Lord, who governs all our intentions and purposes, had otherwise determined of him, namely to set him forth as an example of constancy unto others, and to bear witness so far to the Truth of the Gospel, as to seal the same with his Blood, by slaying him at that time in the City. For being ready to take his Journey, a near Neighbour of his, being an Enemy of the Gospel, accused him to the Commissioners for one that neither had nor would take the Oath according to the form appointed. *Nicaise* requiring to hear the tenour of the Oath, before he would make them answer, they told him that he must swear to keep and observe all ancient Customs; to receive in the Sacrament of the Altar his Creatour thrice in the year, and on Sundays and Holydays to hear Mass morning and evening. As soon as he had understood their meanings, he told them, he intended not at all to take any such Oath, nor to wound his Conscience in consenting to things so manifestly contradicting the Word of God; therewithal yielding them the reasons of this his resolution; accusing as well them for urging such an Oath, as those also who gave their consents thereto. Upon this he was committed and laid amongst Felons, in the Gaol called *Piepgne*, until Friday the 12th of November, on which day he received Sentence of death; namely to be bound and so led into the Market-place of the City, and there upon a Scaffold to be burned and consumed to ashes.

Having heard this Sentence, as he rose up, he said, now praised be God; and as he was about to have spoken more at large, the Procurer Fiscal being present prevented him, and thrusting him forward bid him march on. By and by they brought him to the place of Execution; and as it well fell out, having no Priest accompanying him, when he was come down to the Market-place, a near Friend of his coming to him commended him to God, and so they kissed each other.

Being now come nigh to the * *Befroy* of the City, seeing there a great multitude of People, who were assembled together to see him pass by, lifting up his voice, he spake thus, *O ye Men of Tournay open your eyes; awake ye that sleep, and stand up from the dead, and Christ shall give you light.*

He also prayed all whom he had any way offended to forgive him, as he for his part was ready to forgive all the World. The People hearing him say so, began to be moved and to make a great muttering. The multitude also that were come together were so many, that the Souldiers who accompanied the Patient (being now ready to suffer) could neither march nor keep rank; so as they were about to shoot. Which the People perceiving began to be moved so much the more, so as there had like to have been a great tumult. But going on they drew nigh to the place where the Scaffold was.

Nicaise all the while spent the time in prayer unto God, and being at the place of Execution he uttered these words, *Lord, they have hated me without a cause,* and ascended up joyfully to the Scaffold: where the Tormentors readily received him, and led him to the Stake; and as they were fastening him to it, he said, *Eternal Father, have pity and compassion upon me, according as thou hast promised to all that ask the same of thee in thy Sons Name.* Other Prayers he made there to his God, and so continued to his last gasp. And albeit the multitude made such a noise, and the beating of the Drums hindered his words from being all fully heard; yet he so often pronounced, and that with such vehemency, the word *Jesus*, that it, notwithstanding, might plainly be understood as long as the breath was in his Body. And thus ye have heard the godly life and blessed end of this constant Martyr.

Martin Bayart, Claude du Flot, with Jo. Dantricourt, born in the Country of Artois and Noel Tournemine, of Haring near Seclin, Martyrs 1566.

You may easily discern by the former Histories, that the Cruelties exercised against the Faithful in Flanders nothing diminished the increasing of them; for the innocent Blood thus shed was a means to bring

many ignorant Souls to the knowledge of the Truth. These four above-named, dwelling in the City of *Lisse*, walked in the fear of the Lord, with zeal according to knowledge, as the event well manifested.

There was a Jesuit in the said City who had a Servant that was Cousin to one of the Martyrs, with whom they laboured, not without some peril, first to shew him the odiousness of that Sect, and then to instruct him in the Doctrine of the Gospel. To which purpose they lent him a Book containing good Instructions drawn out of the holy Scriptures. The silly Fellow, not considering the hurt that might follow, shewed it soon after to his Master. The false Prophet by and by knew that this Book was not forged upon his Anvil, and therefore diligently enquired of his man where he had it. Now that he might with the more expedition attain his desire, he gave him a piece of seven Stivers, telling him he should do well to bring him to the knowledge of them from whom he had received it; which was not hard to do, in regard they all four wrought upon their Trade (which was to dress Sayes) in an honest Widows house, who professed the same Religion with them.

The Jesuit coming to the knowledge hereof failed not, according to their guile, to reveal it to the Magistrate. Now left he might be suspected to be the trayer of them, the Fox withdrew himself the same time out of the City, whilst on a Saturday morning about two of the Clock these four were apprehended and imprisoned by the Magistrate. It fell out the same day, that certain Writings were set up upon the *Town-house* against the horrible tyranny of the Spanish Inquisition, which was then intended to be brought in and executed throughout the Low-Countries, which no doubt were the means whereby the Magistrates were the rather incensed against the Prisoners. But forasmuch as they were not found guilty of having any hand in this business, they were only examined about matters concerning their Faith. To which they answered with such courage and constancy, without varying or wavering, that the Gaoler wondered how they could answer the Judges so directly and pertinently (as it were with one consent) being notwithstanding severed one from another in the Prison.

The second of March 1566 they were condemned for Heretics by the Provost of the City, to the which they replied, that if they were Heretics then Gods Word must needs be Heresie, which could not be; and therefore they freely protested before all, that they were Christians, and held nothing but that which was agreeable to the Word of God. They were asked if they would submit themselves to the will of the Magistrates. They answered they would submit themselves to the will of God. Then was Sentence of death forthwith pronounced upon them, which was, that they should be burned alive before the *Town-house*. When they were brought out of Prison to be Executed, *Noels* Father came and embraced him, and kissing him said, Art thou led my Son in this sort unto death? This is nothing, Father, said he, for now am I going to life. And howsoever *Noel* wept in going up to the Scaffold, seeing his Father so dissolved into Tears; yet recovering himself, and being armed with new courage, he cried, O ye Priests, if we would have gone to your Mass, we needed not to have been here: but Jesus Christ never commanded nor instituted any such thing.

The Priests standing at the foot of the Scaffold, laboured to make the People believe they were Heretics, and that their Faith was the Faith of Devils, because they rejected the Sacraments. But to that one of them answered, that their Faith was nothing like to that of Devils; and as touching the Sacraments, they held so many as Christ ordained. Then said *Martin*, suffer us to die in peace, for we are in the right way and are going to Jesus Christ, hinder us not in this our Journey; with these and the like speeches the Priests mouths were stopped, not daring to come upon the Scaffold, as they were wont to do.

John Dauticourt coming up recited the Articles of the Creed, adding somewhat by way of exposition upon every Article. Those who knew him before his Imprisonment marvelled to hear him speak so judiciously. The Executioner thinking to please his Masters offered to gag him: but the Patient promised to hold his peace.

Y et

* which is a Watch-Tower standing before the City-Hall where the Clock is.

Yet being straitly fastned to the Stake by the neck, he said to the People; O my Friends; were it for speaking wickedly that they commanded me to be silent, it were somewhat, but I cannot be permitted to speak unto you the Word of God, and with a loud voice said, *Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall Tribulations; or anguish? O Lord, we are delivered to death for thy sake, and are appointed as sheep to the slaughter. But let us be of good cheer my Brethren, for we shall be more than Conquerours, through him that loved us.*

Mat. 7. 14.

The other three on their parts cried and said, *This, this is the way that leads to life; this is the strait way by which we must enter thereto, as Christ our Lord hath taught us.* Niel likewise said, *Enter you my Brethren, and whilist I am alive pray for me; for after death prayers prevail not.* When all of them were fastned to their stakes, and covered with fagots, with fire ready to set thereto, they began with one voice to sing the first part of the seven and twentieth Psalm, and after that the Song of *Simson* to the end: after which the fire began to be kindled, in the midst whereof they were heard to cry ten or twelve times to the Lord, especially *John and Noel*, with loud voices calling and saying, *Lord receive us this day unto mercy, and unto thy Kingdom.* And thus ceasing to cry any more, they yielded up their Souls into the hands of God. This constancy of theirs, proceeding from the work of Gods Spirit, was not without singular fruit, for the enlarging of the Church; for many being touched therewith went home thence, as if they had gone from a powerful Sermon.

Francis d'Alost in Flanders, Martyr, in the Year 1566.

THIS young man, being by his Trade a Cutler, during the time of his ignorance frequented the Court much, and took great delight in the vanity of this world, which gat him much respect of many, but chiefly among those of the Romish Religion, namely Priests and Monks, who willingly conversed with him, taking much contentment in his carriage and course of life. But as soon as God of his goodness by the means of his word had revealed unto him his Son Jesus Christ, he by and by altered and changed his former conversation: for having before lived in great dissoluteness, he now sharply reprov'd such as he knew to follow sinful ways: yea, he often taxed the Priests as well for their scandalous living as for their false Doctrine, wherewith they abused the People; but principally for making them to fall down to such a god as could not defend nor keep himself from Rats and Mice, and which is worse, to offer it up for the sins of the quick and the dead.

For these with other suchlike speeches, those who ere-whiles loved him began now to turn their love into hatred, inasmuch as he was fain to fly from them yea, and out of the Country also, being banished thence; threatening him, that if he were taken there again, he should be put to death, not as an Heretick, but as one having offended the penal Laws. But not long after the Lord wrought such an alteration not only in the Political but in the Ecclesiastical State also, that not the Laws concerning Heresie alone were disannulled, but free liberty was granted to the Faithful of the Low-countries, to return home into their houses again, and to have the exercisits of Religion, publicly and openly. Among these Francis returned at that time unto the City in which he was born. But this freedom so suddenly granted lasted not long. For the Devil, not enduring the light so to shine out, stirred up Imps asflesh to oppress the godly. Francis then apprehending the danger, was minded one morning to depart out of the City; but God had another work for him to do. For as he was passing along, he was apprehended in the street by one of the City, who with the Bayliff met him. The Bayliff would fain have baulked him, as if he had not seen him; but said the other, here he is, hold him fast; so they took him. Being conducted to Prison, among other speeches he said, now ye have taken me, you think to deprive me of my life, and so have your will of me, purposing my great dammage and hurt; but you are deceived, for it is all one, as if you took Counters from me, to fill my hand with a great sum of Gold.

In Prison he had many disputes with Priests and Cloister-men. But the Jaylour of all other dealt harshly with him, who could not endure to hear him speak of God. But if at any time he heard him sing Psalms and spiritual Songs, he would rage like a Bedlam. Once being very drunk, he set open the Prison-doors, and sitting on a bench he called to Francis, saying come out thou naughty and wicked Heretick, I will now see, if thy God can deliver thee out of my hands. Francis said, as the case stands it might easily be effected: If I were minded to escape away now, as I was heretofore, I could easily do it, but I will not; for God hath called me to suffer, and not to flee away, and therefore I will not resist, but rather obey his will.

The drunkard hearing him speak with such mildness, and moderation, and seeing that he would not come forth, being provoked thereto by him, in his fury he took up his stool on which he sat, and laid at him therewith, so as he had felled him to the ground, if the Servant had not stepped between, who took it out of his Masters hands by force: yet was the poor Prisoner very sorely hurt, and lay long in the Chirurgeons hands before his Head could be healed. But to make him amends, this cruel Jaylor dieted him so strictly both for meat and drink, that he had died with hunger, had not God inclined the heart of his Servant now and then, to relieve him, by conveying meat to him in secret.

After the Lord had thus by sundry trials proved the patience and constancy of this his good Servant, the Magistrates of the City of Alost consulted how to put him to death, having oft called the Executioner to this consultation; but they could not agree in the manner how to effect it. Some were of Opinion it were best to have him put to death secretly in the Prison; others advised to execute him openly, lest they should incur the Blot of being murderers. In the end waxing more hardy, having long detained him in Bonds, they called him forth into judgment, and pronounced Sentence upon him, which was, that because he had done contrary to the Kings Laws, in returning again to the City from which he was banished, he had therefore deserved to die, seeing also he held certain Opinions directly opposit to the Church of Rome.

Francis hearing his Sentence read, without any shew of dissembler, said, *Now seeing you are so thirsty after Blood, I willingly yield it into your hands, and my Soul into the hands of my merciful Lord God Almighty.* Francis said they, we command you to hold your peace; for if you will not, we will take order to bridle your Tongue. He then promised them to obey their command. As he went to suffer he used that speech of the Apostle Saint Peter, I must now shortly put off this my earthly Tabernacle, which the love of Christ Jesus my Lord constrains me to do. Being come into the Market place where he wast to be offered up a Sacrifice, he kneeled down; and having ended his Prayer, he said to the Executioner, do now what you are commanded, the will of God be done: and so presenting himself cheerfully to the stroke of death, he was beheaded the first of May, in the year 1566. his Body being afterwards exposed to the Fowls of the Air for a prey.

John Tufcaen of Audenard in Flaunders, Martyr, June the eighth, Anno 1566.

Behold here how God meant to awaken the men of this time out of their Brutish security, as it were with a Thunder Clap from Heaven.

THIS young man a maker of Tapistry about the age of two and twenty years, the Son of one called *Simon Tufcaen* dwelling in the Suburbs of Audenard, was trained up from his youth in all godly Nurriture. He hearing News that things went more aukly to pass in Brussels then he could have wished, determined in himself to make it known by the effect, that the adoring of a brea den God, which the Roman Church so much worshipped, was nothing else but an abominable and execrable sacrilege. Having cast to and fro in his mind, and thoughts, the weightiness of the business he was to undertake, at length he determined to demonstrate the same

Anno
1566.

1 Pet. 1. 14.
2 Cor. 1. 14.

Anno
1566.

more fully and apparently in a publick assembly, which was the thirtieth day of May in the said year 1566. (which after the custom of the Romanists is called the feast of God, or *Corpus Christi* day.) Now by reason that two Cities of Audenard and Pamelle are joyned as it were in one, there were two Temples dedicated there, not to the Lord, but the onco Saint Walburgne, called the Church of Audenard, and the other to their Lady, which is within the jurisdiction of the Lord of Pamelle.

John Tufcaen directed his course towards this Church, to perform that which long before he had in his own thoughts projected. Being come into the Quire of the Church in Pamelle, beholding there a multitude of People utterly estranged from the true Worship of God ready to fall down and prostitute themselves before a brazen Cake, forthwith (not casting what should be the issue) being urged thereto through a zeal of Gods glory, drew towards the Priest, while he was elevating and shewing that which they call the Host; and with great vehemency snatched it out of his Hands, cast it to the ground, and brake it all to pieces, speaking with a loud voice; See here, my Masters, your goodly God, who you see is not able to help himself, but is here broken all to pieces. How long. How long, O ye senseless Priests, will you thus defile the holy Supper of the Lord? shall we never see an end of your filthy Idolatries? If the Authority of the holy Scripture can nothing move you, yet at length be warned and admonished by this present example, that their is not a jot of Divinity in this Bread, seeing it is subject to be thus handled: will ye worship a dead Idol, your selves being living Men?

At this so vehement and bold an exhortation, accompanied with such constancy, all the people there present stood amazed and in such an extasie, (but yet withal such a noise and bustling throughout the Church) that the Curate of the Parish, who before was in some by-corner there, coming towards the Quire, met Tufcaen, as he was passing through towards Preate without any fear or let. The Curate saluted him, not knowing what he had done, much less suspecting that he was the cause of all that tumult and stir; for he was his cousin. Howbeit John would take no knowledge of this salutation, but began to reprove him for deluding and abusing the poor silly people, being their overler; for a day will come, said he, in which you shall render an account to God for them. In the hearing of this, the Curate called upon the people to lay hold upon the said John Tufcaen, as hee was going out of the Church fair and softly. So that it had been easie for him to have quit himself out of their fingers, if he had but hastned his pace a little, because none offered to touch or apprehend him. The Curate seeing that, delayed not, but with all speed got him to the under Bailiff of Pamelle, by whose outcries and importunities the Bailiff could do no less but go with him to apprehend the great Heretic. As they were making towards him, he shewed no more semblance of escaping, than before.

Then they took and imprisoned him without any resistance. Dinner being ended, he was presented before the Magistrates of Pamelle to be examined in the presence of the Curate: after they had enquired of him who they were that incited and set him on to do such an outrageous act upon the Host, they asked him what he held the bread in the Mass to be, and whether he did not believe it was the Body of Christ: If, said he, you consider well what the Angel said to the Apostles at his assumption, viz. *Act. 1. 11.* this same Jesus, which is taken up from you into Heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into Heaven; You may plainly discern that we are not to seek him here below.

After many other questions and answers, being sent again to Prison, he was the second time examined: and being asked whether he was himself when he did it, or distracted? Hee answered, That he had done it, not rashly, but upon mature deliberation. Being further demanded what should move him to commit so heinous an act? If this, said he, seemeth so strange unto you, then I pray you tell me who moved Moses to break the Tables of Stone written with the finger of God? They perceiving that he secretly aimed at their Idolatry, sent him to Prison again.

The eighth of June he was brought betimes in the morning into the Judgment Hall, to receive their Sentence which was to be pronounced against him; where two Friers Minorites were purposely sent to see if they could turn him from his constancy: to which purpose asking him, if he did not believe that God was included in the bread which is lifted up in the Mass? He answered them by another question, namely, whether the Potter could make a Pot? They said yes, but what was that to the purpose? He asked them again, if the pot could make a Potter? The good Fathers, seeing wise about him, went, forthwith left him. When he saw he had thus stopped their Mouths, he thanked God.

Then the Magistrates of the City went up into the Judgment Seat, and gave Sentence against him, which was, first to have that hand stricken off, with which he had taken the Host out of the Priests Hands, and his Body to be burned to ashes, which afterward was to be scattered into the River.

Hearing this Sentence hee was very joyfull, thanking his Judges, and the Lord of Pamelle. But the Bailiff of Audenard willed him rather to ask forgiveness of God and of the people, for the offence he had committed. If I have offended any (said hee) I ask them forgiveness. Then was he led forth to be executed; and as he went, he sung in his own Mother Tongue the Lords Prayer with such confidence, as argued the inward peace of his Conscience, in dying in so good a quarrel.

The Tormentor willed him to stretch forth his Arm that this Hand might be cut off; which he did, suffering the same with such a patience, as if hee had felt no pain. And then with his eyes lifted up to Heaven, he said, O Lord God, it is for the glory of thy name that I endure these things: inable me now with strength from above, that I may finish this Sacrifice. Forthwith the fire was kindled, which made him at the first to shrink a little; but by continual and ardent prayer to God the Violence of the Torment was abated and asswaged. Now standing in the midst of the flames, his Body being in a manner half consumed, hee shewed apparent signs unto the beholders of his invincible courage, by holding up as well as hee could, his Arms on a light fire.

Thus was this valiant Martyr handled in the presence of Multitudes; which caused many to cleave the rather to the Doctrine of the Gospel, seeing him dye so constantly. The River of Escant received his ashes, that the Sentence given upon him might be fully accomplished.

Martin Smetius Martyr, Anno 1567.

Martin Smetius being Prisoner in the Castle of Vilvour, there came to him a Frier to examine him, and with a purpose to turn him from the Faith. But Smetius being a man learned, and of a quick understanding, remained constant, which so confounded his opposites, that hee went away with shame. The Frier invented a Recantation, to which it was reported that Smetius had subscribed. But an Elder of the Church, whose name was Cornelius Specen, coming to the knowledge thereof (by the helpe of Friends) got a sight of the said Recantation. Who in the presence of divers Friends conferring a certain Letter (which Smetius had put his name unto) with that writing, found it in nothing to agree therewith, and therefore the Recantation to be merely counterfeited. The eighth of February being Saturday, Smetius having his feet tied under an Horses belly, on which he was set, was thus brought to Vilvour to the Provost (who himself was afterwards hanged for his villanies.) His Sergeants passing immediately along with him through Malvoes, went towards Malladery of Wallen, where finding a ladder set up to an Oak, they hanged him thereon. Smetius being on the Ladder used these words; Lord forgive them, for they know not what they do.

And then singing certain verses of a Psalm, he yielded up his Soul into the Hands of the Lord.

G E E E

Mr. by scattered.

Where
Christ is to
bee sought.

Exod. 31. 19.

* Hee was apprehended by this Provost with 20 Villaines as he was preaching at Malvoes. When Smetius saw them, hee exhorred the Congregation to be quiet, for they were come, said he, to take me: but the Assembly was by and by scattered.

Master John Goris and Joris of Asschen, Martyrs,
Anno 1567.

John Goris Chirurgion, born in Audenard, travelling towards Gaud, was betrayed by two Spies, who signified the same to the Bayliff; himself also going the same way whither Goris was travelling before him. The Bayliff, thirsting after the blood of this poor Innocent, rid on till he had overtaken him, asking him whither he went. I am going, said Goris, to the Parish of Nazaret. And I purpose also, said the Bayliff, to go thither, we will bear you company. Having passed on thus a little way, the Bayliff thinking himself sure of Goris, began to lay hands upon him. Goris seeing that leaped over a Ditch, and got into a little Wood. The Wood was presently beset with Country People; and being there apprehended, he was carried to Audenard as a Sheep to the slaughter, where he was committed to Prison. They laid many things to his charge, which they were not able to prove. Being examined the second time upon divers Articles, he answered thereunto with such wisdom, that the Council admired how a man of so mean account could defend his cause in so good a manner. But after they came to question with him concerning matters of Religion, now I see, said he, that you seek my blood.

By th's we see that even Devils are not by his own strength.

The Night following he was overtaken with such an apprehension of the fear of death, that for saving his life he was almost resolved to deny the Truth. But by the assistance of Gods holy Spirit calling his thoughts together, he instantly and orderly befoUGHT the Lord to deliver him out of this temptation, that by the power of his Grace he might overcome the infirmity of his Flesh: which prayer of Faith the Lord had such respect unto, that from that time he manfully resisted all Satans assaults, and maintained the Truth unto his last breath.

Though I tell, none else can say, yet I shall write, A. B. C. 8. A. C. 7. 6.

Having received Sentence he was nothing appalled thereat, but like the holy Martyr S. Stephen, prayed God that he would not lay his death to their charge. Coming to the place where he was to be Executed, casting himself down prostrate, he made his prayer to God; in which Prayer albeit he sought the Lord to forgive his Enemies, yet added he this wish, *I am persuaded, that God being a just Judge will not leave their sin unpunished.* Which prediction fell out not long after; for the Bayliff who apprehended him, and rejoiced in standing by whilst the Martyr was executed, was not long after shot with a Harquebuss, whereof he presently died like a Wretch.

After Goris was thus executed, they brought forth his Fellow-Prisoner, called Joris of Asschen; who the same day suffered the same kind of death, that is to say, he was hanged upon a Gibbet, which death he endured for the Name of Christ with like constancy as did the former. Which courage of his he thus manifested to his Parents and Friends, in a Letter written to them a little before his death.

A Letter written by Joris of Asschen, to his Parents and Friends, a little before the time of his Martyrdom.

Most dear Father and Mother, Sister and Brother, I write here unto you comfortable News, namely, that in all my life I never saw any day so pleasing to me as this is; in which the Lord hath counted me worthy to be one of his Champions, and to suffer for his holy Name: for which I give him most humble and hearty thanks, I also thank you much, good Father and Mother, that in all my distresses you have been beneficial and helpful unto me, and careful for me; for which the Lord abundantly reward you in his Kingdom. Rejoice with me, I pray you, that God hath now called me to such a glorious and welcome Marriage-day. Oh, how precious in the sight of the Lord our God is the death of his Martyrs.

Dear Friends, two Priests, yea, and some of the Magistrates also have sought to terrify me with many threats, thinking to turn me aside from my holy Profession; but the Lord of his great mercy hath given me his Grace to withstand them all: for I plainly told them I was not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, but would be

willing and ready to die in the defence thereof; following my Lord and Master Jesus Christ throw all afflictions, to be made partaker with him at the last of his eternal Joys in his celestial Tabernacle. Wherefore if God shall call any of you forth to suffer ought for his Names sake, bear the same, I beseech you, with meekness and patience, not declining from the Truth for fear or favour, to the right hand or to the left; but fear him rather who is able to cast Soul and Body into Hell.

The time which God hath lent us to converse in this World is but short, and therefore let us begin to abandon the love thereof, with all things that are therein, sometimes, that so we may be ready to follow the call of God.

Dear Father and Mother, I do take my last farewell of you, until we meet together again in the Kingdom of Heaven, where we shall partake of that joy which shall last for ever, all sorrows, tears and grief being wiped away. Be ye not therefore grieved I pray you, but be patient; for the affliction which is befalling me is most acceptable unto me, for which also I bless and praise the Lord.

The Lord prosper you in all your ways, to his glory and your good. Thank all my Friends for their love expressed toward me, and salute them kindly with an holy kiss in the Lord.

Your humble and obedient Son,
John Joris of Asschen.

Thus were these two Witnesses of Jesus Christ executed the 14th of April 1567.

A worthy Answer of a constant Martyr called Guy de Brez, Anno Dom. 1567.

Guy de Brez, a Minister of the Gospel, being committed Prisoner into the Castle of Tourney, was visited by many Ladies and Gentlemen, only out of a desire to see him, in regard he was a man so highly esteemed. Some at the first view scoffed, others raised on him; but others were moved to take pity and compassion on him. Among the rest, the Countess of Ren, accompanied with certain Gentlewomen, coming into the Prison, and at the first entrance beholding the Iron-chain to which he was fastened; Mr. Guy said she, I wonder how you can either eat, drink, or sleep in quiet; for were I in your case, the very terror thereof would go nigh to kill me.

O Madam, said he, the good cause for which I suffer, and that inward peace of Conscience wherewith God hath endued me, makes me eat and drink with greater contentment than my Enemies can which seek my life: yea, so far off is it that my bonds or chain do any way terrify me, or break off my sleep, that on the contrary I glory and take delight therein, esteeming them at a higher rate than Chains and Rings of Gold, or any other Jewels of price whatsoever; for they yield me much more profit. Yea, when I hear the rattling of my Chain, methinks I hear as it were some sweet Instrument of Musick sounding in mine ears: not that such an effect comes merely from my Chains, but in regard I am bound therewith for maintaining the truth of the Gospel.

The same Martyr in a Letter to his Wife acquaints her with Gods gracions dealing with him in all his Afflictions.

Speaking of his Apprehension, he shews how carnal Reason began to play its part against the Providence of God; for, said he, these thoughts came thronging into my head; What meant we to go so many in company together as we did? had it not been for such and such we had never been discovered nor taken. Under such-like cogitations I lay for a while, said he, even in a manner overwhelmed, till by the assistance of Gods holy Spirit my mind was raised up to meditate on Gods Providence. After which my heart began to feel wonderful rest and contentment; saying thus in my self, O my God, the day and hour of my birth was before ordained by thee, and ever since thou hast preserved and kept me in great perils and dangers, and hereto delivered me out of them all. And if now the hour be

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come wherein I must pass out of this life into thy Kingdom, thy holy will be done; I cannot escape out of thy hands; yea, though I could, yet Lord thou knowest I would not, seeing all my felicity depends upon conforming my will unto thine.

From these considerations I received no small consolation; and therefore, dear Wife, rejoice with me, I pray you, and bless our good God for these his mercies towards me; for he doth nothing but that which is equal and right. You have been privy to, and acquainted with all the Travels, Crosses, and Persecutions which have befallen me, yea, and have your self been partaker with me therein, when you accompanied me in my voyages during the time of my Exile: and now after all these you see, my welbeloved in the Lord, how he holdeth forth unto me his hand of Providence, to drive me home to himself into his blessed Kingdom. Know lead you the way, and when his will is you shall follow me thither. Our separation shall not be for ever: it will not be long ere we be gathered under one head Jesus Christ. This world is not the place of our rest: no, Heaven is our home, this is but the place of our banishment.

Let us therefore aspire after our true Country, namely Heaven, and long to be received into the Mansions of our Heavenly Father, where we shall see our Head and Brother, our Husband and Saviour Jesus Christ, with the noble triumphant assemblies of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and so many millions of Martyrs; to whom I hope shortly to be gathered, having finished the course of that administration which I have received of the Lord Jesus. Wherefore, dear Wife, be you comforted in the meditation of these things. Take into your consideration the honour the Lord doth you, in giving you a Husband who is not only called to be a Minister of Christs Gospel, but also so highly advanced of God, as to be accounted worthy to partake of the Crown of Martyrdom. It is an honour which the Angels in Heaven are not capable of. I now rejoice in my sufferings, my heart leapt within me; in my afflictions, I find nothing wanting unto me; I am filled with the abundant riches of my God; yea, so far am I comforted therewith, that I have sufficient store not only for my self, but to impart thereof also to as many as I have opportunity to speak unto. Which bounty and favour I beseech my Eternal Lord God to continue to me his poor Prisoner: yea, I am perswaded that he will perform it unto the end; for by good experience I feel, that he never forsakes them that trust in him. I could never have imagined that God would have been so gracious as he hath been to me his poor Creature.

Angels not
capable of
being Mar-
tyrs.

Gods good-
ness to his
afflicted
Children is
oft above
and beyond
their ex-
pectation.

Prisoners
prove Gods
School-
houses to
the faithful.

John 16.32.
Rom. 16.20.
2 Cor. 12.9.

It is profit-
able for the
godly some-
times to feel
their infir-
mities.

Brethren
Prison of
the Valiant
one

I now taste of the fidelity and bounty of Christ my Saviour; I am here taught to practise what I have preached unto others. Yea, let me not be ashamed to confess, that when I heretofore preached I spake but as a Parrot, in regard of that which I have now better learned by proof and experience. I have profited more in the School-house of this Prison, than ever I did in all my life before: for I have the Holy Ghost, who is my constant instructor and Schoolmaster, teaching me how to handel my Weapons in this fight of afflictions. Satan on the other side, who is the sworn Enemy of all Gods Elect, compasseth me about on every side, as a roaring Lion thinking to devour me. But he who hath said, Fear not, I have overcome the World, puts it as it were new courage into me; and then I see the Lord, bruising Satan under my feet; feeling the power of God perfected in my weakness. And thus the Lord causeth me one while to feel my infirmity and weakness, that so I might take knowledge how I am but a poor earthen Vessel (even weakness it self) to humble me, that God may have all the glory; and then by and by he fortifies and comforts me, (I may truly say) incredibly above all I could ask or think.

For I would not change my condition with theirs who persecute me; I take my rest, eat and drink, with more hearts ease than they. I am indeed lodged in the strongest and vilest Prison they have, dark and obscure, which for the darkness thereof is called *Brutemans*; where I have no Air to breathe at, but a little thinking hole, where they lay all their rubbish, and where the drunkards commonly vent their urine. I am laden with Irons both

on my hands and feet, which are a continual torment unto me, the Irons eaten through the Flesh even to the bare bones. The *Provost* Marshal comes to view my Fetters twice or thrice a day; fearing lest I should make an escape: for preventing whereof he hath placed three guards of forty men before the Prison door, &c.

And thus having given unto his Wife his advice, how to behave her self during her Widowhood, and how to train up her Children, with his loving Salutation, remembered to her self and other his special Friends, he closeth up the Letter.

In the end of a Letter written to his Mother, the rather to encourage her willingly to offer him up to God, he puts her in mind of two memorable examples of Women who were Mothers of Children, in this manner following.

I remember, saith he, that I have read in the Ecclesiastical Stories, how that in the hot persecutions of the Church in times past, the poor Christians were assembled together without a certain City, to hear the Word of God. Now a great Commander was sent of purpose to see these poor Innocents put to the Sword: And being on his way ready to put his bloody Commission into execution, the report thereof came to the ears of a true Christian Woman, who halted with all the speed she could, to be at this meeting, carrying her little Child in her Arms. As she drew nigh to the Troop of Horsemen, she rushed in, to get through, expecting that they would make way for her. The Governour seeing her make such haste, called her to him, and examined her whether she posted so fast? she gave him this short answer, I am going, said she, to the assembly of the Christians. What to do? said he; hast thou not heard that I am commanded to put them all to death? Yes, I know it well, said she, *And therefore am I in such haste, that I may be counted worthy to lose my life with them.* But what wilt thou do with thy little Child, saith he? I am carrying it thither, that even it also may partake of the Crown of Martyrdom with the rest.

By reason
whereof he
complains
he arose
with much
difficulty,
and there-
fore could
not write
so cheerfully
he would
have done.

The first ex-
ample.

The Tyrants heart was so wounded with these prompt and plain answers of this filly Woman, that he retired back to the Emperor who had committed the execution of this business unto him, and told him the whole discourse; by means whereof the Emperors wrath was appeased, and the execution stayed. Here was an heart inflamed indeed with the fiery Zeal of Gods love. Here is a pattern fit to be presented before all Women and Mothers to imitate the same.

I call to mind one other Example of another and her Son in the times when *Romanus* suffered Martyrdom. He was commanded to worship Idols. His answer was, as he stood in the place of judgment, that he worshipped one God only, in Jesus Christ, his only Son. And this, saith he, is an Article so well known, that if any Child, though but of 7. years old, should be examined concerning it, he would easily make a direct answer to it. Then a Child about those years being presented publicly, *Romanus* said, come hither my pretty Boy, answer me; ought we to worship many Gods, or but one God in Jesus Christ? The little Child answered, *That there be many Gods, we Children cannot believe; seeing to us there is but one God.*

Then the Tyrant apprehending the Mother caused her Child to be scourged with Rods before her eyes. The Babe intreated her to give him some drink: to whom she said, *Alas poor Child, I have no drink to give thee; but now my Song and drink of the Cup of Martyrdom, which Herod the King gave the young Children to drink of.*

The second
Example.

Then was the Childs head stricken off. Such Examples are left upon record for our use, that in such and the like Mirrors we might behold how the mighty power of God being made perfect in the infirmity of weak Flesh, all of us, with one heart and voice, should render unto him the Sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving for the same; shewing forth to our Brethren and Sisters his Triumphs and Victories with new Songs of rejoicing. The which sounding throughout the whole world, we may thereby incite all Creatures, yea, the very Angels of Heaven to magnifie and glorifie the name of our Lord eternally. So be it.

Hitherto
may be re-
ferred the
invariable
constancy of
that pious
Mother
mentioned
in the 2.
Book of the
Maccabees,
with her
seven Chil-
dren.
2 Macc. chap.
7.
Read the
whole Chap-
ter.

G g g g a

With

With this godly Personage Guy de Bree, was one Peregrine de la Grange, joined as his Prison-fellow and Fellow-labourer in the work of the Ministry.

Whose learned disputes with Richardot Bishop of Arras do here follow, written with his own hand.

The Bishop at his coming into the Prison being informed of the Prisoners name, and of his gentle disposition, began thus with him.

Bishop. I am much grieved Monsieur de la Grange to see you in this mean condition, and could wish it were far otherwise with you then now I see it is.

La Grange. Sir I humbly thank you for your love and kindness shewed towards me, altogether I confess without any desert of mine: and as for the base estate in which you now see me, God hath so comforted me therein with his grace, that I do without any great difficulty patiently suffer what he hath pleased to lay upon me; yea, I praise and bless his name, that he hath balanced the weight of my afflictions according to the strength which he hath given me, so as I sink not under the burthen: for as my sufferings in Christ abound, he causeth his consolations by Christ to abound in me also.

2. Cor. 1. 3

Bishop. It is usual with such as you are to glory in this kind of speech: for as soon as any afflictions befall you, you by and by file them the sufferings of Christ. And if any of you be put to death, then ye boast that it is for Gods Truth: but when things are laid to the Touchstone, the matter is nothing so nor so.

La Grange.

Sir, if your meaning be of such as have died for the Doctrine for which I am bound with this Chain, and thus fettered with Irons: I doubt not but they have given such a reason of their Faith, that whosoever shall read their answers, and weigh the same without partiality, must needs judge thereof even as we do. And for my own part I am ready to make it good before any whom it concerns, that the Doctrine I now hold and teach is according to Godliness, taken out of the pure Fountains of the holy Scriptures, without additions, diminishings, or varying in any way therefrom.

Deut. 32. 17

Bishop. We read that in all times men have been wont to shelter themselves under the Title of Gods Word, in so much that all the old Heresies maintained by Hereticks have run to this covert; so as great heed is to be taken, lest under this pretence men rush into errors.

La Grange.

I am not ignorant, Sir, hereof, in regard that Satan knows how to transform himself into an Angel of light, thereby to establish his delusions, causing darkness thereby to be taken for light. But the Holy Ghost, who is the Spirit of Truth, hath in such wise discovered his Jugglings, that none are deluded thereby, but those who at noon day close their eyes that they may not behold the light.

2. Cor. 4. 4

Bishop. Do you think that the holy Ghost hath given you such an Illumination, that the Truth should only be revealed to you, and to none other.

La Grange.

God forbid, Sir, I should have any such thought. I am not of the mind of those dreamers, who at this day brag of their having particular Revelations of the holy Spirit. But I speak of an ordinary and general Revelation, such as is taught us out of the Bible, which we call the holy Scriptures, according as it is therein declared unto us by the Prophets and Apostles.

He means the A. V. text, and their sense, Bish. 2. 20.

This was the effect of the Bishops first communication with de la Grange; after which he was heard to say twice or thrice to the Kings Commissioners, that he had no will to meddle any further with him. Being called for to be examined else-where before the said Commissioners, Peregrine took his leave of the Bishop, entreating him to intercede for him, that he might be eased of his Irons, alledging that the Prison was strong enough and sufficiently guarded.

The second time they met together, the Bishop having a prompt memory, made a rehearsal of what passed between them the day before, and after began thus with the said Peregrine.

Bishop. Seeing that which I hold as touching the Sacrament of the Altar is agreeable to the Scriptures, confirmed so long since by the consent of all the ancient Fathers, wherefore do you not agree with us therein? Had you rather hold with these Novelists, as with Calvin and with the confession of *Auspurgae*.

Anno 1566.

Grange. Sir, I am neither Calvinist nor Papist; I am a Christian, and what I hold concerning Religion is taken out of Christs Doctrine, who is the only Doctor of his Church. What Calvin hath taught conformable to the Word of God, I am of the same mind with him: and whereas you call your Religion, the old Religion, and ours the new, it troubles me not at all, since the Father of Lies hath long since forged the same, to disgrace the Truth, and to establish and maintain the multitudes of falsehoods and absurdities of your Tenets which you hold. For example, because Christ in giving his Disciples Bread in the Sacrament, said, *This is my Body*, thence they would make us believe that the Bread is become the Body of Christ, as if the Verb *est* signified a change of the Bread into another Substance, which is found in no Language whatsoever.

Bishop. We maintain not the Transubstantiation of the Bread from this Verb *est*, knowing that the Hebrews use the Participle of the present tense in stead of a Verb; but rather from hence, because Christ said, *This is my Body*.

La Grange. I told you that Jesus Christ in his Supper gives us that body which was conceived by the holy Ghost in the Womb of the Virgin Mary; which was crucified, dead and buried, raised again the third day, and is ascended into Heaven; yet we utterly deny that there is any change made of the Bread. Therefore if you would have us believe it, let us have some proof of Scripture for it.

For they had many disputes touching this point, which are not here inserted.

Bishop. To speak properly, the Transubstantiation of the Bread cannot be proved by the word of God, and yet we must believe it for the reasons above said.

La Grange. Your glorying then that you have the Word of God on your side is as you see come to nothing. And why have you then turned so many of Gods Saints for denying that which you cannot maintain by the Scriptures? For our parts, we should blush to affirm, that the Substance of Bread remains after the words of Consecration, if we could not prove the same from the very form of the Institution of the Sacrament, wherein Christ took Bread, and having giving thanks he brake Bread, and gave to his Disciples Bread, and they took and did eat Bread: yea, Saint Paul rehearsing the Institution calls it Bread thrice.

1. Cor. 10. 2

21, 26, 27

Bish. You know that in the Hebrew-Tongue Bread is taken for the remainders of what was eaten; Paul therefore in that place speaks of those viands which the *Corinthians* did eat in their Love-feasts, reproving their abuse. So also, howsoever Paul calls it Bread there, and that in the second of the Acts of the Apostles mention is made of the breaking of Bread, all this serves non your turn.

Act. 2. 42

La Grange. I grant that Bread is taken in the Scripture in this sense; but be it that Bread be taken for the meat that was left, yet you read not that the Substance was changed into the Substance of other meat, or lost the property thereof. It is certain that the Scripture useth not this Phrase, of breaking of Bread in the use of the Lords Supper, for nothing; for thereby we are given to understand, that it is not a sign only in appearance or shew, but the true Substance of Bread.

Bish. Let it be what it will; we hold close to the words of Jesus Christ, where he saith, *This is my Body*; and therefore also believe what we speak. I care not if I be deceived in this matter, nor for bearing reproach for the same, either before God or men; for before God himself I will plead thus, *Lord, thou hast said it, and I believe it*.

Understand the words of the sacramentally, and all is well.

La Grange. We rest in the same thing also; but whilst we have an eye unto Christs meaning and intent, which was to establish a Sacrament: we also receive from his mouth the same words as well as you, but sacramentally, where the outward sign bears the name of the thing signified.

Bish.

Anno
1566.Erod. 12.43.
Ge. 71.15.

Bijh. As touching the Sacraments in the Old Testament (which had their extent only to the coming of Christ, and no further) we indeed do hold, that the sign bears the name of the thing signified thereby; and thus the Paschal Lamb was called the *Pasover*, and Circumcision was called *Gods Covenant*, being but a sign thereof: but it is otherwise now in the Sacraments of the New Testament, which have their continuance unto the end of the world, containing in them the thing signified.

La Grange. Your distinction will be but idle if we come to the Sacraments of the New Testament, which are only two, (howsoever the Church of Rome holds seven) to wit, Baptism and the Lords Supper. The Scripture calls Baptism the washing of Regeneration, because it is a sign thereof, yet bearing the name of that whereof it is but a sign. Nor among your own Writers do we find, that the Water in Baptism is changed into the Blood of Christ; which is notwithstanding the true Laver of Regeneration. Also the Cup is called the New Testament, because it is a sign thereof.

Dare you now affirm that the Cup is the New Testament? But because you seem to bring in for confirmation of your Opinion the ancient Fathers, we are content to be tried herein by them, even in our cause also, and it shall appear that they are not so contrary to us as you suppose; and this will clear our Doctrine from the crime of Novelty, wherewith ye slander it. Afterwards we will come to touch such inconveniences and absurdities as flow from your Doctrine.

The Bishop answering that he was content, *La Grange* began as followeth.

Gelasius a
Pope of
Rome.

Chrysostom.

La Grange. *Gelasius*, who was an ancient Doctor, yea, and a Pope also, said in a Council held at Rome, That the substance and nature of Bread and Wine remained in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, even as the humane Nature of our Lord Jesus Christ was united unto his divine Essence. *Chrysostom* an ancient Dr. in his imperfect work upon *St. Matthew*, denies that the Body of Christ is inclosed under the Bread in the Sacrament, but holds that it is only an outward sign thereof.

Bijh. I have, as you know, before answered that Sentence of *Gelasius*, and then I told you that he was not seen in Philosophy, and therefore could not dispute substantially of the substance of the Bread; yea, I verily think he understood not what this word Substance meant, but took it for that which we call Accidents; as sometimes by this word Accident we understand Substance; witness *Judas*, who takes it in this sense.

Augustine.

La Grange. Sir, I cannot conceive that such a learned Father could be so ignorant, as to know what the substance of Bread should mean, or at least the nature thereof, seeing he eat of it daily. *St. Augustine* hath this saying on the third *Psalm*, That Christ shewed admirable patience in receiving *Judas* to that Banquet, in which he instituted and gave to his Disciples the sign of his Body and Blood.

Bijh. I doubt not but many such Sentences are to be found in *St. Augustine* which seem to favour your Opinion; as where he saith to *Adrianus* the *Manichee*, That Jesus Christ did not chuse to call it his Body, albeit he gave but the sign thereof. But such kind of speeches must be expounded by conferring one place with another.

La Grange. Nay Sir, we have not only *St. Augustine*, but also the most part of the ancient Fathers (all which you say are against us) on our side.

Bijh. Well, but come now to the absurdities and inconveniences of our Doctrine, whereof you spake.

Ab'sturdity.

La Grange. Amongst other, I will instance in this one; By the Doctrine which you teach you sever and disjoin that which in it self is joynd and united together. In the Supper of the Lord the Son of God gives us his Flesh for our meat and his Blood for our drink; which are coupled together by outward Sacramental signs, Bread and Wine: now according to your Doctrine the Bread is converted into Flesh and the Wine into blood, and ye separate the Flesh from the Blood of Christ.

Bijh. We separate not the Flesh from the Blood, seeing that by concomitancy the flesh is never without blood, nor blood without flesh.

Ab'sturdity.

La Grange. If this be so, we should in one and the same action receive the Flesh and Blood of Christ twice;

for taking the Bread, which you say hath Blood accompanying it by your Concomitance, you receive whole Christ in Flesh, and then again in blood: and thus we receive the Flesh twice and the Blood twice.

Bijh. What inconvenience cometh of receiving the same twice in one action?

La Grange. Christ did not institute his Supper to be received twice in one action, but faith in the singular number, *Take, eat, this is my Body*; he said not in the plural, *These are my Bodies*. This only absurdity, if there were no more, overturns the Lords Institution.

To this the Bishop made no answer.

La Grange. If we mark Christs words, it will appear that the absurdities in your Doctrine do cross this Commandment, *Eat*; for what eat you Sir, I pray you, in this Sacrament?

Bijh. The Accidents of Bread.

La Grange. Eat you nothing but the Accidents? It is said, *Eat, this is my Body*.

Bijh. We receive the Body and Blood.

La Grange. When you eat the Body, do you not bruise it with your Teeth?

Bijh. No, for Christs Body is insensible; so as when we eat or bruise the Cake, the Body is not bruised therewithal, but the Form; the Body is not dismembred, but every bit is the Body of Christ.

La Grange. Sir, you still fall into the former Absurdities; for making three pieces of your Cake in the Mass, and every piece thereof the whole Body of Christ, it thereupon follows, that in taking three pieces you swallow down three Bodies of Christ together.

Absurdity

Bijh. We must not be led thus by humane sense.

La Grange. Sir, that which I say is manifest enough, and so that which you affirm of your Forms cannot stand; for Christ saith not, *Eat this Form*, but *Eat, this is my Body*. Now we cannot eat, unless we gnaw with our Teeth, in bruising that we eat. If you say that the Bread, which is Flesh as you hold, is conveyed under the Tongue and gently swallowed; then I answer, This is not eating but swallowing: for, can he be said to eat, who being half pined with hunger swallows his Bread and Meat without chewing? Nay, he may rather be said to devour it. Moreover, if the Bread, which as you affirm is Flesh, be put into a mans Mouth and swallowed, then how will you answer that which Christ said in *St. Mark* 15. 27. *Thew*, That whatsoever enters into the mouth goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the Draught; or Back-chamber, as we call it.

Bijh. These words must be taken of our ordinary eating, which is call'd saving your presence; after it is eaten into the Draught.

La Grange. What becomes then of this swallowed Flesh?

Bijh. The Forms are turned into it, and the Flesh of Jesus Christ is gone; but these things must not be too curiously examined.

La Grange. This Answer cannot stand: the Accidents, which you call kinds, cannot be changed therinto; it is the Substance which is changed. But let us come to a more substantial Argument: you teach, That whosoever receives this Bread, which you call Flesh, receives Jesus Christ. How is it then that *St. Paul* saith, *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eats and drinks damnation to himself*, &c.

1 Cor. 11.

27.29.

Bijh. This Argument hath some weight in it; for thus you reason, he that receives Christ doth therewithal receive eternal life; but by our Doctrine all receive Christ in the Sacrament, therefore they must needs have eternal life.

I confess it is true according to your Minor Proposition, that they receive him: But I deny that all receive him unto life everlasting; for if they receive not the Flesh by the Holy Ghost, it profits them nothing.

La Grange. I have taken the first part of my Proposition out of *St. John*, where Christ saith, *He is the life*; *John* 11. 25. but seeing we cannot receive so much as a common Herb without the virtue of it; much less can we receive Christ without that life which is comprehended in him; otherwise we should receive a dead Body without efficacy, and not Jesus Christ, who causeth those that eat him to live eternally. For this Sacrament was instituted

Stille,

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of

of God by his Son, to manifest and set forth his Fatherly good will towards us, not contenting himself to have received us once as strangers into his household by Baptism, but as his own Children: and therefore hath ordained this second Sacrament of the holy Supper, that in his house we might have wherewith to nourish and feed us continually. Now as touching the Holy Ghost, it is by him that we eat the Flesh of Jesus Christ and drink his Blood, conjoyning by his powerful working those things together which by distance of place are severed far off one from another, causing all that is in Christ to become ours, and as by a Conduit-pipe conveying unto us the true partaking of Christs Flesh and Blood; so as whosoever receives Christ hath eternal life.

Bishop. That is, if he receive him by the Holy Spirit; for otherwise the flesh profiteth nothing, as Saint *John* faith.

La Grange. Sir, the place you alledge makes against you; for Christ there reproves his Disciples for thinking they should eat his Flesh after a carnal manner, as it appears by the words following, *For the words, said he, which I speak unto you are spirit and life.* If then we are so wile as to observe that the Sun, sending down its substance on Earth by the beams thereof, doth after a sort cause the Herbs to spring forth and grow, shall not the influence of the Spirit of Christ be of much more efficacy to bring us to the true participation of his Flesh and Blood?

Bishop. Then the Bishop was desirous to be gone, saying it grew late, and so for want of time our conference ended. The Bishop commended me to God, and then took his leave of the Company. This is the sum of our Communication, so far as I can remember.

By this brief recital we may observe what holy boldness, mixed with meekness, the Lord had indue'd this his worthy Servant with, even in the flower of his Age, being drawn from his studies and from the place of his birth to preach the Gospel to the *Valencians*, and at length to seal up the same with his Blood.

A short Narration of the life and death of these two valiant Champions of Christ, Guy de Brez, and Peregrin de la Grange, Ministers and Martyrs.

NEXT to the pure preaching of the Word, nothing so much commends those whom the Lord calls out to give their lives for the same, as doth an holy and blameless conversation, continued unto their happy departure out of this World. It remains then in few words, that we set forth the conversations of these two holy Persons, that thereby the Mercies and Graces of the Lord bestowed upon them may have the greater lustre.

Guy de Brez, born in *Mons* in *Hainault*, being in his younger years much addicted to Popish Superstitions, came by continually reading of the Scriptures to taste the sweetness of Christian Religion; which knowledge brought forth no small fruit in him in due season: Yet so, as it could by no means be relished or received by them of his Nation. Whereupon he departed from *Mons*, and having learned the Art of painting Glais, came to *London* whilst good King *Edward* the Sixth reigned, who gave persecuted Strangers leave to have harbour within his Realm of *England*. After his abode there a while, and understanding that the preaching of the Gospel obtained some entertainment in the *Low-Countries*, he went over to give his assistance to those of his own Country.

The first-fruits of his labours were most an end in bestowing some Exhortations in such places where he found any willing to give him audience, though never so few in number.

But above all he clave to them of the City of *Lisle*, because he found there a great number of Believers who desired nothing more than to hear the Gospel publicly preached unto them. At that time also began an holy conflict *against the pestilent Sect of the Anabaptists, which as Cockle mingled it self amongst the good Corn. In this City he continued until the Flock of Christ were dispersed by reason of Persecution, and then went to *Gand*, where he wrote his Book called the *Staff of Faith*, extracted out of the ancient Fathers. After that being

desirous to profit more and more in the knowledge of such things as were requisite to be in a Minister of the Gospel, he travelled towards *Layfanna*, and thence to *Geneva*, to furnish himself with the Tongues; and thence withdrawing himself into the *Low-Countries*, he there established the Churches of *Lisle*, *Tourmay*, and of the *Valencians*; in which Cities God so prospered his labours, that he was preserved by his divine Providence, as it were in the midst of the fiery flames, from falling into the hands of his Enemies. And not to stand longer in relating the pains and travels of this faithful Servant of Christ, not only the Reformed Churches of the said Country can testify, but also these of *Dien*, *Montdidier*, and *Amiens* also, which he was an happy Instrument to support, whilst the cruel Persecutions in his own Land would not permit him to continue his Office of teaching them.

The Duke of *Bovillon* obtaining him drew him to his City of *Sedan*, where he also continued a while in publishing the glad-tidings of salvation, until the Church of *Amiens* began in the month of *August* 1576, to call him to be their Pastor. But he could not obtain leave of those of *Sedan* to depart from among them without a great deal of difficulty, because they evidently foresaw by the beginning of the Persecutions in the *Low-Countries*, into what a Sea of troublous Tempests he should be cast: and yet perceiving how the heart of this holy Man longed to be gone, to yield his assistance to those of his own Nation: at length they consented to let him go with them that requested to have his help. Now having stayed but a while there, the Brethren determined to send him to his ancient Church of the *Valencians*, who received him with no little joy, in regard the Lord had formerly ordained him to erect a Church there peculiarly.

To come now to *Peregrin de la Grange*, he was born in *Chute* nigh to *St. Marcellin* in *Dauphin*. In the Month of *June* in the year 1565, he was sent from the Schools of *Geneva*, at the request and instance of the *Valencians*, to serve in the Ministry among them. Such was his meek and mild disposition, that it won him much love and respect, and made his Ministry to be so much the more acceptable in the eyes of all men. After the demolishing of Images in the City of the *Valencians*, two Churches were employed by those of the Reformed Religion for the use of Prayer, preaching the Word, and administration of the Sacraments. Now the detaining of these Churches, the one of them being used by a Stranger, namely by the said *La Grange*, who was none of *K. Philips* Subjects, being also against the Decree of *Margaret* then Regent of the *Low-Countries*, gave occasion to *Noicurin*, as then principal Bayliff of *Hainault* and *Valence*, not only to frustrate and break all accords with the said *Valencians*, but moreover to afflict and besiege them extremely. During which siege, because the Supper of the Lord was administered in both the said Churches, it did so much the more enkindle the rage of the Enemy against them, so as when the City was taken, *La Grange* was the more cruelly used, as you shall read when we come to speak of his death.

The same *Adversaries*, who encountered *Guy de Brez*, his Companion, assailed him also; but he overcame them by the help of Gods Holy Spirit, who gave them both such power, as their Enemies were not able to resist.

They were imprisoned the 11 of *April*, and on *Saturday* the last of *May*, the Provost of the Bands came into the Prison about three of the Clock in the Morning, to give these two Prisoners warning to prepare themselves for death; for they were to die at six or thereabouts. Whereupon both of them began highly to magnifie God for his goodness, and gave the Provost thanks for the good news which he had brought them. As soon as they were up and ready, Mr. *Guy* entered into the fore-Court, bidding the rest of the Prisoners good morrow; and then testifying to them his joy, spake after this manner: *Brethren, I am this day to die for the Doctrine of the Gospel, and now, blessed be God, I joy and rejoice therein; I had not thought that God would ever have done me this honour. I feel my self replenished with joy more and more, from minute to minute, my God addeth new courage unto me, and my heart leaps for joy within me.*

Then

Why the Lords Supper was ordained. We partake of Christ in this Sacrament by the effectual working of the Holy Ghost.

Summe.

* Against which this godly Man published a learned Confutation in French, which Book I have in my hands.

Anno 1559.

Peregrin de la Grange.

His meek disposition won him much respect.

Anno
1566.

Then exhorting the Prisoners to be of good cheer, he told them it was no hard matter to die, and so by way of acclamation alleged that place out of the *Apocalypse*, *O how happy are the dead that die in the Lord; for they rest from their labours, and their works follow them*! He further befought the Prisoners to stand fast in the Doctrine of the Son of God, which he had taught them, avowing it to be the undoubted Truth, which was maintained, by him before the Bishop of Arras and many others.

Beware you do nothing, said he, against a good Conscience; for I foresee that the enemies of the Gospel will execute the utmost of their rage against us; thinking thereby to weaken our Faith, that so they might turn you from the Truth, and so causing you to do such things as should bring dishonour to the cause for which you are in Bonds. Take heed therefore ye shrink not; for if ye do, you shall certainly feel such an Hell in your Consciences, as will never cease to vex and torment you. O my Brethren, how good a thing is it to nourish a good Conscience.

One of the Prisoners asking him whether he had finished a certain work which he had begun, he answered, *No; for now I must cease to labour, because I am passing along towards the Heavenly rest: the time of my departing is at hand, I go to reap that in Heaven which I have sown on earth, I have fought a good fight, I am at the point of finishing up my course: from henceforth the Crown of Glory is laid up for me, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give unto me.* He thinks (said he with a joyful and smiling countenance) that my Spirit hath obtained Wings to soar aloft into Heaven, being invited this day to the Marriage Supper of the Lamb.

As he was speaking, the Provost came in with Bands into the Court, and putting off his Hat saluted him. Mr. Guy bade him welcome, and gave him thanks again for his good News. The Provost replied, It grieveth me much that things should be carried thus. To which Guy joyfully answered, I accept of you as of my good Friend, I love you with all mine heart. Then taking his leave of the Prisoners he went into the little Hall of the Prison.

Soon after Peregrine de la Grange entered into the same Court, who as he carried himself comfortably during all the time of his imprisonment, so then after his accustomed manner he began with an amiable countenance to cheer the Prisoners, with bidding them good morrow; and then said thus unto them; *I am this day to die for the Truth, and then the Heavenly Inheritance is prepared for me: my name is written in the Book of life never to be blotted out, because the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.*

He protested also, That for his part he never taught ought there but the pure Word of God; as for the Doctrine of the Papists, it led Souls, he said, to perdition and destruction: and thence took occasion to exhort the Prisoners to separate themselves from it, and to cleave wholly to the Doctrine of the Gospel. Then leaving them he went into another room, and called for a Brush to Brush his Hat and Cloak, causing his shoes to be blacked; For now, said he, I am bidden to the Marriage of the Lamb, where I am to feast with him forever and ever.

Going thence, some of the Prisoners came to him, and finding him sitting in the entry of the Prison upon a Bench, with Bread and Wine set before him, which was brought him for his breakfast, they asked him if he went to suffer with those shackles on his heels? *I would I might* (said he) *yea, and that they would bury them with me too, that they might manifest the inhumanity of my adversaries.* And as those Brethren comforted him, he replied, that he felt such joy of the holy Ghost in his heart, that he could neither with mouth nor Tongue express it; adding, *That God shewed him a thousand times more favour to take him after this manner out of this Transitory life, than if he had let him die in his bed by sickness: for now* (saith he) *I shall die with enjoying the benefit of all the powers of my Soul, praying the Lord to have mercy upon me.*

Then every one taking his leave of him, they retired,

and forthwith Guy and La Grange were led to the Town-hall to receive Sentence of death, namely to be hanged for transgressing the Kings commandment given at the Court of Brussels. And so not mediating at all with any of the points of Doctrine which they had preached, they especially insisted upon the admiration of the Lords Supper, against an express charge given them to the contrary.

To be short, La Grange being brought to the place of execution, and now upon the Ladder, he protested with a loud voice (notwithstanding the noise which the Soldiers kept about the Gibbet) that he died only for preaching to the People the pure Truth of God; taking Heaven and Earth to witness the same with him.

Then was Mr. Guy brought thither; who kneeling down to have made his Prayer at the foot of the Ladder, was not suffered to make an end; for lifting him up they made him by and by to ascend the Ladder. Being thereon he fastened his feet in the rungs, exhorting the People to carry themselves with all due respect towards the Magistrates, shewing how some had overruled themselves in that behalf.

Then Mr. Guy exhorted them to stand steadfast in the Doctrine which he had taught them, avouching that it was the undoubted Truth of God. He could not finish his speech fully, because the Commissioners gave a sign to the Executioner to hasten and make an end.

He was no sooner turned off the Ladder, but there fell out such a Tumult among the Soldiers, being in Arms in the Market place, that they ran up and down the City, shooting off their Pieces against such as they met; as well Papists as others, yea killing one another in a grievous manner, so as some fell down dead among many others that were wounded and hurt. And thus were they finiten with great fear without any ground thereof at all.

Notes touching the estate of the Faithful in the City of Venice, and of some executed there for the Truth, in the year 1566.

It pleased God for a long space to free this noble City from being subjected to the cruel Inquisition of the Pope, by reason whereof the face of a Church was to be discerned there, from the year 1530, to the year 1542. They enjoyed such freedom of conferring and scanning of the Points of Religion there, that they came in a manner to make profession thereof publicly; so as many strange Nations came to take notice thereof. But the Father of lies observing this began to bestir himself, by setting his Lieutenant on work, who hath his seat at Rome, to disturb these good beginnings: for it came to pass, that whilst Multitudes of good Christians flocked thither from other parts, in process of time such a course was taken by Antichrists supporters, that many of them were imprisoned, and afterward sent thence to Rome.

The rest by a new found execution, never till then heard of, were cast into the Sea, and drowned in the bottom of the same. The manner of it was thus: After they had received Sentence, an Iron Chain was fastened about their middle with a Stone of great weight tied thereto; and then were they laid upon a Plank between two Wherries, which being come to the Place appointed the Wherries parting asunder, the Martyrs were forthwith drowned. Yet for all this many ceased not still to assemble together in a place appointed for that purpose, to talk and discourse of Heavenly matters, yea, and to make some collections for relief of the poor; so as in the year 1566, they called to them a minister of the Gospel, to establish and constitute a Church among them; having also the Supper of the Lord administered to them. But some false Brethren creeping in, under pretence of making the same profession with them, betrayed them.

Then began the Popish Inquisition to be erected there with the greatest cruelty that might be, towards the maintenance whereof the Pope sent every year a certain sum of money to those holy Fathers, to be distributed among such as were appointed to be spies and revealers of such secrets as they could come to the knowledge of. Thus were many cast into the Sea and drowned; some were sent to Rome; others were detained so long in Prisons (which were like graves) that they rotted there.

Master

Which disputes were formerly omitted in regard that they were the same with those of Peregrine de la Grange.

Phil. 4.3.
Rom. 11.
29.

Mr. Anthony Ricetto, Martyr.

Amongst others who were condemned to be drowned, there was one *Malter Anthony Ricetto of Vincence* having a Son about twelve years old, who coming to visit his Father, according to the discretion of Children, besought him with tears to yield to those who had condemned him, and to save his life, that he might not be left Fatherless.

A True Christian (said his Father) *is bound to forgoe goods, Children, yea, and life it self, for the Maintenance of Gods Honour and Glory*: For which cause he was now ready and resolved to lay it down, the Lord assisting him.

The Lords of *Venice* offered to restore unto him his Patrimony, which was partly morgaged and sold, if he would submit himself to the Church of *Rome*. But he refused whatsoever conditions they this way tended unto him. Some that were Prisoners with him, namely one Mr. *Julius Ferlan* hath reported much of the abstinence, patience, and holiness of this excellent man, so far as to parallel him to another *John Baptis*. On the fifteenth day of *February* 1565. which according to our computation is, 1566. Captain *Clairmont* came unto him, and told him, that *Francis Sega* was resolved to recant. To which

Ricetto by and by replied, What tell you me of *Sega*? I will perform my Vows unto the Lord my God; and so he was led bound fast to they wherby. A Certain Priest who accompanied him, presented unto him a wooden Crucifix, exhorting him to return and to die in the favour of God, reconciling himself unto the Church of *Rome*, the holy Spouse of Christ. But *Ricetto*, rejecting that Crucifix, besought the Priest and those that followed them to come out of the snare of the Devil, to cleave to Jesus Christ; and to live, not according to the Flesh, but after the Spirit; for if you do otherwise, said he, assure your selves your unbelief will bring you into that lake of fire that shall never be quenched. For though you confess with your mouth that you knew Jesus Christ, yet you not only deny him by your works, but you persecute him in his members, being seduced, and bewitched by the Pope, who is the open enemy of the Son of God.

When they were come nigh to the two Castles, the Captain bound his hands; now, because it was very cold, he called for his cloak which they had taken from him. Then said the Wherry-man, fearest thou a little cold? What wilt thou do when thou art cast into the Sea? Why art thou not careful to save thy self from drowning? Dost thou not see that the poor flea skips hither and thither to save her life? To whom he answered, And I am now flying to escape eternal death.

Being arrived at the place where he was to suffer, the Captain put a Chain of Iron about his middle with a very heavy stone fastened thereto. Then *Ricetto*, lifting his eyes to Heaven, said, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do*. And being laid on the plank, hee said, *Lord Jesus into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*: and then pulling this weighty stone towards him, not waiting till the Boats were sundred one from another, as in such kind of executions they were wont to do, this holy man slept in the Lord; which was no small terror to the Magistrate, in that there was never any that died this kind of death before, with so much constancy and resolution.

Mr. Francis Spinola, Martyr.

The Sunday following, Master *Francis Spinola* of *Milaine*, being about the age of six and forty years, was apprehended and brought into the Prison, called *Des clefs de dix*. That often keyes, where he found poor *Francis Sega*. Two days after (which was the eight and twentieth day of *February*) *Spinola* was brought before his Judges, where they delivered into his hands a little Treatise of the Lords Supper, of which he freely confessed he was the Author; shewing that the opinion which he there maintained was this, That the Bread and Wine were the signs, and not the things signified, and therefore must not be adored. He was questioned with as touching the power of the Pope, prayer to Saints, and

Francis Sega, Martyr.

about Purgatory. He answered that the Popes power was from man, which the Roman Confistory and certain Princes had given him: but that God the Father had given Jesus Christ to be the Head of the Church, and to have all power in Heaven and Earth. What is *Peter* then, or what is *Paul*? He further added, that he would not worship nor pray to any other but to God only, as it is written. The memorial of the Saints he well approved, as of those who were the true Branches ingrafted into the Vine Christ.

Alfo for his part he acknowledgeth none other Purgatory, but the Blood of Christ, as it is manifest in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and in the first Epistle of *John*.

Then as *Spinola* was returned into his Prison *Francis Sega* (whom he was ignorant of) waited his coming, holding a Candle in his hand and passing by with his Keeper, saluted him by his name; whence it came to pass, that they two conferred together about the Doctrine of the Gospel. Now howsoever *Sega* differed from *Spinola*, touching the number of Sacraments, yet he referred himself to the judgment of the True Church of Christ in that behalf. But after that he had learned that *Spinola* had constantly stood to the defence of the Truth, he was very joyful and much comforted, saying, That God had reserved him for such a time as this, to make him partaker with him of so great consolation.

He wrote consolatory Letters to *Spinola*, committing his writings into his hands, whereof some were preserved, and the rest lost by the carelessness of a false Brother. Upon the three and twentieth day of *February*, 1567. the Keepers of the Prison told *Sega* that he was to die within one hour after the shutting in of the evening. At the hearing of which news hee intreated *Spinola*, to pray with him. After prayer, *Sega* telling him that his Soul was heavy to the death; *Spinola* gave him this answer, *Fear not, for it will not be long before it shall feel those joys which shall endure for ever*.

Being brought out of his dark Dungeon, according to the time limited, hee took his leave of *Spinola* and the rest of the Prisoners. As hee was entred into the Boat, a certain Frier began to persuade him to return into the right way. *Sega* answered, that he was already in the way of our Lord Jesus Christ, and passing on he called upon the name of God. He seemed not to be much moved at the binding of his Hands, but was a little amazed at the fastening of his Body to the Chain. Yet by and by taking unto him a Christian resolution, he took whatsoever they did unto him patiently. Being laid upon the board or plank, hee commended his Soul into the Hands of God, and being left of the two Boats (upon the edges whereof the plank was stayed) the one decliming this way, and the other that way, he fell into his Sepulchre the Sea, and died patiently.

Spinola soon after was presented the second time before his Judges, namely the tenth of *March*, where he reproved the Popes Legate with his Clergy there present, as also the Lords of *Venice* who sat in judgment upon him, because contrary to their Consciences they so persecuted the Truth of God, calling them the offspring of the Pharisees, *Caiphas*, and the Gentiles, who now, said he, kill Jesus Christ in his members. The nine and twentieth of *March* following, hee was the third time brought before them, where they asked him if he would not recant his Errors. He answered that the Doctrine he maintained was not Erroneous, but the very same Truth which Jesus Christ and his holy Apostles taught and preached, and for which all the Martyrs, as well of old time as now have willingly layd down their lives, and endured the pains of death.

After all this, *Spinola* became so weak, that he determined to strike Sail (as they say) and to apply himself to the time; being brought hither to by the advice of some, namely that he should gain a giving of his consent to what the Magistrate required of him, by means whereof he might escape their Hands. But about the tenth of *September*, coming again to himself, and espying whereunto this determination tended, hee protected before all that he would stand in the confession he had made from the first of *April* last past. Wherefore on the ninth of *August* hee was brought again before the same Judges, where he openly confirmed the same.

Anno 1567.

Mat. 23. 11.

Luke 4. 8. John 15. 1.

Heb. 1. 3.

1 John 1. 7.

The constant cy of our Martyr puts life into another.

As he did the first time hee was converted before them.

Spinola being to wa-ver.

But soon after recovers himself.

His

Anno
1566.

His Judges said, that he should either be drowned or burned alive. Then on the thirteenth of January 1566. (according to the *Venetian* account, which according to ours was 1567.) On Tuesday morning being come before the Tribunal, Sentence was pronounced upon him that hee should be drowned as an Hereticke. To which he gave them this answer, *I am no Hereticke, but the Servant of Jesus Christ.* At which words the Popes Legate commanded him to hold his peace, telling him that he lied. The next day in the morning (which was the last of January) he was brought into *St. Peters Chappel*, where he was degraded, because he had been a Priest; and the night following he was conducted unto the Sea, and there drowned in the place appointed; who died praying and blessing God with invincible constancy.

A Relation of such things as fell out under the Government of the Duke of Alva, and of many men put to death, 1567.

THe afflictions of the Protestants in the Low-Countries were multiplied this year under the dominion of *Ferdinando Duke of Alva*. It is well known that the Spaniards, using all their endeavours to rule over this Countrey at their pleasures, had no better opportunity to accomplish their design, than to establish among them their Inquisition, thereby to domineer over the goods, honors, and lives of every one. The Nobles, Citizens, and Commons did what they could to oppose the same: to which purpose they had instantly besought the King, to afford them his Royal presence, that hearing once their complaints, his Majesty might take some order for matters of so great importance; alledging to this end the example of the Emperour *Charles* his Father: who upon a business far inferior to this, adventured himself with much diligence to pass through the Enemies Country, who were but a while before reconciled; only to stay some mutinies begun in the City of *Gand*. These things had so moved his Majesty, that he made them a promiscuous Letters of his coming. But his intention was broken off by such as were the upholders of the Inquisition, that so they might with the more facility attain the end of their desires. In stead of their King then, they had sent unto them the Duke of *Alva*, who at his entrance found the Prisons replenished with Gentlemen and other personages of note, whom the Dutchess of *Parma* had left in bonds after her death.

Long did they languish in this Captivity, whilst the Duke of *Alva* by fair promises dissembled a kind of meek and gentle carriage of mind towards them, giving them some hope of a general pardon, proceeding from the Kings clemency; that thus he might catch the Lords and Governors the more cunningly into his nets, whereof the Lord *Memoral Earle of Egmond*, Prince of *Gand*, Governor of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and others of quality gave but too lamentable experience; who being fed with vain hopes were at length inhumanly put to death.

The sixteen Provinces also subjecting themselves under this new government, lost their ancient liberties and privileges; which evidently appeared by the exploits done from the year 1567. hitherto by a new Council of twelve, elect and settled there by the Duke; the principal of which were *Vergas* and *Delrio*, the Fathers of the Inquisition, which Council was commonly called the Council of *Blood*.

The death of two Barons of *Battenbourg*, the one called *Gysbrecht*, and the other *Thierri*, Brethren, with certain other Gentlemen executed the same day at *Bruxella*, 1568.

AMong many Gentlemen and Captains who were apprehended after the discomfiture of the Assembly in *Holland*, whom the Dutchess of *Parma* had imprisoned in the Castle of *Villford*, the two Brothers of *Battenbourg* most ancient Barony situated upon *Menfe*, about two miles off from *Nieuwmege*, did manifest above others how much they had labored by being intruded in the Church of *Geneva*. The elder of them was *Gysbrecht*, and the other *Diarrich* or *Thierri*; who from the flower

of their youth had constantly professed and confessed the pure Doctrine of the Gospel.

On Tuesday the first of June, Anno 1568. the Duke of *Alva* began to declare to the world his fained meekness, putting to death the same day these two Brethren, besides the Lords, *Heter Dandelat*, *Philip Wingle*, &c. They were first brought into *Provoost Spellans* house, near the Horse fair, in the City of *Bruxella*, compassed about with a strong guard, and many Drums beating, that none might hear what were their last speeches. As they went to their death, *Battenbourg* the elder seemed to be somewhat penfive, whereas *Diarrich* his Brother was very cheerful, comforting the other with his gracious words, saying, Ah Brother, is not this the day we have so much desired? Be not sorrowful now; for it is the highest honor that can befall us here to suffer for the Doctrine of the Son of God. It may be for the love you bear me, you grieve to see me dye first: I am content that you should drink of that cup before me, in regard you are the elder; if not, all is one, seeing we are going to our God.

Gysbrecht by and by replied, Think not, dear Brother, that the joy of the holy Ghost is taken from me now. I am drawing nigh to the Lord, being ready to dye for his holy name.

Then ascending the scaffold, after he had made his fervent Prayers to God, the Executioner taking off his head, he slept happily and sweetly in the Lord. His Brother following him next with such alacrity, as much astonished the spectators.

He desired, as some say, to see his Brother and when he had espied his head, he cried, *I shall by and by be with thee, my Brother.* So after he had ended his prayer, he was by a quick dispatch united unto him.

Those who testify these things report, That the other Gentleman had so much favour as to be buried; but these two Brethren were made a spectacle, being hanged up: the cause was, for that in the very same morning they suffered, as also before, they directly set themselves against the Idolatries which were proposed unto them.

The Saturday after, the fifth of June, the Earls of *Egmond* and *Horne* were beheaded, and there made a publique gazing stock. Of which two, the Earl of *Horne*, who died last, gave an evident proof of that true knowledge of God wherewith he was indued, and in which hee had more especially increased in the time of his troubles and afflictions.

An extract of a complaint with a protestation of the Prince of Orange and the Gentlemen of the Low Countries, touching their oppressions.

THis year in the Month of July, the Prince of *Orange*, *William of Nassau*, accompanied with many Lords and Gentlemen of the Low-Countries, all professors of the Gospel, for prevention of the slander and pretences of Rebellion put upon them by the enemies thereof, published in writing a Declaration; that it might appear to all, that they were so far off from plotting any Treason against the Kings Majesty, that on the contrary, they did by all the means they could acknowledge him to be their natural Prince and Sovereign. The true causes indeed for which they took up Arms under the Authority of their Prince, for their own defence, as also of those who professed the Protestant Religion, were the extortions, the confiscations of Body and goods, with the continual condemnations and putting to death even of the most Noble personages of the Countrey.

And that the Prince of *Orange* might make known to all, what injustice and cruelties were exercised upon those of the Religion, he discovered the notorious subtilties of the Cardinal of *Granvelle* and others, who under the cloaks of the pretended Catholick Religion, sought nothing else thereby but the diminishing of Gods glory, the Kings Authority, and the welfare of the common wealth, shedding the Blood of many a True Christian, by whose death followed the loss of their temporal estates; and all, forsooth, under pretence of Justice.

And

To wit *Brabant, Luxembourg, Guelderland, Flanders, Artois, Hainaut, Holland, Zealand, Namur, Zutphen, Friesland, Malines, Utrecht, Over-Yssel, and Groningen.*
* *Le Comte de Sion*

And forasmuch as tortures, vexations, banishments, executions both by fire and water, by strait imprisonments, Sword and Gibbets did still increase more and more; that for these considerations the cause was lawful and good, in taking upon them the defence of so miserable a People; to whom the Dutchess of Parma, Governess under his Majesty, had expressly permitted the preaching of the Gospel, for preventing of the perils and dangers which threatened the ruine of the said Countries.

And as the said Prince had been a faithful and loyal-Servant to his Majesty, in doing him many acceptable Services, without either sparing his person or goods, so was he also ready prest to be employed still in the like, more than at any time heretofore. And thus proceeding on further, he made it apparent to every one whose Judgment was not forestalled, that the Duke of *Alva*, who in respect of the dignities conferred upon him ought himself to be a pattern and a protector of the Nobility and Gentry, had notwithstanding put to death three-score Gentlemen, with others of Quality, rich Burgemasters of *Brussels*, and of other Cities besides; that this his ambition, being risen to a notable height of cruelty, durst put to death the Illustrious Earls of *Egmond* and *Horne*, without any shew of Law or equity, who had so faithfully served the Emperour *Charles* of famous memory in his Wars.

Yea, that he might yet further debate the Nobility of the Country, which is as it were the principal support of his Majesty; he caused the Heads of the said Earls to be set upon Poles and Forks; By such Spectacles charging upon their Parents and Friends much obloquy and disgrace. Yea, this horrible Execution did strike such a fear and terror into many, that to avoid these oppressions they fled the Country. For a conclusion he added, that all these things laid together, the issue thereof tended to the extirpation of all true Religion, and consequently the depriving of the Faithful, not only of their spiritual, but corporal good also. And therefore as a Prince, being a Native member of the Empire, he held himself obliged, in having compassion over the wrecks made among so many poor Christians, to lend them his best help and furtherance for the free passage of the Gospel, and the consolation of such of his Majesties good Subjects, as were persecuted, imprisoned and oppressed.

Before we shut up the History of the year 1568, we will add to the former Martyrs some that were executed in the *Low-Countries* at divers times in the said year, without tying our selves to any strict order touching their death.

Schoblant the Son of Barthel, John de Hues, Joris Coomans, Martyrs.

The eleventh of February there were taken and imprisoned in *Antwerp*, Schoblant the Son of Barthel, John de Hues, and Joris Coomans. After which they were all joyfull and glad in the Lord, confessing that nothing fell out in this regard, but by his Divine Providence; as it appears by Letters written to their Brethren the seventeenth of March, containing that which followeth.

Seeing that it is the will of God that we should suffer for his holy Name, and in the quarrel of his Gospel, we certify you Brethren, that we are of good courage hitherto, howsoever the Flesh continually rebels against the Spirit, counselling it ever and anon according to the advice of the old Serpent. But we are well assured that Christ who hath bruised, will also still bruise the Serpents head, and not leave us comfortless. True it is, we are now and then pricked in the heel, but that is all the Serpent can do: nor are we discouraged, but keep our Faith close to the Promises of God, who is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, having created all things of nothing.

He forsook not Joseph in Egypt, nor left the three young Men in the fiery Furnace: no, nor Daniel in the Lions Den. This is the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and of their righteous posterity; so that without fear we can say with the Prophet David, The Lord is my help, tower, strength and refuge. By such and the like Scriptures, dear Brethren, we comfort our selves in our bands, rejecting all confidence in any man whatsoever. Be not

dismaid then, good Brethren and Sisters, for our bands and imprisonment. For so is the good will of God now towards us. And therefore pray rather that he will give us grace to persevere constantly unto the end. So be it. Anno 1568.

The Examination of Schoblant, taken the 24. of March, in the presence of the Marquis, of the Bayliff, of the Secretary and many others, 1568.

Marq. W Here were you born?

Schob. In Sommerwall.

Marq. Where did you marry your Wife?

Schob. At Middleborough in Zealand.

Marq. Where were your Children baptized?

Schob. In the Church of Christ, in which true Christians are bound to baptize their Children.

Marq. Though you should say no more, we have sufficient testimony even from your own mouth.

Have you received the Lords Supper?

Schob. Yes, Sir.

Marq. Are ye not a Minister?

Schob. No, Sir.

Marq. Ought not you to submit your Judgment to that which hath been decreed in a General Council, where so many Learned men were assembled, Bishops and Cardinals, saying the same?

Schob. I have read of some Councils where the Spirit of God was not present.

Marq. Would you not now willingly return into the bosom of the holy Roman Church?

Schob. I will cleave to whatsoever God shall teach me out of his holy Word. And thus for that they parted.

On the seven and twentieth of March, Schoblant received Sentence of death; whereat he was nothing terrified, but began to sing the Song of *Simon*, and the fortieth Psalm.

The night following he wrote his last farewell to his Brethren, and excuseth Joris for not being condemned with him, although they were both presented at the same time before the Judges. I pray you dear Friends be not offended, faith he, that Joris my Fellow-prisoner is not offered a Sacrifice with me. It is not, I assure you, for denying his Saviour. But let us meditate on that which the Lord said to S. Peter; If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me. This I apply to my self at this time, for which I render humble and hearty thanks to God, who hath accounted me worthy, not only to confess the Lord Jesus with my mouth, but also to seal the same confession with my blood. I now Brethren bid you farewell, waiting with a joyfull heart the call and cry of my Husband, who now invites me to come unto him.

Out of Prison the same night before the day wherein I must be offered up a Sacrifice. Written with mine own hand.

Schoblant the Son of Barthel.

The next day he entreated the Gaoler with a great deal of earnestness that he would not suffer the Friars and Monks to come in to trouble him: for, said he, such kind of People can do me no good, seeing the Lord hath already sealed up the assurance of my salvation in my heart by his holy Spirit. I am now going to my Spouse, putting off this earthly Mantle, to enter into the celestial glory, where I shall be freed from all Superstitions. And then he added further, Would to God I might be the last that these Tyrants should put to death, and that their thirst after blood might be so quenched with mine, that the poor Church of God from henceforth might enjoy her rest and quiet.

Having sung the fortieth Psalm with his Fellow-prisoner, concluding the same with saying the Lords Prayer, they killed one another, and commended one another unto God with many tears.

After which the Executioner came in, and when he had bound him, he led him away. In going out of the Prison he said, farewell Joris, I go before thee, follow thou me. Joris answered, so will I Brother, I will follow thee. In his passage towards the place

Joh 14.18.
Rom 16.20.
Gen 3.15.
Mat 11.31.

Gen 22.1.
Dan 3.25.
Dan 6.21.

Psalm 118.

Anno 1566. place of Execution, he forgot not his Brethren, but manifested his love to them by such signs as he could. Being tied to the Stake he was burned alive, calling upon the Name of the Lord, in the year 1568. the tenth day of July.

John Hues finished his course in Prison.

Here followeth a Letter written by *Joris Coomans*, out of Prison, to the Church of God in *Antwerp*.

Gen. 15. 1. Brethren I write unto you being left alone, whereas we were three in number; John Hues is now dead in the Lord. I did my best to comfort him whilst he breathed. So as now I am alone, and yet not altogether alone, seeing the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob is with me. He is my exceeding great reward, and will not fail to reward me as soon as I shall have laid down this earthly Tabernacle: pray unto God that he will strengthen me to the end; for from hour to hour I expect the dissolution of this house of Clay.

Not long after, *Joris* was examined by the Magistrates, who questioning with him of his Faith, he answered freely thereto, proving what he said by the holy Scriptures.

The Marquis asked him, if he were resolved to dye for the Faith he professed.

Yes, saith *Joris*, I will not only venture to give my Body, but my Soul also for the confirmation of it.

Marquis. How came you to understand the Scripture, seeing you have not the Latin Tongue?

Joris. Call in hither your Doctors, and I will let them see that I have learning sufficient to confute them. You greatly admire them, but Christ gives thanks to his heavenly Father for hiding his secrets from the wise and prudent, and revealing them to Babes.

Marq. I hitherto spied you in hope to see you recant, but you grow still worse and worse.

Joris. Sir, during the time of my Imprisonment I have shed many a salt Tear, and by the Grace of God I am become much more resolute and better. But to fashion my self according to your appetite I have no stomach at all, no, although you burn me, as you have done my Brother *Seoblant*.

Marq. And I can tell you that it will cost you but little better cheap.

Joris. I am ready if it be to morrow.

Then said one of the standers by. Sir, he hath neither Wife, Child nor Goods to lose, and that makes him so willing to die.

Joris. Be it that I have none of all these, yet must I suffer death for Conscience sake. But what care you for that? I would you could be silent and bethink your selves well what you do; you shall answer these your doings at the last day, where you must all appear, and then there will be no respect of persons.

Marq. If you use this kind of language I will commit you to the Hole; where you shall be fed only with Bread and Water, and that I think will tame your Tongue. Therefore be quiet and sing me no more of these Psalms.

Joris. Well Sir, I may well refrain my outward voice, but neither you nor all the world besides, shall ever be able to let me from praising God in my heart; nor shall you sit as Lords over my Conscience.

Marq. We have heard you preach but too long. Then he said, Gaoler, take him and cast him into the Hole. Then was he put among Thieves, as a Lamb among many Wolves. Thus this constant Witness of Christ remained firm (scorning both their threats and torments) till they had burned him as they did *Seoblant*. August 14. the year 1568.

Giles Annik, John Annik his Son, and Lovis Meulen, Martyrs 1568.

Persecution grew still hot in Flanders.

Giles Annik, with John Annik his Son, were driven from *Renay* in Flanders, and retired unto *Endon* in East Friesland. But by reason of their sudden de-

parture, they could not take their Wives with them; and therefore returned thither again in the year 1568 to convey them thence. The tyranny of the Duke of *Alva* and his Spaniards was then in the height; by reason whereof they durst not enter the Town openly, but took up their lodging in the Evening at an honest mans house, called *Lovis Meulen*. Now it was this night in which the Enemies had fore-appointed to make a secret search in the Town for such as professed the Gospel, knowing nothing of these two who were but now come thither. So passing by this house, and seeing the light of a Candle in it, they imagined to meet with their prey there; wherefore forcing the door open, they took these two Prisoners, together with their Host; God having appointed them to be the Witnesses of Christ.

So after they had been detained in bands, they were all three condemned by the Magistrates to death, as Heretics. Giles was the first that they brought to the place of Execution, and when the Priests offered to put their Idol into his hands, he refused it: whereat his Adversaries being moved caused him to be gagged, that the people might not hear him speak ought to their edification. Then was he burned, dying constantly and blessedly in the Lord.

Forthwith the Serjeants were sent to fetch his Son out of Prison; who, being endued with a singular fortitude and constancy, called to him one whose name was *John Camber*, being the first man that laid hold on him at his apprehension, saying, I forgive thee my death: then preparing himself to die in the Lord, the Hangman cut off his Head. Likewise *Lovis Meulen*, who having lodged these Strangers, according to the Rule of the Apostle, was executed by the Sword, which death he willingly endured for the Name of Christ in the year 1568.

Louyes de Kiken-Poof, Martyr, 1568.

THIS Woman was the Widow of one *Huges Moyers* born in *Renay*, about the age of sixty years, one that truly feared God. The Magistrate of *Renay* imprisoned her in the year 1568. because two years before the with her Children had confessed that a Minister should preach in an Out-house on the backside of her dwelling; she was also very charitable in relieving the Poor, every way shewing forth the fruits of a true living Faith. Having been kept in Prison seven months, she was condemned to die the nine and twentieth of July. After her condemnation the Curate of *St. Martins* came into the Prison, purposing to have heard her confession. But the Woman spake unto him with such a Divine grace, and with a Spirit so replenished with zeal, that the tears trickled down his Cheeks, and going his way he said, I came to comfort you, but I have need rather to be comforted of you.

Then being brought by the Serjeants to the place of Execution she was beheaded; unto which she yielded her self with much boldness and joy of heart, July the ninth.

A strange accident fell out upon the death of this Woman; for a Cousin of hers being with Child, and ready to lye down at the same time, when this Martyr was going to be executed, hearing the sound of the Bell (which usually toils when any are to suffer) she fell into a trembling, and remained so three weeks, beyond her reckoning, her Fruit stirring to and fro in her Womb, as if a Weaver had moved his Shuttle from one end of his Web to another; the neck of it bowing down as if it had been broken with some blow. By which it appeared that these cruel Tyrants were the cause of this poor Innocents death. The Woman viewing this strange sight sent for the foresaid Curate; who being come in, and beholding this spectacle, suddenly fountained, and was never well after to his dying day.

Notes touching Christopher Gauderin, Martyr, and others.

THIS Christopher was bred up under the Abbot of *Enname*; who dying, the said Christopher added himself to the making of Linnen Cloth, which he quickly grew expert in. But having been trained up in a bad School, as soon as the Sunday was come, he spent

Anno
1566.The faith of
God con-
fess.

and consumed all his weeks earnings. Now by reason of a Friend of his that wrought wit' him, called *Louis Stallens*, God brought him into the right way. For the said *Louis* would often tell him, that he ought rather to dil. bute of his gettings to the Poor, than to spend them so wastfully; for if he continued so, God would surely call him to an account for it. These and the like exhortations so wrought upon this spendthrift, that he began to alter and change his course; so as instead of frequenting Taverns, he became a diligent hearer of Sermons, and also gave himself much to the study of the holy Scriptures: insomuch that not long after he was called by the Church to the Office of a Deacon, the which he discharged carefully and faithfully.

Having occasion to go to a place called *Audenard*, in the month of *March*, 1567. to make distribution of certain Alms to the poor there, he was arrested and sent Prisoner to the Castle by the Bayliff, who had formerly seen him in the said Abbots house. The Bayliff asked him how he came now to turn Hereticke; for you learned not this (said he) of your Master the Abbot. Nay Sir, said *Christopher*, I am no Hereticke, but a right believing Christian; which he taught me not indeed, but rather other vile qualities, the which I am ashamed now to rehearse.

In Prison he had many disputes touching matters of Faith, which he so defended and maintained by the Word of God, that he put his Adversaries to silence.

Some objecting against him his youth, being about the age of thirty years, he would tell them, that mans life consisted but of two days, viz. the day of his birth, and the day of his death, and therefore he must needs die once; for my part therefore (said he) I am now willing by death to pass into eternal life.

Perceiving in the evening that he was certainly to die the next day, the striking off of his Bolts being a sign thereof, he ceased not to pour out his Soul to God in prayer, until ten of the Clock, doing the like in the morning very early. His Prayer being ended, he put on a clean shirt, and washed himself, saying to his fellow Prisoners, Brethren, I am now going to be married, I hope before noon to drink of the Wine of the Kingdom of heaven. When he came down he found three Prisoners who were prepared to suffer with him; namely *John Liebert*, *W. Spiere*, and a Woman called *Jannekin Bearts*.

These four exhorted one another, and encouraged each other to suffer death constantly. Which done, a Friar forthwith presented himself before them, coming as he said to convert them. But *Christopher* said unto him, Away from us thou Seducer of Souls, for we have nothing to do with thee. Whereupon he by and by departed. Then came in the Hangman; who as he was busie about them to put into every one of their mouths a Gag, they bade one another farewell. *John Liebert* said, What shall we not have liberty in this our last hour to praise God with our voice and Tongue? *Christopher* answered, Brother, let not this discourage us; for the greater wrong our Enemies think to do unto us, the more assistance we shall find from God: and so never ceased to comfort them till himself was gagged also.

A confident
speech.

Then the Executioner brought them to the Town-houle to hear their Sentence read; which in sum was this, That they should be hanged because they had been present at the hearing of Sermons. Thus these three men yielded up their Souls to God with admirable constancy, at the Gallows.

The Woman, being every way virtuously given, was condemned to be beheaded, because she had sung Psalms, and made a certain exhortation out of the Word of God to her Neighbours, as a womans up-lifting. She was beheaded on the back side of the Town-houle. Now because her Body was much enfeebled, she was caused to sit upon a stool, receiving three blows with the Sword overthrowing the Teeth. Yet she constantly sate still till she obtained the Crown of Martyrdom, the same day in which the forementioned Martyrs died, which was the second of June. Anno 1568.

Piere Coulogue, and Betken his Maid-Servant, Martyrs, Anno 1568.

His *Peter Coulogue*, by his Trade being a Goldsmith dwelling in *Breda*, had long served the Church there in the office of a Deacon; wherein he carried himself with the good approbation of all. His house also was free for the Assembly to meet in, as oft as the exercises of Christian Religion were performed amongst them.

But the Enemies of the Truth not enduring the sweet favour hereof imprisoned him, and laid him in Irons: which the faithful there took very heavily, using all the means they could to have access to visit him. But the Enemies taking knowledge thereof caused him to be conveyed into the Castle; whence both his and the Churches sorrow was yet further encreased, because they could not now come to be a comfort one to another.

His Servant *Betken*, being very zealous and well read in the Scriptures, brought him his ordinary dyet from day to day, never ceasing to comfort and confirm him out of the Word of God. All which she had liberty to do nine months together. At length they imprisoned her also; whereof she was right glad, thinking her self happy to suffer ought for righteousness sake. Not long after *Peter* was put to the Torture; which after he had endured, they came in like manner to his Maid-servant *Betken*: who spake unto them after this manner, My Masters, wherefore will you put me to this Torture, seeing I have no way offended you? Is it for my faiths sake? You need not torment me for that; for as I was never ashamed to make a confession thereof, no more will I be now at this present before you; I will freely shew you my mind therein. But for all this they proceeded on with that which they intended. Which the perceiving said, Alas my Masters, if it be so that I must suffer this pain, then give me leave first to call upon God. To which her request they yielded. Now whilst she was making her Prayer, one of the Commissioners was so surpris'd with fear and Terror that by and by he swooned, and could not be fetched again. And thus the poor Maid escaped the Torture.

Soon after being examined touching her Faith, they condemned these two Innocents to be burned. Now as they were led to be executed, great sorrowings and complaints were heard among the People. But as for *Peter* and his Maid, they prayed to God with ardent affection, that he would perfect the good work which he had begun in them, and assist them with the Power of his holy Spirit, until they had finished their course.

The courage and constancy of the said *Betken* did so move many of the godly, both Men and Women, that not casting what peril or danger might ensue thereof, they brake through the Multitude, embracing the Prisoners, and praising God for their constancy; saying, Fight manfully, for the Crown is ready prepared for you.

After they were come where they should suffer; *Betken* began to speak unto the People with an amiable countenance, saying thus unto them, Brethren and Sisters, be you always obedient to the Word of God, and fear not those that can kill the Body, for on the Soul they can have no power: as for me, I am now going to meet my glorious Spouse the Lord Jesus Christ. And then falling both down upon their knees, they prayed to the Lord with great devotion. Being risen up from prayer, the Executioner laying hold of them bound them with Chains to the Stake, and then strangled *Peter*, but would not strangle the other, who encouraged her Master till he had yielded up the Ghost, and till the fire had taken hold of herself. Then was she heard and seen to magnifie the Lord out of the midst of the flames; so as many among the Multitude were ravished at her invincible constancy. Thus did these two Martyrs of the Lord give up their last breath in the fire. *Martyr the 29 Anno 1568.*

Anno
1568.

Giles Meyere Martyr, Anno 1568.

Mat. 23. 37.

Ad. 2. 10. 20.

IN Flanders, at a place called *Vinderhout*, distant from *Gand* about a mile, there was a certain Curate called *Giles de Meyere*, whom it pleased God to illuminate with the true knowledge of his Gospel. Now having received a Talent from God, he would not hide it with the *Evil servant*; but sought all means how to imploy the same. He had the fear of God always before his eyes, manifesting the same as well in his Doctrine as in his Conversation, being careful to instruct those whom God had committed to his charge. Yea, he went from House to House comforting and exhorting every one as occasion served, out of the Word of God; above all, labouring with them to beware of the abominable Superstitions of the Papacy.

He taught them; that Forgiveness of Sins, the Grace of God, and Eternal Life, was not to be obtained by our own Merits, but by the free and only Grace of God in Jesus Christ.

The Clergy of *Gand* having notice given them hereof, namely, that their Doctrine and Authority would come to be little set by, if this Curate should proceed on thus in his course without let, they never rested until they had pursued him to the death. They imprisoned him then, in the Month of *March*, Anno 1567. calling him into a deep and dark Hole, where for a certain space he remained, bearing this affliction patiently and constantly, calling upon God night and day, praising him for effecting him worthy to suffer for his sake. In which his afflictions many good people, who came often to visit him, received such instruction and consolation from him, that they were hardly drawn to leave him, till of necessity they must; their departure was always accompanied with abundance of tears.

The Priests and others of that Rabble, ceased not likewise to ply him with Disputations, thinking by that means to make him renounce his Faith; but to no purpose: for he remained still firm and constant, keeping himself close to the Word of God written, which so vexed them, that they procured him to be laid in the Castle, where his Sentence was to be hanged: The Spaniards being then at *Gand*, took him thence, bound him, girding and straining him strangely with cords, and would needs have him burned. As he was led thither, they abused him shamefully with mocks, thrusting him forward, and striking him cruelly: The Captain of the Band gave him a blow over the face with his Gantlet, which much disfigured him. Finally, these Tyrants handled him worse than any Dog, only because his patient and constant carriage of himself tormented and enraged them.

Being come to the place, they thrust him into his little Cabin, piled up with Fagots and Wood, and then set fire unto him; where he was heard distinctly and plainly to use these words, (albeit they had gagged him) *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit*. Thus this faithful Witness of Jesus Christ died quietly and constantly in the Lord, *April* the fourth, Anno 1568.

Among these sad Relations, a little to quicken and refresh the spirit of the Reader, I will here insert a Letter full of Consolations, written out of Prison to the Faithful, by one William Touart Merchant, who had his dwelling in the City of Lille in Flanders.

THis honourable Personage, being come to the Age of Eighty years, or thereabouts, used his House for the space of fourteen or fifteen years as a Church, where in the Assembly in the City of *Lille* commonly met. Being chafed and banished thence in the year 1561. he withdrew himself for a while to *Tournay*, whence he was constrained to fly, and to go to *Amiens* and *Mouledier*, Cities of *Fleardy*, that there he might enjoy the pure preaching of the Gospel. Afterward returning into his own Country he came to reside in the City of *Antwerp*, where after he had continued many years, he was at length imprisoned and condemned to be burned with two others, who suffered for the same cause. But it pleased God so to dispose of him, that he died another kind of death, to shew that his chosen Servants have to triumph over the

same, some one way, and some another. For being plunged into a Cistern or Tub full of water, he was drowned in Prison, and then they carried his Body out of the City to a place called *Berken*, where the dead bodies of the Condemned are laid upon the Wheels or Crutch. Among many Letters which he wrote during the time of his Imprisonment, my Author hath selected out this one, which here followeth.

Dear Brethren and Sister: in Jesus Christ, I most humbly thank my good God that he hath so fortified and comforted me by his Grace, that I feel my self more cheered by lying in this dark Prison, than if I were walking in the open Streets or Fields. I say, this I feel according to the spirit; for as touching the flesh, what doth it apprehend here but stinking vapours and smoke?

Wherefore, my Beloved, if it so fall out that you be apprehended for the Name of Jesus Christ, fear not the Prison, nor those that have power to kill the Body; for having done that, they can go no further. Be ye not afraid then, seeing it is the reward which our good Captain Jesus Christ hath promised to all his faithful Soldiers and Servants. He who turns his back in this Conflict goes by the loss; but whosoever fights manfully, obtains in the end the Crown, not a Crown of Gold, but of Glory immortal. We here lay down a fading life, filled with griefs and troubles, to change the same for a life everlasting; we put off the rags of this mortal flesh, to be clothed with robes immortal; we forsake a loathsome life for joy and felicity eternal; ought any gain or exchange to be compared with this? O sweet and happy Martyrdom, how dost thou dignify and enrich us, in despite of the World, Devil, and our own Flesh! And which of us now can complain, seeing our Sovereign Lord and Master hath so expressly foretold it to all his followers? Will any man come after me, saith he? Let him then take up his Cross and follow me. Let us bear, oh let us then bear the Cross cheerfully and with joyfulness, that we may be received in the presence of his heavenly Father: for it is not only given us to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake; Phil. 1. 2. 1. and if we suffer with him, then we shall also reign with him.

O that we could admire his bounty, who no sooner impleys us in his work, but hath the wages ready in his hand wherewith to recompence us. Your sorrow, saith he, shall be turned into joy. Let us then cast off every weight that presseth down, and whatsoever else that stands in our way to Heaven-ward; be it Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, Husband, Child, yea, and our own Life also. Let us with the wise Merchant-man sell all, that with him we may purchase that precious Pearl. How happy do I esteem them who are called to suffer, and leave their life for confessing the Name of Jesus Christ? For the eternal Sun of God will confess their Names before his heavenly Father, and his holy Angels. They shall be clad with white Robes, and shine as the Sun in the Kingdom of Heaven, filled with gladness in the presence of the Lamb. They shall eat of the fruit of the Tree of Life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God. Rev. 2. 7.

Let us fix the eyes of our minds upon these so great and precious promises of Jesus Christ, which be hath made to all those which persevere in well doing unto the end. O how happy shall we be, when we are delivered from these bodies of death, to live for ever with our God! Let us continually pray then with the Disciples, Lord, increase our faith. O dear Brethren! remember me always in your Prayers, who am bound here in the bonds of Antichrist. Remember these also who are in bonds, as if you were bound with them; pray, I say, without ceasing; for our Adversary the Devil is always compassing us about with his fetches, to cause our hearts to faint. And you are not ignorant what a potent Enemy our own Flesh is unto us. But I confidently believe that our good God, who hath begun this good work in me, will perfect the same even unto the day of Christ.

Fare ye well.

It was strange to see what spectacles of dead Bodies, slain by the Bloody Inquisition, were to be gazed on in a manner in every place: especially in the Cities of *Tournay*; and of the *Valencians*, in regard of the Multitudes

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tudes of Believers, both of men and women, who had long languished in sundry Prisons, in great misery and necessities. Now that we may not forget what fell out in the beginning of this year 1569. thus it happened.

In the City of *Valence* were executed seven and fifty persons, whereof the greater part were Burgeses of the City; only because they clave to the true Faith of Jesus Christ.

This slaughter was distributed into three several days. Ten were beheaded on *Munday* the four and twentieth day of *January*; twenty on *Tuesday* following; and the other twenty the day after that; and so the seven in their order after the rest, not without much astonishment and lamentations of the poor people, with the remainder of the Burgeses of that City.

A notable Cruelty executed upon a good woman, called Perrette Curte, in the year 1569.

As she was travelling from *Orleanse* to a place called *Montargis*, where she intended to meet her Husband, called *Mr. Anthony Chanoriner des Meringes*, who had escaped the fury of his Enemies: she being in her Inn at supper, two or three desperate Villains knocked at the door, and coming in, asked of the said Curte, *Art thou not Meringes Wife?* She answered, *Yes*. Then rapping forth execrable Blasphemies, they said, *Thou art she we looked for*. This done, they stripped her into her Smock, took away her moneys and rings from her, and brought her to the River side; where after great Blasphemies, they said, *Confess thee*. The woman answered, *Seeing I must dye, give me leave to call upon God first*. They deriding her, said, *Pray then, let us hear what kind of Prayer thou wilt make*. She having in her prayers commended her Soul to God; one of them swore, *Gods death, is this all? Wilt thou say nothing else?* Then said one of them to another, *Let us cast her into the River*: which they agreed to do; some taking her by the head, and others by the heels, and so throwing her in, heaped great pieces of Ice upon her to cause her to sink, and then went their way. But understanding that the poor woman had got upon a great flake of Ice, to save her self thereon. *Peter Gouge* returned, who was one of the murderers, and had betrayed her into the hands of the rest, notwithstanding her Husband had covenanted with him to convey her to him in safety: This *Gouge*, I say, finding her there, gave her a deaths wound, the which had never come to light, had not the said *Gouge* confessed the same, being imprisoned by the Dutches of *Ferrare* for that very fact; yet escaped he unpunished (contrary to the Law of Provols) albeit he was sent to the Provost Marshal of *Montargis* to that end, and was set at liberty, for the hatred which these bare against the Doctrine of the Gospel, whereof the said *des Meringes* was a Minister.

Now the dead body floating to and fro upon the water, rested no where, until it came over against the Lodging where the said *des Meringes* lay (as if it had there demanded execution of Justice upon the Offenders) where being known, and conveyed thence, was buried by some of the Assembly who yet remained in the City.

Another Cruelty committed in Orleanse about the same time.

A Woman in the City of *Orleanse* was constrained by the Murderers (who broke in upon her Husband in the night) to stand and hold the Candle to them, whilst they murdered him.

Of the coming of the Queen of Navarre to the City of Paris in France, with the manner of her sickness and death there.

Before I come to mention the bloody Massacres of France, especially that of *Paris*, Anno 1572. which made way to all the rest, I cannot omit to place here, as an entrance thereunto, the History of that noble and virtuous Lady *Jane de Albert*, Queen of *Navarre*, because it contains much matter worthy of due observation.

This good Queen, before she could be drawn to come to *Paris* to solemnize the Marriage of her Son, the Prince

of *Navarre*, with the Sister of *Charles* the Ninth, then King of *France*, received Letters upon Letters from the said King, to accompany the Prince her Son in that Solemnity: now, whereas she cast some doubts touching her Sons marriage with one of another Religion, the King assured her that all things should be so wrought, as should give her good satisfaction and content; promising that he would get a dispensation from the Pope to that end. But when the Queen understood that the King was minded to have this Marriage solemnized at *Paris*, she would by no means hear of it: For I will not, said she, put any confidence in that seditious people, being the sworn Enemies both of my self and mine.

Still the King persisted in his sute for the obtaining of the same at her hands. Also having intelligence by some of his Agents, that the Queen of *Navarre* began a little to waver, he solicited her yet once again to come, assuring her that all things should be carried in such a peaceable sort, that she should have no cause to complain. At length the Queen came from *Rochel* to *Blays* in the Month of *March*, 1572. with great attendance, where it is incredible to think what welcome she had on all sides, especially from the King and his Brethren, &c. who yet, when all was done, could say to his Mother, *Now Madam, have I not quit my self well? Let me alone, and I will bring them all into the Net*.

In *April* following were the Articles concluded concerning the Marriage of the Prince of *Navarre* with the Kings Sister. In the beginning of *May* the King wooes the Queen of *Navarre* again to come to *Paris* for preparing of things fitting for this Marriage; which she accordingly yielded unto, and parting from *Blays* on the sixth of the said Month, came to *Paris* on the fifteenth of the same. After which she went from place to place in the City into sundry Houses and Shops, to find out such things as might tend to the adorning of the day of so great a Solemnity.

The Queen-mother could by no means brook this good Queen; and therefore not finding with what colour she could dispatch her with the rest, and yet fearing the height of her spirit if she should survive, as also that she could not then so work upon the flexibility of the Prince her Son as she intended, she consulted with one *Rene*, whose practise it was to impose things; who by such means adventured to poison the Prince of *Conde* by the scent of a poisoned Apple, which upon some suspicion was first tried upon a Dog; and it had almost cost the Princes Chyrurgion his life, by smelling too nigh thereto. This *Rene*, selling to the Queen of *Navarre* his perfumed Drugs, found the way how to poison her therewith, although others thought the contrary. But the said *Rene* was heard afterwards to make his brags, that he had the like in store for two or three more, who suspected no such matter.

On *Wednesday* the fourth of *June*, the Queen fell sick of a continual Fever, and kept her bed; which proceeded, as it was given out, from the grief she had in her Lights, wherein by long continuance was bred an Impostume, she being also disordered with the heat of the Season and her extraordinary Journeys. This burning Fever grew so strong upon her, that within five days after she died, to the great grief of the better sort, but to the joy of the secret Council.

The Malady indeed was in her Brain, which was not searched: in which the Queen-mother had an hand, though she seemed much to mourn for the affliction of her good Friend. Now so far as in the time of her sickness she manifested with what Spirit she was guided, we will here set down the true narration of her behavior, both in the same her sickness, and also at her death.

Perceiving in her self by the strength of the Disease (howsoever others figured it) that she could not long continue, she made her self ready to receive from the hand of God that which he had appointed concerning her; and to that end requested the night have such light about her, as might comfort her in this case out of the Word of God, as also to pray with her and for her, according to that which *S. James* saith, *Is any sick among you, Let him call for the Elders of the Church*, and let them pray over such a one, knowing that the fervent Prayer of a righteous man availeth much with God.

Anno 1572.

Pope Pius 5. whilst he lived, could by no means endure to hear of, or give his consent to this marriage: but he died, and then way was made for this marriage to be concluded.

John 5. 16.

Anno
1566

Heb. 12.

Thus, according to her desire, a Minister resorting unto her, shewed out of the Scriptures, That Christians ought in all things to submit themselves to the will of God, as to the Father of Spirits, that they might live. And albeit the rigor of his chastisements doth sometimes seem to our flesh, as if they were sent to none other end but for our ruin and destruction; yet ought we to consider, that because he is just, he can do nothing but justly, and being a Father, he cannot but therein seek the welfare of his afflicted Children.

To which she replied, I take all this, faith she, as sent from the hand of God my most merciful Father; nor have I during this extremity, feared to dye, much less murmured against him for inflicting the same upon me; knowing that whatsover he doth, he doth the same so, as all in'the end shall turn to my everlasting good.

The Minister continuing in his speech, added, That the causes of sicknesses and diseases must be sought beyond the course of Physick, which always looks to the corruption of the humours, or to the more noble parts of the Body any way disordered: for howsoever it was not amiss to have respect to these things, as to second causes, yet ought we to ascend higher, namely to the first, even to God himself, who disposed of all his Creatures as it pleased him. He it is that makes the wound and heals, that kills and makes alive. And therefore to him we ought to direct our Prayers for comfort in all our griefs and suffering, and in the end for full deliverance; seeing it is no hard matter with him to restore health unto us, if his good pleasure be such.

Deut. 32. 39.

To this she answered, That she depended wholly upon Gods providence, knowing that all things are wisely disposed by him, and therefore besought him to furnish her with all such graces as he saw to be necessary for her salvation. As for this life, said she, I am in a manner weaned from the love of it, in regard of the afflictions which have followed me from my youth hitherto, but especially because I cannot live without daily offending my good God, with whom I desire to be with all my heart.

Deut. 32. 16.

The Minister told her, That long life, how full of troubles soever it were, was notwithstanding to be esteemed among the blessings of God, seeing his promise implies so much; and not only so, but because our life may many ways serve to his glory, and it hath an honour and a pledge of his favour, even as it is to him whom his Prince employs long in his service, having had experience of his fidelity for many years together. In which respect she was earnestly requested to pray, That if it were the will of God to employ her yet longer in his service, for the further enlargement of his Gospel, that he would grant unto her such recovery of health and good disposition of body, that with renewed strength she might be encouraged to finish her course much more nobly than hitherto.

Whereupon she protested, That in regard of her own particular, her life was not dear unto her, seeing so long as she lived in this frail flesh, she was still prone and apt to sin against God: only, said she, her care was somewhat for her Children (which God had given her) in respect they should be so soon deprived of her now in their young years; yet not doubting, said she, but although it should please God to take me from them, that himself will be a Father and a Protector over them, as he hath been to me in my greatest afflictions; and therefore I commit them wholly to his government and fatherly care. These were her very words.

The Minister said, That he blessed God to see in her Majesty this assurance of Faith, and so to cast her care upon the Providence of God, praying her still to persevere therein, which would sufficiently seal unto her the truth of her Faith. And thus, said he, did the Patriarchs in times past commit the care of their Posterity over into the hands of God; as may appear by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, touching their several blessings.

Gen. 24. 1.
Gen. 27. 36.
Gen. 31. 2. & 40.

But yet it was very requisite, as he said, that she should make choice of such, who, for their sincerity both in Life and Doctrine, might continue to water in these young Primely Plants the Seeds of Piety, which had been sown in them by so great pain and industry; seeing it was to be hoped, that the example of her Faith and Constancy in the Service of God, which she had set before them, would serve as a perpetual inducement to imitate her so noble Vertues.

Now whereas she had again declared, That death was not terrible unto her, because it was the way by which we pass hence to our eternal rest: The Minister told her, That Christians had little cause to fear death, in regard they should not dye at all, according to Christ's words in the Gospel of John, He that liveth and believeth in me shall never dye. For death (so to speak properly) is no death to them, but a sleep; being often so called in Scriptures; and therefore Christ for their sakes hath overcome and triumphed over it in his own person. So as now we may cry out with S. Paul, O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?

Because by death we pass to life. Joh. 8. 51, 52. John 11. 26. John 12. 13. Acts 7. 60. 1 Cor. 15. 55

She was often admonished by him to make Confession of her Sins before God, shewing, That bodily Diseases tended to the dissolution of Nature, and that death was the wages of sin; declaring moreover, that by this her chastisement she might discern what she had deserved, if God should now enter into judgment with her, not only in regard of the fall of our first Parents, in which guilt she was enwrapped, as well as others, but also by her own personal sins, seeing the best of men or women in the world are in themselves but poor, miserable and wretched offenders: yea, if the Lord should punish us according to our demerits, we could expect nothing at his hands but eternal death and condemnation.

Rom 6. 23.

Rom 5. 12.

At these words she began, with her hands and eyes lifted up to Heaven, to acknowledge, That her sins which she had committed against the Lord were innumerable, and therefore more than she was able to reckon up: But yet she hoped that God for Christ's sake, in whom she put her whole reliance, would be merciful unto her.

Psal. 19. 13.

From the later clause of her speech the Minister took occasion to declare at large upon what ground she was to expect the fruit of this mercy of God in Christ; seeing the whole have no need of a Physician, but they that are sick: and therefore Christ faith in that place, He came not to call the righteous, but sinners unto repentance: And that he is ready to fill the hungry with good things, whereas in the mean while he stands the rich empty away. Of all which, said he, you ought so much the rather to be persuaded in your Conscience, by how much the more the Holy Spirit witnesseth to your spirit that you are the Child of God, Crying in you, Abba, Father. For what is Faith else, but a firm trust and assurance of the good will of God, manifested towards us in his blessed Son.

Mark 2. 17.

Luke 2. 13.

Now the Minister, fearing he might some way offend her by his over-long Discourse, held his peace; the rather because the Physicians thought that a long continued speech might be hurtful unto her; but she on the contrary earnestly requested him not to forbear speaking unto her about these matters of life and eternal salvation; adding, that she now felt the want of it, in regard that since her coming to Paris, she had been somewhat remiss in hearing such Exhortations out of the Word of God: And therefore I am now the more glad, faith she, to receive comfort out of it in this my so great extremity.

Rom. 8. 16. 17. What faith is.

The Minister then endeavoured to set before her the happiness of Heaven, and what those joys were which the faithful there possess in the presence of God: which when the Scriptures intend to discover unto us, they only tell us that the eye hath not seen, nor hath the ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man, to conceive what those things are, which God hath prepared for them that love him. To which purpose he used this Similitude; As if a King, minding greatly to honour some noble Personage, should bring him to his Court, and there shew him his state and attendance, his Treasures, with all his most precious Jewels: even so, faith he, will the Lord one day reveal to all his elect and faithful people, his magnificence and glory, with all the Treasures of his Kingdom, after he hath gathered them home to himself, decking and adorning them with light, incorruption and immortality.

Psal. 116.

1 Cor. 2. 9.

This happiness therefore being so great, her Majesty, he said, ought to be the less careful about the leaving of this transitory life, seeing that for an earthly Kingdom, which he was now to forego, he should inherit an heavenly; and for temporal good things, which vanish and come to nothing in the using, she should for ever enjoy those that were eternal and everlasting: For her faith being now firmly settled upon our Lord Jesus Christ, she might be assured to obtain eternal Salvation by him. On which

Psal. 116.

1 Cor. 2. 9.

Psal. 116.

1 Cor. 2. 9.

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words he took occasion to direct his speech in more particular manner unto her, saying :

Madam, do you verily believe that Jesus Christ came into the world to save you? And do you expect the full forgiveness of all your sins, by the shedding of his Blood for you?

To the which she readily answered the did; believing that he was her only Saviour and Mediator, looking for salvation from none other, knowing that he hath abundantly satisfied for the sins of the whole World, and therefore was assured that God for his sake, according to his gracious promises in him, would have mercy upon her.

Thus you have in part the godly speeches which passed from this religious Lady in the beginning of her sickness; all which was within the space of three or four days. Howsoever before that, and since also, she ceased not to continue the same her fruitful and comfortable communications, now and then sending forth most affectionate sighs to God, as a testimony of that hope and desire she had in enjoying his Presence; often uttering these words, *O my God, in thy good time deliver me from this body of death, and from the miseries of this present life, that I may no more offend thee, and that I may attain to that felicity which thou in thy Word hast promised me.*

Neither did she manifest her pious affection by these her words only, but therewithal shewed a joyful and resolute countenance, as the vehemency of her sickness could bear; which gave sufficient proof to all that beheld her, that the fear of death could not drive her from the steadfastness of her Faith.

When she had finished these her consolatory speeches, they usually went to prayer; intreating the Lord that he would arm her with constant patience, and have mercy upon her. Which Prayer it shall not be altogether impertinent to insert in this place, serving as a Form of Prayer upon the like occasion.

The Prayer.

O Lord our God, we consule here before thy Divine Majesty, that we are altogether unworthy of thy infinite mercies, by reason of our manifold iniquities; and that we are so far off from deserving to be heard of thee in our requests, that we are rather worthy thou shouldst reject both our persons and our suits; but seeing it hath pleased thee to make us a gracious promise of hearing and granting our requests, we humbly beseech thee freely to forgive all our offences, and to cover them under the obedience and righteousness of thy dear Son, that through him our selves and poor services may be well pleasing before thee. For, Lord, we acknowledge that all our afflictions are measured out to us by thine hand, who art a most just Judge, in regard we have every way provoked thee to wrath by our infinite sinnings against thee; yea, by our rebellions, which now testify against us. For alas, Lord, our life hath no way been answerable to that perfect obedience which thou in thy holy Law justly requirest at our hands, which we from day to day do transgress; and therefore do here cast down our selves at this time before thy glorious presence, unfeignedly acknowledging our misery and wretchedness from the very bottom of our hearts.

Yet, Lord, mercy is with thee, and because thou art our Father, therefore thou desirest not the death of sinner; but rather that they should convert and live. For this cause we now fall down before the Throne of thy Grace, with confidence of obtaining thy wonted mercy, which thou hast promised to such as call upon thee in truth: beseeching thee, which art the Father of Mercies, to have compassion on all such whom thou hast humbled under thy mighty Hand, by any of thy Rods and Chastisements; but more especially this thy servant the Queen, who lieth here before thee sick of a dangerous Disease, that as thou hast righteously afflicted her for her sins (which she also doth with us acknowledge) so it would please thee in pardoning them all unto her, for thy beloved Sons sake, to grant that she may profit by this thy correcting hand for the time to come. Above all, give her a sweet sense, yea a just assurance of thy eternal joy, that so she may with the greater patience take down this bitter potion ministered unto her from thy hand, and that the sole desire of enjoying

thy presence may cause her to forget all worldly greatness and magnificence; knowing that they are nothing in respect of the glory which is now set before her.

Endue her also with meekness of mind to bear the tediousness of her affliction; for howsoever the spirit be willing, yet the flesh is weak, yea full of resisting and unbelief; that so receiving all things from thee, as from a Father, she may the more willingly submit her will unto thine.

And because, O good God, thou hast made her hitherto an happy Instrument for the advancement of thy glory, and the defence of thy poor afflicted people, we pray thee, if it may stand with thy good pleasure, restore her to health again, that she be excellent work which thou hast by her means begun, may not be left unperfected, but by virtue of this her deliverance, she may with renewed forces undertake the same in better sort than ever before, especially for the well educating and training up the children which thou hast given her.

But Lord, if thou have a purpose now to call her home to thy self, who are we that we should contradict thy holy will? only we pray thee that thou wouldst confirm her more and more in the knowledge of thy blessed Gospel, and thereby also in the certainty of her salvation, which thou hast given her by faith in thy Son Jesus Christ, that thus she may not cease to sanctify and call upon thy holy Name unto her last breath.

And as touching our selves, who are here by thy good Providence gathered together about her, being in bodily health, give us to know the uncertainty and brevity of our life; that so, according to our duty, we may behold the same in this mirror which thou hast set before us; as knowing that even the greatest in the world are subject to the same calamities, as well as the small; that so our chief care may be to employ the remainder of our time to thy honour and service: all which we crave of thee in the Name of Jesus Christ thy Son, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

Thus we have, as near as we could, gathered the sum of the Prayer. During which she ceased not, with hands and eyes steadfastly lifted up to Heaven, to fetch many deep sighs, especially when mention was made of that mercy of God in Christ which he extendeth towards poor sinners. So as there was at any time present that might not evidently perceive, that her heart and affections were joined to the Prayer which we pronounced in her presence.

And while she thus lay, the still continued in her godly resolution to depart hence, that the might be with Christ, taking great delight in the holy and christian Exhortations which were usually made unto her by many godly and learned men, who came in to visit her, to whom she also manifested no small testimony of that Faith, and Hope, which she had in God, touching the salvation of her Soul, by her holy and christian speeches, which for brevities sake are here omitted.

Yea, albeit the Lord exercised her much with the sense of her inward Disease, yet could you not at any time discern any speech favouring of discontentment or impatience, to proceed out of her mouth; nay, scarcely a groan, which not only those of her own Family, but many others can testify, even the Queen-mother, with others also, who now and then came in to see her.

But if at any time she felt any refreshings from the violence of her Disease (there being no Malady so vehement which hath not some intermission and breathing time) she manifested to all her willingness to obtain the recovery of her former health, refusing to that end no good means prescribed for her by the learned Physicians. Again, when she perceived her sickness to encrease upon her, and that she grew worse and worse, she was no whit appalled thereat, but shewed her self to be armed with an invincible constancy, to undergo the utmost that death could do against her, preparing her self willingly for that last Conflict.

Moreover, seeing her Ladies and Gentlewomen weeping about her bed, she would forthwith rebuke them, saying, *I pray you weep not for me, forasmuch as you see God doth now by this sickness, call me hence, so enjoy a better life, and to enter in at the desired haven, towards which*

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this frail Vessel of mine hath for a long time been keering; only she shewed her self somewhat grieved, that she lacked opportunity to reward them, and many more of her Family and Train which had done her faithful service, as she could have wished; excusing her self with these words unto them, *That it was not for want of good will, but by being overtaken, and so prevented, by this her unexpected sickness.* But, saith she, *I will not fail to give order concerning the same to my uttermost ability.*

In the end, feeling her strength to decay more and more, she gave order to have her last Will and Testament made, wherein she above all wished, that her Children might have but the grace to honour and fear the Lord, exhorting them constantly to continue in the profession of the Gospel, in which they had been trained up from their youth; ordering especially that her Daughter, the Princess, should be educated and instructed therein, by the four Ladies which she had appointed and brought with her out of Bearne for that end and purpose. And being come to age, her desire was that she might be joyed in marriage to some Prince of the same Religion, by the counsel and advice of the Cardinal of Bourbon and Gasper Count of Coligny Admiral of France, whom she made Executors and Overseers of her said Testament. But here it may not be omitted briefly to relate another Conference which she had with a Minister of the Gospel before her departure.

The eighth of June, which was the day before her death, she caused a Minister of the Gospel to be called for, and finding that she was drawing nigher unto her end than before, she wished him to speak somewhat largely of such temptations as Satan is wont to assail Gods Elect withal in their last Confitt.

To which the Minister answered, That then was the hour indeed wherein that sworn Enemy of all the Faithful did most busily bestr himself, if he could, to deprive them of the comfort of their Salvation; not sparing at that time especially to set upon them with might and main: but yet even then the Lord is not, nor will be wanting to his, filling their hearts with such joy and comfort of the Holy Ghost, as shall make them, through the same, more than Conquerours.

The first Engine then which Satan useth against the Saints to cause them to despair, is to present before their eyes the innumerable heaps of their sins and pollutions, wherewith they have any way been defiled in their whole life; and then presents unto them Gods Justice, before which no flesh can be able to subsist, unless it be pure and spotless: whence he infers, that miserable sinners can expect and look for nothing, but an horrible desolation and condemnation. But against these assaults, in the first place, must be opposed (as David doth in the One and fiftieth Psalm) the infinite multitudes of Gods compassions, which do infinitely surpass the multitudes of our sins. And as touching the Justice of God, we confess that no Creature that is defiled with sin, can in any sort abide to be strictly examined by it, if it shall the same to a severe account: but we also know that God will never enter into judgment with those that believe in his Son, but allows unto them that righteousness & obedience which was accomplished in him, which is only sufficient for us, being imputed unto us, to oppose against the judgment of God: therefore in it alone they expect to stand before his face, and not by their own dignity or worthiness. Indeed if they were to appear before the Throne of Justice, to receive thence what they have deserved, they had good reason to be overwhelmed in utter despair, as oft as they think upon, or look on the same: but turning their eyes upon him, who being the eternal Son of God, hath clothed himself with our Human Nature, to bear in the same the punishment due to our sins, and therein acquitted us, then Gods Justice doth no way affright us, but rather yields us assured comfort, because they make this their full resolution, that forasmuch as God is just, he cannot require the same debt twice. Having therefore received full and perfect satisfaction of him, whom he hath ordained to be our Surety, and paid our debts for us, thence we gather assurance that he will no more require them of us.

To which purpose these Sentences are to be well observed. *It is Christ who hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows. That the chastisement of our peace was upon*

him, and with his stripes we are healed. That we all like Sheep have gone astray, and have turned every one to his own way, and the Lords path laid upon him: he iniquity of us all. Christ is our peace, and the propitiation for our sins. The Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world. These, with many the like Sentences, the Minister propounded by way of answer to this virtuous Ladies demand: concluding the same thus, that Gods Justice ought not to terrify those that believe in Christ, of whose righteousness and redemption they are partakers, knowing that Jesus Christ who knew no sin, was made sin (that is to say, an Oblation for sin) for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.

I grant, saith he, that these things belong not to all indifferently, but only to such, as believing in the Son of God, do wholly rest themselves satisfied in the merit of his Death and Passion; which merit of his, as S. Peter witnesseth, sufficeth for their salvation.

After these matters premised, he asked her whether she placed her whole confidence on Christ crucified, who died Rom. 4. 25, for her sins, and rose again for her justification?

To which the Noble Princess answered, *That she neither expected salvation, righteousness, nor life from any else, then from her only Saviour Jesus Christ, being assured that his only merit abundantly justified for the full satisfaction of all her sins, albeit they were innumerable.*

This being your Faith, Madam, (said the Minister) you cannot come into condemnation, when are passed from death to life. Then taking an occasion again to resume her former speech, *That she had no cause to be afraid of Gods Throne of Justice, seeing it was turned into a Throne of Grace and Mercy unto her; and that the hour of death should now be exceedingly welcome to her, seeing it could be nothing else but a sweet passage into a far better life, as also the time in which all tears should be wiped away from her eyes:* He likewise shewed, that she would do well continually to be thinking on that excellent Sentence, *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, because from thenceforth they rest from their labours, and their works follow them.*

For then, said he, the time approacheth wherein she should enjoy the visible presence and society of her husband Christ, and have fellowship with the blessed Angels and Celestial Spirits, with the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs of the Son of God, so partake with them of the same felicity and glory.

The Minister minding yet further to found her, whether she were loth to leave this life, used these words; *And now, good Madam, (said he) if it should please God by this your sickness to put an end to this wearisome pilgrimage of yours, where yet you remain with us, and to call you home to himself, wherewith he gives us to see some evident signs and tokens, are you willing, I beseech you, to go unto him? To which this excellent Princess, with great magnanimity and courage, without any astonishment, replied, Yes, I assure you.*

Then he once again added, *Good Madam, open the eyes of your Faith, and behold Jesus your great Redeemer sitting at the right hand of his Father, reaching out his hand to receive you unto him. Are you, are you willing to go unto him? Yes, I assure you, saith she, most willing, and much more willing than to linger here below in this world, where I see nothing but vanity.*

The Minister, not willing to continue longer in this kind of discourse, asked if she were pleased that they should go to prayer, declaring that godly personages there present would willingly joyn their desires with hers. To which she consenting, the said Minister prayed by her a good space, whilst this pious Lady manifested her ardent affection to call upon God.

When prayer was ended, the Minister differing in her the undoubted testimonies of her repentance, and of the sorrow she conceived for the offences which she had committed against God, together with the assured confidence which she had in his mercies, as a Minister of the Gospel, and Ambassador of the Son of God, by the Authority dispensed to him, having committed to him the Word of Reconciliation, he assured her in his Name; that all their sins were forgiven her of God, and that they should never come into account before his judgment-seat: yea, that she should no more doubt thereof, than if the Son

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Eph. 2. 14.
1 J. 1. 2. 2.
John 1. 29.

1 Cor. 1. 30.

2 Cor. 5. 21.

Act. 2. 12.

John 5. 24.

Heb. 4. 16.

Phil. 1. 23.

Rev. 21. 4.

Rev. 14. 13.

of God from Heaven should say unto her, *Daughter, thy sins are forgiven thee.* And to the end that troubled Consciences might the better be quieted, Christ hath used these words, speaking to his Ministers, saying, *Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whose sins ye unloose, they are unloosed.* The reason is, because the word which they pronounce is not the word of a mortal man, but of the immortal God, being of no less weight, than if himself uttered the same.

Then he asked of her Majesty, if she accepted of so gracious a Message which assured her of the free pardon of all her sins. Yea, said she, and make no doubt thereof.

Not long after these Exhortations, the Admiral coming in, and with him another Minister, she also gave ear to him for a good space together; whose discourse tended to prepare her for death, as he had done who had spoken to her immediately before; who having finished his speech, prayed also with her, and for her, which she heard with great attention and affection. Then she requested that these two Ministers might stay with her all night in her Chamber, and that they would in no wise leave her.

The greater part of this night was spent in holy Admonitions which these two Ministers gave to this gracious Lady and Princess one after another. Besides these Admonitions, the commanding that some Chapters of the holy Scripture, which were pertinent for her condition, should be read unto her; one of the Ministers read in her hearing certain Chapters out of the Gospel of S. John, namely, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth. After he had read to her these Chapters, he went to Prayer, which being ended, the Queen desired to take some rest; but it was not long ere he commanded them to read again: whereupon the other Minister having made choice of certain Psalms of David, full of ardent and affectionate prayers, suited to this Princess's present Affliction, he read them unto her, and for a Conclusion read the One and thirtieth Psalm, where the Prophet, among other things, doth there commend his Spirit into the hands of God; *because, saith he, thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.*

The Queen willed them to pray with her again: and thus, as I have said, was the most part of the night spent in such virtuous Exercises, namely, in Exhortation, in Reading the holy Scripture, and in Prayer: during all which time the Ministers never discerned in any of her speeches or behaviour the least impatience. Nay, whereas some days before she fell sick, she shewed how affectionately she was bent to provide things most magnificent for the day of her Sons Marriage, according as the state of so great an Alliance required; it was admirable to observe, that after this sickness had seized upon her, God wrought in her such a forgetfulness and neglect of all such matters, that she never made shew of having so much as a thought thereof.

This night being thus passed and spent by this noble Queen, the persevering in the expressions of like pious actions and ardency of Faith, the next day in the mornings between eight and nine of the clock, she departed this life, to take possession of a far better life, sweetly yielding up her Spirit into the hands of God, the ninth of June 1572. the sixth day after she fell sick, in the 44. year of her age.

She had her perfect speech always even to the hour of her death: shewing not only the stayedness and soundness of her judgment (which ever in times past she had) in her care about the salvation of her Soul, but in her other worldly affairs also.

Now to avoid all jealousies and suspicions of her being wronged by Poison, or otherwise, in this matter of her so sudden sickness, her Body was opened by sundry expert and learned Doctors of Physick and Chyrurgery, with all exquisite diligence, who found her heart and liver very sound and untouched, her lungs only excepted, which long before on the right side had been very ill affected, by reason of an extraordinary hardness which they had contracted, and withal a great Impothume, which, so far as man could judge, they concluded was the cause of her death. But they had no command given them to open the Brain, and therefore finding somewhat out of frame in her Body, they delivered their Opinions only concerning the same.

Thus you have with as much brevity as I could, and as the merit of the thing required, the true report of the manner of this virtuous Princess's sickness and death, thus far related unto you; only my request is (saith my Author) that if any have a more perfect and particular knowledge of the excellent parts wherewith the Lord had adorned and beautified her, they would not suffer the same to be buried in silence, but to cause it to see the light; that on the one side it may serve as an example to Posterity; and on the other side, that we may learn to bless God for her Piety and Constancy.

An Introduction; first into that which leads to the death of the Admiral of France; Then, to the Massacre at Paris, and so in some other Cities.

And first, what moved the Admiral to come to Paris.

After the death of the Queen, certain Princes were solicited by the King to give their attendance at Paris for the solemnizing the Marriage of the Prince of Navarre (now made King by the death of his Mother) according to the Ceremonies which were thereto appertaining. Among the rest, Letters were directed to the Admiral by the King himself, to come to this Marriage; which were delivered unto him by Caragues: wherein the King assured him he would not tarry long after him; willing him not to be afraid of the fury of the Parisians, nor of their threats which they had formerly uttered against him. For he was not ignorant of the deadly hatred they bare him, and therefore wrote unto the Maier of the City, to look unto it at his peril, that the Admiral had no wrong offered him by the Citizens, either at his entrance or continuance in the City. For of all the Cities in that Kingdom, it is the most superstitious, and easily moved to Sedition; and therefore the Admiral, being of a contrary Religion, could expect but ill welcome at his coming thither; especially because at his solicitation the Crois of Gascones was removed out of the Street of S. Dennis.

The Queen-mother and the Duke of Anjou wrote unto the Maier also, and likewise to the rest of the Magistrates, to the same effect; but especially to their Servants, some whereof had a little light given them touching that device. To be short, they endeavoured to take all rubs out of his way, that he might with the less mistrust fall into the same.

The Admiral, not casting any perils, resolved to take his journey to Paris. Albeit he lacked not sundry advertisements from his own Followers, and others his well-willers in the Kingdom; who honoured him much, desiring him, that howsoever he had no sinister opinion of the King, of his Mother, or any of theirs, yet at the least he was to take into his consideration the place whither he went, and amongst what Enemies he was now to venture himself. But he always leaning upon the testimony of a good Conscience, and being confident in Gods Providence, not moved by these Advertisements, took his Journey to Paris with very few Attendants. Being come thither, he was honourably received of the King, and of his Brethren, and of the Queen mother, with others also.

The Marriage of the King of Navarre with the Kings Sister being solemnized on the seventeenth and eighteenth of August, 1572. and all the Triumphs and Feastings accompanying the same being finished, the Admiral determining to take his leave at Court, and so to return homewards, the Deputies of the Reformed Churches brought him their Requests on a sudden, to present the same to the King, in regard of many wrongs the said Churches had sustained; and therefore they instantly besought him, that he would not leave the Court till some order might be taken for redress thereof.

This, with other Impediments, were the occasions of detaining him still there.

Mauravall coming to Paris whilst these Feasts lasted, having presented his Service first to the King and his Mother, the Duke of Anjou, with those of the Guise; after some speech had with the King and Queen-mother, one called Chail had a command to direct him to the house whence

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whence the blow should be given: who left him with a Woman in the said House, which Woman was forbidden not only to ask his Name, but also so much as to enquire for what cause he was lodged there.

On Friday, the two and twentieth of August, in the morning he trimmed up his Harquebuse, watching secretly the Admirals coming.

Marshall
hurlt the Ad-
miral.

The Admiral at his going forth out of the Louvre meeting the King coming out of a Chappel which is before the same, passing thence to play at Tennis, he scarcely had gone an hundred paces from the place, but as he returned to his lodging on foot to dine there, attended on by some twelve or fifteen Gentlemen, reading a petition; out of the Window of a lodging (where *Villemur* Tutor to the Duke of *Guise* usually lay) he was shot with an Harquebuse charged with three brass bullets, one of which took off the fore finger on his right hand, and he was hurt with another in his left arm. Feeling himself thus wounded, he willed some of his Followers to enter that House, and to enquire who it was that had done that or who set him on work to do it: and then to advertise the King thereof, giving him to understand how well his Commandment was observed.

Now whilst they were busie to force open the door, the Murderer fled out by a back way, escaping thence out of the gate of Saint *Anthony*; where one attended him, holding a Spanish gennet brought out of the Duke of *Guise* Stables; whereon he galloped away, yet not without some difficulty: for flying thus in some fear, he fell off his Horse twice or thrice.

A Gentleman seeing the Admiral hurt came to support his left arm, binding up the hurt thereon with his handkerchief. And thus was he conducted to his lodging, which was distant from thence about some twenty paces. In his passing a Gentleman said it was to be feared the bullets were poisoned: to which the Admiral replied, *All must be as it pleaseth God.*

The King hearing of the Admirals hurt left his game, where he was playing till then with the Duke of *Guise*, and throwing away his Racket as it seemed in an anger, with a sad and heavy countenance withdrew himself into his Chamber; the Duke of *Guise* following him within a little while after.

The King of
Navarre and
the Prince
Conde com-
plaine to the
King.

The King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, with many other of the Religion, having notice of the Admirals hurt, complained to the King of this untimely accident; treating they might have leave to depart out of the City, seeing they could expect little safety there. The King made his moan to them of the mischance that hapned, swearing and protesting that he would execute such impartial justice upon the offender, and on all the complotters, as should give the Admiral and all his friends content; only he willed them to stay, promising them ere long to provide for their security.

The Chirurgions and Physicians were presently sent for, amongst whom was *Ambrose Pare* the Kings Chirurgian, a Man very expert. He began first with the Admirals finger, which put him to much pain, in regard the scissers were not sharp enough to cut it off at once; besides he was faine to stop and open the wound thrice. Then he came to the left arm, making incisions in two places into which the bullet had pierced. The Admiral endured all this with an undaunted countenance, and wonderful patience, whilst those which stood by and saw him so mangled could not refrain from tears. Captain *Monin* held him with both his arms about the middle, and *Cornaton* held his hands. He seeing them astonished, my friends, said he, why weep you? I think my self happy to be thus handled in the cause of God. And anon tasting his eyes upon a Minister called *Merlin*, he said, *Here ye see*, my friends, *Gods blessings*. I am hurt indeed; but I know it is come to pass by the will of my Heavenly Father, humbly thanking his Majesty in that he is pleased to honor me so far, as to suffer any thing for his holy Name. Let us pray unto him, that he would grant unto me the gift of perseverance.

The Admi-
rals speech
while he was
in the Sur-
geons hands.This Merlin
was a French
man, who
delivered in
the name of
God.

Then looking upon the said Minister who wept over him. Oh Master *Merlin*, said he, what will not you comfort me? Ye Sir, said he, for wherein may you take greater comfort, than in calling to mind how greatly God hath always honored you in esteeming you worthy to suffer re-

buke for his Names sake, and true Religion? The Admiral replied; alas, if God should deal with me according to my deserts, he might have put me to worse torments than these. But blessed be his holy Name, in that he is pleased to take pity on me his poor and unworthy Servant. Be of good cheer, Sir, then said another unto him; for seeing God hath spared your more Noble part whole, you have cause therein to magnifie his goodness. In these wounds you have received from God a testimony of his love, rather then of his displeasure, seeing he hath preferred your head and understanding safe.

Then said, *Merlin*, Sir, you do well in turning your thoughts away from him who hath committed this outrage upon you, in looking only unto God; for no doubt it is his hand that hath smitten you therefore for the present, cease to think on the malefactor. I assure you, said the Admiral, I do freely forgive him from the bottom of my heart, and those also that are his abettors; being fully perswaded, that none of them all could have done me the least hurt, no, though with violent hands they had put me to death. For what is death it self to Gods Children but an assured passage to an eternal rest and life?

Now as the said Minister declared how the evils which happen to the Children of God in this present life, do often incite and quicken them up to pour out their Prayers into the bosom of the Almighty, the Admiral presently with a loud voice and ardent affection prayed thus.

The Admirals Godly and devout Prayer.

Lord God and Heavenly Father, have pity upon me for thy goodness and mercies sake; remember not Lord the sins of my life past, nor the offences which I have committed against thee; for if thou narrowly mark our sins, the looseness of our behaviour and disloyalties, in transgressing thy holy commandments; Lord, who shall stand? who is able to bear the weight of thy displeasure? I renounce all Idol Gods; I acknowledge thee to be the only true God, and worship thee alone O Eternal Father, in thine Eternal son Jesus Christ. I beseech thee for his sake, that thou wouldst give unto me thy holy Spirit, and therewithal the gift of patience. I put my trust in thy free mercy; for therein consists the stay and prop of all my hope, whether I live now at this present, or live for the time to come. Behold Lord, here I am, do with me as it pleaseth thee; having this confidence in thee, that if I now depart hence, thou wilt receive me into the blessed rest of thy Kingdom. If it please thee to lengthen out my days here on earth. O heavenly Father give me Grace that I may spend the residue thereof in setting forth the Glory of thy holy Name, and in maintaining, to the utmost of my power, thy pure worship and Service. Amen.

The Admi-
rals Godly
and devout
Prayer.

Having ended this Prayer, *Merlin* asked him, if it pleased him that the Minister of Christ should now pray with him and for him. To whom he said, yes, with all my heart; I pray you begin. Whilst *Merlin* pronounced the Prayer, applying the same to the present occasion, the Admiral with his eyes looking up to Heaven expressed the ardency of his affection, in consenting therunto. Prayer being ended, *Merlin* began to propound unto the Admiral the examples of the Martyrs, shewing that from *Abel* to *Abraham*, and consequently hitherto, who ever carried themselves in any degree of faithfulness in the House of God, felt at one time or other the smart of afflictions in divers kinds. The Admiral answered, that when he called to mind the sufferings of the Patriarchs and Martyrs, it much comforted him, and helped him somewhat to allay the bitterness of his afflicted estate.

The Mini-
sters pray
with him.

The King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* having bitterly bewailed this outrage committed upon the Admiral (as you heard before) about two of the Clock in the afternoon, the King, accompanied with the Queen Mother, his Brother, and other of the Lords, went to visit the Admiral.

The King &
Queen Mo-
ther came
to visit the
Admiral.

The King with tears seemed to be exceeding sorry for that which was come to pass, promising him, with one Blasphemous Oath upon another, to revenge the fact, no less than if it had been committed upon his own person: praying him to come and take up his lodging with him, in the

the *Lowure* for his greater security and safety. Whereupon, the Admiral, after some discourse made to the King in secret, gave him most humble thanks for so great a favour, as to visit him in his own person.

Upon the Motion made by the King, *Maxilles* his chief Physician was called, demanding of him, whether the Admiral might safely be removed thence into the *Lowure*, or not? His Answer to the King was, that it could not be done without danger. Some of the Admirals friends thought it fitting to request a guard of Soldiers to be assigned by the King unto him for his better security. The King answered, he liked well of that device, being fully determined to provide for the Admirals safety as his own, and would preserve him no less than the apple of his Eye. After the King called for the bullet of brass wherewith the Admiral was hurt, that he might see it, asking whether he was not put to great pain when his finger was cut off, as likewise touching the dressing of his arm? Now as *Cornaton* shewed the bullet, having his sleeve all bloody (because he was appointed to hold the Admirals arm, while it was in dressing) the King asked if that were of the Admirals Blood? and whether so much Blood issued out of his wounds? adding (after *Cornatons* Answer) he never saw Man in his life shew greater constancy and magnanimity of Spirit than the Admiral did.

Then was the Queen Mother desirous to see the bullet, saying, I am glad the bullet is taken out; for I remember when th. Duke of *Guise* was killed before *Orleans*, the Physician told me, that if the bullet was gotten out, there was no danger of death, though it were poisoned.

Then *Cornaton* answered, we have foreseen that, Madam; for being careful to prevent that danger, the Admiral had a medicine given him to expel the poison, if peradventure any such thing should be.

Some good hopes of the Admirals recovery.

The Saturday before the Admiral was slain he began to be somewhat cheered, so as the Chirurgions and Physicians gave out, that they would warrant the Admirals Life: because his arm, having lost but little of its strength, would soon be healed. This news was brought to the King, who seemed to entertain the same joyfully. The new married Wife came also to visit the Admiral. But all this was but a lightning before death. For that night there was heard a great clattering of Armour in the City, and many Torches lighted every where, born by many of the people. Some Gentlemen, whose lodgings were nigh to the Admirals, rose, and went out, asking some of their acquaintance the reason why there were so many up in Arms at that hour of the night: They answered; That the King much desired to see a Castle assailed and defended, deviled only in sport to give him content. They passing yet further came to the *Lowure*, where they likewise saw many Torches lighted, and Troops of armed Men.

The Guard there could no longer contain themselves, but began to pick a quarrel with them; and as one of the said Gentlemen was about to speak, a *Gascoine* Soldier struck at him with a Partizan, and then they fell upon the rest. The noise hereof spreading, the Queen Mother said, seeing it is not possible to retain the fury of the Soldiers any longer from breaking out, * Let the Bell of the Church of *S. German* be tolled, said she.

* That was the watchword, as you would say, when the Mother was to begin. The mark or sign by which the Murderers were to be distinguished from the rest, was a white handkerchief knit about the left arm, and a white Cross in their Hats. Proverb.

The Admiral coming to the knowledge of this uprore (though he had but few of his followers about him, was not much moved thereat; trusting (as he often used to say) upon the Kings favor, whereof he had large experience. Also he knew that when the *Parisians* should understand how much the King disliked their folly, though they had an intention of doing him some mischief, yet would they be quieted as soon as they saw *Coffeins* and his Guard.

This *Coffeins* was appointed by the Duke of *Anjou* to defend the Admirals Lodging, wherein the old Proverb was verified, *That the Wolf was set to keep the sheep*.

About break of day, *August* the four and twentieth, 1572. being *Saint Bartholomews* day, they began to knock at the door where the Admiral lay. *La Bonne*, who lay not far from him, having the keyes, perceiving that there were some who came on a message from the King to the Admiral, came down quickly and opened the door; presently *Coffeins* fell upon him and stabbed him with his dagger, so that he dyed. Then with his Harquebusers

rushing into the House, killing such as they met, others fled. *Cornaton* awaking with the noise that he heard at the door (for he lay in the next Chamber by *Jean Thier*, causing the *Switzers* and other Officers to fortifie it. *Coffeins* hearing that cried to him to open it in the Kings Name, and he so handled the matter, that with the help he had, he forced the door open, and after gained the stairs. The Admiral and those that were with him, taking notice how they shot off Pistols and Guns, finding themselves inclosed in their enemies hands, fell to prayer, begging pardon of God for their Sins.

The Admiral rising out of his Bed, and putting on his night gown, commanded *Merlin* the Minister to make the prayer. He also, calling earnestly upon *Jesus Christ* his God and Saviour, commended his Spirit into his hands. He that testified these things and made report thereof, coming into the Chamber, and being asked by the Admiral what that Tumult meant; Sir, faith he, God is now summoning us to look to our end. The Admiral seeing what would be the issue, answered, I have long since expected death: have your selves if it be possible, for you cannot secure me; I commend my Soul into the hands of the merciful God. Those who were present and escaped have affirmed, that the Admiral was no more affrighted at death, which he saw present before his eyes, than if there had been no likelihood thereof at all.

The Admirals Christian and constant carriage of himself in these broils.

Forthwith every one in the Chamber getting up to the top of the House, and having found a window near the Roof, saved themselves there; but the greater part, who were beneath in the next room to the Admiral were slain, others miraculously escaped. In the mean while *Coffeins* having made his way caused certain *Switzers* of the D. of *Anjou* guard to enter into the House.

Besine, *Coffeins*, and *Sarlabour*, with their Targets in one hand, and their naked Swords in the other, broke open the Admirals Chamber door, and *Besine* (which was afterwards slain himself by one *Bervouille* upon the way, after he had escaped out of Prison) coming towards the Admiral, holding the point of his Sword to his Breast, said thus, *Art not thou the Admiral? I am the Man*, said he, with an undaunted courage, as the Murderers afterwards confessed. Then beholding the naked Sword, *Young Man*, said the Admiral, *show oughtest somewhat to respect my years; and my infirmity of Body, but it is not thou that canst shorten my days. Besine* desperately thrust the Admiral into the Body with his Sword, and then smote him therewith on the head the rest had every one a blow at him; so as he presently fell down wounded to death.

The Admirals wound to death.

Whilst this mischief was in acting, the Duke of *Guise* being below in the base Court, with other *Romish* Catholic Lords, cried to the Murderer above, *Besine* hast thou done? It is done, faith he. Then the Duke replied, Monsieur, our Knight (meaning King *Henries* Bassard) will not believe it unless he see it with his eyes; throw him down out of the Window.

Then *Besine* and *Sarlabour*, lifting up the Body of the Admiral, cast him down unto them, where he lay naked on the ground, exposed to all sort of scorn and mocks of the Multitude, some trampling on him with their feet. Now because the blow which *Besine* had given the Admiral on his head, had so covered his face with Blood issuing thence, that his visage could not be discerned, the Duke of *Guise* stooping down took his handkerchief, and wiping his face therewith said, It is he, I know him well enough; and giving this poor dead Body a spurn on the Head with his foot (whom all the Murderers in France feared whilst he lived) he passed thence, encouraging his Soldiers saying, *We have made a good beginning; now let us go on to the rest, for the King hath so commanded, the King hath so commanded*, repeating it over twice.

An Italian of the Duke of *Nevers* Guard cut off the Admirals Head, and brought it to the King and Queen Mother, which being embalmed was sent to *Rome* to the Pope, and to the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, being there at that time. The common people on the *Monday* following cut off their hands and privy Members, and then in this woful plight being dragged up and down three days in the Channels throughout the Streets, he was at the last carried out of the City to a Gibbet in *Mount Faucon*, where they hanged him by the feet; from whence some that were well disposed, going

The Admirals Head sent to Rome.

Anno 1572. going together in the night to this gibbet, took down the Body of the Admiral; the which they interred so secretly, that do the Papists what they could, they could never find it out, but it lay buried still, so as they were fain to make a Body of straw, and hung that up in stead of the Body it self, rather than none at all.

Here, as in fittest place is briefly related the Sentence which the Court of Parliament in Paris denounced against Gasper Coligni Admiral of France, after he was massacred as you have formerly heard, viz.

1. First, That for his conspiracy practised against the King and State in the year 1572. the said Court had condemned him of high Treason.

2. That his memory shall be utterly raised out.

3. If his Body or any figure thereof shall be taken, that the same shall be first drawn upon a burdle to the place called Le Grene, and there hanged upon a Gibbet by the Executioner.

4. After which, a Gibbet shall be set up at Mount-faucon, and be there to be hanged up in the most eminent place thereof.

5. His Arms and Armor to be drawn at an horse-tail through the Streets of the said City of Paris, and other Cities where they should be found, and there by the Minister of Justice to be broken and battered in pieces; in sign of his perpetual ignominy.

6. All his goods and possessions to be forfeited to the Kings use.

7. All his Children to be pronounced ignoble: as also held unworthy and incapable of any honor or dignities whatsoever.

8. His House and Castle of Chastillon upon the Loine, the Base Court and all appurtenances thereunto appertaining to be defaced and demolished to the ground.

9. Then in the said place this Sentence shall be set up engraven in Brass.

10. Lastly, that on the four and twentieth of August, 1572. general Processions be made through the City of Paris, by way of thanksgiving to God for this punishment inflicted upon the Conspirator.

Pronounced and Executed in Paris, the seven and twentieth, and nine and twentieth of October, Anno 1572.

Signed,

Malon.

Great joy at Rome for their successful events.

At Rome solemn Masses were sung, and thanks rendered to God for the good success which the Roman Catholics had obtained in massacring the Huguenots. At night, in token of joy and gladness, were made many great bonfires in sundry places. And as the report went, the Cardinal of Lorraine gave a thousand Crowns to him that brought this desired news unto him. Touching whose death I will here insert that which I had written of it.

A note touching the manner of the Cardinal of Lorraine's death.

The Cardinal of Lorraine, a principal pillar in the House of Guise, a crafty and cruel persecutor of the Reformed Churches, soon after the Reign of Henry the third, Brother of Charles the ninth, in the year 1574, died at Avignon frantique, at the hour of whole death there happened such a horrible Tempest in the Air, that all stood amazed at it. The people observing how it fell out in one of the chief Cities where Popery bare the sway, thought it the more remarkable; not sticking to say, that this vile worldling, who had enriched himself beyond measure by execrable practices, received now in the prime of his youth and in the top of his hopes, the just reward of all his wicked proceedings; it being not possible, that a Soul so replenished with iniquity could depart quietly.

But those of the Religion added. That in this his sudden departure shined the wonderful providence of God. in that one of the Popes great supporters, coming to Avignon with a purpose to arm the King of France and Polonia against the Christian Assemblies (out of a vain confidence thinking, that at his only word and threat

the Prince would be persuaded to overthrow all) it should fall out so contrary to his expectation, that the Master-builder and upholder of violent and bloody Councils must now in the midst of his Triumphs come to so fearful and miserable an end: That he, who bent all his wits to cross the Counsel and Wisdom of God, should at an instant in this City be smitten with frensie. To give warning to all, that there is no Wisdom or Counsel against the Lord; who blotteth the ripest wits when they dare to oppose him therewith. But now to return again to the matter where we left.

The same day that the Admiral was hurt, the King advised the King of Navarre, his Brother in Law, to lodge in his Chamber, with ten or twelve of his truest Servants, to protect him from the designs of the Duke of Guise, whom he called an unhappy Boy.

The Admiral as it seemeth somewhat before his death made his will, in which he gave the King Counsel, that he should not give his Brethren over great portions. The Queen Mother hearing this, and reading the same to the Duke of Alencon the Kings Brother; Now you see, faith she, the heart of your friend the Admiral, whom you so much loved and respected.

The Duke answered, I know not how much he loved me, but I well perceive by this how much he loved the King.

The English Embassador made almost the like answer when the said Queen told him, How the Admiral had advised the King not to trust the English too far.

Indeed Madam, faith he, hereby it appeared that though he bare but little good will to the English, yet he manifested himself a loyal Servant to the Crown of France.

The Sieur de Brion, Governor of the little Marquisse of Conde, Son to the late Prince of Conde, hearing these stirrs, taking his little Master even in his shirt, thinking to convey him somewhere out of the way, met these Murthers, who plucking from him the said young Prince, massacred the old Man in his presence, whilst the Prince with tears intreated them to spare his Governour. But they dyed his white hairs in his own Blood, and then barbarously dragged him through the mire.

This Sunday morning all that were Popishly affected took liberty to kill and spoyl; it being credibly reported, That the number of the slain that day and two other days following, in the City of Paris, and in the Suburbs, did amount to above ten thousand, counting Lords, Gentlemen, Prefidents, Counsellors, Advocates, Lawyers, Scholars, Physicians, Merchants, Tradesmen, Women, Maids, and Children. The Streets were covered with dead Bodies, the River was dyed with Blood, the Gates and entrance into the Kings Palace painted with the same colour: but the blood-thirsty were not yet satisfied.

But going from House to House with their Associates where they thought to find any Huguenots, they brake open the doors, then cruelly murdered whomsoever they met, sparing neither Sex nor Age. Carts were laden with dead Bodies of young Maidens, Women, Men & Children, which were discharged into the River, covered in a manner all over with the slain, and dyed red with their Blood, which also streamed down the streets from sundry parts thereof, whereat the Courtezans laughed their fill, saying, That the Wars were now ended, and that hereafter they should live in peace, &c. But it would take up too much time to recite all the lamentable passages of this sad and rueful tragedy.

The Admiral a loving and loyal Servant to his Prince and Country

Brion Governor to the Prince of Conde Son massacred.

Ten thousand massacred within three days in the City of Paris, &c.

The report was this: Report was raised there that a Treason of the Huguenots was discovered, who had conspired to kill the King, his Mother, and his Brethren, having already killed fifteen of the guard.

This with some others which follow, belonging to this History, because they could not be omitted, are here under inserted.

TO begin then with Monsieur Pierre de la Place President of the Court of Requests, whose story we will relate some what at large, because his singular piety requires the same. On Sunday morning about six of the clock, one called Captain Michael, Harquebuser of the King, came into his lodgings, into which he had the more easie access for divers private respects.

This

This Captain being armed, having a Harquebuse on his shoulder, a Pistol at his Girdle, and his Hangerchief tied about his left Arm, presenting himself before the said *De la Place*, the first words he spake were, that the Duke of *Guise* had slain the Admiral by the Kings appointment, with many *Huguenots* besides: and because the rest of them of what quality soever were destinated to death, he was come to his lodging to exempt him from the common destruction: only he desired to have a fight of that Gold and Silver which was in the House. The Lord *De la Place* somewhat amazed at the audacious malapartness of the Man, who, in the midst of ten or twelve persons which were there present in the room, durst presume to utter such Language, askt him if he knew where he was, or whether he thought there was a King or no?

To this the Captain Blaspheming answered, that he willed him to go with him to know the Kings pleasure. The said Lord *De la Place* hearing this, fearing also some danger to be towards, by Sedition in the City, slipped forth at a back door behind his lodging, purposing to get into a Neighbours House. In the mean while mult of his Servants vanished out of sight, and this Captain having stored himself with a thousand Crowns, was intreated by the Lady *Marets*, Daughter to the said Lord, to convey her Father with the Lord *Marets* her Husband into the House of some Roman Catholick, which he consented to do, and also performed it.

After this, *De la Place*, being refused at three several Houses was constrained to retire back again into his own, where he found his Wife very penive and grieved beyond measure, fearing lest this Captain in the end would call her Son in Law and Daughter into the River, as also for the eminent danger wherein her dear husband and all his family were.

But the said Lord *De la Place*, being strengthened by the Spirit of God with incredible constancy in the inner Man, sharply rebuked her; and afterwards mildly demonstrated unto her, that we must receive these and the like afflictions from the hand of God; and so having discoursed a while upon the promises of God comforted her.

Then he commanded such Servants and Maids as remained in the House to be called together, who being come into his Chamber, according to his custome on the Lords days, he made a form of exhortation to his Family: then went to prayer, and began to read a Chapter out of the Book of *Job*, with the exposition or Sermon of Master *John Calvin* upon it. So having spoken somewhat of Gods mercy and justice, which as a good and wise Father useth to exercise his elect with sundry Chastisements, lest they should be intangled here below with the things of this World, he shewed how needful afflictions were for Christians, and that it was beyond the power of Satan or Men to hurt or wrong them, unless the Lord of his good pleasure gave them leave. What need have we then, said he, to dread their Authority, which at the most can but prevail over our Bodies? Then he went to prayer again, preparing himself and his whole Family rather to endure all sorts of Torments, yea death it self, than to speak or do ought that might tend to the dishonour of God.

Having finished his Prayer, word was brought him, that *Seneca* the Provost Marshal with many Archers were at the door of his Lodging, commanding the same to be opened in the Kings Name, saying that he came to rescue the person of the Lord *De la Place*, and to preserve his House from being pillaged by the common sort. The Lord *De la Place* having intelligence of this speech commanded the door to be opened to him, who entering in declared the great slaughter that was made upon the *Huguenots* every where in the City by the Kings command; adding this withal in Latin, that he would not suffer one to live, *Qui mingat ad Parietem*. Yet have I express charge from his Majesty, saith he, to see that you shall sustain no wrong, but only conduct you to the *Louvre*, because the King is desirous to be informed touching many things about the affairs of those of the Religion, which he hath now in hand, and therefore willed him to make himself ready to go to his Majesty. The Lord *De la Place* answered, that he always thought himself happy before he left this Life, to gain any opportunity by which he might render an account to his Majesty of his behaviour and actions.

But in regard such horrible Massacres were every

where committed, it was impossible for him to pass to the *Louvre*, without the certain danger of his person; praying him to assure his Majesty of his willingness to come, the whilst leaving in his Lodging as many Archers as he thought fitting, until the fury of the people was somewhat pacified. The Provost agreed to his request, and left with him one of his Lieutenants called *Toute Voie*, with some four of his Archers.

Not long after comes into his Lodging President *Charon*, then Provost of the Merchants, with whom conferring a little in secret, going his way he left with the four Archers which were there before, four more of the City Archers. The whole night following was spent in stopping up and fortifying of all passages from entering the House, with logs and provision of Flint-stones, damming up the windows, so as it seemed by this so exact and diligent a defence, the Archers were left in the House, to free the said *De la Place* and all his Family from the common calamity, till *Seneca*, returning the next day after two of the Clock in the afternoon, declared that he had express charge from the King to bring him to his Majesty without delay. He replied as before, that it was dangerous as yet to pass through the City, in regard that even the same morning there was an House pillaged next to his.

Seneca on the contrary insisted, saying, it was the common speech of these *Huguenots* to protest that they were the Kings most loyal and obedient Subjects and Servants; but when they were to manifest their obedience to his commands, then they came off but slowly, seeming rather much to abhor and detest it. And whereas he pretended danger, *Seneca* answered, that he should have a Captain of Paris who was well known to the people, to accompany him. As *Seneca* continued this speech, the Captain of Paris surnamed *Paxon*, a principal actor in this Sedition, entered the Chamber of the said Lord of *Place*, offering his Service to conduct him through the City to the King; which *De la Place* would by no means yield unto, telling *Seneca*, that he was one of the most cruel and bloody minded Men that was in all the City; and therefore seeing he must needs go to the King, he intreated that the said *Seneca* would be his guard. To whom *Seneca* answered, that having now other affairs to look unto, he could not conduct him above fifty paces.

Then his Wife (though otherwise a very gracious and good Lady) out of that entire love which the bare to her Husband, prostrated her self at the feet of the said *Seneca*, beseeching and intreating him to accompany her Husband to the King. But the said *De la Place*, who never shewed any sign of a dejected Spirit, came to his Wife, took her up from the ground, rebuked her, and told her, that it is not the Arm of Flesh that we must stoop unto, but unto God only. Then turning himself about, he perceived in his Sons Hat a white Cross, which through infirmity he had placed there, thinking thereby to save himself, for which his Father sharply chid him, commanding him to pluck that mark of Sedition thence; telling him that we must now submit our selves to bear the true Cross of Christ, namely, those afflictions and tribulations which it shall please our good God to lay upon us, as sure pledges of that eternal happiness, which he hath treasured up for all his elect Servants. Thus seeing himself pressed by the said *Seneca*, to go with him to the King, resolving upon death, which he saw he could not avoid, he took his Cloak, embracing his Wife, earnestly wishing her above all things to have the fear of God and his honour in precious esteem, and then went on his way boldly. Coming into the Street where the glass-house is, over against *Cocks-freet*, certain Murderers who attended there for his coming, with their daggers in a readiness, killed him, about three of the Clock in the afternoon, as an innocent lamb in the midst of ten or twelve of *Senecas* Archers, who led him into that butchery: and then pillaged and embezzled away what they found in his Lodging for the space of five or six days together. His Body (whose Soul was now received into Heaven) being carried into a Stable, and covering his face over with dung, the next day they threw him into the River.

Peter Ramus the Kings professor in Logick, a Man renowned among the learned, was not forgotten. He had many enemies, among other one called *James Carpenter*, who

Anno
1569.

This was a
token by
which the
Murderers
were distinguished
from others.

De la Place
addresseth
himself to go
to the King.

He is first
murdered,
and then
thrown into
the River.

Peter Ramus
murdered
and afterwards
graciously
handed.
who

Anno 1572. who sent the Murderers to the Colledge of Priests, where the said *Ramus* was hidden. But being discovered, he offered a good Sum of Money to save his life; yet was he massacred, and cast down out of an high Chamber window to the ground, so as his Bowels issuing out of the Stones, were afterwards trailed through the Streets; the Carcass was whipped by certain Scholars; being set on by their Tutors, to the great disgrace of good Letters which *Ramus* professed.

I do here, faith the Historian, forbear to write what cruelties were exercised in this foresaid City of *Paris*, on *Sunday, Munday, Tuesday*, and the days following; because in such confusions, those that survived had little leisure to think upon the Murthers committed in their presence, to observe every particular; I content my self therefore to say in a word, that no Man living in *Paris* taking notice what was done there this Saint *Bartholomew's* day, &c. but will aver that there was never seen, heard nor read of such perfidious disloyalties, strange ravishments, more than brutish cruelties, audacious robberies, execrable blasphemies, as those that were committed in these few days; wherein it was safe for one to be any thing, rather than an honest Man.

Of a young Man who preferred his Mothers safety in these broyle before his own.

A Young Man about the Age of two and thirty years, a sincere Christian, and excellently well learned above many of his Age and time, going early abroad this *Sunday* morning upon some special occasion, returning home, and perceiving what a strange rumour there was concerning the death of the Admiral throughout the City of *Paris*, he out of his singular and Child-like affection to his Mother, hastened to her with all possible speed, informing her what had happened and so wrought for her, without delay and not regarding his own safety, that he secured her in a place, as you would say, fitted for the purpose. After which himself being found alone shut up in his study at prayer, to which exercise he had long before devoted himself. The furious Massacres on that part of the City asked him if he would obey the King, he answered, yes, but I must also obey God.

Then they began presently with battle axes and staves to load him with blows on the head, that he received his own Blood into his hands; and then making an end of him, they threw him into the River.

Two Ministers massacred.

Two Ministers appertaining to the King of *Navarre*, the one called *More*, the other *Desgoris*, fell also into the hand of these Murderers, who killing them, cast them into the Water. I cannot learn, faith the Historiographer, by report, that any more Ministers were slain at this time, than these two. At the writing herof many were living, who laboured in the work of the Lord, in the Church of *Paris*, as were also miraculously preserved.

An inhumane Cruelty.

Philip le Doux a greater Jeweller, at his return home from *Guibray* Fair, being gone to bed, his Wife at that time had the Midwife attending upon her, being ready to be delivered: she hearing these furies below bounding at the door, commanding it to be opened to them in the Kings name, as ill as she was, adventured to go down, and opened the same to these Tygers, who presently stabbed her Husband in his Bed. The Midwife seeing them bent to Murder the Woman also, now ready to lie down, instantly intreated them to tarry, at least so long till the Infant (which would be the 20. Child that God had given her) was born. Having contested some while with them, they took this poor Woman half dead with fear, and thrust her into the fundament with a dagger to the very hilts. She finding her self mortally wounded, and yet desirous to bring forth her fruit, fled into a corn-loft; whither they pursued her, giving her another stab into the Belly with a Dagger, and then cast her out of a Window next to the Street: upon which fall the Child came forth of her Body, the Head foremost, gaping or yawning, to

the great astonishment and confusion of the Papists, who were constrained often with detestation to acknowledge and confess the cruelties of their Butchers.

Behold here another.

ONE of the Massacres having snatched up a little Child in his Arms, the poor Babe began to play with his Beard; and to smile upon him; but in stead of being moved to compassion therewith, this barbarous wretch wounded it with his dagger, and so cast it all on a gore-blood into the River, so as it was a good while ere it could recover the own colour again.

To proceed on further and fully to relate all the Tragical acts committed in this Massacre at *Paris*, to set down the thundrings of Guns and Pistols, the lamentable voices and outcries of the slain, the roarings and horrible blasphemies belched forth by these Massacres and Devils incarnate; were enough to cause the Paper whereon they should be described either to bluish, or weep.

Not to stay the Reader therefore any longer in this; having many things of the like nature to present unto thy view, we will pass from the dolorous City of *Paris* to other Cities in *France*, and set before thee as in a glass a company of horrible and rueful spectacles.

Massacres committed upon those of the Religion, at Meaux in Brie.

Let us begin then with those of *Meaux* in *Brie*, which is not above a days journey from *Paris*.

The poor Protestants in this City were destinated to drink off this Cup of Martyrdom after their Brethren and Sisters in the foresaid City of *Paris*. Therefore on the same *Sunday* the four and twentieth of *August*, about four of the Clock in the Afternoon, a Post was sent to *Meaux* with Letters, accompanied with a Seditious fellow called *Le Froid*. Being come thither, the Packet was presented to Monsieur *Levis Coffer*, the Kings Attourney there. Upon the receipt whereof, this Attourney halted hither and thither in his own person to adventure such cut-throats (as had had their hands in pillaging and robbing those of the Religion in the first, second, and third troubles) with commands, that they should be ready to come forth of their Houses Armed, at the stroke of seven of the clock, and then cause the Gates instantly to be shut.

The time prefixed being come, which was about Supper time, the gates were shut, and then they began to execute their cruelties in sundry parts of the City. Thus was that night passed, not without uprores and strange events.

On the next day, which was *Monday*; about three of the Clock in the morning, these good Catholics began to pillage the Houses of the Protestants, of the best things they had, which continued till eight of the Clock, their trading liked them so well. But the principal of all the spoils were conveyed into the Court and House of this Noble Attourney *Coffer*; yet these were only the beginnings of sorrows.

For after robbing and spoiling they fell to shut them up in Prisons: which being filled, the Massacres having *Coffer* for their Captain (who usually carried in each hand a Pistol ready to discharge) went into the said Prison on *Tuesday* the six and twentieth of *August*, about five or six of the Clock at night, with Swords, Daggers, and Butchers knives.

Nigh to this Prison there was a great Court enclosed on every side with walls and a very strong Gate. In a corner whereof is a large pair of winding Stairs; containing five and twenty, or thirty steps, by which they go up to the Judgment-Hall to the Seat of Justice. Into this Court were the Murderers assembled; which done, *Coffer* went up into his Seat. Then they had a scroul or bill containing the Names of the Prisoners there imprisoned; who were called over one by one to the number of two hundred and upwards, as some of the Murderers themselves have since reported, when as they impudently made their brags of these their horrible impieties and injustices.

What from here would not have been moved to compassion herewith

There was and drawn where the in officers should begin, conduct, and. This case was then branded for notorious villanies, and a mis-happen fell low.

Then the Attourney laughing began to call for the first Man, named in the Bill; who being brought forth, and seeing naked Swords before him, falling down and craving forgiveness of his Sins at the hands of God, was suddenly butchered by five or six.

One *Quintin Crojer*, an Elder of the Reformed Church, being called forth, and seeing many of his Companions massacred before his eyes, kneeled down, praying God to pardon these murderers; at which prayer they fell a laughing, and not being able with their Daggers to pierce a Jerkin of double Buff which he wore, and which they were loth to spoil, (for it was a good booty) they cut asunder the points, and then gave him five, or six stabs with a Dagger into his Body; and so this good Man wounded to death, calling upon God, rendered up his Spirit into the hands of him that gave it.

Faren Haren, a man zealously affected to Religion, who had been Sheriff of the City in the first troubles, having by his endeavours chased the Mass out of *Meaux*, for a time was mortally hated of these Seditious Papists; and therefore they were not contented simply to kill him, but first cut off his Nose, Ears, and secret parts, then giving him many small thrusts into divers parts of the Body, they constrained him to and fro among them, as if he had gone thorow the pikes. But being weakened, and not able any longer to hold out, in regard of the Blood that issued from all the parts of his Body, he fell with his face to the ground, and instantly calling upon the name of the Lord, received infinite gashes and wounds after he was dead.

By this time it grew late; therefore these Bloodsuckers, having almost wearied themselves in worrying these poor lambs and sheep of Christ, deferred the execution of the rest till after supper, as well to take some breathing and refrection, as also to murder the residue with the greater alacrity. For in as much as the Blood of the slain shined yet upon the Swords and Arms of the murderers (their sleeves being tucked up) which something hindered their proceeding; after they had drunk wine their fill, they meant to return and make themselves drunk with Blood also; which that they might the more freely they took with them Butchers great Axes wherewith they smite down their Oxen, and in the presence of this honest Attourney felled these poor Prisoners one after another; who called upon God, and crying so loud for mercy, that all the City in a manner rung thereof. This Massacre lasted from nine of the Clock at night till it was midnight. And for as much as there yet remained many Prisoners alive, they deferred this their Bloody business till the next day.

But this may suffice to have been said as touching this massacre at *Meaux* in *Brie*; pass we on now to the City of *Troyes* in Champaign, and there take notice, as it were by the way, what cruelties were executed in that place.

Persecution of the Faithful at Troyes in Champaign.

News coming to *Troyes* of the Massacre executed at *Paris*, the greater part of the Judges and Officers of the King were sent to the Bailiff of *Troyes*, with commandment diligently to make search for all those of the Religion, from House to House, and to imprison as many as they could meet withal.

In this City there was a Merchant called *Peter Belin*, a Man of a turbulent nature. This *Belin* was at the Massacre in *Paris* on *S. Bartholomew's* day; from whence he was sent with Letters from the King dated the eight and twentieth of *August*, to the Major and Sheriffs of *Troyes*, to cause all these persecutions to cease, and the Prisoners to be set at liberty. On the third of *September* he came to *Troyes* with these two Letters (which had been first published in *Paris*) with commandment to deliver them to the foresaid Magistrates to be proclaimed there also.

But at the first entrance into the City, he began to enquire, that all might hear him, whether they had not executed the *Huguenots* there as they had done in *Paris*; which was his language thorow the Streets till he came home. But even some of the Papists, who were not so cruelly minded, demanded of *Belin* the contents of the Kings Letters, wherof they had some inkling before.

But he, like a Bedlam swelling with choler, swore that whosoever said they contained any thing tending to pacification, lyed. Halting therefore to the Bailiffs House at *Troyes*, after he had delivered him the packet, and buzzed somewhat in his ear, he put him on to see this execution done. Now that the same might pass the better for current, the help of the Executioner of *Troyes* was requested; whose Name was *Charles*.

Yet he shewing himself more just and humane than the rest, peremptorily refused to have his hand in an act tending to so great cruelty; answering, that it was contrary to his Office to execute any Man before Sentence of death had first been pronounced by the Magistrates. If they had such Sentence to shew against any of the Prisoners, he was ready to do justice; otherwise he would not presume, without a warrant, to bereave any Man of his life: and so with these words he returned home to his House.

Now albeit this answer, proceeding from such a kind of Person whose Office and custom it was to shed Blood, might somewhat have allayed and taken off the edge of the most barbarous Tyger in the World; yet the Bailiff sleighting it, was the further enraged. Upon this he sent for one of the Jaylors of the Prison who kept those of the Religion; but he being sick of a Certain Ague, *Martin de Bures* was sent to know his pleasure.

The Bailiff telling him at large what *Belin* had signified to him in private; as also, that on a sudden all the Prisoners of the Religion must be put to death, that so the place might be purged of them: This (he said) you must not fail to do. But (said the Bailiff) that the Blood may not run into the Streets, you shall cause a trench to be digged in the midst of the Prison, and at the two ends thereof set certain vessels to receive the same.

But this *de Bures* for some considerations, as namely thinking the Kings Letters (wherof he had had some intelligence) might be proclaimed, made no halt to perform his charge, acquainting no Man with ought that had passed between the Bailiff and him; nor not *Perennet* the Keeper, who then lay sick in his Bed.

The next day, being *Tuesday*, which was the fourth of *September*, the Bailiff came into the Prison about seven or eight of the Clock, and calling for *Perennet* asked of him with a smile, *Perennet*, is it done? *Perennet*, knowing nothing more or less, asked of him what? Then saith the Bailiff, Why, are not the Prisoners dispatched? and thereupon was ready with his Dagger to have stabbed him. But coming a little better to himself, he told *Perennet* what his purpose was, and how he was to behave himself concerning the execution thereof; willing him by all means not to forget to make the said Trench. At which words this *Perennet* standing amazed, though otherwise he was a fellow forward enough of himself to commit any Outrages against the Protestants, certified the Bailiff, that such an inhumane act could not be committed over to him, fearing least in time to come Justice might be followed against him by the Parents or Allies of the Prisoners. No no, said the Bailiff, fear not, I will stand between you and all harms. Others of the Justices have consented thereto besides my self, and would you have better security than that?

Within a while after, the Jaylor coming into the Court of the Prison, where the prisoners were abroad recreating themselves, caused every one to resort to his Cabin or Hole, because, said he, the Bailiff will come by and by, to see whether the Keepers have done as he commanded them: which they did. Then began these poor sheep to fear they were destined to the slaughter, and therefore went presently to prayer. *Perennet* instantly called his Companions about him, reporting to them what the Bailiff had given him in charge. Then they all took an Oath to execute the same; but approaching nigh to the Prisoners, they were so surprised with fear, and their hearts so failed them, that they stood gazing one upon another, having no courage to act such a barbarous cruelty, and so returned to the Jaylors lodge, whence they came, without doing any thing.

But in stead of laying this to heart, as an advertisement and warning-piece sent them from above; as if of set purpose they meant to resist against the checks of their own Consciences, and so kick against the pricks, they sent to the Tavern for sixteen Pints of the best Wine,

Troyes

Anno
1569.

Troys measure, with Sheeps Tongues and other viands, and intoxicating their Brains with Wine, they drew a list or Catalogue of all the Prisoners, which they delivered to *Nicholas Martin*, one of their Confederates, who was to call them forth as he saw their names set down in the scroul, and thus as they came forth they Massacred them.

Ladot one of the Prisoners, being called forth as his turn came, presented himself before them with a cheerful countenance, calling upon the Name of the Lord. Now as he was to receive the stroke of death from these desperate blood-spillers, he prayed them to forbear a little, till he had put off his doublet, being oiled, which he was wont to put on when any Tumult grew in the City; and having himself unlaced it, presenting his naked breast unto them, he received the blow, and fell down dead.

But poor *Meurs* escaped not so good cheap; for his turn being come, he was no sooner in their light, but one of them let drive at him with the point of his Halbert, redoubling the same oft to have killed him, yet could not. The poor Man seeing himself thus dealt withal by the Caitiff, and no end made, took hold with his hands on the point of the halbert, and himself pointing him to the Seat of the Heart, cried to the Murderer with steeled voice, *Here, Souldier, here, right at the heart, right at the heart*, and so finished this life.

Howsoever in this Massacre these two formerly mentioned are for brevities sake only named, yet by that which immediately follows you may perceive they were not a few who suffered in this tragedy.

The Massacre (saith my Author) being ended the Murderers made a great pit on the back side of the Chappel of the Priory, whereto they cast the Bodies one upon another, some of them yet breathing. So as one called *Mausere* lying in the midst of them, was espied to raise up himself above his fellow Martyrs in this pit, upon whom they forthwith throwing Earth (as was reported) stifled him, being but half dead. But because the order which the Bailiff set down was not observed, namely the making of a Trench in the Prison to receive the Blood which was shed, it ran in such abundance out at the Prison door, and thence through a Channel into a River nigh thereto, that it was turned into the colour of Blood. Which some of the Papists themselves taking notice of, being ignorant of the fact, were so terrified therewith, that they ran along the Street, crying and pointing at every one they met withal to behold this so horrible and lamentable spectacle. Whereupon many hasting to the Prison by this occasion, could conjecture no other but that the Prisoners had slain one another.

This was presently noised through the City, insomuch as some went to inform the Lieutenant and Bailiff thereof. But what? it was as if they had run to the Wolves to tell them the Sheep were devoured.

Whilst this so savage a cruelty was committed in the Prison, one *Bartholomew Carlet* a Cooper, Prisoner there for debt (who of all the Troop of the Murderers in Troys was one of the principal) having in the former troubles exercised most notorious cruelties against those of the Religion, was called in by these Massacres to be one of their Associates; who executed his part in so bloody a manner, that (as himself afterwards often acknowledged) he with his own hands laughtered thirty of these poor Innocents: So far was he grown past shame or common honesty. But this his fact was so pleasing to certain of the Popish Religion at Troys, that for a recompence thereof they paid his debt, and set him free out of Prison; which was done (as the report went) by making a Collection for him in certain Parishes.

The next day after, which was the fifth of September, this Worshipful Bailiff of Troys, that he might apply the plaister when the parties were dead, causes the Kings Letters, which he had received the thirtieth of the Month of August before going, to be published in all the corners of the City with sound of Trumpet. The Bailiff (as we have been credibly informed) was present in person at the publication, and as the Notary read the contents thereof to him, he pronounced the same jeringly and not with a full and Audible Voice, as matters of such Consequence ought to be read.

Of the Massacre at Orleance.

It now remains that we proceed unto the City of Orleance, and to take notice whether the Papists there were less cruel than those of Paris. But, saith the Historian, when I call to mind what hath been the report of those that were present at that time in Orleance, it causeth the Hair to stand upright on my Head: Yet for as much as it is convenient that posterities to come may be acquainted with the fury of these monsters in nature, we will commit that to writing whereof we have credibly been informed.

On Saturday, the three and twentieth of August, Letters were sent from the King to Orleance, unto *Sieur de la Renie* President of *Dion*, to prevent all disorders, murders &c. With command, that he should advertise the Citizens, how the Admiral was hurt, as also to assure those of the Religion, that ere long such Justice should be executed on the Actors, as all France should take warning thereby not to enterprize the like.

This was carefully performed by the said *Sieur de la Renie* the same day; who caused those of the best rank of both Religions to be present at the publishing of the Kings mind. The Faithful thinking themselves secure, were quiet, and on the Sabbath day assembled in the place appointed for their meeting, to the number of 300. Persons, Men, Women, and Children.

But on the same day towards night came a new Order to the Justice, Major, and Sheriffs of the said City, by which they were enjoined to be up in Arms, and to gather to them what strength they could; with express charge to make havock of those of the Religion. To this purpose the Captains of twelve Companies were appointed to be the leaders to the rest, divided into eight and forty Squadrons.

The cruel Massacre of Dechampeaux a worthy Counsellor in the City of Orleance, by a wretched Villain his Neighbour.

One of these blood-suckers called *Texier* came with a small Troop to a Counsellors House of Orleance, whose Name was *Dechampeaux* Lord of *Bonill*, bidding himself and his company to Supper with him. *Dechampeaux* bid them all kindly welcome, making them good cheer, being ignorant of that which had happened at Paris. But Supper being ended, and all of them being risen from the Table, *Texier* bad him deliver his purse. *Dechampeaux* laughing thereat, thinking that he had been but in jest, this cruel and unthankful guest with Blasphemous Oaths told him in few words what had happened in the City of Paris, and what preparation there was among the Roman Catholics of Orleance, to cut off and root out the Protestants there. *Dechampeaux* seeing there was no time now to contest with him, gave money to this thief: who, to requite the courtesie and good entertainment he had had, embred his hands in the Blood of his host and neighbour, a Man of as good and upright a carriage as was in all the City, and afterwards himself with his Troop pillaged the whole House.

The fix and twentieth day of August following the Massacres began the Execution about the Ramparts, after such a strange manner; as he that had but a spark of humanity left in him, out of compulsion would be moved to abhor and detest it. In these quarters there inhabited many of the Religion. All the night long was heard nothing but shooting off of Guns and Pistols, forcing open of Doors and Windows, fearful outcries of the Massacred, both of Men, Women, and little Children, trampling of Horses, and rumbling of carts, hurrying of Dead Bodies to and fro the Street swarming with unwonted exclamations of those of the common sort, which horrible Blasphemous exploits, Some crying kill them all; and then take the spoil; others, spoil not, but kill all.

On Wednesday the Massacre began more fiercely, and so continued to the end of the week, not sparing to break these and the like jests upon the poor Massacred: *Where canst thou now find your God? What is become of all your Prayers, and Psalms now? Let your God, whom you called upon, save*

A cruel and unthankful guest.

So all miseries go to rack.

These were miserable canst thou now find your God?

save

Save you if he can. Yea some of them, who in times past had been professors of the same Religion, whilst they were massacring the poor Innocents, durst sing unto them in scorn the beginning of the three and fortieth Psalm: Which in the French meter runs, *Revenge may pren le quarrelle de moy, Judge me O God, and plead my cause.* Others striking them said, sing now, *Misericorde auppas-eux, Have mercy on me O God,* which Language they used to this poor people in Paris and elsewhere. But these execrable outrages no way daunted the courage of the Faithful from dying steadfast in the Faith.

Touching the multitude of the slain, the Murderers did not flick to vaunt that in this City they caused more than twelve thousand Men to perish: Also an hundred and fifty Women, with a great number of Children of nine years old and upward. But as some of themselves have since reported, there were eighteen thousand murdered, besides Women and Children. The manner of their death was, first to shoot them with Pistols, then to strip them of their Clothes, and either drowning or else burying the dead Bodies in pits, namely such as dwelt about the Walls. They were armed also with knives and poyards: in like manner manner with Javelins and Partizans, wherewith they Murthered these poor, meek, and harmless Creatures.

On *Tuesday* at night certain of this bloody Crue came and knocked at the door of one that was a Doctor of the Civil Law, called *Taillebourg*; who opening a Casket, and understanding that they had somewhat to say to him, came down immediately, and opened the same unto them. At the first greeting they told him he must dye. Whereupon he fell to prayer, and that with such constancy and affection, that the Massacrers being astonished, and by a secret celestial power restrained, contented themselves only with taking his purse, in which there were fifteen Crowns, and so left him, offering him no more violence.

The day following certain Scholars resorting to his lodging, requested of him that they might see his Library, into which having brought them, one asked this Book of him, and another another, the which he willingly gave them. At length they told him they were not as yet satisfied, their purpose being to kill him. He prostrating himself upon the ground, and having ended his prayer, willed them to kill him there. But they forced him out of his own House, whence he went on with an undaunted courage, till in the way he lighted on the Body of a certain Shoemaker, newly wounded, lying gasping for breath. At which sight starting back as one somewhat appaled, he prayed them to kill him there; yet they would not, but constrained him to pass on forward. Being come to the Schools of the Civil Law, at least, said he, let me dye before this place, where I have taught so long; But they furiously repelling him, more than before, made him go further with them, where at length they knocked him down.

A rich Burgess of the City called *Nicholas Bougars* *Steur de Noüe*, a Man of singular worth, and highly esteemed of all, was at that time deadly sick. Some of the Murderers came into his Chamber with a purpose to kill him; but seeing him in that case spared him: yet finding there *Noel Chaperon*, an Apothecary who brought him Physick, they cut off one of his Arms, then drew him into the open Market-place, where they made an end of him.

The next day there came one to the lodging of him that was sick, who was wont heretofore to visit him. Now as he was entering in, he met the Mother of the sick party at the door going unto Mass, and coming up into the Chamber he stabbed the said sick Man with a Dagger in many places, and so killed a dying Man. Then with all silence, as if he had done no such act, wiping his Dagger, he went down the stairs again, and meeting one at the door who came to visit him that was sick, this fellow saluting him passed along by him, without any change either in his behaviour or countenance.

A Cook, having hid himself three whole days, was enforced for hunger to come forth, for lack of meat. But whilst he went about to escape one death, he fell into the talons of these Lions, who devoured him, and that forthwith.

Francis Stample a rich Merchant was threatened to have his throat cut presently, if he gave not the Mur-

derers money: but having none about him, being taken by them out of his House, calling for pen and ink he wrote a Letter to his Wife, willing her forthwith to send him his ransom: he had no sooner sealed the Letter, but the Murderers deprived him thereof and his life together, laughing at that they had done. And though they got from his Widow a round sum of Money, yet could they not obtain at their hands the Body of her dead Husband.

But to fill up the measure of the popelings cruelty, that those of the Religion might taste thereof to the utmost, the Papists were not content to be Massacrers themselves, but constrained such of the Protestants as through fear had revolted, to play the Murderers also. Thus placing these wicked revolvers into the forefront of their companies, and arming them with Weapons fit for the purpose, they pressed them to march on before, and to give the first onset, crying to them, Smite them, smite them; are they not of your Brethren and holy Sisters? And if they refused to do as they were commanded, their turns were like to be next.

The Massacres committed at Bourges and la Chanite, are the rather passed over in silence, because the History requires at this time to touch only upon such things as are most remarkable, and shall after follow.

Yet one thing ought not to be forgotten which fell out in the City last mentioned. There was one *John Sarrazin* of the Age of seventy years and above, who for a long time had exercised the office of a Deacon in the Reformed Church; the which he so faithfully performed, that he was esteemed a Father of the poor. This good old Father was set upon on *Tuesday* night in his own House the fourth of September, 1572. and laid at with swords by these furious Murderers: who with a venerable and smiling countenance looking upon them, said, my friends, what will ye do with me have I ever offended any of you? And if I have let him speak. But nothing could any while prevail with these savage monsters to mollify their stony Hearts. For with a more than brutish rage they fell upon this gray Head and poor withered Carcass, who to fence of the blows crept under his bed, where one of these rakhels, his next neighbour and Godson, gave him such a thrust in with his Sword into the Belly, that his Bowels issued out.

The poor Man seeing himself thus wounded, and perceiving who had done it, said, Ah Godson, do you use me thus? I never hurt you, but have done you good. He languished of this hurt two days and two nights: during which time, as we have learned from his Wife, who gave her attendance on him all the while, he ceased not with great zeal to call upon God, thinking himself happy to have suffered that outrage for his name, and so not long after yielded up his Spirit into the hands of God that gave it.

The Horrible Massacre of the Faithful at Lyons in France.

ON *Wednesday* the seven and twentieth of August in the year 1572. about six of the Clock in the morning, *Steur Mandoles* Governor of Lyons was advertised of the Massacre at Paris; and within an hour and half after, a Souldier passing through the Streets made it known to the people, that the Admiral, and all the Protestant Princes were slain. By and by the gates of the City were shut, and guards of Souldiers placed here and there.

But lest those of the Religion should be moved with such an unwonted and an unexpected shutting in of the Gates (as in the time of open War) the Roman Catholicicks caused it to be bruited that all was done to secure the Protestants. To which report some gave too much credit; for besides the ordinary guard of the Governor, and that of the *Cinadel*, with the three hundred Harquebusers of the City, which amounted to about a thousand, there were gathered to them many besides of the City with Arms likewise; with command that if they desired any troop of those of the Religion coming abroad, though but with their Swords girt unto them, forthwith to cut them off with the rest also. But they, having endured themselves to an incredible modesty and patience, gave them not the least appearance of defending themselves, seeing a tempest now nigh

Anno
1572.

The force of
invincible
prayer.

Harquebusers
called them.

Anno 1572. nigh at hand which they knew could not arise without a special providence of God.

The day following, notwithstanding all these fair shews, they evidently perceived that their lives were at the mercy of the Papists, who had sucked the blood of many of them in the first troubles. For albeit they found no more passage for them out of the City than they did the day precedent, they might not now either freely go out or come in upon their necessary occasions: if they presented themselves in the Streets, they were clapt up in Prison; for which cause they were faine to keep their Houses. Night being come, they made a privy search in their dwelling Houses; some they rifled, others were ransomed, and the rest imprisoned. Many of them never coming thither, were either killed in the corners of the Streets with Daggers, or else cast into the River; whereof some (who were living when this History was in writing) were saved by swimming, being carried down with the Current of the Stream, half a mile beneath the City.

On Friday after there was a Proclamation with sound of Trumpets in all the chief places of the City, the sum of which was this, that those of the Religion were to appear before the Governour at his House, there to be informed what the Kings pleasure was concerning them. The greater part, being too credulous, feared not to make their appearance at the place assigned, whence soon after they were committed to sundry Prisons. The night following there were heard from all parts of the City lamentable cries and shriekings, not only of such as were massacred in their Houses, but of others half wounded to death, whom they haied to the River.

From that time forwards there were such Murthers and Outrages committed, throughout the City, that it seemed Hell was set open, and that Devils in the likeness of men coming from thence, ran roaring to and fro in the Streets.

On Sunday, which was the last of this Month of August, about eight of the Clock in the morning, the rest, who were left unmolested the Friday before, were made an end of then.

About one of the Clock the same day, commandment was given, that under every Ancient twenty five armed men, with twelve Porters, should be gathered to conduct them to S. Georges Gate, which is by the Archbishops House, in which were more then three hundred and fifty Prisoners; in which place the great Massacre was to be executed. The Keys of the Archbishops House, wherein so many Prisoners were inclosed, were delivered unto this bloody Crue; who joyfully offered themselves to perform so horrible a business; the which the ordinary Executioner refused, and common Souldiers abhorred to undertake, when the same was first propounded unto them; they answering peremptorily they would never do it.

The first alledged, *That if according to the course of Justice Sentence of death had been denounced against them, he knew what he had to do; but for this their purpose, he told them, he thought they might have but too many Executioners in the City to satisfy their desire.* The Souldiers answered, *They thought it more then inhuman, to cut the throats of such as never offended them. But if the Prisoners had made any insurrection or Sedition in the City, they then might have some colour of reason to do it; otherwise they meant not to stain the honour of their Profession (which is accompanied with nobleness of spirit) with so villainous an act, more befitting Butchers then Souldiers.*

But Mandelot and his Accomplises were not so scrupulous; for within three hours after, Clow Captain of the Harquebussiers of the City, came with an enraged Troop, &c. the greater part whereof were furnished with short Swords and Hangers.

As soon as Le Clow entred into the great Court, he gave the Prisoners to understand with a loud voice, *That they must dye;* and turning him towards his Slaughter-men, he said, *On, on, go in, and to your work;* but first he forgot not to demand the Prisoners Purfes for his Booty, which when he pocketted up, he gat him into a Gallery, there to satiate his hellish lust in taking a view of this cruel spectacle.

The Murthers began to fall upon the poor Prisoners with such barbarous cruelty, hacking and hewing them in

so furious a manner, that within less than an hour they were all cut in pieces, not so much as one escaped their hands. All these for the most part were massacred kneeling on their knees, and lifting up their eyes and hands to God for mercy, whilst they had their hands and fingers cut off.

The death and martyrdom of Francis le Bossu, a Merchant, together with his Sons.

AMong all those that confessed the Name of Jesus Christ, and gave their lives for his Truth, a certain Merchant of Hats and Caps, called *Francis le Bossu*, well deserves to be set in the fore rank, with his two Sons; for whilst he trampled in the Blood of his Brethren, being besmeared therewith, and spitting as it were in his face, he encouraged his Children to take their death willingly & patiently using this speech, *Children, we are not to learn now that it hath always been the portion of Believers, to be hated, cruelly used, and devoured by Unbelievers; as Christs silly Sheep of ravening Wolves: if we suffer with Christ, we shall also reign with him. Let not these drawn Swords terrifie us, they will be but as a Bridge whereby we shall pass over out of a miserable life, into immortal blessedness. We have breathed and lived long enough among the wicked, let us now go, and live with our God; let us joyfully march after this great Company which is here gone before us, and let us make way for them that shall follow after.*

When he saw the Murthers come, he clasped his arms about his two Sons, and they likewise embraced their Father; as if the Father meant to be a Buckler to his Children, and the Children as if by the Bond of Nature (which binds them to defend his life from whence they received it) they meant to ward off the blows which were coming towards their Father, though with the loss of their own lives; who when the Massacre was ended, were all three found dead, thus embracing one another.

Now after this furious assault, these impudent Creatures went up and down the City, shewing their white Doubts all besprinkled with Blood; boasting, that some had killed an hundred, some more, some less. Forthwith the great Gates of the Archbishops House were set wide open for all comers; of whom surely there was none (were they of the devoutest Romanists) but must needs have their hearts wounded and pierced within them, to see so hideous a slaughter. And indeed some of them were heard to say, when they beheld this so inhuman and cruel an act, *That certainly they were not men, but devils in the habit of men, that had done this.*

The next morning, which was Munday, the first of September, the remainder of Corpses, which were cast into the water, were put into great Boats, which being rowed over to the other side of the River of Saon, were all cast on shore there; the Corpses being also spread upon the ground nigh to the Abbey of *Esnay*, like dung upon the Earth. The Monks would at no hand yield to have them buried in their Church-yard, esteeming them unworthy of burial; fearing also, that so many put together would be a means to infect the Air, and therefore gave them a sign to have them thrown into the River.

Now as the Multitude were dragging them in thither, an Apothecary came and informed them; that money might be made of the Grease that was taken out of their bodies. Then were the most corpulent Bodies presently sought ought, which when they had ripped up, a great quantity of that Commodity being gotten thence, was sold by these Merchants for three shillings the pound. And then not knowing how to wreck their malice any further upon them, after many derisions and scorn which the strangers by, but especially the *Italians*, had done to these poor despised Carcasses, they were tumbled into a great Pit, and the rest thrown into the River.

Those of *Daulphine*, of *Languedoc*, and *Provence* were amazed to see so many bodies floating upon the water, some dismembred, others fastned together with long Poles, others lying on the shore, some having their eyes put out, others their noses, ears, and hands cut off, stabbed in with Daggers in every part of their Bodies, so as some among them had no human shape remaining. Yes, so great a number of these mangled Corpses presented themselves on the Port of *Tournon*, that the men and women

of the place began to make an Outcry, as if the Enemies had been at their Gates.

Not many Months after, when all these bloody Tragedies were ended, the Pope sent a Legate to the King, called Cardinal *Ursin*. This Legate was received with great Solemnity at *Lyons*, and the Streets hung with Tapestry. Now having heard Mass at *S. Johns Church*, and returning by the same door which he went in at, the greatest number of the Massacres attended his coming there, and as he passed by, they all kneeled down for his Absolution. But the Legate not knowing the reason why they kneeled so before him, one of the principal Agents kneeling there amongst them, told the Legate that they were those who had been the Actors in the Massacre. When the Legate perceived that to be the cause, he absolved them all with making the sign of the Cross.

The Massacres which were by the Pope's Legate.

Persecution at Angiers in France.

Mr. John Mason, a learned Minister, together with his wife and some others, Martyrs.

A Protestant Minister was murdered in his Garden.

AS soon as the Massacre was begun at *Paris*, a Gentleman of *Paris*, called *Monseigneur*, obtained a Passport with Letters to massacre those of the Religion at *Angiers*. Who, being disappointed of his Prey in one place, came to the lodging of a reverend and learned Minister, called *Mr. John Mason*, surnamed *de Launay*, *Sieur de Riviere*. Meeting his Wife at his entrance into the House, he saluted her and kissed her, as it is the manner in *France*, especially among the Courtiers, and asked her where her Husband was? She answered him, that he was walking in his Garden; and then directed him the way unto him.

Monseigneur having lovingly embraced *La Riviere*, said unto him, *Do you know wherefore I am come? the King hath commanded me to kill you forthwith, and hath given me express charge to do it, as you shall know by his Letters.* After which words he shewed him a Pistol ready charged. *Riviere* replied, *That he knew not where he had offended the King; but seeing, said he, you seek my life, give me a little leave to cry to God for mercy, and to recommend my spirit into his hands.*

Having made a short Prayer, he willingly presented his Body to the Murderer, who shot him in with his Pistol, and so he died by and by.

Not long after the King sent *Puygailard*, who drowned nine or ten, and amongst other, the Wife of this Minister of *la Riviere* above named, who expressed a singular constancy of Faith even to her last breath.

This Minister and Martyr formerly mentioned, surnamed *Launay*, was the eldest Son of *Sieur de Launay*, a man exceeding rich and wealthy, but an obstinate Papist. When as the old man observed how his Son was inclined to be a Professor of the Gospel, he threatened to disinherit him unless he would abjure, promising on the contrary to bestow great matters upon him, and to marry him honourably, if he would be ruled by him. All which his Son refusing, his Fathers love began to be turned into hatred; inasmuch that the young man was forced to fly to *Paris*, where in time he was called to be a Minister of the first Reformed Church planted in that City, under the Reign of King *Henry the Second*; from which Reformed Church other Churches in divers Cities in *France* fetched their Light.

Persecution at Roan.

WHEN the Massacres began to play their parts in this City, they counselled those of the Religion to get themselves into the Prisons, as into places of great security from the fury and rage of the People. But such as followed this advice, were there even ready to be devoured, as poor Sheep, by these greedy Wolves at their pleasure.

Six thousand massacred in few days at the City of Roan.

Those who were murdered in the City in a few days, some in their Houses, and others in the Prisons, amounted to six thousand, besides more than fifty women, upon whom they exercised no less cruelty than upon men.

Their Names for brevities sake are here omitted. The dead Bodies being piled together, were conveyed in Tumbrils out of the City, and thrown by heaps one upon another into great Pits digged for that purpose. Their Garments being washed in the River from their Blood, by certain poor women, were afterwards distributed here and there to the poor by the Papists, that they might seem with their unjust cruelty to mingle some works of Justice and Charity.

A Note touching the shameful revolt of a Minister called Du Rosier, with the event of it.

WITHIN a mile of *Paris* there is a place where those of the Religion, which dwell thereabouts, were wont to assemble to hear Sermons, and to participate of the Sacraments. Over this Flock was *Huges Sureau* (called *Du Rosier*) placed as Overseer.

Being in times past Minister at *Orleans*, he was discharged from thence, as one of a contentious spirit, and given to affect Novelties.

In process of time he came to be established the Minister of this foresaid Church nigh unto *Paris*.

Hearing the News of the Massacre, he fled with the rest for company. Being apprehended, he began to waver, perfwading many Prisoners to revolt as he had done; which caused him afterwards, if his repentance was found, to utter these words in a Book which I have, wherein he bitterly lamented his woful fall. *The Murderers, said he, by their cruel hands murdered mens Bodies, whilst their Souls escaped safe; but I by my perfwasions have been a killer of Souls, in turning them from the Truth which before they professed.*

The Judge who had him in Bonds sent Letters presently to *Paris*, to give notice of his apprehension, as also of some apparent signs which gave him hope of the Ministers Conversion.

The King by and by sent for him; who being brought into his presence, subscribed instantly to an Abjuration with detestation of the *Huguenots* Profession, before the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, maintained the Romish Religion, consented thereto with the *Sorbonists* at that time there present; against whom a few years before he had learnedly defended the Truth.

In this Abjuration he endeavoured to confute many Articles which were maintained by *Calvin* and *Beza* against the Romish Religion. In these disputes, this Minister being of a prompt wit and having ability to express himself well, handled the matter so cunningly, that the King of *Navarre*, the Princess his Sister, and the Princess of *Conde* so far yielded, that within five or six days after they went to *Mais*, and received Absolution of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*.

The Points about which this *Rosier* disputed, were these: First, Concerning the Marks of the Church; Secondly, Of the Trinity of Persons; Thirdly, Of the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ*; Fourthly, Of *Christs* descent into Hell; Fifthly, Of Original Sin; Sixthly, Of the Providence of God; Seventhly, Of Predestination and Reprobation; Eighthly, Of mans Free will; Ninthly, Of Justification; Tenthly, Of Succession; Eleventhly, Of Intercession of Saints; Twelfthly, Of the Sacrifice of the Mass; And, Lastly, of Transubstantiation. The *Sorbonists* caused this Confession to be printed; to which the Ministers of the Reformed Religion would not vouchsafe an Answer, knowing that he who made it did it contrary to his own Conscience, adding nothing thereto which had not been confuted a thousand times.

All this upon his Repentance he afterwards revoked, as is to be seen by his Book printed here in *London* in the French Tongue, in the year 1573. which Confession of his, contrary to his Abjuration, I have in my Custody.

Now touching the Prince of *Conde*, the King propounded to him three things; Either to go to *Mais*, to dye, or else perpetual Prison; and therefore to bethink himself well which of the three he liked best. The Prince answered, as it is reported, That by Gods grace he would never choose the first; as for the two latter, he referred himself to the Kings pleasure.

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A Massacre at Tholouze in France.

ON Sunday, which was the eighth day after the Massacre of Paris, about eight of the Clock in the morning, the chief of the Papists received advertisement of that which had passed, with Letters directing them what they were to do. Then a Council was called, at the breaking up whereof the great Gates of the City were shut, only the Wickets left open, at which there was set such to watch as they thought fitting. Soon after it was noised through all the City, that the Lords and Gentlemen of the Religion were massacred at Paris. Which the Protestants at Tholouze noting, being gone forth about five of the Clock in the morning to hear the Sermon at *Cassanet*, some thought it fit not to return, but to resort to some other place: others resolved to go back again, that they might take order about their affairs. These, being ill advised, were suffered to enter in peaceably, leaving their Swords and Daggers at the Gate. At Evening Souldiers were placed here and there; but in regard many Counsellors of the Religion were abroad (that they might the better entrap them) the next day the Gates were not so carefully looked unto, but who would might come in, and go out at their leisure, without being questioned at all. This was done to draw in the simple people who wandered up and down the fields. The first president called *Dafis*, a subtle headed man, sent to the Counsellors abroad to come in, promising them their safety upon his word, shewing that their absence did but incense the Inhabitants of Tholouze the more against them. It was granted indeed, that there had been a Massacre at Paris, but that was upon some private quarrel, so as the King was not minded for that to break his Edict of Pacification.

Some of them were perfwaded and returned; others casting some peril resolved to retire to *Montauban*, *Reaumont*, and elsewhere. On Tuesday following, that they might hold them whom they had gotten within the Walls, and draw in Rich as yet kept themselves without, they caused it to be published with sound of Trumpets; That the Kings will was that none of the Religion should be molested, but respectively used. The Presidents with sundry others were present at this Proclamation, accompanied with a guard of Souldiers, which caused many of the Religion, especially the Counsellors, to suspect some treachery; who therefore hastened to the first President to know what these things meant. He answered, it was only to refrain the people from making a tumult. But perceiving that they could not by their cunning catch the Birds who kept aloof off, they wrecked their malice upon those they had in their hands.

On Wednesday next then, about ten of the Clock in the Morning, having separated their Troops into divers quarters, they caused them to enter into the Houses of those of the Religion, whom they imprisoned in sundry Prisons of the City. This business held them all that Wednesday. The Guard was doubled at the Gates, and one of the Parliament, with a Merchant that was a Papist, deputed as Commanders at the said Gates, to examine all such as went out, and to put back such as meant to escape. There was also a charge given, that none should dare to conceal any of the said Religion, as they would answer to the contrary. By means whereof many being discovered, were imprisoned. Among which were five or six Counsellors, men excellently learned, who comforted the rest. Thus were they detained three weeks. In the mean while the Massacres set upon the Neighbour Cities.

The three weeks being expired, they put all these Prisoners together into the *Conciergerie*, which is a special Prison. After which they began to manifest themselves: for the reason why they had deferred the slaughter of them so long, was, that they might obtain Authority from Paris; the which was brought them by their Deputies, whose names were *Despech* and *Madron*, rich Merchants of the City. These came with a Warrant from the King, that if the Massacre was not finished, then they should not defer any longer to put his will in execution. To which they shewed themselves but too forward and ready.

On Saturday morning before the Sun was up, certain

Scholars who were Night-walkers, with other lewd Fellows to the number of seven or eight, armed with Axes and Butchers Knives, entered into the said *Conciergerie*; and causing the Prisoners to be called down one after another, they massacred them beneath at the stairs-foot of the *Conciergerie*, not permitting them so much leisure as to speak, much less to pray. It was thought that they massacred to the number of three hundred; afterwards spoiling them of all they had, stripping them out of their cloaths and shirts, and leaving them naked, their secret parts being only covered with a piece of Paper. They were exposed to the view of all for the space of two days; whilst they digged great pits, whereinto the Corpses thus cruelly massacred were cast naked one upon another. The Counsellors whom they had imprisoned, after they were massacred, were hanged in their long Gowns upon a great Elm which was in the Court of the Palace; and in the mean while the Houses of those of the Religion were sacked and pillaged.

Many among these, by reason of the barbarous cruelties used against their Brethren, abjured daily. Now because the *Sorbonists* provided a form of Abjuration to that purpose, for saving the lives of such as recanted, it shall not be impertinent to insert the same in this place; it being imprinted at Paris by *Nicholas Roffet*.

The Abjured minding to return into the lap of our holy Mother the Roman Church, must present themselves first to their Parsons or Curats, to be directed by them what they ought to do. Afterward to be sent thence to their Reverend Bishop and Diocesan, or his Official, to pronounce the said Abjuration in manner and form following.

The Form of their Abjuration.

1. I Such a one of such a Diocesse, and dwelling in such a place, acknowledge by the Grace of God the true Catholick and Apostolick Faith, from which I have wilfully gone astray and separated my self; and now desiring to return into the true Sheepfold, which is the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Church, I do profess to have abjured, and here before you my Superior, do abjure and detest all the Huguenot Errors of Luther, Calvin, and all Heresies whatsoever, wherewith heretofore I have been infected and defamed, consenting now to the Doctrine of our holy Mother the Church, beseeching you in the Name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and of the glorious Virgin Mary his Mother, with all the beauteous Saints and the Saints in Paradise, that it will please you to receive me into the Fold of the Christian Flock and People of God, who live under the obedience of the Pope, ordained Christ's Vicar in the said Church, submitting my self patiently to bear, and willingly to perform the penance you shall think fit to impose upon me, absolving me from all Offences committed whilst I lived in such Errors, for which I bear ask pardon of God, of the said Church, and of you my Pastor (set over me by God the Creator) to absolve me with such Penance as you shall judge to be available for the satisfaction of my sins and offences. And that it may be seen that from the heart I have made, and do make this Abjuration.

2. I further confess, before God and you, that I believe all that is contained in the Apostles, Athanasius and Nicene Creeds, with all the Confessions of Faith besides, allowed and approved by the Councils of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Church, and so forth as it followeth in those Creeds.

3. I also believe, acknowledge and confess whatsoever is contained in the Old and New Testament, approved by the said holy Catholick Apostolick Roman Church, according to the sense and interpretation of the holy Doctors, and by them received, rejecting wholly all other Interpretations as false and erroneous.

4. I acknowledge the seven Sacraments of the said Church to have been instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, as necessary for the salvation of mankind, although all of them are not of necessity to be conferred upon all; namely, I acknowledge that the seven Sacraments be, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, which is the holy Sacrament of the Altar, Penance, extreme Unction, Orders, and Marriage; and that of them Baptism, Confirmation, and

firmation, and Order; cannot be reiterated without Sacrilege. That the said Sacraments confer Grace, and have those effects which the Church hath taught, and that the form and use according to which they are administered to Christians is holy and necessary.

5. I further acknowledge, That the holy Mass is a Sacrifice and Oblation of the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, under the forms of Bread and Wine mingled with water; which Bread and Wine under the foresaid forms are in the Mass, by the words of Consecration there pronounced by the Priest, transubstantiated and changed into the said Body and Blood of Christ; albeit the Qualities and Accidents remain in the said forms after Consecration; and that the Mass is profitable and available both for the living and for the dead.

6. I acknowledge and confess the concomitance, namely, that in receiving the Body of Christ under the form of Bread only, I then likewise receive the Blood of Jesus Christ.

7. I confess that prayer to, and intercession of Saints for the living and for the dead, is holy, good, and profitable for Christians, and in no sort contrary to the honour of God.

8. That Prayers made in the Church for the faithful departed are beneficial for them, for the remission of sins, and mitigating of their pains deserved for the same.

9. That there is a Purgatory, where the Souls of such as are detained there are relieved by the prayers of the faithful.

10. I confess that honour ought to be given to the Saints reigning with Christ in Heaven, that they ought to be prayed to, and that they make intercession for us to God, and that their Reliques ought to be worshipped.

11. That the Commandments and Traditions of the said Church, consisting in Divine Ceremonies, are holy and good, as Fasting, Abstinence from Meats, Observation of Feasts, and other Ecclesiastical Rites, and ought to be observed according to the Traditions of the Apostles and ancient Fathers, continued from the Primitive times, and since brought into the Church by the Decrees of Councils, received thence long ago or lately: Also that I will and ought to obey them as prescribed and authorized by the holy Ghost, the ordainer of those things which serve to the upholding of Christian Religion, and of the holy Catholick and Apostolick Roman Church.

12. I likewise believe and consent to all the Articles concerning Original Sin and Justification.

13. I also steadfastly believe that the Pictures of Christ, of his holy Mother, and of all the Saints, ought to be retained in the Church, that the uses of them are very profitable, and that they ought to be worshipped.

14. I confess that the power of Indulgences and Pardons is left to the Church by Jesus Christ, and the use of them is greatly available; as also I acknowledge the Church of Rome to be the chief Mother of all Churches, and that she hath the holy Ghost for her guide: and that all private and pretended Inspirations contradicting the same, are of the Devil the Prince of Dissention, who would rent in sunder the seamless Coat of Jesus Christ.

15. Lastly, I strictly promise to observe and keep whatsoever was decreed and ordained by the last Council of Trent, and do promise before God and you, never to depart from the Catholick and Apostolick Roman Church. And if I shall (which God forbid) I submit me to the Correction and Canons of the said Church, made, decreed, and ordained against them which fall into Apostasy.

To which Abjuration and Confession I have subscribed with my hand, &c.

Some of those who for fear abjured, afterwards relented; others grew more and more hardened; inasmuch that in going off to Mass they took part with the Priests and Murderers, as if they had never made any Profession at all of the Truth.

Persecution at Bourdeaux the third of October, 1572.

Soon after the Massacre at Paris, tidings thereof came to Bourdeaux. Where it happened on a morn-

ing as the Protestants were taking Boat to hear a Sermon in a Meadow where they were wont to meet, being about three miles from Bourdeaux, between the River of Garonna and the Brook of la Jalla, that the Governour Mounsferrand commanded them to come back again. He had the skill to cloke the same under a plausible pretence, namely, that they should not be set upon there by the Multitude.

After their return they began to set a strong watch and ward at the Gates, so as none of the Religion could have leave to pass forth, unless he had a Passport from the Governour: yet means was made for their Ministers escape without being perceived; who went to *Ad doc*, expecting what the event of this business at Bourdeaux would be. Having intelligence of what was executed there, they staid certain days and nights, hiding themselves in the Rocks and Marshes, until they had opportunity to take shipping, and so sail into England.

Instantly thereupon there arrived at Bourdeaux the Lord of Montpensat from the King, who at his first coming feigned as if he meant to settle all things in peace. Yet he wrought under hand in such wise with the Governour, that the Massacre was resolved on, to which he was solicited by a Jesuite called *Edmond Angier*, who out of the Pulpit used horribly and bitterly to thunder and inveigh against the remissness and faintheartedness of the said Governour. Inasmuch as on *S. Michael's day* (as they called it) speaking of the Angels by whom God executes his Judgments, he cried out by the way of Interrogation, who executed Gods Judgments upon the Huguenots in Paris? The Angel of God. Who hath executed the like upon other Cities in this Kingdom? The Angel of God. In a word, he never ceased in publick and private to solicit the Papists of Bourdeaux to follow the example of the Parisians. And then as a creaking Raven, day by day he menaced those of the Religion with the approaching of an utter ruin and desolation, if they did not betimes return into the bosome of the Roman Church, which offer if they now refused, they should not be received in when they would.

Many being terrified with these threats, as also by the intreaties of their Kindred, who set before them the imminent danger which hung over their heads, revolted and abjured. The said Sieur of Montpensat caused Master *William Blanck*, an Advocate in the Court of Parliament, to be called before him, who was Counsellor to him and to his Father in Law; exhorting and perswading him to return to the Unity of the Roman Church.

Le Blanck answered, That he had sufficiently weighed and compared all things together, before he took upon him the Profession of that Religion which he now professed; which he said was the true Religion, acknowledging the same in every respect far to exceed the other.

Montpensat hearing this, rebuked him sharply, saying, That then he thought himself wiser than the King, and all those that professed as his Majesty did. Inasmuch as they who stood about Le Blanck began to handle him roughly; so that he had much ado to escape with his life, had not Montpensat rescued him from that danger, because he was come thither upon his word. The Governour said, If he had been there, he would have slain him.

The Governour, being pressed to dispatch this Massacre at Bourdeaux, wist not well what to do. For on the one side *La Sieur de Vesins*, with sundry others, coming from the Court, assured him from the King, that he wondered why the business was deferred so long; shewing, that he could not perform a more acceptable Service unto him than it. On the other side *Stroff*, who hovered about *Rochet* to take it, wished him to be well advised what he did, what Command soever he had to the contrary: Foreseeing belike, that if he went forward with his Execution, the *Rochellers* would have had the said *Stroff* in such a jealousy, that his Project would have been defeated, and so would be no small prejudice to the Kings Affairs; putting him in hope, that he would stand between him and all perils.

For the truth is, the Army by Sea, which was prepared against *Rochet*, lying for a time at Bourdeaux, under pretence of conquering *Florida*, would have been ready enough to have made a general Massacre there, but that they

Anno
1572.

Anno 1572. they were afraid the *Rochellers* would be incensed there-
at.

Yet in conclusion the Governor, having ballanced things on both parts, was persuaded by the *Sieur Montpessier* to put the massacre in execution. To which purpose an Oath being taken, a Catalogue was made of such as they meant to spoil.

On *Saturday* then, which was the third of *October*, 1572. the Governor having assembled together all the scum of the City to aid and assist him in so barbarous an act, commanded them with other Souldiers to be ready presently after dinner to put the Kings command into execution. To which they were very forward, coming in their Liveries, attended on by Captains of Tens, to direct them touching that they had to do. The greater part of the Massacres had red Hats given them by *Peter Esbornach*, and for the Blood, wherewith they dyed their Arms, they were called the Red Band: others called them the Cardinals Band. The Governor commanded them to kill all those of the Religion, especially such as had taken Arms, and not to spare one. And himself intending to shew them the way, went to the House of Master *John Guilloch*, Lord of *Obiere*, Counsellor in the Court of Parliament to execute the hatred he had long since conceived against him: who being about to escape away out at a back Door, they caught and brought him into the outer Court before his House, in the presence of the Governor, who with a Sword massacred him; which done, his House was wholly pillaged.

At that time they brought a certain Minister out of the *Consistory*, who a few days before coming from the Country *Saintron* to *Bourdeaux* (for his better safety as he thought) was there apprehended and imprisoned: and as soon as he was come out of the Prison they massacred him before the Gates of the Palace.

Master *William Savins* House (a Counsellor of the said Parliament, who was one of the Religion) was forced open, pillaged and spoiled, and himself cruelly murdered. His Clerk called *Simons*, seeing his Master about to be massacred, embraced and comforted him: and being asked whether he were of the Religion, he answered yea, and would dye with his Master for the same.

Thus they were slain one in anothers Arms.

The cruel Martyrdom of Du Tour, a Deacon of the Protestant Church.

A Deacon of the Reformed Church called *Du Tour*, an old Man, who in the days of his ignorance had been a Priest in the Popish Church, being sick in his Bed, was haled forth into the open Street; of whom it being demanded, whether he would go to Mass, and thereby save his Life, he freely answered, No, especially now drawing so near his end, both in regard of his years and grievous sickness: I hope (saith he) I shall not so far forget the eternal Salvation of my Soul, as for fear of death to prolong this life for a few days; for so I should buy a short term of life at too dear a rate. They hearing him say so, massacred him instantly.

It was lamentable to see the poor Protestants wandering up and down, not knowing where to save their lives: some were rejected of their own Parents and Kinsfolks, who shut their Doors against them, pretending as if they knew them not; others were betrayed and delivered up by those to whose trust they had committed themselves: many were saved even by Priests and others, from whom a Man would have expected no such security. Some were saved by their very Enemies, whose hearts abhorred such detestable outrages.

All the City was full of terrors and horrible threats against those of the Religion, saying, that the Kings commandment was, that he would not have so much as one of them left in his Kingdom. And if any refused to go to Mass, that an Hole should be digged for him in the Earth, in which he should forthwith be buried without any more ado.

Scaffing Ballads sung in contempt of the Admiral of Chastillon and other Protestants.

Near the Palace and thoroughout the City were defamatory Libels sung against the Admiral of *Chastillon* and the *Huguenots*. In which regard, such in whose Hearts God had reserved but any sparkle of Piety, were so terrified and vexed with their Blasphemies, that the condition of the massacred seemed to be much better than theirs who were left alive; who heard and saw those things without ceasing, which to an honest mind was more bitter than death itself.

The Governor was very careful after the Massacre was ended, to advertise the *Sieur Montpessier*, by a Gentleman, of all things which had passed, according to the promise he had made unto him. Which *Montpessier* was suddenly surprised with a distaste; wherein feeling Gods hand heavy upon him, he uttered such lamentable outcries, that his Blood and Soul were poured out at once, a Judgment justly inflicted upon him, for all the innocent Blood which he had shed without a cause.

Montpessier suddenly surprised with a strange distaste.

The Judgment of God upon one Vincent.

He like Judgment of God fell not long after upon another of these Massacres called *Vincent*, Advocate of the Court, one who had had his hand deeply dyed in this Bloody enterprise, not sticking to boast that with his own hands he had murdered *Agrauldes* door-keeper of the Court. This Man also fell dangerously sick, but in the end recovering again, and as he thought being in good health, he told some of his friends that he felt his Arms strong enough to handle his Courtax or short Sword as well as ever he had done. But within a while after he was overtaken by the hand of God, with such a flux of bleeding at his nose, as could not be restrained nor diverted by any of the remedies that were then used. It was an hideous sight to see him still bowing his head over a basin full of Blood, which without ceasing issued out of his nose and mouth.

This Bloody wretch then, who breathed forth nothing but Blood in the time of his health, nor could have his eyes satisfied with seeing the Blood of Innocents poured out, was forced whilst he lived to see himself drenched in his own Blood, even until his last gasp.

Another of them, thirsting after Blood as much as any of the rest, was taken with such a swelling in all the parts of his Body, that there was scarcely to be discerned in him the form of a Man, and so continued swelling more and more, till at the length he burst in sunder.

The Governor himself who was the chief Actor in this Massacre, about two years after gathering all the Forces he could to besiege *Genes*, with an intention to do wonders there, presenting himself ready for the purpose, was chosen to go in the rank of five and twenty or thirty brave Gentlemen, and he only shot with an Harquebuse, being dyed. The rest by and by retiring came off safe, without doing any further exploit.

Thus we have taken a view of the extreme afflictions, terrors and oppressions of the Reformed Churches in many parts of France, wherein within a few weeks well nigh thirty thousand were put to death.

Now in the year 1573. many places whither the faithful were fled for refuge, were assailed by open war; namely, in the first place that of *Sancerre*, the History whereof you have here in a short view presented before you in that which followeth.

A Relation of the extreme famine which happened in the City of Sancerre in France, being besieged with five hundred Horsemen and about five thousand Footmen the ninth of January, 1573. with their deliverance.

Being (saith the Story) compassed about with irreconcilable Enemies, from about the beginning of April; the want of victuals having caused them to gather together all the Asses and Mules they had in the City, they were eaten up in less than a month.

Then they came to Horses, Cats, Rats, Mice and Dogs. After these were spent, they fell to eat Ox and Cow-hides, Sheep-skins, parchment, old shoes, Bullocks, and

Vincent dyes drenched in his own Blood.

Another of this wretched crew (swelled so long that he burst in sunder. God meets with the Governor himself at length.

Thirty thousand massacred within a few weeks in the Cities of France.

The Want of victuals was then General of the Kings Army.

and horse-hoofs, horns, and lanterns, ropes, and harnesses, leather girdles, &c.

In the end of *June* the third part of the besieged had not Bread to eat. Such as could get hemp-seed, ground it, or stamped it in Mortars, and made Bread of it, the like they did with all sorts of herbs, mingling the same with bran if they had it. There they eat meal of chaff, nut-shells, and of slate, excrements of horses, and men, yea, the offal which lay in the Streets was not spared.

The nine and twentieth of *July*, a poor Man and his Wife were executed for having eaten the Head, Brains, and Entrails of a young Child about three years old which dyed of hunger; having made ready the other parts to eat at another meal. An old Woman lodging in their House, eating a part of this mournful dyer, dyed in Prison, within a few hours after her imprisonment.

They were found guilty of other offences; but this aggravated the same the more. All Children under twelve years of age dyed. It was lamentable to hear the piteous voices uttered by poor Parents for the misery wherein their eyes beheld their languishing and dying Infants.

To which purpose you may take notice here of a memorable accident. A boy of ten years old, being ready to yield up the Ghost, seeing his Father and Mother weeping over him (whose Arms and Legs when they handled, felt as if they had been dried sticks) laid unto them, wherefore weep ye thus, in seeing me famished to death? Mother, faith he, I ask you no bread, I know you have none: but seeing it is Gods will I must dye this death, let us be thankful for it. Did not the holy Man *Lazarus* dye of Famine? Have I not read it in my Bible? In uttering these with the like speeches he yielded up the ghost the thirtieth day of *July*.

That all the People dyed not of famine in the end of this Month, it was by reason of certain Horses which were reserved for service if need should be, and six Kine which were left to give milk for the sustentance of young Infants. These Beasts were killed, and their flesh sold for the relief of such as were living, with a little Corn, which by stealth some brought into the City; so that a pound of Wheat was sold for half a Crown.

There dyed by fight in *Sancerre* but eighty four persons, but of the Famine more than five hundred. Many Soldiers getting forth as they could out of the City, flying from the Famine, chose rather to dye by the Sword of the Enemy; whereof some were slain, others imprisoned, and the rest put to death by the Executioner.

But when all help of Man failed, the King having sworn that he would make them eat up one another, the King of Kings delivered them by his wonderful providence. For at this instant the Embassadors from *Poland* came into *France* to accept the Duke of *Anjou* for their King, at whose intreaty (which could not well be denied) poor *Sancerre*, more than half famished, was now set at liberty by raising the siege, who otherwise were determined to leave their Bones there, rather than to yield themselves into their Enemies hands, in regard they had oft threatened them with a general Massacre. Whereas now by the Kings appointment they were permitted to pass out of the City armed; if any would tarry, that they should not be molested: having liberty granted them to dispose of their affairs, as they pleased, with promise of conserving the honour and chastities as well of Virgins, as Women, &c.

Of this siege Marshal said, that it was great, long, and slightly; but though well assailed yet better defended.

Now let us come to the City of *Rochel*, which being at this instant strongly besieged by the forces of *France*, both by Sea and Land, with about forty and fifty Thousand Men, was yet in the end also delivered, though not without many hot conflicts, by the immediate hand of God; namely thus: The Embassador of *Poland* arriving in *France* the seventeenth day of *June*, a truce was made on the sudden, Articles of peace drawn, and sent to the King, who consented to them, and returned answer in form of an Edict, granting to those of *Rochel*, *Montauban*, *Nismes*, and others which stood upon their defence, liberty for the exercises of Religion; the rest to live peaceably in their Houses, and therein to minister the Sacrament of Baptism, and Marriage as they had wont to do, so as their Assemblies exceeded not the number of ten, besides the Parents.

He restored to the *Rochellers* and others their Rights and Privileges, letting fall all the Decrees given out

against them, approving of their defensive War; giving them leave, according to their ancient custom, to retain in their Cities, Towers, and Fortresses, Men and Munition, yea, to receive in Governors among them, provided that they were such as they had no cause to suspect or except against.

By virtue of this Edict, upon the tenth day of *July*, about ten of the Clock in the forenoon, the *Sieur of Biron* entered into the City at the gate called *de Coigne*, with an Herald of Arms, and four of the Kings Trumpeters (at which hour peace was proclaimed in the most eminent places thereof) accompanied with the Lieutenant of the City, and with the Lord of *Villiers*. After which, dining at the Majors House, he soon after retired, being conducted along till he came without the City.

The same day many small Vessels laden with Biskets, Corn, Meal, Fish, and other provision entered into the Haven. At this siege the Duke *D. Anseau* lost his life, with *Coffins*, who had broken into the Admirals Lodging, and began the Massacre at *Paris*: besides many great Lords, Gentlemen, Captains, Lieutenants, and Antients, to the number of three score, the greater part of which, having their hands embred in those other bloody Massacres, being come thither received their reward, namely, either present death, or wounds so incurable that they escaped not with life.

One thing ought not here to be passed over in silence, to wit, the provision of victuals which God furnished this besieged people withal, when all other provisions began to fail them, namely, an infinite number of small Fishes never seen before in that Haven, which every day yielded themselves to the mercie of the necessitous Inhabitants. But as soon as the Edict was published, and the *Rochellers* set at liberty by the arriving of the Polish Embassadors, these Sea fishes withdrew themselves.

Although this relation following, touching another siege of this City of *Rochel*, suites nothing at all with the order of time, happening as it did in the year 1628. yet so far as it seems to have some affinity with the terrible famine wherewith both the City of *Sancerre* and it were afflicted; let not the Reader be offended for placing the same here somewhat out of place, being a thing to worthy of note.

An extract of a Letter written on board the Saint George his Majesties Ship in Saint Georges Island.

There dyed in this siege of *Rochel*, the thirtieth of *October*, 1628, sixteen thousand persons, the rest enduring a world of miseries; most of all their food being hides, leather, and old gloves: other provisions being very scarce were at an excessive rate; viz.

A Bushel of Wheat	xx. li.
A pound of Bread	xx. s.
A quarter of Muston	valued Money.
A pound of Butter	xxxx. s.
An Egge	viii. s.
An ounce of Sugar	ii. s. vi. d.
A dried Fish	xxx. s.
A pint of Wine	xx. s.
A pound of Grapes	ii. s.
A pint of Milk	xxx. s.

Also it is reported, that through the famine, young Maids of fourteen or sixteen years of age did look like old Women of an hundred years old. The famine was such, that the poor people would cut off the buttocks of the dead as they lay in the Churchyard unburies. All the English that came out looked like Anatomies. They lived two Months with nothing but Cow-hides and Goats-skins boiled; the Dogs, Cats, Mice, and Frogs being all spent. And this with a world of other miseries did they suffer, in hope of being relieved by others. Thus much I thought good to let you understand.

Anno 1574.

A certain Gentleman, Nephew to the English Governor of *Anjou*, bragging that he had been one who murdered the Admiral, showing a bare Sword which he had used in this slaughter, threatened the *Rochellers*, but God cut him short also, at the siege of *Sancerre*.

Anno
1588.*A Description of the manner of the death of Charles the ninth, King of France.*

IN the year 1574. Charles the ninth, King of France (in the time of whose Reign these forenamed execrable Massacres were executed) fell sick; which sickness fell upon him before his Brother the Duke of Angou took his voyage into Poland: from which during the Winter season he obtained some recovery. But that which then seemed to ly hidden brake forth again afresh in the Spring; so as this Prince, after he had languished three whole Months, viz. February, March, and April, drew his Physicians to a consultation about the state of his Body; who in the end concluded to purge and let him blood. But these remedies took not such an effect as the King and they expected; for he fell wasted and consumed away, being in the flower of his Age, to the wonder of many. Some guessed he had taken a surfeit either in eating or drinking; others, that he was enchanted.

The thirteenth of May he dyed, in the presence of his Mother, and of the Cardinals of Bourbon and Ferrare, &c.

He was born on the twenty seventh day of June, 1550. He began his Reign the first of December, 1560. and so Reigned, as that it gives to Posterity just cause both of admiration and detestation. Thus this Prince lived not forty years fully compleat. Now if any desire to be further satisfied as touching the manner of his death, I refer them to that which Master John Fox hath written thereof not many lines before the conclusion of this Book, commonly called the Book of Martyrs.

A Note touching a Bull of Pope Sixtus the fifth, wherein the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde were declared Hereticks, &c. with the Censure thereof by the Parliament of Paris.

IN September 1585. Pope Sixtus the fifth, by a Bull sent from Rome, condemned the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde for Hereticks, excommunicated them, degrading them and their Successors from their dignities, especially laying claim to the Crown of France, abjuring their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and exposing their Countries for a prey to them that could first subdue them.

The Court of Parliament of Paris made a notable Remonstrance to the King concerning these Bulls, in the which they sought to maintain the privileges of the Gallicane Church. Among other things, these words that follow are very remarkable. The Court thinks that these Bulls are set forth in a stile altogether of a new stamp, and so contrary to the modesty of former Popes, that they can in no sort discern therein the spirit of a Successor of the Apostles. And therefore (as the Deputies of the said Court added) we can neither find by our Registers, nor by any Antiquity, that the Princes of France ever subjected themselves so far to the Authority of the Pope, nor that the Subjects have taken such knowledge of the Religion of their Princes. The Court therefore cannot determine ought thereupon, unless first of all the Pope can cause his pretended right in translation of Kingdoms, to appear; which Kingdoms were established and ordained of God, before the name of a Pope was heard of in the World: that he manifests not to us what Title he hath to intermeddle with the matter of the Succession of a young and vigorous Prince, who, for ought the Pope knows, may have his succession yet in his loyns: that he shews not with what appearance of justice or equity he should deny that privilege which is allowed to such as are accused of Heresie against the Decrees of antient Canons, namely that no Man ought to be held as an Heretic, until his defence be fully and freely heard; till he have received often admonitions from many Synods, and thereupon sentenced by a Council lawfully assembled.

Further they added, that seeing the Pope in stead of instruction, breaths forth nothing in his Bulls but destruction, changing his Shepherds crook into a terrible Thunderbolt, rather to scatter then sweetly to call the erring flock into the Bosom of the Catholick Church, the Court cannot safely admit of, or entertain a Bull so pernicious

and opposite to the general good of all the Christian World, and to the Sovereignty of the Crown of France; yes, they further were of opinion, that this Bull deferred to be thrown into the Fire and burned, and the Solicitors or upholders thereof for examples sake to be severely chastised; humbly beseeching the King to maintain his Edicts in his own Kingdom in peace.

This Remonstrance took small effect; for not long after, the King being solicited by the Principal of the League, set forth a Declaration the seventh of October, upon the Edict published in July next before going; wherein having confiscated the Body and Goods of those of the Religion with their Associates, who in any Province had taken Arms against the fury of the League, it was ordained, that those of the Religion within six Months were to depart out of the Kingdom, unless within fifteen days fully accomplished after the said Declaration they should abjure.

The Parliament, suffering themselves to be carried down by the violence of this stream, accepted and admitted this Edict. The Princes framed an opposition against the Popes Bull, appealing therefrom, as a wrong done unto them, offering to make it appear in a free and lawful Council, that the Pope had maliciously belied them, in calling them Hereticks; so as if he refused this fair and lawful course by them propounded, they would hold and esteem him for that great Antichrist, and would proclaim an open irreconcilable War against him. This opposition was affixed and set up at Rome the seventh day of November.

Not long after, among those of the Religion which were imprisoned, others were more severely handled. Among many, take notice here of two Honourable Women, whose memory ought to be celebrated in this History of the Martyrs; namely, Radagonda Daughter of Master John Foucoult, Attourney in the Parliament of Paris, Widow, of the Age of forty years, and Claude Foucoult her Sister, a Virgin about thirty six, who were apprehended the nine and twentieth of October 1585. the one of the Village of Pierrepin near Paris, and the other in the Suburbs of Saint German, and brought Prisoners into Chapelet because they denied to go to Mass, and would not abjure and forsake the true Religion. Being severed one from the other in Prison, they were examined upon sundry Articles* to which they made their direct answer according to the Word of God.

Then being put together, they were accused for disobeying the Kings commandment, which was, that those of the Religion were either to depart the Kingdom by such a time, or else abjure; They answered, that they were willing to leave the Kingdom, if they might obtain a convenient time to take order about that little which they had there; but refusing to yield to their request, they were shut up again, and the seventh of November in the presence of the Lieutenant, as also of the Advocate for the King, and a Sorbonist, they pleaded their Innocency. These Men getting no advantage against them, but being rather confounded by the Wisdom of Gods Spirit, speaking by these two Sisters, went and complained to the King, that they were obstinate Hereticks. This was in the beginning of the year, 1588.

They continued in Prison many weeks, being cumbered with many disputes, yet remained unshaken. The Friday before Easter the King himself was to see them, asking them whether they would conform themselves to the Catholick Apostolick Roman Church (as he called it.) They with such reverence and obedience, as became them, gave him their Reasons why they could not so do, confirming the same by texts of Holy Scripture. His second question was, why they had not obeyed his last Edict. The Widow answered, Sir, faith she, I have three small Children to care for; and whereas your Majesty allotted those of the Religion the term of fifteen days after six Months ended to depart the Kingdom; I have done my utmost to take up such Monies as were due unto me, but those who were indebted unto me neglected to pay me. Besides, he that kept my Vineyards of Pierrepin, to quit himself of me, accused me of Heresie, causing my Sister and my self to be here imprisoned, where we have lien six Months, and if so be our Petition presented by us find no acceptance in your Majesties sight, we most

* To wit, touching the supper of the Lord, prayer to Saints, Prayer for the dead, &c. about abjuring from Mass.

Henry the third.

most humbly beseech you to grant that we may be freed out of Prison, and we will be gone instantly out of the Kingdom according to your Majesties Edict.

The date is past, said the King, nor will I shew you any favour, unless you will promise to go to Mass. He was much displeased in seeing their constancy. Now at the same time there was presented before him one named *Richelot*, who had been apprehended that very day in which the Women were taken for the cause of Religion, unto whom the King used not many words: only, in conclusion he said, there wanted nothing but fagots to burn him. This *Richelot* abjured, that day in which these two Sisters were executed. The King had five or six *Sorbonists*, which attended on him there, who offered to reason with the Prisoners by occasion of a word spoken by the Widow. But the King preventing it, said, we are not come hither to dispute, let them be laid waile, and none suffered to come to them.

Within half an hour after, the Duke of *Longueville* came to visit them, saying, he was sorry for their affliction, counselling them to go to Mass, alledging, it is written, *Thou shalt obey thy Prince*, and if he therein force you to it against your Conscience, he shall answer for it; adding, that they were to remember their Sex, and therefore to be teachable upon the point of obedience. They answered, that no earthly Potentate had any warrant to command Christians to sin against their Consciences.

They further besought him to be a means for them to the King, that they might be delivered: but all the answer he gave them was this. That if they would not return, the King would not deliver them: also there was great likelihood, after their long detention in Prison, that they must be executed in the end.

The next day being *Easter Even*, the Queen with the Dutchess of *Foyeuse* came into *Chastelet* to visit the Prisoners. But in stead of speaking to the two Sisters herself, she sent unto them a wicked *Apostate*, called *Mathew de Lamy*, who being a Minister turned Popish Priest, and one whom the League made no small use of; who loading these honourable Sisters with injuries and reproachful speeches, calling them Dogs and Devils incarnate, and worthy to be burned, so left them and never came any more unto them. Soon after the day of the Barricades, which is a defence made of Earth and Stones heaped up, serving to stop a Street or any passage, the Judges of *Chastellet* adjudged them to be hanged, and their Bodies to be burned to ashes. From which Sentence they appealed to the Court, and were brought into the *Conciergerie*, which is the name of a common Goal belonging to *Paris* or any other Prison.

Queen Elizabeth's picture burned in Paris.

On the Even before *Saint John Baptists* day in the Month of *June*, the common people in *Paris* making Fires as they were wont to do, amongst other infolencies, burnt in divers parts of the City a picture representing the Queen of *England*.

The next day the Curates and Preachers began in their Sermons to thunder, saying, That it was not enough to burn the pictures of Hereticks, but to burn the bodies of the obstinate Prisoners: which so enraged the tumultuous sort of people, that the day following, flocking together into the Court of the Palace, they threatened the Presidents and the Councill, that some mischief should follow unless they condemned these two Prisoners to dye. A gentle answer was returned to this factious crew, with promise also that the business should not long be delayed.

The next day the eldest Son of *Radeconde* presented a Petition to the Dutchess of *Nemours*, Daughter to the late Lady of *Ferrare*. Her Grace solicited the Duke of *Guise* her Son, for the Prisoners: whose answer was, That his coming to *Paris* was not to petition the King in favour of those of the Religion; and if he would do so (in regard of the Services which the Prisoners had done his Grandfather) yet he could not, fearing lest the mad multitude might set upon him.

The eight and twentieth day of the same Month of *June*, the Court having confirmed the Sentence given at *Chastelet*, sent them back thither to be executed, so as about noon they were gagged, because the Maid professed, that if they brought her into any Idols Temple, he would extend her Voice so loud against the same, that every one should hear it. About three of the Clock they were

led as sheep to the slaughter, where they constantly perished in the profession of the true Religion.

The Widow being ascended the Ladder shook out of her hands a wooden Cross, which they had by force affixed thereto, whereat the multitude were so provoked, that they began to throw stones and staves at her, so as the Hangman having turned her off the Ladder cut the Rope by and by, letting her fall half dead into the Fire, wherein she yielded up her Soul into the hands of God, as also her Sister did.

Being now come to the year 1588. it gives us just occasion to call to mind that miraculous deliverance of our noble Queen and Country, from the intended invasion of the Spaniards the same year. The memorial whereof, that it might the rather be continued to the Ages succeeding, deserves by way of History here to be inserted as in its due and proper place. Of which deliverance it may truly be said (all things considered) that it was the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. The true relation whereof here followeth.

A brief discourse touching the great preparations made by the Spaniards, and other Romish Catholics, for that invincible Navy, intended for the invading and surprising of the Realm of England, together with their utter overthrow.

Her Majesty of *England* having had intelligence from sundry places of the great and diligent preparation of the King of *Spain* in divers parts both by Sea and Land, not only of the strongest Ships in all places within his Dominions, but of all sorts of provision necessary for so mighty a Fleet, as he intended to set forth, and these rumours of War, which before were but sleight, daily increasing, at last it was certainly confirmed by the news on all sides, that in *Spain* there was an invincible Navy preparing against *England*; that the most famous Captains in Military knowledge, and the best Soldiers were sent for into *Spain*, from *Italy*, *Sicily*, yea from *America*. For the Pope and some religious Spaniards, and English fugitives, now recalled the Spaniard to the cogitation of surprising of *England*, which purpose was interrupted by the *Portugal* Wars. They exhorted him earnestly to do God this service, that had done so much for him; now that he enjoyed *Portugal* with the *West-Indies*, and many rich Islands, to add *England* to all were an especial service of God, fit for his Catholick Majesty. By this means he might add these flourishing Kingdoms to his Empire, and so keep the *Low-countries* in peace, and secure the Navigations to both *Indies*. That the preparations of *Spain* were so great that no power was able to resist it. They made him believe that it was an easier matter to overcome *England*, than to overcome the *Dutchland*, because the Navigation from *Spain* to *England* was much shorter, than to the *Netherlands*. And by surprising of *England* the other would easily follow.

Hereupon the Consultation began to be had, of the best way and means to oppress *England*. *Alvarus Bassamus*, the Marquess of *S. Cres*, who was chief commander in the Navy, advised first to make sure some part of *Holland* or *Zealand*, by the Land forces of the Duke of *Parma*, and by sending before him some Spanish Ships, so to take some place on a sudden, where the Spanish Navy might have a receivable, and from whence the Invasion might with convenience begin. For in the *English* Sea, which is troublesome, the Winds oft changing, and the Tides unknown, the Navy could not be in safety. With him agreed *Parma* who much urged this Expedition. Yet others disliked this Counsel, as a matter of great difficulty and danger, of long time, of much labour, of great expence, and uncertain success. And that neither secretly nor openly it could be performed, and easily hindered by the *English*. These thought that with the same labour and expences *England* might be won: and the Victory would be sure, if a well prepared Army from *Spain* might, with a strong Navy, be landed on *Thames* side, and of a sudden, surprise *London* the chief City, by an unexpected assault. This seemed a thing most ealie to be effected.

Anno 1588.

The Spanish Navy prepared to invade England.

Consultation about the best way and means how to oppress England.

Anno
1588.The Duke of
Parma plays
his part.The Pope
excommunicates
the Queen, &c.The Queen
selects out
such able &
serviceable
Men as were
fittest to un-
dertake so
great im-
ployment.Order taken
about the
land fight.

The Duke of Parma also in Flanders, by the commanders of the *Spaniard*, built Ships, and a great company of small broad Vessels, each one able to transport thirty horse, with bridges fitted for them severally; And hired mariners from the *East* part of Germany. And provided long pieces of Wood, sharpened at the end, and covered with Iron, with hooks on the one side; And twenty thousand Vessels, with an huge number of fagots, and placed an Army ready in Flanders, of 103. companies of Foot, and four thousand Horsemen. Among these seven hundred English fugitives, which were had of all other in most contempt. Neither was Stanley respected or heard, who was set over the English, nor *Westmealand*, nor any other who offered their help: but for their impiety towards their own Country were shut out from all consultations, and as Men unanimous rejected, not without detestation. And Pope Sixtus the fifth, that in such a purpose would not be wanting, sent Cardinal *Alan* into Flanders; and renewed the Bulls declaratory of Pius 5. and Gregory the thirteenth. He excommunicated the Queen, deposited her, as followeth her Subjects from all allegiance and as if it had been against the Turks and Infidels, he set forth in print a Conceit, wherein he bestowed plentiful indulgences, out of the treasure of the Church (besides a Million of Gold, or ten hundred thousand Duckats, to be distributed, (the one half in hand, the other half when either England or some famous Haven there-in should be won) upon all them that would joyn their help against England. By which means the Marquess of *Burgundy*, of the House of *Austria*, the Duke of *Palatinate*, *Armada* Duke of *Savoy*, *Vespasian*, *Gonzaga*, *John Medici*, and divers other Noblemen were drawn into these wars.

Queen Elizabeth, that she might not be surpris'd at unawares, prepared as great a Navy as she could, and with singular care and providence maketh ready all things necessary for War. And the her self, which was ever most judicious in discerning of Mens wits and aptness, and most happy in making choice, when she made it out of her own Judgment, and not at the commandment of others, designed the best and most serviceable to each several employment. Over the whole Navy she appointed the Lord Admiral *Charles Howard*, in whom she reposed much trust; and sent him to the West parts of England, where Captain *Drake*, whom she made Viceadmiral, joyned with him. She commanded *Henry Seimor*, the second Son to the Duke of *Somerset*, to watch upon the *Belgick* Shore with forty English and Dutch Ships, that the Duke of *Parma* might not come out with his forces. Albeit some were of opinion, that the enemy was to be expected, and set upon by land forces, according as it was upon deliberation resolved, in the time of *Henry* the eighth, when the *French* brought a great Navy upon the English Shore.

For the land fight, there were placed on the South Shores twenty thousand: And two armies besides were mustered of the choicest Men for War. The one of these which consisted of 1000. horse, twenty two thousand foot, was the Earl of *Leicester* set over, and camped at *Tilbury* on the side of *Thames*. For the enemy was resolved first to set upon *London*. The other Army was governed by the Lord *Hunsdon*, consisting of thirty four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to guard the Queen.

The Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knolls*, Sir *John Norrice*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, Men famously known for military experience, were chosen to confer of the land fight. These thought fit that all those places should be fortified, with Men and Munition, which were commodious to land in, either out of *Spain*, or out of *Flanders*; as *Milford Haven*, *Falmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Portland*, the *Isle of Wight*, *Portsmouth*, the open side of *Kent* called the *Downs*; the mouth of *Thames*, *Harwich*, *Tarmouth*, *Hull*, &c. That trained Soldiers through all the maritime Provinces should meet upon warning given to defend these places: that they should, by their best means and power, hinder the Enemy to take land; if he should take land, then should they wait the Country all about, and spoil every thing that might be of any use to the enemy, that so he might find no more victuals than what he brought upon his Shoulders with him. And that by continual Alarums the Enemy should find no rest day

day or night. But they should not try any Battle, until divers Captains were met together with their companies. That one Captain might be named in every Shire which might command.

Two years before, the Duke of *Parma* considering how hard a matter it was to end the *Belgick* War, so long as it was continually nourished and supported with aid from the Queen; he moved for a treaty of peace, by the means of Sir *James Croft*, one of the Privy Council, a Man desirous of peace, and *Andrew Lee* a Dutchman, and professed that the *Spaniard* had delegated Authority to him for this purpose. But the Queen fearing that there was some cunning in this seeking of peace, that the friendship between her and the confederate Princes might be dissolved, and that so they might secretly be drawn to the *Spaniard*; she deferred that treaty for some time. But now, that the wars on both sides prepared might be turned away; she was content to treat of peace; but so, as still holding the Weapons in her hand.

For this purpose in February, Delegates were sent into Flanders, the Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James Croft*, Doctor *Dale*, and Doctor *Rogers*. These were received with all humanity on the Dukes behalf; and they presently sent Dr. *Dale* to him, that a place might be appointed for their treating, and that they might see the Authority delegated to him by the Spanish King. He appointed the place near to *Offend*, not in *Offend*, which then was holden of English against the King. His Authority delegated he promised then to shew, when they were once met together. He wished them to make good speed in the business, lest somewhat might fall out in the mean time which might trouble the motions of peace. *Richardus* spake somewhat more plainly, That he knew not what in this interim should be done against England.

Not long after, Doctor *Rogers* was sent to the Prince, by an express commandment from the Queen, to know the truth, whether the *Spaniard* had resolved to invade England, which he and *Richardus* seemed to signify. He affirmed, that he did not so much as think of the invasion of England; when he wished that the business might proceed with speed; and was in a manner offended with *Richardus*, who denied that such words fell from him.

The twelfth of April the Count *Arenberg*, *Chamipigny*, *Richardus*, D. *Maefius*, and *Garnier*, delegated from the Prince of *Parma*, met with the English, and yielded to them the honour both in walking and sitting. And when they affirmed that the Duke had full Authority to treat of peace, the English moved, that first a truce might be made. Which they denied; alleging that that thing must needs be hurtful to the *Spaniard*, who had for six Months maintained a great Army, which might not be dismissed upon a truce; but upon an absolute peace. The English urged, That a Truce was promised before they came into Flanders. The *Spaniard* against that held, That six Months since a Truce was promised; which they granted, but was not admitted. Neither was it in the Queens power to undertake a Truce for *Holland* and *Zeland*, who daily attempted Hostility. The English moved instantly, that the Truce might be general for all the Queens Territories; and for the Kingdom of *Scotland*; but they would have it but for four Dutch Towns which were in the Queens hands; that is, *Offend*, *Flushing*, *Bergen up Zoom*, and the *Briel*; and these only during the Treating, and twenty days after; and that in the mean time it might be lawful for the Queen to invade *Spain*, or for the *Spaniard* to invade England, either from *Spain* or *Flanders*. At last, when the English could not obtain an abstinence from arms, and could by no means see the Charter by which the Duke of *Parma* was authorized to treat of peace; they proposed these things, That the ancient leagues between the Kings of England and the Dukes of *Burgundy* might be renewed and confirmed; That all the Dutch might fully enjoy their own privileges; That with freedom of Conscience they might serve God; That the Spanish and foreign Soldiers might be put out of *Dutchland*, that neither the Dutch nor their neighbouring nations might fear them. If these things might be granted, the Queen would come to equal conditions concerning the Towns which now she held (that all might know, that she took up arms not for her own gain; but for the necessary defence both of

A Count
about peace
pretended
on the Ad-
versaries
part,
whilst they
intended to
make war.

It is the ho-
nor of a
King, to sit
Solomon, to
search out a
thing. Dis-
pute here in-
to Flanders
about a
treaty of
peace.

lies

her self and of the Dutch) so that the Money which is owing therefore be repayed. To the which they answered, that for renewing the old Leagues there should be no difficulty, when they might have a friendly conference of that thing. That concerning the privileges of the Dutch, there was no cause why forraign Princes should take care, which privileges were most favourably granted not only to Provinces and Towns reconciled, but even to such as by force of Arms are brought into Subjection. That forraign Souldiers were held upon urgent necessity, when as *Holland, England, and France* were all in Arms.

Touching those Towns taken from the King of *Spain*, and the repaying of the money, they answered, That the *Spaniards* might demand as many Myriads of Crowns to be from the Queen repayed him, as the *Belgicke War* hath cost him since the time that he hath favoured and protected the Dutch against him.

At this time Doctor *Dale* by the Queens command, going to the Duke of *Parma*, did gently expostulate with him touching a Book printed there, set out lately by Cardinal *Allen*, wherein he exhorts the Nobles and People of *England* and *Ireland* to joyn themselves to the King of *Spain* forces, under the conduct of the Prince of *Parma*, for the Execution of the Sentence of Pope *Sixtus* the fifth against the Queen, declared by his Bull; in the which she is declared an Heretick, illegitimate, cruel against *Mary Queen of Scots*, and her Subjects were commanded to help *Parma* against her: for at that time a great number of those Bulls and Books were printed at *Antwerp* to be dispersed through *England*. The Duke denied that he had seen such a Bull or Book, neither would he do any thing by the Popes Authority; as for his own King, him he must obey. Yet he said, he so observed the Queen for her princely virtues, that after the King of *Spain* he offered all service to her. That he had perswaded the King of *Spain* to yield to this treaty of peace, which is more profitable for English than Spanish: for if they should be overcome they would easily repair their loss, but if you be overcome the Kingdom is lost.

To whom *Dale* replied, That our Queen was sufficiently furnished with forces to defend the Kingdom. That a Kingdom will not easily be gotten by the fortune of one Battel, seeing the King of *Spain* in so long a War is not yet able to recover his antient Patrimony in the *Netherlands*.

Well, quoth the Duke, be it so, these things are in Gods Hands.

After this the *Delegates* contended among themselves by mutual replications, weaving and unweaving the same web. The English were earnest in this, that freedom of Religion might be granted at least for two years to the confederate Provinces. They answered, That as the King of *Spain* had not intreated that for English Catholics; so they hoped the Queen in her wisdom would not intreat any thing of the King of *Spain* which might stand against his Honor, his Oath, and his Conscience.

Then they demanded the money due from the States of *Brabant*; it was answered, That the money was lent without the Kings Authority or privy: but let the account be taken, how much the money was, and how much the King hath spent in these Wars, and then it may appear who should look for repayment.

Thus the English of set purpose were from time to time driven off, until the Spanish Fleet was come near the English shore, and the noise of Guns were heard from Sea. Then had they leave to depart, and were by the *Delegates* honourably brought to the Borders near to *Calis*. The Duke of *Parma* had in the mean time brought all his forces to the Sea Shore.

Thus this Conference came to nothing; undertaken by the Queen, as the wiser then thought, to avert the Spanish Fleet; continued by the *Spaniards*, that he might oppress the Queen, being as he supposed unprovided, and not expecting the danger. So both of them tried to use time to their best advantages.

In fine the Spanish Fleet well furnished with Men, Munition, Engines, and all warlike preparation, the best indeed that was ever seen upon the Ocean, called by that arrogant title the Invincible Navy, consisting of a hundred and thirty Ships, wherein there were nineteen thousand

two hundred ninety; Mariners Eight thousand three hundred and fifty; chained rowers eleven thousand and eighty; great Ordnance Eleven thousand six hundred and thirty. The chief commander was *Perezius Gysmannus*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*; (for *Antonius Columna* Duke of *Palan* and Marquels of *Saint Croix*, unto whom the chief Government was allotted, dyed whilst things were preparing.) And under him also *Joannes Martinus Ricaldus*, a Man of great experience in Sea Affairs.

The 30. of May they loosed out of the River *Tagus*, and purposing to hold their course to the *Groin*, in *Galicia*, they were beaten and scattered by a tempest: three Gallies by the help of *David Gwin* an English Servant, and by the perfidiousness of Turks which rowed, were carried away into *France*. The Fleet with much ado after some days came to the *Groin* and other Harbours near adjoining. The report was, that the Fleet was so shaken with this Tempest, that the Queen was perswaded, that she was not to expect that Fleet this year. And Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Secretary, wrote to the Lord Admiral, that he might fend back four of the greatest Ships, as if the War had been ended. But the Lord Admiral did not easily give credit to that report; yet with a gentle answer entreated him to believe nothing hastily in so important a matter: As also that he might be permitted to keep those Ships with him which he had, though it were upon his own charges. And finding a favourable Wind turned Sails towards *Spain*, to surprise the enemies shaken Ships in their Harbours. When he was not far from the Shore of *Spain*, the Wind turning, and he being charged to defend the English Shore, fearing that the enemies unseen might by the same Wind be driven to *England*, he returned unto *Flintmouth*.

Now with the same Wind, the twelfth of July the Duke of *Medina* with his Fleet departed from the *Groin*. And after a few days he sent *Rodericus Telis* into *Flanders*, to advertise the Duke of *Parma*, giving him warning that the Fleet was approaching, and therefore he was to make himself ready. For *Medina* his Commission was to joyn himself with the Ships and Souldiers of *Parma*; and under the protection of his Fleet, to bring them into *England*, and to land his land forces upon *Thames* side.

The sixteenth day (with the relator) there was a great calm, and a thick cloud was upon the Sea till noon: then the North-Wind blowing roughly, and again the West-Wind till midnight, and after that the East; the Spanish Navy was scattered, and hardly gathered together until they came within the sight of *England* the nineteenth day of July. Upon which day the Lord Admiral was certified by *Flemming* (who had been a Pirate, that the Spanish Fleet was entered into the English Sea, which the Mariners call the Channel, and was descryed near to the *Lizard*. The Lord Admiral brought forth the English Fleet into the Sea, but not without great difficulty, by the skill, labour, and alacrity of the Souldiers and Mariners, every one labouring; yea the Lord Admiral himself put his hand to this work.

The next day the English Fleet viewed the Spanish Fleet coming along with Towers like Castles in height, their front crooked like the fashion of the Moon, the horns of the Front were extended one from the other about seven miles, or as some say eight miles asunder, sailing with the labour of the Winds, the Ocean as it were groaning under it; their Sail was but slow, and yet at full Sail before the Wind. The English were willing to let them hold on their course, and when they were passed by, got behind them, and so got the help of the Wind.

Upon the one and twentieth of July, the Lord Admiral of *England* sent a Pinace before, called the *Defiance*, to denounce the battel by shooting off some pieces. And being himself in the *Arch-Royal* (the English Pretorian Ship or Admiral) he set upon a Ship which he took to be the Spanish Admiral, but it was the Ship of *Alfonso Leva*. Upon that he bestowed much Shot. Presently *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbisher* came in upon the Spanish hindmost Ships, which *Ricaldus* governed. Upon these they thundered. *Ricaldus* laboured as much as lay in him to stay his Men, who fled away in their Navy, until his Ship beaten and much battered with many Shot hardly recovered

Anno
1588.

The time
when the
Navy set
out.

The great
Fleet once
shaken with
a Tempest.

The Spanish
calm, and
the North-Wind
blowing roughly,
and again the
West-Wind till
midnight, and
after that the
East; the
Spanish Navy
was scattered,
and hardly
gathered to-
gether until they
came within
the sight of
England the
nineteenth day
of July. Upon
which day the
Lord Admiral
was certified
by *Flemming*
(who had been
a Pirate, that
the Spanish
Fleet was en-
tered into the
English Sea,
which the Ma-
riners call the
Channel, and
was descryed
near to the
Lizard. The
Lord Admiral
brought forth
the English
Fleet into the
Sea, but not
without great
difficulty, by
the skill, la-
bour, and ala-
cristy of the
Souldiers and
Mariners, every
one labouring;
yea the Lord
Admiral him-
self put his
hand to this
work.

The fashion
of the Span-
ish Fleet
described.

The first
fight.

Preparation
for fighting
forth of the
Spanish
Fleet.

Anno
1588.

recovered the Fleet. Thn the Duke Medina gathered together his dissipated Fleet, and setting up more Sail, held on their course. Indeed they could do no other, for the English had gotten the advantage of the wind, and their Ships were much more nimble, and ready with incredible celerity to come upon the enemy with a full course, and then to turn and return, and be on every side at their pleasure. After a long fight, and that each of them had taken some trial, as of their own courage, so of the Spaniards also, the Lord Admiral thought good not to continue the same any longer, in regard that forty Ships were then absent, which at that instant were scarce drawn out of Plymouth Haven.

The night following, St. Katherine a Spanish Ship, being fore torn with the fight, was received into the midst of the Navy to be mended. Here a great Cantabrian Ship of Oquenda, wherein was the Treasurer of the Camp, by force of Gun-powder that had taken fire, was fired: yet it was quenched in time by the Ships that came to help her. Of these that came to help the fired ship, one was a Galeon, in which was Petrus Waldeck; the Foremast of the Galeon was caught in the tackling of another ship, and broken. This was taken by Drake, who sent Waldeck to Dartmouth, and a great sum of money, viz. fifty five thousand Duckets, which he distributed amongst the Souldiers. This Waldeck coming into Drakes presence, kissed his hand, and told him they had all resolved to die; they had not been so happy as to fall into his hands, whom he knew to be Noble. That night he was appointed to set forth light, but neglected it; and some German Merchant Ships coming by that night, he thinking them to be enemies followed them so far, that the English Navy rested all night when they could see no light set forth. Neither did he nor the rest of the Navy find the Admiral until the next day at Even. The Admiral all the night proceeding with the Bear and the Mary Rose did carefully follow the Spaniards with watchfulness. The Duke was busied in ordering his Navy. Alfonso Leiva was commanded to joyn the first and last Companies. Every ship had his station assigned according to that prescribed form which was appointed in Spain; it was present death to forsake his station. This done, he sent Gladius an Anceani to Parma, which might declare to him in what case they were, and left that Cantabrian ship of Oquenda to the wind and Sea, having taken out the Money and Mariners, and put them in other ships. Yet it seemeth that he had not care of all for that Ship the same day with fifty Mariners and Souldiers lamed, and half burnt, fell into the Hands of the English, and was carried to Weymouth.

The three and twentieth of the same Month, the Spaniards having a favourable North wind turned Sails upon the English; the English being much readier in the use of their ships, set about a compass for the wind, and having gotten advantage of the wind, they came to the fight on both sides. They fought a while confusedly with variable success: whilst on the one side the English with great courage delivered the London ships with were inclosed about by the Spaniards: on the other side the Spaniards by valour freed Ricaldos from the extreme danger he was in: great were the effusions which by beating of Ordnances were heard this day. But the loss (by the good providence of God) fell upon the Spanish side, their ships being so high that the shot went over our English ships; and the English having such a fair mark at their taller ships never shot in vain. Amidst which encounters, Cock an Englishman, being caught indeed in the midst of the Spanish ships, could not be recovered, but perished, howbeit with great honor he revenged himself. Thus a long time the English ships with great agility were sometimes upon the Spaniards, giving them the one side, and then the other, and presently were off again, and still took the Sea, to make themselves ready to come in again. Whereas the Spanish ships being of great burthen were troubled and hindered, and stood to bee marks for the English Bullets. For all that the Admiral would not admit the English to come to board their ships, because they had a full army in their ships, which he had not; their ships were many in number, and greater, and higher, that if they had come to grapple, as some

would have had it, the English being much lower then the Spanish ships must needs have had the worst of them that fought from the higher ships. And if the English had been overcome, the loss would have been greater than the victory could have been; for ours being overcome would have put the Kingdom in hazard.

The four and twentieth day of July they gave over the fighting on both sides. The Admiral sent some small Barks to the next English shore, to supply the provision; And divided all his Navy into four Squadrons; The first whereof was under his own government; the next Drake governed; the third Hawkins; the last Forbisher. And he appointed out of ever Squadron certain little ships, which on divers sides might set upon the Spaniards in the night, but a sudden calm took them, and so that advice was without effect.

The five and twentieth day, being St. James day, S. Anne the Galeon of Portugal, not being able to hold course with the rest, was set upon by some small English ships. To whose aid came in Leva, and Didacus Telles Enriquez with three Galeasses: which the Admiral and the Lord Thomas Howard espying, made in against the Galeasses (the calm was so great that they were drawn in by Boats with cords) and did so beat upon the Galeasses with great shot, that with much ado, and not without great loss, they hardly recovered the Galeon. The Spaniards reported that the Admiral of Spain was that day in the hindmost company, and being come nearer the English ships then before, was fore beaten with the English great Ordnance, many men slain in her, her great mast overthrown. And after that the Admiral of Spain, accompanied with Ricaldos and others, did set upon the English Admiral, who by the benefit of the wind suddenly turning escaped. The Spaniards hold on their course again, and send to the Duke of Parma, that with all speed he should joyn his ships with the Kings Fleet. These things the English knew not, who write that they had stricken the Lanthorn from one of the Spanish ships, the Stern from another, and had fore beaten a third, doing much harm to her. That the Non-Parigly, and the Mary Rose fought a while with the Spaniards; and the Triumph being in danger, other ships came in good time to help her.

The next day the Lord Admiral knighted the Lord Thomas Howard, The Lord Sheffield, Roger Townshend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbisher, for their valour well employed in the last fight. After this they resolved not to set upon the Enemy until they came into the freight of Calis, where Henry Sessor, and William Winter staid for their coming. Thus with the fair gale the Spanish Fleet goeth forward, and the English followed. This great Spanish Armadoe was so far from being esteemed invincible in the opinions of the English, that many young men and Gentlemen, in hope to be partakers of a famous victory against the Spaniards, provided Ships of their own charges, and joyned themselves to the English Fleet; among whom were the Earls of Essex, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, Thomas and Robert Cecilles, Henry Brooks, William Hutton, Robert Cary, Ambrose Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Arthur Gorge, and other Gentlemen of good note and ability.

The seven and twentieth day at Even, the Spaniards cast anchor near to Cadiz, being admonished of their skilful Sea-men, that if they went any further, they might be endangered by force of that Tide to be driven into the North Ocean. Near to them stood the English Admiral with his Fleet within a great Guns shot. To the Admiral, Sessor and Winter now joyn their ships; so that now there were an hundred and forty ships in the English Fleet, able and well furnished for fight, for Sail, and to turn which way was needful: and yet there were but fifteen of these which bore the burden of batrel and repulsed the enemy. The Spaniard, as often he had done before, so now with great earnestness sent to the Duke of Parma to send forty fire Boats, without the which they could not fight with the English, because of the greatness and flowiness of their own ships, and the agility of the English ships. And intreating him by all means now to come to Sea with his Army, which Army was now to be protected as it were under the wings of the Spanish Armadoe, until they took land in England.

The third fight.

Knights made.

Paraphrasing to execute this design on the 12. of August, the night being dark, but by the same was prevented, and so the next Section following.

The Admiral would not suffer his ships to come to grapple with the Spaniards.

But the Duke was unprovided, and could not come out at an instant. The broad Ships with flat bottoms being then full of chinks must be mended. Victuals wanted and must be provided. The Mariners being long kept against their wills began to shrink away. The Ports of *Dunkirk* and *Nieport*, by which he must bring his Army to the Sea, were now so beset with the strong ships of *Holland* and *Zealand*, which were furnished with great and small munition, that he was not able to come to Sea, unless he would come upon his own apparent destruction, and cast himself and his men wilfully into a headlong danger. Yet he omitted nothing that might be done, being a man eager and industrious, and inflamed with a desire of overcoming *England*.

A notable
stragem of
the English

But Queen *Elizabeth* her providence and care prevented both the diligence of this man, and the credulous hope of the Spaniard: for by her commandment the next day the Admiral took eight of their worst ships, charging the Ordnance therein up to the mouth with small shot, nails, and stones, and dressed them with wildfire, pitch and rosin, and filled them full of brimston and some other matter fit for fire, and these being set on fire by the ministry and guiding of *Young* and *Prowse*, were secretly in the night by the help of the wind set full upon the Spanish Fleet, which on *Sunday* the seventh of *August* they sent in among them as they lay at anchor.

When the Spaniards saw them come near, the flame shining and giving light all over the Sea; they supposing those ships, besides the danger of fire, to have been also furnished with deadly Engines, to make horrible destruction among them; lifting up a most hideous woful cry, some pull up anchors, some for hast cut their Cables, they set up their Sails, they apply their Oars, and stricken with a Panick terror, in great haste they fled most confusedly. Among them the *Pretorian* Gallies floating upon the Seas, her Rudder being broken, in great danger and fear drew towards *Calis*, and sticking in the Sand was taken by *Amias* *Preston*, *Thomas* *Gerard*, and *Harvey*; *Hugh* *Moncada* the Governor was slain, the Soldiers and Mariners were either killed or drowned; In her there was found great store of Gold, which fell to be the prey of the English. The ship and Ordnance fell to the share of the Governour of *Calis*.

The Spaniards report, that the Duke when he saw the fiery ships coming commanded all the fleet to pull up their anchors, but so as the danger being past, every ship might return again to his station: and he himself returned, giving a light to the rest by shooting off a Gun; which was heard but of a few, for they were far off scattered, some into the open Ocean, some through fear were driven upon the Shallows of the coast of *Flanders*.

The 4th Fight
before Graveling, Aug.
8.

Over against *Graveling* the Spanish fleet began to gather themselves together. But upon them came *Drake* and *Fenner*, and battered them with great Ordnance: to these *Fenton*, *Southwel*, *Beefton*, *Croft*, *Riman*, and presently after the Lord Admiral, *Thomas* *Howard*, and *Sheffield* came in and all joyned together. The Duke *Medina*, *Leva*, *Oquenda*, *Ricalaus*, and others with much ado getting themselves out of the shallows sustained the English force as well as they might, until most of their ships were pierced and torn; the Gallion *St. Matthew*, governed by *Diego* *Pimentellus*, coming to aid *Francis* *Toletan*, being in the *Sr. Philip*, was pierced and shaken with the reiterated shots of *Seimer* and *Winter*, and driven to *Offend*, and was at last taken by the *Flushingiers*. The *S. Philip* came to the like end; so did the Gallion of *Biscay* and divers others.

The last day of this Month, the Spanish Fleet striving to recover the Straights again, were driven toward *Zealand*. The English left off pursuing them, as the Spaniards thought, because they saw them in a manner cast away; for they could not avoid the shallows of *Zealand*. But the wind turning, they got them out of the shallows, and then began to consult what were best for them to do. By common consent they resolved to return into *Spain* by the *Northern* Seas, for they wanted many necessaries, especially shot, their ships were torn, and they had no hope that the Duke of *Parma* could bring forth his Forces. And so they took the Sea, and followed the coast toward the North. The English Navy followed, and sometimes the Spanish turned

upon the English, inasmuch that it was thought by many that they would turn back again.

Anno
1588.

A description of the Queens coming to the Camp at Tilbury, with the manner of her behaviour there, as it is related by a Popish Spy, in a Letter written here in England to Menda. The Copy of which Letter by good hap was found in the Chamber of one Richard Leigh a Seminary Priest, as well in French as English: which Priest was executed for high Treason whilst the Spanish Armado was on the Sea.

She caused also, saith he, an Army to incamp near the Sea side upon the River of *Thames*. After the Army was come thither, she would not by any advice be stayed, but for comfort of her people, and to shew her own magnanimity of heart, she went threunto, lying at that time between the City of *London* and the Sea, under the charge of the Earl of *Leicester*, placing herself between the Enemy and her City; and there she viewed her Army, passing through it divers times, and lodging in the borders of it, returned again and dined in the Army. First viewing from place to place the people as they were by their Countries lodged and quartered by their several Camps. Afterwards when they were all reduced into battel, prepared as it were for fight, she rode round about with a Leaders staff in her hand, only accompanied with the General and three or four others attending upon her: but yet to shew her State (I well marked it) she had the sword carried before her by the Earl of *Ormond*. There she was generally saluted with cries, with shouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readines, and willingness to fight for her, as seldom hath the like been seen in an Army, considering she was a Queen. All which tended to shew a marvellous concord in a mutual love between a Queen and her Subjects, and of reverence and obedience of Subjects to their Sovereign; all which she requited with very princely thanks and a good speech.

I could enlarge the description hereof with many more particulars of mine own sight; for thither I went as many others did, and all that day wandering from place to place, I never heard any word spoken of her, but in praising her for her stately person and princely behaviour, and in praying for her life and safety, with cursing of all her Enemies, both Traitors and all Papists, with earnest desire to venture their lives for her safety. And besides such particular acclamations, the whole Army in every quarter did so devoutly at certain times sing in her hearing, in very tunable manner, divers Psalms put in form of prayers, in praise to Almighty God, no ways to be misliked, that the greatly commended them, and with very earnest speech thanked God with them. This that I write you may be sure I do not with any comfort, but to give you these manifest arguments, that neither this Queen doth discontent her people, nor her people do shew any discontent in any thing they be commanded to do for her service, as heretofore hath been imagined.

The same day wherein the last fight was, the Duke of *Parma*, after his Vows offered to the Lady of *Halla*, came somewhat late to *Dunkirk* and was received with some opprobrious words of the Spaniards, as if in favour of Queen *Elizabeth* he had slipped the fairest opportunity that could be to do the service. He to make some satisfaction, punished the Purveyours that had not made provision of beer, bread, and victuals which was not yet ready nor embarked, secretly smiting at the insolvency of the Spaniards, when he heard them glorying, that what way soever they came upon *England*, they would have an undoubted victory; that the English were not able to endure the sight of them. *Bernardinus* *Mendoza* did indeed by Books in *France* sing a foolish and lying triumphant song before the victory. The English Admiral appointed *Seimer* and the *Hollanders* to watch upon the coast of *Flanders*, that the Duke of *Parma* should not come out; himself followed the Spaniards upon their Backs, until they were past *Edenborough* *Firth*.

For which a
Papish sticks
not to tax
him, writing
upon this
subject to
Mendoza.

The

Anno
1588.

The Spaniards did
mayed him
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And all
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the English
receiving
small loss,
wee not one
hundred
men in all,
nor one ship
but that of
Cecil.

The Spaniards seeing all hopes fail, and finding no other help for themselves but by flight, fled again and never made stay. And so this great Navy, being three years preparing with great cost, was within a Month overthrown, and after many were killed, being chased away (of English there were not one hundred lost, nor one Ship lost, saving that of *Cocke*) was driven about al Britain by Scotland, Orcaides, Ireland, tossed and shaken with Tempests, and much lessened, and came home without glory. Whereupon some Money was coyned with a Navy fleeing away at full sail, and this Inscription, *Venit, Vidit, Fugit*. Other were coyned with the Ships fired, the Navy confounded, in honour of the Queen, inscribed, *Dux famina fedit*. As they fled, it is certain that many of their Ships were cast away upon the shoars of Scotland and Ireland. More than seven hundred Soldiers and Mariners were cast up upon the Scottish shoar, who at the Duke of Parma his intercession with the Scots King, the Queen of England consenting, were after a year sent into Flanders. But they that were cast up upon the Irish shoar by Tempest came to more miserable fortunes; for some were killed by the wild Irish, others by the Deputies command; for he fearing that they might joyn themselves to the wild Irish (and *Bingham* the Governour of Connaught being once or twice commanded to slay them having yielded, but refusing to do it) *Fowle* the Under-Marshal was sent and killed them; which cruelty the Queen much condemned; whereupon the rest being afraid, sick and hungry, with their torn Ships committed themselves to the Sea, and many were drowned.

Q. Elizabeth
gives
thanks to
God for
the unexpected
a Deliverance.

Queen Elizabeth came in publick Thanksgiving to St. Pauls Church, in a Chariot drawn with two Horses, her Nobles accompanying her with a very gallant Train through the Streets of London which were hung with blew Cloth: the Companies standing on both sides, were in their Liveries; the Banners that were taken from the Enemies were spread; She heard the Sermon, and publick Thanks were rendered unto God with great joy. This publick Joy was augmented when Sir Robert Sidney, returning out of Scotland, brought from the King assurance of his noble mind and affection to the Queen, and to Religion; which as in sincerity he had established, so he purposed to maintain with all his power. Sir Robert Sidney was sent to him when the Spanish Fleet was coming, to congratulate and to give him thanks for his propense affection towards the maintenance of the common cause; and to declare how ready she would be to help him if the Spaniard should land in Scotland; and that he might recall to memory with what strange ambition the Spaniard had gaped for all Britain, urging the Pope to excommunicate him, to the end that he might be thrust from the Kingdom of Scotland, and from the Succession in England: and to give him notice of the threatening of *Alonso* and the Popes Nuncio, who threatened his ruine if they could work it; and therefore warned him to take especial heed to the Scottish Papists.

The King pleasantly answered, That he looked for no other benefit from the Spaniard, than that which *Polyphemus* promised to *Ulysses*, to devour him last after his Fellows were devoured.

To close up this whole relation, hear what *Theodore Beza* writes in his certain gratulatory Verses written in Latin, and sent unto her Majesty: the effect of which Verses is this in English.

Wish Navy huge the Spaniard proud
The English Seas had spread,
And all to set the English Crown
Upon the Spanish Head.

And would you gladly understand
The cause of all this rout,
Ambition first did lay the Plot,
And Lucre brought them out.

How well this Pride thus puffed up
A puff did overblow:
And swelling wave such swelling Wights
How well did overflow.

How well that Warrior of Mankind,
That Spanish cruel Wolf,
Was roft and tumbled up and down
Within the Ocean Gulf.

And you for whom both all the Winds
And all the Waters fight;
O Noble Queen, of all the World
The only true delight.

Go forward still to rule for God,
Ambition laid aside;
Go forward still for Christ his Flock
In bounty to provide.

That thou maist England govern long,
Long England thee enjoy,
As well a love unto the good,
As to the bad annoy.

From Geneva, besieged by the Duke of Savoy, the
twelfth day of August, Anno 1589.

Your Majesties most humble Orator,

Theodore Beza.

The death of the Duke of Guise, and Henry the third
King of France.

IT was not long after that the Duke of Guise, who was slain by the Lord *Laugna* at the Kings Chamber Door, and King Henry the third were taken away; he being the last of the House of *Vallois*, and dying without any lawfull Heirs of his Body begotten.

The manner of whose death was thus. A Frier of the Order of St. *Dominick*, called *James Clement*, pretended he had matters of great consequence to impart to the King: who being admitted into his presence, upon his knees presented the King with a Letter which he drew out of one sleeve; which whilst the King attentively read, the Frier pulled forth a poysoned Knife out of his other sleeve, wherewith he stabbed the King into the lower part of his Belly. The King feeling himself hurt therewith, snatching it out of the wound, struck the same into the Friers eye, who hasting to get away, the King crying out. His Lords and Gentlemen perceiving what the Frier had done, slew him presently with Rapiers and Swords. The King before he died, having reigned fourteen years and seven months, called for the King of *Navarre*, all the Princes, Lords and Noblemen, that were in his Camp, and declared that the King of *Navarre* was the true lawfull Heir to the Crown of France; willing them all to acknowledge him for their King, and that notice should likewise be given throughout all his Camp and Kingdom also.

Thus the Sovereign Judge of the World made way for the entrance of Henry the Fourth to have Dominion over the Kingdom of France. Now howsoever from the year 1589 to this present year 1598, the Churches of Christ have seen marvellous changes, and how the League for a time made many furious Onsets; yet it pleased God so to moderate things, that the faithful were preserved from being persecuted; yea, they obtained of their Prince many priviledges and favours. For the King in the first years of his Reign continuing in the profession of the true Religion, wherein he had been bred and brought up, did manfully resist both those of the League, and the Spaniards, the great God of Battels blessing the right and just Wars undertaken by this Prince, to the confusion of all his Enemies, till he fell to side with Popery; though the affairs of his Kingdom gained but little thereby.

A Note touching the Popes Bull.

THE Leaguers seeing what prosperous success God gave King Henry the Fourth in his Wars undertaken against them, fearing that in the end all would yield unto him, they procured a new Excommunication from Rome, against him and all his faithful Subjects, causing

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the same to be published at *Pontide P Arch* in *Normandy* by, *Marcellus Luidrianus* a malapert Jesuit. The King, being advertised thereof, commanded his Court of Parliament holden at *Cane*, to proceed again Pope *Gregory* the fourteenth who sent it, and his *Nuncio* that brought it, as against Tyrants, Conspirators with Rebels, perturbors of the State, fowers of seditions, and the common and Notorious Enemies of God and all goodness.

Then taking the Popes Bull, he caused it to be fastened to a Gibbet at *Tours*, by the common Hangman of the Town, and there to be consumed to ashes, to the great rejoicing of all the beholders.

The History of one Margaret Pierrone, who chose rather to be burned her self, than willingly to burn her Bible, Anno 1593.

THere was one *Margaret Pierrone* born in a Village of *Cambray* called *Sanfay*, who with her Husband retired into the City of the *Valencians*. Now because she could not endure the bad qualities of a Maid Servant of hers, she was by her said Maid accused to the new Sect-Masters surnamed the *Jesuites*, for that she had not been in many years at the Mass, as also for keeping in her house a Bible, in reading whereof was her whole delight. They acquainting the Magistrates herewith, she was by and by apprehended: some Friends sent her an inkling thereof beforehand once or twice, that she should get her somewhere out of the way, but the errand was not done, God having a purpose that she should bear witness of his truth, to fill up the number of those that were to die for the name of *Jesus*.

Being in Prison, the Judges calling her before them, said *Margaret*, are you not willing to return home unto your house, and there live with your Husband and Children? Yes faith she, if it may stand with the good will of God. They added further, that they had so wrought with their Fathers the *Jesuites*, that in doing a final matter she might be set at liberty: If, faith she, it be not a thing contrary to Gods glory and mine own Salvation, you shall hear what I will say. No such thing, *Margaret*, said they: for a scaffold shall be erected in the chief place of the City, upon which you are to present your self, and there to crave pardon for offending the Law; then a fire being kindled, you must cast your Bible therein to be consumed, without speaking any word at all,

I pray you my Master tell me, faith she, Is my Bible a good Book, or no? Yes, we confess it is, said they; If you allow it to be good, said the Woman, why would you have me cast it into the fire? Only said they, to give the *Jesuits* content. Imagine it to be but paper that you burn, and then all is well enough, do so much for saving your life, and we will meddle no more with you; you may buy you another when you will.

They spent about two hours in persuading her hereto, shewing how the might do a less evil, that a greater good might come of it. By the help of God, faith she, I will never consent to do it. What would the people say, when they see me burn my Bible? will they not exclaim and say, yonder is a wretched Woman indeed, that will burn the Bible wherein are contained all the Articles of our Christian Faith? I will burn my Body sure, before that I will burn my Bible.

Then seeing she would in no sort conform her self either to the will of the *Jesuites*, or to theirs, they caused her to be committed close Prisoner, and to be fed only with Bread and Water, none to be permitted so much as to speak unto her, thinking by this hard usage to overcome her: but all was to no purpose. Being thus long shut up, and no news heard of her one way or other, every one imagined that they had put her to death privily. Her Judges were willing to have saved her life, sending often a Doctor unto her called *N. of Vvenoyne* to turn her from her Resolution; but he found it too hard a task for him to effect, often confessing to them that sent him, that he found no cause at all in her why they should put her to death.

But on *Wednesday* the two and twentieth of *January* 1593. she was condemned to be brought upon a stage

set up in the Market place before the Town-House, Anno 1593. there to see her Books burnt; then her self to be strangled at a Post, and her Body dragged to the Dunghill without the City. She coming to the place, and ascending the Scaffold, distinctly pronounced the Lords Prayer. Then seeing her Books burned in her presence, she uttered these words with an audible Voice; you burn there the Word of God, which your selves have acknowledged to be good and holy. Having again repeated the Lords Prayer, she was strangled and died peaceably in the Lord, so as she was nothing altered in her Colour after she was dead, leaving to the *Valencians* the truth of this Sentence, *Preious in the sight of the Lord is the Martyrdom of his Saints*; and to the Judges, and her Hangmen the *Jesuites*, a perpetual corraive to their Conscience.

An English man burned at Rome.

IN the year 1595. about the end of *May* there was executed a Young Man at *Rome* about the age of five and twenty years, who went into the Church of *Magdalen*, where beholding their behaviour, being pricked forward with Religious Zeal and constant Resolution, not being able to endure the sight of those horrible impieties which were there committed amongst them: As the Bishop was setting forward to go on Procession, this Young Man directed his way towards the Church Porch: and as the Procession began to pass forward he waited till the Bp. came that bare the Host, and in his going forth stepped to the Pike, plucking it out of his Hands, threw it to the ground, saying aloud, ye wretched Idolaters, do ye fall down to a Morfel of Bread? The people presently fell upon the Young Man; yet without touching his Person, notwithstanding the great stirr they made, he was from thence sent to Prison to the *Capitol*. Complaint being made thereof to Pope *Clement* the eighth touching all that which had happened; He presently ordained that he which had done it should be burned the same day, for an example and terror to all his Companions. But some of the Popes Cardinals being then at hand, advised that he should be detained rather a while in Prison, to be examined by all exquisite Tortures, to make him confess his fellows, and who had set him on. Having kept him eight days in Prison, nothing could be drawn from him, but this speech, *Such was the will of God*.

When they saw they could not prevail, his Indictment was framed, and his Sentence registred, namely that he was to pass from the *Capitol*, Naked unto his middle, and to wear on his head the form of a Devil, or Dragon, his Breaches painted all over with flames of fire, and thus being bound in a Cart, to be burned alive, being first carried in this manner about the City.

The Patient understanding how he was to be handled, lifting up his eyes, implored help from the Almighty, and seeing how he was derided of all, continued in his devotion and Prayers. He could not refrain from uttering somewhat against the life of the Cardinals and their Associates, who hearing it, began to be in a rage, and that he might no longer bewray their wickedness, they caused a great Gagg to be forced into his mouth, which vexed him more then all the rest, when he testified, saying, How shall I call upon my God? But he patiently submitted himself to endure all their cruelties.

In this plight he was brought to *Magdalens*, where he had cast down the Idol, and there one of the Hangmen cut off his hand before the door: at which the Patient being not much moved, his hand being set on a pole in the Cart, the two Tormentors made him feel the force of the fire taking each of them a great torch in his hand flaming with which they scorched and burned his flesh through all the City of *Rome*.

At length they arrived at the place called *Campio de Fior*, by which time the Young Man was brought into a pitiful case, being scorched all over his Body, all blistered and bloody, having nothing whole but his Head, which he now and then lifted up.

Being taken down out of the Cart, and seeing the Post whereunto he was to be fastened with three Chains of Iron; he went of himself to the Post, and falling on his Knees kissed the Chains with which he was there to be bound till the Sacrifice should be ended.

But

Anno 1601. But before the Fire was put to him, he was urged by Friars and Priests to worship an Idol which they presented there before him. From which turning away his face, he shewed unto them his constant resolution to the contrary, holding on his Christian course unto the end : which he truly testified ; for as soon as the flames of Fire seized on him, bowing his head he quietly yielded up his Soul into the hands of God.

The death and Martyrdom of an old Man of Millan, who was burned at Rome.

THe same year they burned an old Man who for a long time had lien in the Inquisitors Caves. He dyed with great constancy and resolution. Before his death he was exhorted and importuned by the Monks to kiss a Crucifix. He seeing their impudency, said, If ye take not this Idol out of my sight, you will constrain me to spit upon it, which when they heard, he was sent away to the Fire, and consumed to Ashes.

The Troubles and Persecution of Bartholomew Copin, a godly and Religious Martyr of Christ.

IN the year 1601. Bartholomew Copin of the Valley of *Lafarne* resorted unto a place called *Aff in Piemont*, with certain Merchandise, purposing to vent the same at a Fair there, which was to be kept the day following. It so fell out, that sitting at Supper in the evening with sundry other Merchants, one amongst the rest began to use some speech about the diversities of Religions, and therewithal spake something tending to the disgrace of those of the Vallies of *Angrougne* and the Neighbour Villages.

Copin hearing such speeches cast forth against his Brethren, as he little expected from men of that sort, and also against their Religion, all which tended to the dishonour of God ; he feared lest it should be offensively taken, if he should not make some reply unto those blasphemies which he heard with his ears, and so answer him who held such a discourse against the Religion which himself professed. He who reproved *Copin* asked, Are you one of *Vandois* ? He answered, yes I am. And what, said the other, believe you not that God is in the Host ? No, said *Copin*. Oh, said the other, see how false your Religion is ! My Religion, said *Copin*, is no less true than God is God, and as certain as I am sure to die.

The next day *Copin* was called before the Bishop of *Aff*, who told him that report had been made to him of some offensive speeches which he had used the night past in his Lodging ; and therefore it behoved him now to acknowledge his fault, if he meant to obtain pardon for the same, otherwise he must look to be chastised according to his demerits.

Copin answered, he had uttered nothing, but that which he was first provided to speak ; nor had he said ought, but what he was resolved to maintain to the hazard of his life. He affirmed that God had bestowed upon him some worldly goods, as also a Wife and Children, but that he was not so glued in his affection to any of them, but he could be content to forgo them all, rather than the peace of a good Conscience.

As touching his carriage and behaviour, if it pleased him, he said, to make enquiry thereof among the Merchants of *Aff*, they could all resolve him as touching his honest dealing : who also he knew would witness with him, that he had wronged none in all that time he had conversed among them. And inasmuch as he was a Merchant trafficking in and about his lawful calling, he ought to be dismissed and to be no further molested. For if it were lawful for Jews and Turks to trade in Fairs and Markets, and to use Commerce throughout *Piemont* ; that favor ought much more to be permitted unto him who was a Christian. And as touching the matter of Religion, whereabout he was accused, he medled not at all therewith for his own particular, but had questions propounded to him concerning the same by others ; in which regard leave was granted him to answer and to yield a reason of his Faith in any place, to any whomsoever they were that should ask what he thought of the same : yea a liberty was granted even by his Excellency to those of the Vallies of *Vandois* to answer any man to a question demanded ; provided that he proceeded not to teach and instruct others.

The Bishop regarded none of these allegations ; but commanded he should be put into Prison. The next day the Bishops Secretary came to visit *Copin*, testifying how much good will he bore him ; advising him as a Friend, that if he acknowledged not his fault, he was in great danger of his life.

Copin answered, that his life was in the hands of God, and that he would never seek to save it to the prejudice of Gods glory : also, that he had not above two or three turns to fetch here in this world, before he arrived in Heaven ; and therefore prayed God so to assist him by his grace, that he might never leave the strait way which leadeth thereto.

A few days after he was examined by a Monk, who was an Inquisitor, in the presence of the Bishop, who vexed him a long while with his signed discourse, and by fair words endeavoured to draw him to abjure his Religion. But *Copin* resisted him still by the holy Scriptures ; shewing that if he should now be ashamed of Christ and deny him, Christ might justly be ashamed of him, and utterly deny him before his Heavenly Father.

The Monk finished his dispute with this dogged farewell, *Away thou cursed Lutheran ; thou shalt go to all the Devils in Hell ; and when thou comest to be tormented amongst these unclean Spirits, then wilt thou remember these holy admonitions which we have tendered unto thee for the saving of thy Soul, but thou hadst rather go to Hell, than to reconcile thyself to thy holy Mother the Church.* It is not long since, said *Copin*, that I was reconciled to the true Church.

After many violent assaults they gave way for his Wife to come unto him, and with her one of his Sons promising them to set him at liberty to go home with them, if he would make amends for his fault committed, by acknowledging the same. They gave his Son and Wife leave, to this purpose, to stay Supper with him in Prison : during which time he used many exhortations tending to patience ; albeit the Wife should depart to her house without an Husband, or the Child without his Father : for be you well assured, said he, that God will be a better Husband and a Father unto you than ever I was or can be. For his own part, he said, he was not bound to love Wife or Children more than Christ : besides, they had cause to rejoice, and to think him happy, that God would honour him so far as to bear witness to his Truth with the loss of his life, and hoped, he said, that God would be so favorable to him, as to support him under any torments he was to endure for his glories sake.

In conclusion he commended his Son and one Daughter to his Wives care, which God had given them in the married estate, charging her again and again to see them brought up virtuously and in the fear of God. He charged his Son to obey his Mother, so should he be made partaker of the promised blessing. He intreated them both to pray for him, that God would fortifie him against all temptations. And thus having blessed his Son, and taken leave of his Wife, they were conducted out of the Prison, and he shut up as he was before.

The Woman and her Son were dissolved into Tears, sighing and crying out, that it would have moved the honest heart to Compassion : but this holy man, not contenting himself with that he had said to them by word of mouth, writ unto his Wife this Letter ensuing, the original whereof she hath exhibited to us, written and signed with the hand of the said *Copin* ; the inscription thus following :

To my wel-beloved Wife ; *Susanna Copin*, from the Tower of *Lafarne*.

Dear yoke-fellow ; I received much consolation by your coming to this place, and by so much the more as it was beyond my expectation ; and I suppose you also were not a little comforted that you had such an opportunity offered you, as to sup with me the last night, being Saturday the 15. of September 1601 : I know not well what they aimed at in permitting you so to do. But God ordereth all these things. But as far as I can guess, it shall be the last time that ever we shall sup together in this life : and therefore pray to God that he will not cease to be a comfort unto you. Trust you still in him

K k k k z

him, for he hath promised never to leave nor forsake those that put their trust in him. God hath endued you with wisdom, govern your own family in such sort, that our Children Samuel and Martha may be obedient unto you: whom in the name and authority of God, I command that they obey you, for so the blessing of Almighty God shall light upon them.

Dear Wife, be not over pensive for me, for if God hath ordained me now to attain unto the end of my race, and that I must render into the hands of the Almighty my Soul, which so long time he hath lent me; my hope is, that of his holy and Divine mercy he will receive it into his Kingdom, for his own beloved Sons (like Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom I believe that my sins are forgiven, for the only merit of his holy death and Passion. Also my prayer is, that he will assist me by the power of his holy Spirit unto my last breath.

Be fervent in Prayer, and in all other parts of Gods worship and service, for this is the way to true blessedness. Take no care about sending any thing unto me for these three weeks, and then I pray you send me some money, if you think good, to give the Taylor, and some what more for mine own necessities, if it please God I live so long. Also I pray you call to mind what I have often told you, namely how God prolonged King Hezekias life for fifteen years. But he hath preserved my life much longer; for it is many years ago since you saw me at the point of death, and through Gods goodness I am alive; and I hope, yea I am assured, that he will so long preserve me as shall be for his glory and my eternal good, through his only free-Grace.

From the Prison of Asst, the sixteenth of September, 1601.

The Bishop of Asst was somewhat troubled about this his Prisoner; for if he had let him go, he feared it would breed some scandal, and many might thereby be emboldened to open their mouths wide against the Roman Religion. Besides, there was a Clause in the Contract made between his Excellency and the People of Vandoi, which exempted those of the Religion from offence, in these words; And if it shall fall out that they be asked or questioned withal in Piemont, about the cause of Religion, by any of his Excellencies Subjects, it shall be lawful for those of the said Religion to answer without suffering any penal or personal punishment for the same.

Now Copin had a question put to him, in which respect he ought to have been cleared. But the Bishop would by no means hear that he had unjustly imprisoned him; and therefore that his death should not be laid to his charge, nor yet that he should be sent away absolved, he sent the cause of his Edictment to Pope Clement the eighth, to know what should be done with him. We cannot learn what answer the Pope returned to the Bishop; but not long after this good man was found dead in Prison, not without some apparent suspicion of his being strangled there; left if they had executed him in publick, the People should have been edified by his constancy.

Being dead, he was condemned to be burned, and therefore having caused him to be brought out of Prison, they read his Sentence openly, and the Body was cast into the fire.

Thus have you the last among the Vandoi, which is come to our knowledge, that were persecuted to death for the cause of Religion.

Mention hath heretofore been often made of sundry bloody Massacres in foreign parts; but we are now come to fall upon the report of a business near home, which if the most wise and watchful providence of God had not timely and graciously prevented, it would have to the ruine of our Church and State) proved such a Massacre, like whereof the Heart of man never conceived, the Ear of man never heard of, nor the Tongue or Pen of man could scarce ever have uttered; namely, at one blow to have blown up not only the King, Queen, and Royal posterity, but the whole body of the State in general. Now as the Church and State had each of them a share in this so admirable a deliverance from God upon the fifth day of November, Anno 1605. so each

of them shewed their care, if it might be, for ever to Anno perpetuate the praise of God for the same on the said day; the one by establishing an Act of Parliament for it; the other by publishing a form of thanksgiving the better to effect it; some expression whereof the Reader may hap to meet with at the end of the discourse following.

A discourse touching the manner of the discovery of the Powder-Treason, with the Examination of some of the Prisoners.

While this Land and whole Monarchy flourished in a most happy and plentiful peace, as well at home as abroad, sustained and conducted by these two main Pillars of all good government, Piety and Justice, no forain grudge, nor inward whispering of discontentment any way appearing; the King being upon his return from his hunting exercise at Royston, upon occasion of the drawing near of the Parliament time, which had been twice prorogued already; partly in regard of the season of the year, and partly of the Term; as the winds are ever stillest immediately before a storm; and as the Sun blenks often hottest to foretell a following shower; so at that time of greatest calm did that secretly hatched Thunder begin to cast forth the first flames and flaming Lightnings of the approaching Tempest.

On the Saturday of the week immediately preceding the Kings return, which was upon a Thursday (being but ten days before the Parliament) the Lord Mountague and heir to the Lord Morley, being in his own Lodging ready to go to Supper at seven of the Clock at night, one of his Footmen (whom he had sent of an Errand over the street) was met by an unknown man of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a Letter, charging him to put it in my Lord his Masters hands. Which my Lord no sooner received, but that having broken it up, and perceiving the stile to be of an unknown and somewhat unglible hand, and without either date or subscription, did call one of his men unto him for helping him to read it. But no sooner did he conceive the strange contents thereof, although he was somewhat perplexed what construction to make of it (as whether of a matter of consequence, as indeed it was, or whether some foolish devised Pasquil by some of his Enemies to scare him from his attendance at the Parliament) yet did he as a most dutiful and loyal Subject conclude, not to conceal it, what ever might come of it. Whereupon, notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night in that season of the year, he presently repaired to his Majesties Palace at White-Hall, and there delivered the same to the Earl of Salisbury his Majesties principal Secretary. Whereupon the said Earl of Salisbury having read the Letter, and heard the manner of the coming of it to his hands, did greatly encourage and commend my Lord for his discretion; telling him plainly, that whatsoever the purpose of the Letter might prove hereafter, yet did this accident put him in mind of divers advertisements he had received from beyond the Seas, where-with he had acquainted as well the King himself, as divers of his privy Counsellors, concerning some business the Papists were in both at home and abroad, making preparation for some combination among them against this Parliament time, for enabling them to deliver at that time to the King some Petition for toleration of Religion; which should be delivered in some such order, and so well backed, as the King should be loth to refuse their request. Like the sturdy Beggars, craving Alms with one open hand, but carrying a stone in the other, in case of refusal. And therefore did the Earl of Salisbury conclude with the Lord Mountague, that he would in regard of the Kings absence impart the same Letter to some more of his Majesties Council; whereof my Lord Mountague liked well; only adding this request by way of protestation, that whatsoever the event hereof might prove, it should not be imputed to him, as proceeding from too light and too suddain an apprehension, that he delivered this Letter, being only moved thereunto for demonstration of his ready devotion and care for preservation of his Majesty and the State. And thus did the Earl of Salisbury presently acquaint the Lord Chamberlain with the said Letter. Whereupon they two in the presence of the Lord

Mountague,

Anno
1605.

A Letter
delivered to
the Lord
Mountague:

Received to
the Earl of
Salisbury.

Purpose of
the Papists
for deliver-
ing a peti-
tion to his
Majesty to
crave tolera-
tion of Reli-
gion.

The Lord
Chamber-
lain made
privy to the
Letter by
the Earl of
Salisbury.

ANNO
1605.

Thought
meet by the
Counsellors
to acquaint
the King
with the
Letter.

Upon Albal-
low-day the
Earl of Sal-
isbury, shew-
ed the Let-
ter to the
King.

His Majesty's
judgment of
the Let-
ter.

A terrible
blow indeed
at once to
have wrack-
ed.
King, Queen,
Prince, and
Progeny,
Religion,
State, and
all.

Mountegle, calling to mind the former intelligence already mentioned, which seemed to have some relation with this Letter: The tender care which they ever carried to the preservation of his Majesties Person, made them apprehend, that some perillous attempt did thereby appear to be intended against the same; which did the more nearly concern the said Lord Chamberlain to have a care of, in regard that it doth belong to the charge of his Office to oversee as well all places of Assembly where his Majesty is to repair, as his Highness own private Houses. And therefore did the said two Counsellors conclude, that they should joyn unto themselves three more of the Council, to wit, the Lord Admiral, the Earls of Worcester and Northampton, to be also particularly acquainted with this accident: who having all of them concurred together to the re-examination of the Contents of the said Letter, they did conclude, that how slight a matter it might at the first appear to be, yet was it not absolutely to be contemned, in respect of the care which it behooved them to have of the preservation of his Majesties Person.

Wherefore they resolved for two reasons, first to acquaint the King himself with the same before they proceeded to any further inquisition in the matter, as well for the expectation and experience they had of his Majesties fortunate Judgment in clearing of obscure Riddles and doubtful Mysteries; as also because the more time would in the me a while be given for the Practice to ripen, if any was, whereby the discovery might be the more clear and evident, and the ground of proceeding thereupon more safe, just, and easie. And so according to their determination did the said Earl of Salisbury repair to the King in his Gallery on Friday, being *Alballow-day*, in the afternoon, which was the day after his Majesties arrival, and none but himself being present with his Highness at that time, where without any other speech or judgment given of the Letter, but only relating simply the form of the delivery thereof, he presented it to his Majesty, the Contents whereof follow.

MY Lord, out of the love I bear some of your Friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore, I would advise you as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire your self into your Country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is past so soon as you have burnt the Letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it: To whose holy Protection I commend you.

The King no sooner read the Letter, but after a little pause, and then reading it over again, he delivered his judgment of it in such sort, as he thought it was not to be contemned, for that the title of it seemed to be more quick, and pithy, then is usual to be in any Pasquil, or Libel (the superfluities of idle Brains.) But the Earl of Salisbury perceiving the King to apprehend it deeper then he looked for, knowing his nature, told him that he thought by one Sentence in it, that it was like to be written by some fool or mad man, reading to him this Sentence in it, *For the danger is past so soon as you have burnt the Letters*, which he said was like to be the saying of a fool: for if the danger was past so soon as the Letter was burnt, then the warning behooved to be of little avail, when the burning of the Letter might make the danger to be chewed. But the King on the contrary considering the former Sentence in the Letter, *That they should receive a terrible blow at this Parliament*, and yet should not see who hurt them, joining it to the Sentence immediately following, already alleged, did thereupon conjecture, That the danger mentioned should be some sudden danger by blowing up of Powder: For no other Insurrection, Rebellion, or whatsoever other private and desperate Attempt could be committed or attempted in time of Parliament, and the Authors thereof unless, except only it were by a blowing up of Powder,

which might be performed by one base Knave in a dark Corner; whereupon he was moved to interpret and construe the latter Sentence in the Letter (alleged by the Earl of Salisbury) against all ordinary sense and construction in Grammar, as if by these words, *For the danger is past so soon as you have burnt the Letters*, should be closely understood the suddainty and quickness of the danger; which should be as quickly performed and at an end, as that Paper should be blazing up in the fire; turning that word of *As soon*; to the sense of, *As quickly*: and therefore wished, that before his going to the Parliament, the under Rooms of the Parliament-house might be well and narrowly searched. But the Earl of Salisbury wondering at this his Majesties commentary, which he knew to be so far contrary to his ordinary and natural disposition, who did rather even sin upon the other side, in not apprehending, nor trusting due advertisement of practices and Perils when he was truly informed of them, whereby he had many times drawn himself into many desperate dangers: and interpreting rightly this extraordinary Caution at this time to proceed from the Vigilant care he had of the whole State, more than of his own Person, which could not but have all perished together, if this designment had succeeded: He thought good to dissemble still unto the King, that there had been any just cause of such apprehension; and ending the purpose with some merry jest on this Subject, as his custom is; took his leave for that time. But though he seemed so to neglect it to his Majesty, yet his customable and watchful care of the King and the State still boyled within him; And having with the blessed Virgin Mary laid up in his heart the Kings fo strange judgment and construction of it; he could not be at rest till he acquainted the forefaid Lords what had passed between the King and him in private.

Whereupon they were all so earnest to renew again the memory of the same purpose unto his Majesty, as it was agreed that he should the next day, being *Saturday*, repair to his Highness which he did in the said privy Gallery, and renewed the memory thereof, the Lord Chamberlain then being present with the King. At what time it was determined, that the said L. Chamberlain should, according to his custom and Office, view all the Parliament Houses, both above and below, and consider what likelihood or appearance of any such danger might be gathered by the sight of them: but yet as well for staying of idle Rumors, as for being the more able to discern any mystry, the nearer that things were in readines, his Journey thither was ordained to be deferred till the afternoon before the sitting down of the Parliament, which was upon the *Monday* following. At what time he (according to this conclusion) went to the Parliament house, accompanied with my Lord Mountegle, being in Zeal to the Kings Service earnest and curious to see the event of that accident whereof he had the fortune to be the first discoverer: where, having viewed all the lower Rooms, he found in the vault under the upper House great store and provision of Billets, Faggots, and Coals: and inquiring of *Whyneard* Keeper of the *Wardrobe*, to what use he had put those lower Rooms and Cellars; he told him that *Thomas Percy* had hired both the House and part of the Cellar or Vault under the same, and that the Wood and Coal, under which were hidden thirty six Barrels of Powder great and small, besides great Bars of Iron, pieces of Timber, and massive Stones covered over with Faggots therein, was the said Gentlemans own provision. Whereupon the Lord Chamberlain, casting his eye aside, perceived a fellow standing in a Corner there, calling himself the said *Percies* man and Keeper of that House for him, but indeed was *Guido Fawkes*, the owner of that hand which should have acted that monstrous and hellish Tragedy.

The Lord Chamberlain looking upon all things with a heedful indeed, yet, in outward appearance, with but a careless and reckless eye, (as became so wise and diligent a Minister) he presently addressed himself to the King in the privy Gallery, where in the presence of the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, the Earls of Worcester, Northampton, and Salisbury he made his report, what he had seen and observed there; noting that *Montegle* had told him, That he no sooner heard *Tho. Percy* named

His Majesty's
Opinion
on for
searching of
the under
Rooms of the
Parliament
house.

The decessi-
mination to
be made
under the
Parliament
house and
the Rooms
under it.

Wood and
Coal found
by the L.
Chamber-
lain in the
Vault.

The Lord Chamberlains report and judgment of what he had observed in the search.

named to be the possessor of that House; but considering both his backwardness in Religion, and the old dearth in friendship between himself and the said Percy, he did greatly suspect the matter, and that the Letter should come from him. The said Lord Chamberlain also told, That he did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great provision of Wood and Coal in that House, where Thomas Percy had so seldom occasion to remain; as likewise it gave him in his mind, that this man looked like a very tall and desperate Fellow.

Disputations about the manner of the further search.

This could not but increase the Kings former apprehension and jealousy: whereupon he insisted (as before) that the House was narrowly to be searched, and that those Billets and Coals would be searched to the bottom, it being most suspicious that they were laid there only for covering of the Powder. Of this same mind also were all the Counsellors then present. But upon the fashion of making of the search was it long debated: for upon the one side they were all so jealous of the Kings safety, that they all agreed, that there could not be too much caution used for preventing his danger. And yet upon the other part they were all extream loath and dainty, that in case this Letter should prove to be nothing but the evaporation of an idle Brain; then a curious search being made, and nothing found, should not only turn to the general scandal of the King and the State, as being so suspicious of every light and frivolous toy, but likewise lay an ill-favoured imputation upon the Earl of Northumberland, one of his Majesties greatest Subjects and Counsellors, this Thomas Percy being his Kinsman and most confident Familiar. And the rather were they curious upon this point, knowing how far the King detested to be thought suspicious or jealous of any his good Subjects, though of the meanest degree. And therefore though they all agreed upon the main ground, which was to provide for the security of the Kings person, yet did they much differ in the circumstances, by which this action might be best carried with least din and occasion of slander. But the King himself still persisting that there were divers shrewd appearances, and that a narrow search of those places could prejudice no man that was innocent, he at last plainly resolved them, that either must all the parts of those Rooms be narrowly searched, and no possibility of danger left unexamined, or else he and they all must resolve not to meddle in it at all, but plainly to go the next day to the Parliament, and leave the success to Fortune; which he believed they would be loth to take upon their Consciences: for in such a case as this, an half doing was worse than no doing at all. Whereupon it was at last concluded, That nothing should be left unsearched in those Houses: and yet for the better colour and stay of rumor, in case nothing were found, it was thought meet, that upon a pretence of *Whymards* missing some of the Kings Stuff or Hangings which he had in keeping, all these Rooms should be narrowly ripped for them. And to this purpose was Sir Thomas Knevet (a Gentleman of his Majesties privy Chamber) employed, being a Justice of Peace in *Westminster*, and one, of whose ancient fidelity both the late Queen and our now Sovereign have had large proof: who, according to the trust committed unto him, went about the Midnight next after to the *Parliament-House*, accompanied with a small number as was fit for that Errand. But before his entry into the House, finding Thomas Percies alleged Man standing without the doors, his Cloaths and Boots on at so dead a time of the Night, he resolved to apprehend him, as he did, and afterward went forward to the searching of the House, where after he had caused to be overturned some of the Billets and Coals, he first found one of the small Barrels of Powder, and after all the rest, to the number of thirty six Barrels, great and small. And thereafter searching the Fellow whom he had taken, found three Matches, and all other Instruments fit for blowing up the Powder ready upon him, which made him instantly confess his own guiltiness, declaring also unto him, That if he had happened to be within the House when he took him, as he was immediately before (at the ending of his work) he would not have failed to have blown him up, House and all.

Was found at Midnight without the House.

Agreed that the search should be under colour of seeking for Wardrobe stuff missed by *Whymard*.

Thus after Sir Thomas had caused the Wretch to be surely bound, and well guarded by the Company he had

brought with him, he himself returned back to the Kings Palace, and gave warning of his success to the Lord Chamberlain and Earl of Salisbury; who immediately warning the rest of the Council that lay in the House, as soon as they could get themselves ready, came with their fellow Counsellors to the Kings Bedchamber, being at that time near four of the Clock in the Morning. And at the first entry at the Kings Chamber-door, the Lord Chamberlain, being not any longer able to conceal his joy for the preventing of so great a danger, told the King in a confused haste, that all was found and discovered, and the Traytor in hands and fast bound.

Then, order being first taken for sending for the rest of the Council that lay in the Town, the Prisoner himself was brought into the House, where in respect of the strangeness of the Accident, no man was staid from the sight or speaking with him. And within a while after the Council did examine him; who seeming to put on a Roman Resolution, did both to the Council and to every other person that spake with him that day, appear so constant and settled upon his grounds, as we had all thought we had found some new *Mutius Scævola* born in *England*; for notwithstanding the horror of the Fact, the guilt of his Conscience, his sudden surprising, the terror which should have been stricken in him by coming into the presence of so grave a Council, and the reflex and confused questions that every man all that day did vex him with; yet was his countenance so far from being dejected, as he often smiled in scornful manner, not only avowing the Fact, but repenting only, with the said *Scævola*, his failing in the execution thereof, whereof he said the Devil and not God was the discoverer; answering quickly to every mans objection, scoffing at any idle questions which were propounded to him, and jesting at such as he thought had no authority to examine him.

All that day could the Council get nothing out of him touching his Complices, refusing to answer to any such questions as he thought might discover the Plot, and laying all the blame upon himself; whereunto he said he was moved only for Religion and Conscience sake, denying the King to be his lawful Sovereign, or the Anointed of God, in respect he was an Heretic; and giving himself no other name than *John Johnson*, Servant to Thomas Percy. But the next Morning being carried to the Tower of London, he did not there remain above two or three days, being twice or thrice in that space re-examined, and the Rack only offered and shewed unto him, when the Mask of his Roman fortitude did visibly begin to wear and slide off his Face; and then did he begin to confess part of the truth, and thereafter to open the whole matter, as doth appear by his Depositions immediately following.

The true Copy of the declaration of Guido Fawkes, taken in the presence of the Counsellors whose Names are underwritten.

I Confess that a practice in general was first broken unto me against his Majesty, for relief of the Catholic Cause, and not invented or propounded by my self. And this was first propounded unto me about Easter last was Twelve-month, beyond the Seas, in the Low-Countries of the Archdukes obedience, by Thomas Winter, who came thereupon with me into England, and there we imparted our purpose to three other Gentlemen more, namely, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, and John Wright: who all five consulting together of the means how to execute the same, and taking a Vow among our selves for secrecy (which Vow was this, *You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret; nor desert from the execution thereof until the rest shall give you leave.* After which, being confessed and receiving Absolution, the forementioned received the Sacrament thereupon, by the hands of Gerrard the Jesuit there present) Catesby propounded to have it performed by Gunpowder, and by making a Mine under the upper House of Parliament: which place we made choice of the rather, because Religion having been unjustly suppressed there, it was fittest that justice and punishment should be executed there.

This

Anno 1605.

Anno 1605, This being resolved amongst us, *Thomas Percy* hired a House at *Westminster* for that purpose, near adjoining to the *Parliament-House*, and there we began to make our Mine about the 11. of *December* 1604.

The five that first entred into the work were *Thomas Percy, Robert Catesby, Thomas Winter, John Wright*, and myself; and soon after we took unto us *Christopher Wright*, having sworn him also, and taken the Sacrament for secrecy.

When we came to the very foundation of the Wall of the House, which was about three yards thick, and found it a matter of great difficulty, we took unto us another Gentleman, *Robert Winter*, in like manner with Oath and Sacrament as aforesaid.

It was about *Christmas* when we brought our Mine to the Wall, and about *Candlemas* we had wrought the Wall half through; and whilst they were in working I stood as Sentinel, to descry any man that came near, whereof I gave them warning, and so they ceased until I gave notice again to proceed.

All we seven lay in the House, having Shot and Powder, being resolved to die in that place, before we should yield or be taken.

As they were working upon the Wall, they heard a rustling in the Cellar of removing of Coals, whereupon we feared we had been discovered, and they sent me to go to the Cellar; who finding the Coals were a felling, and that the Cellar was to be lett, viewing the commodity thereof for our purpose, *Percy* went and hired the same for yearly Rent.

We had before this provided and brought into the House twenty Barrels of Powder, which we removed into the Cellar, and covered the same with Billets and Faggots, which were provided for that purpose.

About *Easter*, the Parliament being prorogued till *October* next, we dispersed our selves, and I retired into the *Low-Countries*, by advice and direction of the rest, as well to acquaint *Owen* with the particulars of the Plot, as also left by my longer stay I might have grown suspicious and so have come in question.

In the mean time *Percy* having the Key of the Cellar, laid in more Powder and Wood into it. I returned about the beginning of *September* next, and then receiving the Key again of *Mr. Percy*, we brought in more Powder and Billets to cover the same again; and so I went for a time into the Country till the 30th of *October*.

It was further resolved amongst us, that the same day that this act should have been performed, some other of our Confederates should have surprized the person of the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings eldest Daughter, who was kept in *Warwickshire* at the Lord *Harringtons* House, and presently have proclaimed her Queen, having a project of a Proclamation ready for that purpose; where in we made no mention of altering Religion, or would have avowed the deed to be ours, until we should have had power enough to make our party good; and then we would have avowed both.

Concerning Duke *Charles* the Kings second Son, we had sundry consultations how to seize on his Person. But because we found no means how to compass it (the Duke being kept near *London*, where we had not forces enough) we resolved to serve our turn with the Lady *Elizabeth*.

The Names of other principal Persons, that were made privy afterwards to this horrible Conspiracy.

Everard Digby, Knight.
Ambrose Rookewood,
Francis Tresham,
John Grant,
Robert Keyes.

Commissioners.

Nottingham,
Suffolk,
Northampton,
Worcester,
Devonshire,
Salisbury,

Marre,
Popham,
Danbar,

Edw. Coke,

W. Waad.

And in regard that before this Discourse could be ready to go to the Press, *Thomas Winter* being apprehended and brought to the Tower, made a Confession in substance agreeing with this former of *Fawkes*, only larger in some circumstances: I have thought good to insert the same likewise in this place, for the further clearing of the matter and greater benefit of the Reader.

Thomas Winters Confession, taken the three and twentieth of November, in the year 1605, in the presence of the Counsellors, whose Names are under-written.

My most Honourable Lords,

Not out of hope to obtain pardon; for speaking of my temporal part, I may say, The fault is greater than can be forgiven; nor affecting here the title of a good Subject; for I must redeem my Country from as great a danger, as I have hazarded the bringing of her into, before I can purchase any such opinion: only at your Honours command I will briefly set down mine Accusation, and how far I have proceeded in this business, which I shall the faithfuller do, since I see few courses are not pleasing to Almighty God, and that all or the most material parts have been already confided.

I remained with my Brother in the Country from *Abhallonside* until the beginning of *Lent*, in the year of our Lord 1603. the first year of the Kings Reign; about which time *Mr. Catesby* sent thither, intreating me to come to *London*, where he and other my Friends would be glad to see me. I desired him to excuse me: for I found my self not very well disposed; and (which had happened never to me before) returned the Messenger without my company. Shortly I received another Letter, in any wife to come. At the second Summons I presently came up, and found him with *Mr. John Wright* at *Lambeth*, where he brake with me, how necessary it was not to forsake our Country (for he knew then I had a resolution to go over) but to deliver her from the servitude in which she remained, or at least to assist her with our uttermost endeavours. I answered, that I had often hazarded my life upon far lighter terms, and now would not refuse any good occasion, wherein I might do service to the Catholick Cause; but for my self I knew no mean probable to succeed. He said, that he had bethought him of a way at one instant to deliver us from all our bonds, and without any foreign help to replant again the Catholick Religion; and withal told me in a word, It was to blow up the *Parliament-House* with Gunpowder; for, said he, in that place have they done us all the mischief, and perchance God hath designed that place for their punishment. I wondered at the strangeness of the conceit, and told him, that true it was this stroke at the root, and would breed a confusion fit to beget new alterations: but if it should not take effect, (as most of this nature miscarried) the scandal would be so great which the Catholick Religion might hereby sustain, as not only our Enemies, but our Friends also would with good reason condemn us. He told me, The nature of the disease required so sharp a remedy, and asked me if I would give consent. I told him, yes, in this or what else soever, if he resolved upon it, I would venture my life. But I proposed many difficulties, as want of an House, and of one to carry the Mine, noise in the working, and such like. His answer was, Let us give an attempt, and where it filleth pass no further. But first, quoth he, because we will leave no peaceable and quiet way untied, you shall go over and inform the Constable of the state of the Catholics here in *England*, intreating him to solicit his Majesty at his coming thither, that the penal Laws may be recalled; and we admitted into the rank of his other Subjects; withal, you may bring over some confident Gentle-

Gentleman, such as you shall understand best able for this business, and named unto me Master *Fawkes*. Shortly after I passed the Sea, and found the Constable at *Bergen* near *Dunkirk*, where by help of Master *Owen* I delivered my message. Whose answer was, that he had strict command from his Master, to do all good offices for the Catholics, and for his own part he thought himself bound in Conscience so to do, and that no good occasion should be omitted, but spake to him nothing of this matter.

Returning to *Dunkirk* with Master *Owen*, we had speech whether he thought the Constable would faithfully help us, or no. He said, he believed nothing less, and that they sought only their own ends, holding small account of Catholics, I told him that there were many Gentlemen in *England*, who would not forsake their Country until they had tried their uttermost, and rather venture their lives, then forsake her in this misery. And to add one more to our number, as a fit man both for Counsel and execution of whatsoever we should resolve, we wished for Mr. *Fawkes*, whom I had heard good commendations of; hee told me the Gentleman deserved no less, but was at *Brussels*, and that if he came not, as happily he might, before my departure, he would send him shortly after into *England*. I went soon after to *Offend*, where Sir *William Stanley* as then was not, but came two days after. I remained with him three or four days, in which time I asked him if the Catholics in *England* should do any thing to help themselves, whether hee thought the Archduke would second them? He answered, no: for all those parts were so desirous of peace with *England*, as they would endure no speech of other enterprise; neither were it fit, said he, to set any project afoot now the peace is upon concluding. I told him there was no such resolution, and so fell to discourse of other matters, until I came to speak of Master *Fawkes*, whose company I wished over into *England*. I asked of his sufficiency in the Wars, and told him we should need such as he if occasion required; he gave very good commendations of him. And as we were thus discoursing, and I ready to depart from *Newport*, and taking my leave of Sir *William*, Master *Fawkes* came into our company, newly returned, and saluted us. This is the Gentleman, said Sir *William*, that we wished for, and so we embraced again. I told him, some good friends of his wished his company in *England*, and that if he pleased to come to *Dunkirk*, we would have further conference, whither I was then going: so taking my leave of them both, I departed. About two days after came Master *Fawkes* to *Dunkirk*, where I told him that we were upon a resolution to do somewhat with *England*, if the peace with *Spain* helped us not, but had as yet resolved upon nothing; such or the like talk we passed at *Graveling*, where lay for a wind, and when it served we came both in one passage to *Greenwich*, near which place we took a pair of Oars, and so came up to *London*, and came to Master *Catesby* whom we found in his lodging; hee welcomed us into *England*, and asked me what news from the Constable. I told him, good words, but I feared the deeds would not answer. This was the beginning of *Easter* Term, and about the midst of the Term (whether sent for by Master *Catesby*, or upon some business of his own) up came Master *Thomas Percy*. The first word he spoke (after he came into our company) was, shall we always (Gentlemen) talk, and never do any thing? Master *Catesby* took him aside, and had speech about somewhat to be done, so as first we might all take an Oath of Secrecy, which we resolved within two or three days to do; so as there we met behind St. Clements, Mr. *Catesby*, Mr. *Percy*, Master *Wright*, Master *Guy Fawkes*, and my self; and having upon a Primer given each other the Oath of Secrecy, in a Chamber where no other body was, we went after into the next Room, and heard Mass, and received the blessed Sacrament upon the same. Then did Master *Catesby* disclose to Master *Percy*, and I together with *Jack Wright* tell to Master *Fawkes* the business for which we took this Oath, which they both approved. And then was Master *Percy* sent to take the House which Master *Catesby* in mine absence had learned did belong to one *Ferris*, which with some difficulty in the end he obtained, and

Sir Edward Coke laughs at the arrangement of *Charnock* further, that *Catesby* and *Thomas Percy* meeting together complained one to another of the Kings proceedings and therefore the only way was to kill the King, which *Percy* himself would undertake to do. *Thomas* said *Catesby*, thou shalt not so adventure thyself, there is a plot in our greater advantage, and then discovered to him the Powder Treason.

became as *Ferris* before was, Tenant to *Whynniard*. M. Anno *Fawkes* underwent the name of Master *Percies* man, calling him *Johnsen*, because its name was the most unknown, and received the keys of the House, until we heard that the Parliament was adjourned to the seventh of February. At which time we all departed several ways into the Country, to meet again at the beginning at *Michaelmas* Term. Before this time also it was thought convenient to have a House that might answer to Master *Percies*, where we might make provision of Powder and Wood for the Mine, which being there in a night made ready, should in a night be conveyed by Boat to the house by the Parliament, because we were loth to foyle that with often going in and out. There was none that we could devise so fit as *Lambeth*, where Master *Catesby* often lay; and to be keeper thereof (by Master *Catesbys* choice) we received into the number, *Keyes*, as a trusty honest man: this was about a Month before *Michaelmas*.

Some fortnight after towards the beginning of the Term, Master *Fawkes* and I came to Master *Catesby* at *Moorecrops*, where we agreed that now was time to begin and set things in order for the Mine. So Master *Fawkes* went to *London*, and the next day sent for mee to come over to him; when I came, the cause was, for that the Scottish Lords were appointed to sit in conference of the Union in Master *Percies* House. This hindered our beginning until a fortnight before *Christmas*, by which time both Mr. *Percy* and Master *Wright* were come to *London*, and we against their coming had provided a good part of the powder; so as we all five entered with Tools fit to begin our work, having provided our selves of Baked meats, the less to need sending abroad. We entered late in the night, and were never seen, save only Master *Percies* man, until *Christmas* Eve. In which time we wrought under a little Entry to the wall of the Parliament house, and underpropped it, as we went, with wood.

Whilest we were together, we began to fashion our business, and discoursed what we should do after this deed was done. The first question was how we might surpris the next Heir: the Prince happily would be at the Parliament with the King his Father, how should we then be able to seize on the Duke? This Burthen Mr. *Percy* undertook, that by his acquaintance, he, with another Gentleman, would enter the Chamber without suspicion, and having some dozen others at several Doors to expect his coming, and two or three on Horseback at the Court Gate to receive him, he would undertake (the blow being given, until which he would attend in the Dukes Chamber) to carry him safe away: for he supposed most of the Court would be absent, and such as were there, not suspecting, or unprovided for any such matter. For the Lady *Elizabeth*, it were easie to surpris her in the Country by drawing Friends together at an hunting near the Lord *Harringtons*, and *Abby* Mr. *Catesbys* house, being not far off, was a fit place for preparation.

The next was for Money and Horses, which if we could provide in any reasonable measure (having the Heir apparent, and the first knowledge by four or five days) was odds sufficient.

Then what Lords we should save from the Parliament; which was first agreed in general, as many as we could that were Catholics, or so disposed; But after we descended to speak of particulars.

Next what forrain Princes we should acquaint with this before, or joyn with after. For this point we agreed, that first we could not enjoyn Princes to that secrecy, nor oblige them by Oath; so to be secure of their promises: besides we knew not whether they will approve the project or dislike it. And if they do allow thereof, to prepare before might beget suspicion, and not to provide until the business were acted, the same letter that carried news of the thing done, might aswell intreat their help and furtherance. *Spain* is too slow in his preparations to hope any good from in the first extremities, and *France* too near and too dangerous, who with the Shipping of *Holland*, we feared, of all the world might make away with us.

But

Anno
1605.

But while we were in the middle of these discourses, we heard that the Parliament should be anew adjourned until after *Michaelmas*; upon which tidings we broke off both discourse and working until after *Christmas*. About *Candlemas* we brought over in a Boat the Powder, which we had provided at *Lambergh*, and laid it in Mr. *Percies* Houfe, because we were willing to have all our dangers in one place.

We wrought also another fortnight in the Mine against the Stone-wall, which was very hard to break through; at which time we called in *Kit Wright*; and near to *Easter*, as we wrought the third time, opportunity was given to hire the Cellar, in which we resolved to lay the Powder and leave the Mine.

Now by reason that the charge of maintaining us all so long together, besides the number of several houses, which for several uses had been hired, and buying of Powder, &c. had lain heavy upon Mr. *Catesby* alone to support; it was necessary for him to call in some others to ease his charge, and to that end desired leave, that he, with Mr. *Percy*, and a third, whom they should call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the business; For many, said he, may be content that I should know, who would not therefore that all the Company should be acquainted with their names: to this we all agreed.

After this Mr. *Fawkes* laid into the Cellar (which he had newly taken) a thousand of Billets, and five hundred of Fagots, and with that covered the Powder, because we might have the house free, to suffer any one to enter that would. Mr. *Catesby* wished us to consider, whether it were not now necessary to send Mr. *Fawkes* over, both to absent himself for a time, as also to acquaint Sir *William Stanley* and Mr. *Owen* with this matter. We agreed that he should (provided that he gave it them with the same Oath that we had taken it before) *viz.* to keep it secret from all the world. The reason why we desired Sir *William Stanley* should be acquainted herewith, was to have him with us as soon as we could; And for Mr. *Owen*, he might hold good correspondency after with foreign Princes. So Mr. *Fawkes* departed about *Easter* for *Flanders*, and returned the later end of *August*. He told me that when he arrived at *Brussels*, Sir *William Stanley* was not returned from *Spain*, so as he uttered the matter only to *Owen*, who seemed well pleased with the business, but told him that surely Sir *William* would not be acquainted with any Plot, as having business now a foot in the Court of *England*: but he himself would be always ready to tell it him, and send him away so soon as it were done.

About this time did Mr. *Percy* and Mr. *Catesby* meet at the *Bathe*, where they agreed, that the Company being yet but few, Mr. *Catesby* should have the others authority to call in whom he thought best; by which Authority he called in after Sir *Edward Digby*, though at what time I know not, and last of all Mr. *Francis Tresham*. The first promised, as I heard Mr. *Catesby* say, fifteen hundred pounds; the second two thousand pounds; Mr. *Percy* himself promised all that he could get of the Earl of *Northumberland's* Rents, which was about four thousand pounds, and to provide many galloping Horses to the number of ten.

Mean while Mr. *Fawkes* and my self alone bought some new Powder, as suspecting the first to be dank, and conveyed it into the Cellar, and set it in order as we resolved it should stand.

Then was the Parliament anew prorogued until the fifth of *November*, so as we all went down until some ten days before, when Mr. *Catesby* came up with Mr. *Fawkes* to an house by *Enfield-Chace* called *White-Webs*, whither I came to them, and Mr. *Catesby* wished me to enquire whither the young Prince came to the Parliament: I told him, that I heard that his Grace would not be there. Then must we have our Horses, said Mr. *Catesby*, beyond the Water, and provision of more company to surprize the Prince and leave the Duke alone.

Two days after, being *Sunday* at Night, in came one to my Chamber, and told me that a Letter had been given to my Lord *Mountgale* to this effect; That he wished his Lordships absence from the Parliament, because a blow would there be given; which Letter he presently carried to my Lord of *Salisbury*.

On the Morrow I went to *White-Webs*, and told it Mr. *Catesby*, assuring him withal that the matter was disclosed, and wishing him in any case to forsake his Country. He told me he would fear further as yet, and resolved to send Mr. *Fawkes* to try the uttermost, protesting that if it were his case, he would try the same adventure.

On Wednesday Mr. *Fawkes* went and returned at Night, of which we were very glad.

On Thursday I came to *London*, and on Friday Mr. *Catesby*, Mr. *Tresham* and I met at *Barnet*, where we questioned how this Letter should be sent to my Lord *Mountgale*, but could not conceive; for Mr. *Tresham* forware it, whom we suspected.

On Saturday Night I met Mr. *Tresham* again in *Lincoln-Inn-Walks*. Where he told such speeches, that my Lord of *Salisbury* should use to the King, as I gave it lost the second time, and repeated the same to Mr. *Catesby*, who hereupon was resolved to be gone, but stayed to have Mr. *Percy* come up, whose consent herein we wanted. On Sunday Mr. *Percy* being dealt with to that end would needs abide the uttermost trial.

This suspicion of all hands put us into such confusion, as Mr. *Catesby* resolved to go down into the Country the Monday that Mr. *Percy* went to *Siem*, and Mr. *Percy* resolved to follow the same Night, or early the next Morning. About five of the Clock, being Tuesday, came the younger *Wright* to my Chamber, and told me that a Nobleman called the Lord *Mountgale*, saying, Arise and come to *Essex-House*, for I am going to call up my Lord of *Northumberland*, saying withal; The matter is discovered. Go back Mr. *Wright* (quoth I) and learn what you can about *Essex-Gate*. Shortly he returned and said, Surely all is lost: for *Lepton* is got on Horseback at *Essex-Door*: and as he parted, he asked if their Lordships would have any more with him; and being answered no, he is rode as fast up *Fleetstreet* as he can ride. Go you then (quoth I) to Mr. *Percy*, for sure it is for him they seek, and bid him be gone; I will stay and see the uttermost. Then I went to the *Court-Gate* and found them straightly guarded, so as no body could enter. From thence I went down towards the *Parliament-House*, and in the middle of *Kingsfreest* found the Guard standing, that would not let me pass. And as I returned I heard one say, There is a Treason discovered; in which the King and the Lords should have been blown up. So then I was fully satisfied that all was known, and went to the Stable where my Gelding stood, and rode into the Country. Mr. *Catesby* had appointed our meeting at *Dunchurch*, but I could not overtake them until I came to my Brothers, which was Wednesday Night. On Thursday we took the Armour at my Lord *Windors*; and went that Night to one *Stephen Littletons* Houfe, where the next day (being Friday) as I was early abroad to discover, my Man came unto me and said; that an heavy mischance had fevered all the Company; for that Mr. *Catesby*, Mr. *Rookwood* and Mr. *Grani* were burned with Gunpowder, upon which light the rest dispersed. Mr. *Littleton* wished me to fly, and so would be. I told him I would first see the Body of my Friend and bury him, whatsoever befel me. When I came, I found Mr. *Catesby* reasonable well, Mr. *Percy*, both the *Wrights*, Mr. *Rookwood* and Mr. *Grani*. I asked them what they resolved to do: they answered, we mean here to die. I said again; I would take such part as they did. About eleven of the Clock came the Company to beset the House, and as I walked into the Court, I was shot into the Shoulder, which lost me the use of mine Arm: the next shot was the elder *Wright* stricken dead, after him the younger Mr. *Wright*, and fourthly *Ambrose Rookwood* shot. Then said Mr. *Catesby* to me (standing before the Door they were to enter) stand by me *Tom*, and we will die together. Sir, quoth I, I have lost the use of my right Arm, and I fear that will cause me to be taken. So as we stood close together, Mr. *Catesby*, Mr. *Percy*, and my self; they two were shot (as far as I could guess, with one Bullet) and then the Company entered upon me, hurt me in the Belly with a Pike, and gave me other wounds, until one came behind and caught hold of both mine Arms.

And so remain yours, &c.

Com.

Commissioners.

Nottingham, Worcester,
Suffolk, Devonshire,
Northampton, Salisbury,
Marre, Dunbar,
Popham.

Edw. Coke,
W. Waad.

The Names of those that were first in the Treason, and
laboured in the Mine.

Esquires.

Robert Cateby.
Robert Winter.

Gentlemen.

Thomas Percy,
Thomas Winter,
John Wright,
Christopher Wright,
Guido Fawkes,
and
Bates, Catesbies Man.

Those that were made acquainted with it, though not
personally labouring in the Mine, nor in the Cellar.

Everard Digby, Knight.

Esquires.

Ambrose Rookewood,
Francis Tresham,
John Grant, Gentleman.
Robert Keyes.

But here let us leave *Fawkes* in a lodging fit for such
a Guest, and taking time to advise upon his Con-
science, and turn our selves to that part of the History
which concerns the fortune of the rest of his partakers
in that abominable Treason. The News was no sooner
spread abroad that morning, which was upon a Tuesday,
the fifth of November, and the first day designed for that
Session of Parliament; The News, I say, of this fo-
strange and unlooked for Accident was no sooner di-
vulged, but some of these Conspirators, namely, *Winter*
and the two Brothers the *Wrights*, thought it high time
for them to hasten out of the Town, (for *Cateby* was
gone the Night before, and *Percy* at four of the Clock
in the Morning the same day of the discovery) and all of
them held their course with more haile than good speed,
to *Warwickshire* toward *Cobventry*, where the next day
Morning, being Wednesday, and about the same hour
that *Fawkes* was taken in *Westminster*, one *Grant* a
Gentleman having associated unto him some others of
his Opinion, all violent Papists and strong Recufants,
came to a Stable of one *Benock* a Rider of great Horfes,
and having violently broken up the same, carried along
with them all the great Horfes that were therein, to the
number of seven or eight, belonging to divers Noblemen
and Gentlemen of that Country, who had put them into
the Riders hands to be made fit for their service. And so
both that company of them which fled out of *London*,
As also *Grant* and his Complices met all together at
Dunchurch at Sir *Everard Digby* his Lodging the Tues-
day at Night, after the discovery of this treacherous at-
tempt: the which *Digby* had likewise for his part ap-
pointed a match of Hunting to have been hunted the
next day, which was Wednesday, though his mind was
Nimrod-like upon a far other manner of hunting, more
bent upon the blood of reasonable Men than brute
Beasts.

This company and hellish Society thus convened,
finding their purpose discovered and their treachery pre-
vented, did resolve to run a desperate course, and since

they could not prevail by so private a Blow, to practise
by a publick Rebellion either to attain to their intents,
or at least to save themselves in the throng of others.
And therefore gathering all the Company they could
unto them, and pretending the quarrel of Religion,
having intercepted such provision of Armour, Horfes and
Powder, as the time could permit, thought by running
up and down the Country, both to augment piece and
piece their number (dreaming to themselves that they
had the virtue of a Snow-ball, which being little at the
first, and tumbling down from a great Hill, groweth to
a great quantity, by increasing it self with the Snow that
it meeteth by the way) and also that they beginning
first this brave shew in one part of the Country, should
by their sympathy and example stir up and encourage
the rest of their Religion in other parts of *England* to
rise, as they had done there. But when they had ga-
thered their force to the greatest, they came not to the
number of Fourcore, and yet were they troubled all the
hours of the day to keep and contain their own Ser-
vants from stealing from them; (who notwithstanding all
their care) daily left them, being far inferior to *Gr-*
deons Host in number, but far more in faith or justness of
quarrel.

And so after this Catholick Troop had wandred a
while through *Warwickshire* to *Worcestershire*, and from
thence to the edge and borders of *Staffordshire*, this
gallantly armed Band had not the honour at the last to
be beaten with the Kings Lieutenant or extraordinary
Commissioners sent down for the purpose, but only by
the ordinary Sheriff of *Worcestershire* were they all
beaten, killed, taken & dispersed. Wherein ye have to note
this following circumstance so admirable, and so lively
displaying the greatness of Gods Justice, as it could not
be concealed without betraying in a manner the glory
due to the Almighty for the same.

Although divers of the Kings Proclamations were
posted down after these Traytors with all the speed pos-
sible, declaring the odiousness of that bloody attempt,
the necessity to have had *Percy* preferred alive, if it had
been possible, and the assembly together of that damned
Crew, now no more secret Conspirators, but open and
avowed Rebels; yet the far distance of the way (which
was above an hundred miles) together with the extreme
deepness thereof, joynd also with the shortness of the
day, was the cause that the hearty and loving affections
of the Kings good Subjects in those parts prevented the
speed of his Proclamations. For on the third day after
the flying down of these Rebels, which was on the Fri-
day next after the discovery of the Plot, they were most
of them all surprized by the Sheriff of *Worcestershire*
at *Halbeach*, about the Noon of the day, and that in
manner following.

Grant, of whom I have made mention before, for
taking the great Horfes, who had not all the preceding
time stirred from his own house till the next Morning,
after the Attempt should have been put in execution, he
then laying his account without his Host (as the Proverb
is) that their Plot had, without failing, received the day
before their hoped for success, took, or rather stole out
their Horfes (as I said before) for enabling him, and so
many of that Soul-less Society that had still remained in
the Country near about him, to make a sudden surprize
upon the Kings elder Daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth*,
having her residence near to that place, at the Lord
Harringtons House; whom they thought to have used
for the colour of their treacherous design (his Majesty
her Father, her Mother and Male Children being all
destroyed above.) And to this purpose also had that
Nimrod, *Digby*, provided his hunting match against the
same time, that numbers of People being flocked to-
gether upon the pretence thereof, they might the easier
have brought to pass the sudden surprize of her
person.

Now the violent taking away of those Horfes long
before day, did seem to be so great a Riot in the eyes of
the common People, that knew of no greater mystery:
And the bold attempting thereof did engender such a
suspicion of some following Rebellion in the hearts of
the wiser sort, as both great and small began to stir and
arm themselves, upon this unlooked for Accident. A-

Anno

1605.

Their going

into Arms

after the

Plot disco-

vered.

Their num-

ber never

above Four-

score.

Their flight.

Overaken

at Halbeach

in Staffor-

dure, in the

Lentene

House.

Grant at-

tempt to

surprize the

Lady Eli-

zabeth.

The taking
of the Horfes
out of the
Stable at
Warwick by
Grant and
others.

The Hunting
Match ap-
pointed by
Sir *Everard*
Digby.

Anno 1605. among whom Sir *Fulke Grevill* the elder, Knight, as became one both for ancient in years and good reputation, and by his Office being Deputy Lieutenant of *Warwickshire*, though unable in his Body, yet by the zeal and true fervency of his mind, did first apprehend this fore-said Riot to be nothing but the sparkles and sure Indices of a following Rebellion; whereupon both stoutly and honestly he took order to get into his own hands the Munition and Armour of all such Gentlemen about him, as were either absent from their own Houses, or in doubtful guard; And also sent forth direction to the Towns about him, as thereupon did follow the striking of *Winter* by a poor Smith, who had likewise been taken by these vulgar People, but that he was rescued by the rest of his Company; who perceiving that the Country before them had notice of them, hastened away with loss in their own sight, 16 of their Followers being taken by the Townsmen, and sent presently to the Sheriff at *Warwick*, and from thence to *London*.

But before 12 or 16 hours past, *Catesby, Percy, the Winters, Wrights, Rockwood*, and the rest bringing them the assurance that their main Plot was failed and betrayed, whereupon they had builded the golden Mountains of their glorious hopes: They then took their last desperate resolution to flock together in a Troop and wander, as they did for the Reasons aforesaid. But as upon the one part, the zealous duty to their God and their Sovereign was so deeply imprinted in the hearts of all the meanest and poorest sort of the People (although then knowing of no further mystery than such publick misbehaviours as their own eyes taught them) as notwithstanding all their fair shews and pretence of their Catholick cause, no Creature, Man or Woman, through all the Country, would once so much as give them willingly a Cup of Drink, or any sort of comfort or support, but with Execrations detested them: So on the other part, the Sheriffs of the Shires where-through they wandered, conveying their People with all speed possible, hunted as hotly after them, as the evilests of the way and the unprovidedness of their People upon that sudden could permit them. And so at last after Sir *Richard Verney*, Sheriff of *Warwickshire*, had carefully and straitly been in chase of them to the confines of his County, part of the meaner sort being also apprehended by him; Sir *Richard Walsh* Sheriff of *Worcestershire* did likewise dutifully and hotly pursue them through his Shire; And having gotten free trial of their taking harbour at the House above-named, he did send Trumpeters and Messengers to them, commanding them in the Kings Name to render unto him his Majesties Minister; and knowing no more at that time of their guilt than was publicly visible, did promise upon their dutiful and obedient rendering unto him, to intercede at the Kings hand for the sparing of their lives: Who received only from them this scornful Answer (they being better willests to themselves of their inward evil Consciences) That he had need of better assistance, than of those few numbers that were with him, before he could be able to command or controul them.

The preparations to assault the House.

Catesby, who was the first Inventor of this Treason in general, and of the manner of working the same by powder in special, himself now first mistook with the blowing up of Powder, and next he and *Percy* both killed with one shot proceeding from Powder.

But here fell the wondrous work of Gods Justice, that while this Message passed between the Sheriff and them, the Sheriffs and his Peoples zeal being justly kindled and augmented by their arrogant Answer, and so they preparing themselves to give a furious assault; and the other Party making themselves ready within the House to perform their promise by a defence as resolute, It pleased God that in the mending of the Fire in their Chamber, one small spark should rise out and light among less than two pound weight of Powder, which was drying a little from the Chimney; which being thereby blown up, so mained the Faces of some of the principal Rebels, and the Hands and Sides of others of them (blowing up with it also a great Bag full of Powder, which notwithstanding never took fire) as they were not only disabled and discouraged hereby from any further resistance, in respect *Catesby* himself, *Rockwood*, *Grant*, and divers others of great account among them were thereby made unable for defence; but also wonderfully stricken with amazement in their guilty Consciences, calling to memory how God had justly punished them with that same Instrument which they should have used for the execution

ating of so great a sin, according to the old Latin saying: *In quo peccamus, in eodem plehimur*: as they presently (see the wonderful power of Gods Justice upon guilty Consciences) did all fall down upon their knees, praying God to pardon them for their bloody enterprise: and thereafter giving over any further debate, opened the Gate, suffered the Sheriffs People to rush in furiously among them, and desperately fought their own present destruction; the three Specials of them joyning Backs together, *Catesby, Percy* and *Winter*, whereof two with one shot, *Catesby* and *Percy* were slain, and the third, *Winter*, taken and saved alive.

And thus these resolute and high aspiring Catholicks, who dreamed of no less than the destruction of King and Kingdoms, promised to themselves no lower estate than the government of great and ancient Monarchies, were miserably defeated and quite overthrown in an instant; falling in the Pit which they had prepared for others, and so fulfilling that Sentence which his Majesty did in a manner prophecy of them in his Oration to the Parliament; some presently slain, others deadly wounded, stripped of their Cloaths, left lying miserably naked, and so dying rather of cold than of the danger of their wounds; and the rest that either were whole, or but lightly hurt, taken and led Prisoners by the Sheriff, the ordinary Minister of Justice, to the Gaol, the ordinary place even of the basest Malefactors, where they remained till their sending up to *London*, being met with a huge confluence of People of all sorts, desirous to see them as the rarest sort of Monsters; fools to laugh at them, Women and Children to wonder, all the common People to gaze, the wiser sort to satiate their curiosity in seeing the outward cases of lo unheard of a Villany; and generally all sorts of People to satiate and fill their Eyes with the sight of them, whom in their hearts they so far admired and detested: serving so for a fearful and publick spectacle of Gods fierce wrath and just indignation.

Anno III. JACOBI Regis.

An Act for a publick Thanksgiving to Almighty God, every Year, on the fifth day of November.

Forasmuch as Almighty God hath in all Ages shewed his power and mercy, in the miraculous and gracious deliverance of his Church, and in the protection of Religious Kings and States, and that no Nation of the Earth hath been blessed with greater benefits than this Kingdom now enjoyeth, having the true and free profession of the Gospel under our most Sovereign Lord King JAMES, the most great, learned and religious King that ever reigned therein, enriched with a most hopeful and plentiful Progeny, proceeding out of his Royal loins, promising continuance of this happiness and profession to all Posterity: the which many malignant and devilish Papists, Jesuites and Seminary Priests, much envying and fearing, conspired most horribly, when the Kings most excellent Majesty, the Queen, the Prince, and all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons should have been assembled in the Upper-house of Parliament, upon the fifth day of November, in the Year of our Lord 1605, suddenly to have blown up the said whole House with Gunpowder; an invention so inhumane, barbarous and cruel, as the like was never before heard of, as was (as some of the principal Conspirators confessed) purposely devised and concluded to be done in the said House, that where sundry necessary and religious Laws for preservation of the Church and State were made, which they falsely and slanderously term cruel Laws enacted against them and their Religion, both place and persons should be all destroyed and blown up at once, which would have turned to the utter ruine of this whole Kingdom, had it not pleased Almighty God, by inspiring the Kings most Excellent Majesty with a divine Spirit, to interpret some dark phrases of a Letter shewed to his Majesty, above and beyond all ordinary construction, thereby miraculously discovering this hidden Treason, not many hours before the appointed time for the execution thereof: Therefore the Kings most excellent Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all his Majesties faithful and loving Subjects do most justly acknowledge this great and

infinite blessing to have proceeded merely from God his great mercy, and to his most holy Name do ascribe all honour, glory and praise. And to the end this unfeigned thankfulness may never be forgotten, but be had in a perpetual remembrance, that all Ages to come may yield praises to his Divine Majesty for the same, and have in memory this joyful Day of deliverance.

Be it therefore enacted by the Kings most Excellent Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That all and singular Ministers in every Cathedral or Parish Church, or other usual place for Common-Prayer within this Realm of England and the Dominions of the same, shall always upon the fifth day of November (say Morning-Prayer, and give unto Almighty God thanks for this most happy Deliverance, and that all and every person and persons inhabiting within this Realm of England and the Dominions of the same, shall always upon that day diligently and faithfully resort to the Parish Church or Chappel where the said Morning-Prayer, Preaching, or other Service of God shall be used and ministered.

And because all and every person may be put in mind of this duty, and be the better prepared to the said Holy Service, Be it enacted by Authority aforesaid, that every Minister shall give warning to his Parishioners publickly in the Church at Morning-Prayer, the Sunday before every such fifth day of November, for the due observation of the said Day. And that after Morning-Prayer, or preaching on the said fifth day of November, they read distinctly and plainly this present Act.

God save the King.

A Prayer and Thanksgiving for the happy deliverance of his Majesty, the Queen, the Prince, and the States of Parliament, &c.

Almighty God, who hast in all Ages shewed thy Power and mercy, in the miraculous and Gracious deliverances of thy Church, and in the protection of Righteous and Religious Kings, and States professing thy holy and eternal Truth, against the wicked Conspiracies, and malicious practices of all the Enemies thereof: we yield unto thee from the very ground of our hearts all possible praise and thanks for thy wonderful and mighty deliverance of our gracious Sovereign K. James, the Queen, the Prince, and all the Royal Branches, with the Nobility, Clergy, and Commons of this Realm, assembled together at this present in Parliament, by Popish Treachery appointed as sheep to the slaughter, and that in most barbarous and savage manner, no age yielding example of the like cruelty intended towards the Lords annointed and his People. Can this thy goodness, O Lord, be forgotten, worthy to be written in a Pillar of Marble, that we may ever remember to praise thee for the same, as the fact is worthy a lasting Monument, that all posterity may learn to distrust it? From their unnatural Conspiracy, not our merit, but thy mercy, not our foresight, but thy providence hath delivered us, not our love to thee, but thy love to thine annointed Servant, and thy poor Church, with whom thou hast promised to be present to the end of the world. And therefore not unto us, nor unto us, Lord, but to thy name be ascribed all honour, and glory in all Churches of the Saints, throughout all generations: for thou Lord hast discovered the snares of death, Thou hast broken them and we are delivered. Be thou still our mighty Protector, and scatter our cruel Enemies which delight in Blood: insatiate their counsel, and root out that Babelish and Antichristian Set, which say with Jerusalem, Down with it, down with it, even to the ground. And to that end strengthen the hands of our gracious King, the Nobles and Magistrates of the Land with Judgment and Justice to cut off those workers of iniquity (whose Religion is Rebellion, whose Faith is Faction, whose practise is murdering of Souls and Bodies) and to root them out of the confines and limits of this Kingdom, that they may never prevail against us, and triumph in the ruins of thy Church; and give us grace by true and entire repentance to avert else and the like judgments from us. Thus, Lord, we earnestly crave at

thy merciful hands, together with the continuance of thy powerful protection over our dread Sovereign, the whole Church, and these Realms, and the speedy confusion of our implacable Enemies, and that for thy dear Sons sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

Franco di Franco, an Italian, made away in secret in the City of Vine.

IN the year 1611. on the day which the Papists call the Fast of God, a young man of six and twenty years old, being miraculously called unto the knowledge of the Gospel, was by certain Italians led through a Church where Mass was to be sung, and being urged to shew how he liked it, began to refute their Idolatry with great zeal, admonishing the People there present, not to suffer themselves to be so seduced by the pompous splendor of such vain Superstitions: Telling them, That that God which the Priest held up was no God, as those seducers made them believe, but a mere Idol, seeing it was not able to remove it self from one place to another unless it were born. Jesus Christ the Son of God our Saviour is to be sought, faith he, at the right hand of God the Father Almighty. This young man was forthwith compassed about with an innumerable Company of People, who buffeting him often on the face, and spurning him with their feet, haled him thence into the common Gaol of the City.

After many days the Bishop with sundry other Lords, calling him before them, asked him if the Hereticks had not persuaded him to use such words as he had spoken: also whether he had not a resolution to kill the Queen, or her Son the King, or the Bishop of Vine? The Prisoner wisely and resolutely answered, That no man had set him awork to do it, but only the zeal he had of Gods Glory, his Conscience provoking him thereto; holding it impossible for him any longer to suffer that men should attribute that honour to a dead Idol, which is only due to Jesus Christ his Saviour.

As touching their other demand, his answer was, that Christian Religion teacheth us not to murder men, as Papists have hitherto done in France, England, in the Low-Countries and elsewhere, as Histories do daily shew. The Prisoner also admonished the Bishop of Vine to forsake all Idolatry, to preach Gods Truth and Verity, and cease to bewitch the poor People with Humane Inventions: moreover this faithful witness did with much vehemency and constancy maintain the Truth of God, so that the Bishop of Vine drove out of his Hall his Servants and such as came in there to hear him, But he got little by it, for as they went here and there in the City, they told it abroad, how in all their lives they never heard man speak with that courage and boldness of Divine things to so good purpose, as this young man had done.

Not long after he was again brought before the same Judges, and questioned as before: but in stead of yielding, he hardened his face against the impudency of his Adversaries. They purposing to quell this his magnanimity, caused him to feel the Torture. When he had suffered the utmost of their cruelty, he was so far off from abjuring the Truth, that on the contrary his confession discovered in him a greater resolution than ever before, being delirous and shewing himself ready prest to receive the Crown of Martyrdom.

To be short, the last of June 1611. which was the same day twelve-month 1610. where in the City of Vine, being the Capital City of the great Duchies of Lithuania, at eight of the clock in the morning there happened as terrible a fire as hath been heard of, at the hour in which the said Bishops and a great Company of Jesuits were going on Procession: the fire was so vehement, that within the space of seven hours it devoured 6. thousand five hundred and fourteen houses; which fell out as the Jesuits supposed, because they spared the Hereticks there. Whereupon the Martyr of Christ was cruelly butchered there by the Enemies of the Gospel, not in a publick place, nor by day, though he instantly requested the same at the hands of his Judges; but privately in the night, in a place walled about nigh to the Governours House.

Before

Anno
1611.

Anno

1595

Before they put him to death, he was cruelly tortured, and then bound by the Executioner to a Post, where they drew out his Tongue under his Chin; which done, cutting off his Head; his Body being divided into four quarters, was carried the next day through the City upon six many Poles.

An History of three Englishmen put to death at Rome.

Three English-men meeting together entered into a conference concerning the state of the Church at that time, complaining that the zeal of Gods glory was wonderfully cooled among men, yea, and that even those of the Religion were grown but too worldly wife; that Satan by little was sowing the seeds of Atheism every where, by rocking Men asleep in the Cradle of Security; whereupon having in humble manner commended themselves into the hands of God, they determined to take their voyage to Rome, and there to encounter with the Adversary of Christ. Thither they came; and after a few days two of them behaving themselves modestly, did in secret manifest to some there the Truth of the Gospel, who being betrayed were imprisoned and put to death without any further ado.

The third, having resolved to act his part in publick, gave over himself to suffer all the extremities the wit of Man could invent. It came to pass one day that this man, espousing the Pope in the midst of his Massing devotion, stepped quickly unto him, plucked the consecrated Host out of his hands, cast it to the ground, trod it under foot, uttering invective speeches against the Mass and Antichrist. The People in a rage fell upon the Englishman; who, being altogether bruised with their filts and feet, said, You Hangman, find out as many torments as you can, the hand of the Almighty will shew it self the more gloriously. My Soul is resolved to vanquish death valiantly. He was forthwith bound and set upon an Ass, six Torches were lighted, and from Street to Street the Executioners bare them by him, burning therewith his Face, Mouth and Tongue first; for he had said before to one of the Tormentors, Thou hast no power over my Soul, thou Wretch, knowest thou not that God understands the voice of my secret thought and complaint. When the flames came overthwart his Checks, he was heard to cry, Lord forgive these men, for they know not what they do. After they had burned all his Face, put out his eyes, scorched and roasted his Body; in the end they consumed it wholly to ashes.

The learned Author, who set forth this History in a notable Work of his, notes neither the Year nor the Names of these English-men. It should seem to be about the time of Pope Clement the Eighth, in Anno 1595. for in his ample discourse he mentions an old wife man *le sage veillard* burned at Rome (after these English-men) who before he went to the Fire, spake with such efficacy to his Confessor sent unto him (who also left him not till he yielded up his Spirit in the midst of the flames into the hands of Christ) that this Confessor going the next day into the Pulpit, maintained the cause of the old Wife man with such boldness and zeal, that all the Audience hearing him attentively, without any resistance, understood his meaning, and never accused the Preacher.

An admirable Capuchin.

But in *Lent* following, a Capuchin Frier preaching before Pope Clement the Eighth called him Antichrist, and during that *Lent* ceased not to preach the Truth of the Gospel, in the Chair of Penitence, under the Robe and habit of a Liar, &c. In the same Work my Author (saith our Historian) mentions another Italian Preacher called *N. Montalchin*, who in describing his History hath these words: The Pope perceiving that by executing the Martyrs thus openly in the sight of the People, instead of terrifying them, thereby many were the more encouraged, he resolved with himself thence-forward to conceal his open violence out of the sight of the Sun, and to exercise it rather in the dark and in the night season. The Inquisitors, who had *Montalchin* in their hands were preparing a way to murder him privily, according to the Popes intention.

It so fell out, that the Taylor smelling the injustice

which these Reverend Fathers were devising against the poor Prisoner, adventured to give him notice of it, to the end he making his peace with God, might fit himself for death. This experienced Souldier of Jesus Christ plotted a way under-hand, by a Spiritual wife, to catch the wife in their craftiness: faining therefore, a Repentance, he called for his Judges, telling them he was now minded to revoke his Errors, after they had pronounced Sentence against him, and would in the hearing of all recant what he had in publick maintained against the Truth.

His Judges, believing he had spoken in good earnest, promised him his life upon those terms. Now that they might the rather satisfy their pride, they made known to every one the time and place appointed for his Abjuration. All the City assembled together to take knowledge of this so unexpected a novelty. *Montalchin* was brought and placed on a Scaffold for that purpose. He stood there in his Shirt, holding in his hands two Torches lighted: then silence being obtained, he began to speak to the People as followeth.

Dear Brethren and Children, I have a long time taught you such a Doctrine as hath troubled you. I am now brought hither to open my mind unto you. *Montalchin* is a sinful man and therefore may err. But lend me your attention a while, and I will let you see the difference between both Opinions: Three words (*enle, seule, seulement*) will serve to distinguish between falshood and truth.

1. I have taught you that Christ is our only Sacrifice, our only Priest, who only was once offered for us. But the Doctors teach the contrary, to wit, that the true Body of Christ without Bread is offered up for the living and for the dead, that the Priests ought daily to offer up the natural Body of Christ really in the Mass.

2. I have taught that in taking the visible signs in the Sacrament, we do therein by Faith only take the spiritual and heavenly Bread of our Souls.

The Doctors say, that Christs Body is taken Flesh and Blood into the mouth and belly of the Communicant.

3. I have preached that Jesus Christ is our only Mediator, and that by him alone we have access unto the Father.

But the Doctors go further, and will have us to come to the Virgin Mary, making her and all the Saints departed our Mediators and Intercessors.

4. I have declared that we are justified only by Faith in Jesus Christ, and that the free Mercy of God is the foundation of our salvation.

The Doctors would have us to help our Faith and Grace by good Works, as meritorious causes of salvation.

5. You have heard me preach that Christ only gives grace; and that he alone pardons sins.

They affirm that the Church hath a Coffer or Chest, of which the Pope keeps the Keys, wherinto are put the Merits of Saints, which he largely distributes abroad to such as will buy his Pardons with Money.

6. I have told you, that the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament are the only ground of our faith and salvation.

The Doctors add thereto their unwritten Verities.

7. I have taught you that after this life ended, there are only two places prepared for them to go unto who die and depart out of this World; One, the place of joy and comfort, the other of torment.

The Doctors say, there are four, *viz.* Paradise, Hell, Limbus and Purgatory.

8. I have preached, that the Pope is not a god on Earth, but only a Bishop, and that only of one place, if he therein behave himself as a good Bishop ought to do.

The Doctors make him Lord of the World, and the Head of the visible Church.

9. Now, O Christian Brethren, judge you of that which I have said, and see if you can discern Truth from Error; Truth leads you to life, honour and blessedness; Error and Lies to death and destruction.

Be now either Servants of Truth, or the Slaves of Error. For my part I will cleave to the truth of the Gospel, and do condemn all Errors and Lies: let *Montalchin* dye, and live thou, O Lord Jesus.

L I I I 2

Then

Then threw he down his two burning Torches, one this way and another that way, offering his hands to be tied and bound, which caused a great tumult among the People. *Montalchin* was returned back again to Prison.

Now Reader, it will not be hard for thee to imagine what entertainment he found there: whether or no the Popes * Decree was executed to the full upon this worthy Confessor, who in the face of the world did so nobly triumph over Satan and Antichrist his Lieutenant.

* Which was to put the Martyrs to death privately, as was noted in the beginning of this History.

Conclusion.

The invincible Constancy of the Martyrs tried the Persecutors; their fiery burning Zeal dried up the Rivers; the slaughter of mens Swords seemed to be blunted; the Hangmens Halters to be utterly spent and wasted, &c.

Anno
1620.

A True Narration of a Bloody Massacre committed upon the Protestants by the Papists in the greater part of the *Valtoline*, in the Year 1620. after the New Stile: Published for a necessary Admonition to all Estates, wherein the Gospel is professed amongst the Papists, and for Example to all true Christians of constancy in the Profession of the Holy Gospel.

Matt. 5. 10.

Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

The true declaration of the Massacres of the Valtoline.

ALbeit that the *Grisjon* Lords, being as it were the Sovereign Magistrates, had by sundry Decrees, according to the common liberty of the two Religions in those Countries granted, that in the Country of *Boalex*, a place belonging to the Territory of *Tell*, there should be established a Church for the Religion, which should receive the ordinary stipend which at that present was allowed to other Churches of the *Valtoline*, An. 1619. in the month of *May*. The Minister of the Church of *Tell* with the Ministers of *Irian* and *Bruse*, together with the assistance of the principal Lords of *Tyrane* and *Tegly*, did meet together in the said place of *Boalex*, to preach in the Church of that place. But so great was the multitude and concourse of the Papists in that place in Arms, that they were of necessity enforced to give over their purpose; and at that time was Mr. *Gaudenius Tacher* the Pastor of *Bruse* almost beaten to death with Staves, a young man of *Tyrane* was slain outright, and others very cruelly handled by some of these Villains, who by that occasion may worthily be called the first Martyrs of the Country of *Tyrane*.

Within a short time after was murdered a Servant of the Governour of that place, where the rage and fury of those murderers grew unto that height, that they did not only contemn the Proclamations published by the Governour, but in scorn or despite thereof they passed up and down before the Palace, threatening to kill the said Governour, and other principal persons of the Church of *France*.

Now for that the ordinary Magistrate of that place was not strong enough to suppress the outrages and insolencies of those Villains, from whom none could be secure either in their Houses or abroad, by reason of the frequent attempts which they made upon the Protestants, the rather for that they bordered near upon a foreign Jurisdiction, to which they had recourse when they had committed any mischief, the Governour was constrained to make his address for justice to the Sovereign *Duke* of the Country, who about the midst of *February*, Anno 1620. granted a Commission, wherein were named these Commissioners, viz. the Lords *Jochinus Montalce*, at that time Vicar of the *Valtoline*, *John Baptista of Salicchi*, a Doctor of Law, *Ja. Rumel* a Captain, *Salomon Candeamma Buoli*, Landlaine of *Tavor*, in the ten Jurisdictions, *Diegeanus Fertmannus*, Captain of the Lordship of *Meienfeld*, and *John Andrea Mimiardino* for the Chancellorship, &c.

By these persons, besides the Processes framed already by the Lords, *John of Cappaul*, Governour of *Tyrane*, and *Andreas Enderlins* of *Tegly*, there were again divers Processes framed anew, and upon the imprisonment and revealing of certain persons it was discovered and confessed, there was a resolution made in the same place of *Boalex*, to put to the Sword not only the Preacher if he had preached, but also all the People, as many as professed the Gospel, as they could light upon, yea even the Magistrate himself; besides there were divers persons discovered, and those of principal rank, who were the Authors of those wicked and barbarous practices, and had promised all possible aid and assistance unto them.

And therefore, the importance of the business being of great consequence, it was thought expedient that those Lords Commissioners should return to *Tavor*, and report to the Court of Justice, which there resided, all the business which resulted of these Processes; which they accordingly did about the midst of *April* last past. Moreover, they were intreated by divers Noble persons of the Protestant Church of the *Valtoline*, that they would with all possible speed provide a Garrison of *Grisjons* for the defence of the Valley, in regard that by the foresaid discovery they had great reason to fear a general Rebellion, in case they should proceed to chastise the Authors of those tumults and disorders, and that such a business could not be, without intelligence with the *Spaniards*, and that so much the more likely, that some certain years ago such another practice had been discovered and attempted to be put in practice, as it came to pass 1584. and since of late.

All these businesses were considered, but it was not possible to put the same in effect for many reasons, had it not been that they received intelligence that a number of *Spaniards* approached near to the three Plevs, which were places adjoining to the *Valtoline*, by which occasion the Magistrate and Governours of the *Valtoline* were constrained to put a Guard near the Trenches of *Tra-bona* and *Morben*, about the Kalends of *July* 1620. thinking to secure the Valley from the forain Enemy: and that Guard consisted of the Countrymen and dwellers in the *Valtoline*: and this course wrought no other effect, but that the Protestants by this means were inclosed in of all sides, that they could not flee away on that side by the way already concluded, but anticipated within eight days which was the *Sabbath-day*. The ninth of *July* 1620. followed the Massacre in the Country of *Tyrane* and *Tegly*, as now since in *Sondres*, a principal Country of this Valley.

The

Anno

1620

The Massacre of Tyrane, wherein were murdered about
three score Persons.

The beginning of their murders was made at *Tyrane*, wherein those barbarous and wicked fellows were assisted by certain Villains who lived near in a forain Jurisdiction, of whom the Principal Captains and Ring leaders, were *Jacopo Robustello* of *Grosseto*, *Marco Antonio de Venosta*, a Doctor of Physick of *Mazzese*, and *Francis Venosta* of *Tyrane*, a Doctor of the Civil Law. These together with their confederates and dependants, both such as were domestique, and came from forain places, that were the most cruel and bloody Villains which could be picked out thereabouts, before any enterprize covertly made, gave order, that all the ways and Passages of every side should be well guarded, to the end that their cruel enterprize upon the Protestants of the Country should not so readily be discovered, and they the Attempters themselves should be the less troubled in the Execution.

Then about six of the Clock in the night, they entred into the County of *Tyrane*, like so many foming wild Bore, making their rendezvous of Doctor *Francesco Venosta*. They caused four Muskets to be discharged before the Palace of the Scignior *Padessa* the principal Magistrate of the place, and rung the great Bell of *Tyrane*. Upon which signal all the Inhabitants in that Vicinity took the Alarm, and made head toward the said house. They gave order to break the Bridges which lay towards *Bruse*, and on the place they planted a strong guard, and this was done before day. Suddenly upon the dawning of the day, the Bells began to ring another peal at *Matella*, and then these Traitors began to bandy and range themselves together. The Protestants, who without fear or suspicion of any pacifice against them, came out of their houses into the streets to see what the matter was, were suddenly shot and most cruelly murdered in the place. Others by force entred into the houses of the Protestants, drew them out of their beds, and without any compassion slew all they could meet withal.

John Andrea Cataneo was by his Wife delivered from the hands of those Murderers, but was again by force recovered by them. And although this Gentlewoman was a near Kinswoman of *Robustello*, and of *Dr. Venosta*, as Cousins once removed, and this *Cataneo* had ever esteemed them among his better Friends, yet could not he obtain the favour to have his life spared. He prayed them that first he might have leave to speak with the said Doctor, which could not be obtained. In the mean time he escaped into another house adjoining, and hid himself in a Garret in the top thereof, hoping to escape the hand of those his furious Persecutors: but all in vain, for they nevertheless pursued him into the house, where he poor Gentleman hid himself, they took him, and cast him down out of the house into the street; and when they found there was yet life in him, they with a most inhumane and unspeakable cruelty dispatched him with a piece of Timber.

Antonio de Salva, a Chancellor in that Valley being appointed Judge upon criminal causes, a man of the greatest authority in the *Pregella*, and other places, who at that instant was resident at *Sondres*, being desirous to save himself together with his Deputy, *Marco Antonio Venosta*, a Doctor of Law in the house of *Jacobo Homedeo* was drawn out of the house into the street, with *Venosta* and his Servant *Antonio Keller* of *Soglio* in the said *Pregella*, and slain with a shot of Musket, being of the age of forty two years.

Seignior *Andrea Enderline* of *Kublis* in *Prettigonia*, a Gentleman of great worth, very singularly learned, and skilful in many Languages, being at that time Governor of *Teglie*, in the name of the three Leagues, being in this hurlyburly by chance in *Tyrane* in the house of *Battista Baruffino*, was also with his Servant *George Peterlin* frangled to death in the Chamber where he was found: and this noble Gentleman, being first cast out of the Chamber Window, was all his Body overlo beaten and bruised, that you could not know him; and yet after, their fury not ceasing, they knitting a Cord about his neck threw him into the River of *Adda*:

notwithstanding he was afterward found and buried.

In the mean time, with this Governour also was slain *John* the Son of Senior *Michael Montio* of *Bruse*, a Gentleman of singular goodness and Wisdom, who before time had been Deputy to his Father in the Government of *Trabona*, and in the same demeaned himself with great commendation. Who being detestous to withdraw himself from *Tyrane* to his own house, was intreated by *Ambrosio Baruffino*, Son of the forsaide *Battista*, for his greater security to lodge with him in his house. Which courtesy when he had accepted, suspecting no Treachery in his new Host, he was by him shot with a Musket, and cast into the Flood of *Adda*, being of the age of forty years.

The reverend Gentleman Senior *Antonio Basso*, Pastor of the Protestant Church of *Tyrane*, a man of great Sanctity and Wisdom, and a lover of the peace of the Country, hearing the noyse of these uprores, he and Master *Samuel Andrejcha* the Pastor of *Mello* in the lower *Tercier*, whom he had visited that day, withdrew themselves into a Hall, where having recommended their Souls to God, they were most cruelly slain.

Neither did those furious Persecutors rest here; but besides they cut off *Basso's* head, and carried it into the Church, and fixed it upon a Pole in the Pulpit where before time he was wont to preach, laying with all disgrace and scorn, Come down *Basso*, thou hast preached long enough already.

In like manner at the same time the Palace of the Chequer of *Tyrane* was besieged by those Helhounds; wherein dwelt Senior *John de Cappaul* being at that time Governor. To which place *Michael Lazarone*, a man of good account and Chancellor of that Office, had retired himself early in the morning to save his life. But because he was extremely hated of the Papists, by reason of his singular Piety, Religion, and sincerity, he was especially pursued by them; inasmuch as those Rebels followed him even to the Palace, threatening to set fire on the same, if he were not delivered into their hands. *Lazarone* seeing that, notwithstanding the Palace was well furnished with great ordnance, faulcons, muskets munition, and other necessary provision, he was like to fall into the hands of his Enemies, for that the said Governor was resolved in his judgment to overcome those miscreants rather by fair and courteous dealing than by force, was enforced that evening to fly out of the house, and to hide himself about the Banks of the River *Adda*, wherein he covered himself, and lay close three whole hours all naked, poor Gentleman, to save himself. But his Enemies, and principally Doctor *Vincenzo* followed him hotly, accompanied with many shot, and at the last they found him, and drew him out of the Water. And albeit he did with Tears in his eyes beseech them that they would give him his life, in compassion of his dear small Children, yet could not he obtain that favour at their hands, but they answered him, That this was no time for pity, and favour: but if he would swear by the Popes Bull, and abjure his Faith, in that case they would then his favour, and grant him his life, but he, with a great courageous resolution, answered, God forbid and defend that I for love of this temporal life should deny my Lord Jesus Christ, who with his precious Blood upon the Wood of the Cross did at so dear a rate redeem me, and after that I have so long time through his grace freely and publicly confessed him, should now hazard the loss of eternal life, to which I was elected before the foundation of the World; I say God forbid. Upon this speech he was in most barbarous and savage manner murdered by them.

The very same evening was the Gate of the Palace burnt to the ground by those Rebels, who the next morning entred into the same, raging with fury, and took the Governour Prisoner with his young Son; spoiling and ransacking Wives, and Maidens, and carrying away all they could lay hands on. The Governour of the Palace was carried away Prisoner to the house of the forsaide *Dort Francesco*, and at last, after he had long time been tugged to and fro, he was miserably slain with a shot.

John Antonio Mazano endeavouring to make resistance against those Rebels and his Wife defending him, was with her self and two young Children miserably killed.

Another called *John Antonio Schloffer*, a *Gardonefe*, having made long resistance, and killed one of the Rebels, was at the last taken, and tyed to a Tree, and so shot to death.

To be short, these Villains had no regard of any Person, neither young, nor old, nor weak, nor strong, but all of all sorts were either shot unto death, or cut in pieces, or in one manner or other destroyed; and the number of those Persons in estimation, who in *Tyrane* received the Crown of Martyrdom for the profession of the Gospel, was about sixty.

Of those who by the grace of God, although with great danger, escaped through the horrid and vast *Alpes* into *Retia* and other parts, were only three Persons, that is, Doctor *Jacobo Albertino*, *Jacobo Nevio de Coira*, and *Egido Venosta*, who left behind them Wealth, Wives, Children, and whatsoever goods they had.

The Ladies who were not slain were constrained to change their Religion, and at this day go to *Mas*, saving the Wife of the said *Lazarone* and her Daughters, and her Niece, being the Wife of the said *Egido*, who by the assistance of Almighty God continued in safety. And there also the eighth of *August*, the said Ladies were released, who retired themselves into *Retia*, viz. the Wife of this *Lazarone*, and her two Daughters, leaving behind them in the *Valtolme* one Daughter and two young Sons who cannot obtain leave to depart the Country.

C H A P. 2.

The Massacre of Teglio, wherein were murdered about sixty Persons.

These wicked Traitors having in this manner committed the foresaid execrable Massacre in *Tyrane*, suddenly the strangers and the outlaws of the Mountains, apparelled in red Caskocks, and well mounted on horseback, marked in the morning to *Tellas* the hour when the Sermon was, and ran like ravening Wolves to the *Volta* Church, being guided by two Friars, *Azzo* and *Carlo Bessa*, and by *Antonio Bessa* their Cousin German. The Protestants who were in the Church, observing the evil intention of those Villains, arose suddenly from their seats, and endeavored to shut the Church Door, and to barricado the place with the Benches. They without laboured with all their power to enter the Church, but not being able so speedily to do it, some of them climbed up unto the Windows, and discharged their Muskets among the People without respect of any Person, and killed very many of them. At last they forced the door, entered, and slew all they found, saving a few who promised to go to *Mas*. Some of the men and Ladies with their Children fled into the Belfrey to save themselves; but they set fire to the place, and most miserably burnt all that were within.

Amongst those who were slain in the Church, the chiefest of note was the reverend Lord *John Piere Dante* of *Roma* of the higher *Engaden*, a Minister of the Protestant Church of *Tell*, a man rarely endued with learning and the fear of God, and in those respects honoured even of his Enemies themselves; who after he had with lively reasons exhorted that afflicted Church of his constantly to persevere unto death in the known and confessed Truth, to the honour of his Saviour, even so long as the brevity of the time would permit him, was to the grief of very many miserably shot to death, being of the age of 42 years.

Amongst these was one *Josui Gatti* a Doctor of the Law, Lieutenant to the *Podesta* of *Tell*, and principal Justice, an honorable Gentleman, and of excellent virtues, about 43 years of age, together with *Daniel Gugelberge*.

Gaudenzo Guixziardi a Gentleman of like worth and honour, Cousin German to the Father of the forenamed *Azzo Bessa*, of the age of sixty four years; *Margaritta* his Daughter of the age of fourteen years, or thereabouts, was wounded with a Musket shot in the head, going about to bow her self by giving a last kiss to her dear Father who was yielding up the Ghost.

Antonio the Son of *Scipion Bessa*, a Gentleman very Anno rich and of excellent parts, although he was the near 1620. Kinship of *Azzo Bessa*, was shot to death, and died in the Arms of his Wife, being of the age of thirty seven.

Alcanio Gatti an Apothecary of *Tell*, being seven and twenty years of age, *George* his Brother eighteen years old, *Jonata Piatti* sixty five years old, *Maximilian Piatti* four and twenty years, *Vincenzo Frigerio*, Notary and Procurator of *Tell*, age 39. *Marfilio Piatti*, age 38. *Filiberto* his Brother age 19. *Virginio Piatti*, age 28. *Lorenzo Piatti* of *Boaltia*, age 23. slain with a Musket shot at the Window of the Steeple. *Philippo Nova* likewise of *Boaltia*, age 45. *Bartolomeo* his Brother, age 42. *Pietro Marcionino* Master of the School of *Tell*, age 35. *Thomas de Boruno*, age 64. together with his Son *Claudio Gatti* a Notary, age 43. *Andrea Tempino* a *Gardonefe*, age 41. *Anna Gala di Zozio* of the upper *Agnadma* Wife of *Bartolomeo Nova* a Roman Catholic, age 42. *Benedetto Cattaneo*, age 17. *Giovanni Piccio*, and *John Martin Cattaneo* his Sons, *Lucius Federicke*, age 60. *Andrano Morello* age 50. *Josapha* his Brother, age 35. *Alberto Marcummi*, 45. *Federico Valentino* of *Zernexo*, of *Agnadma* the lower, dwelling at *Gura*, of the hundred of *Chiuro*, age 64. *Joanni Menghino* of *Posuovo*, dwelling in *Gura*, 40 years of age.

In the Steeple of the Church were burnt these which follow; *Horatio Gatti*, Son of the above said *Josue Gatti*, age 6. Dr. *Lelio Paravicino* of *Berbenno*, a Physician of great worth, and excellently practised in his profession, dwelling in *Tell*, age 43. *Azzo Guixziardi* Nephew of the above named *Gaudenzo* a young courteous Gentleman, and of rare hope, age 22. *Federico Guixziardi*, age 24. *Horatio Paravicino* Son of *Francisco*, age 6. *Margareta Marthianica* Wife of *Raphael Nova* a Doctor of the Law, a Gentleman of great worth, age 43. *Madalena* her Daughter, Wife of *Daniel Gatti*, age 18. *Albelmo Gatti* Chancellor of the State of *Tell*, age 67. *Giovann Pauli Piatti* Son of *Jonata*, age 48. *Claudia Piatti* Daughter of *Massimiliano*, age 7. *Violante* late Wife of *Theodore Gatti*, age 64. *Giovannina* Widow of *Vincenzo Nova*, age 34. *Pietro Regenzano* Chancellor of the above named *Podesta* of *Tell*, age 46. *Josue Meda*, age 50. *Martus de Borun*, age 53. *Madalena Girardona* Wife of *Claudio Gatti*, age 33. *Augusto Gatti* Son of *Abraham*, age 22.

Abroad without the Church and Steeple were slain *Vincenzo Gatti*, Brother of *Albelmo*, age 73. *Andrea* his Son, age 32. who was murdered in the street called *Lagone*. *Claudio Gatti* Son of *Theodore*, *Jonatan Meda* Son of *Josue*, *Daniel Lazzerato*, *Vincenzo Cattaneo*, and *Giovann Pietro Regenzano*, who, coming from *Morbegno* from the Garrison, were slain in a certain place called *Buffetta*, age 13. or thereabouts. *Thomaso Regenzano* Brother of *Giovann Pietro*, age 38. *Melebiar Marcionino* wounded in the head, but after five days being found in his Bed, was solicited with great promises to renounce his Religion: but he with great earnestness and resolution refusing was murdered in his bed age 65. *Giovanni Antonio Federici*, Doctor of Law in *Sonico*, in *Valaemencia*, age 38. was very near to be murdered in Prison, from whence at the instance of *Antonio Piatti* Curate of *Tell* he was set free.

In this place it is worth the noting, that *Giovann Ambasio Nova* Son of Doctor *Raffaele*, a very learned young man, albeit out of humane infirmity to save his life he had promised in the Church of *Tell* to go to *Mas*, yet in short time recovering himself, and acknowledging his oversight with much grief and repentance for his fault, he with all speed departed from *Tell* towards *Sondrio*, supposing that he should be safely protected by his dear Kinship *Nadar Marlemico*; but being required by the Souldiers who kept the passage of *Trisfrina*, to deny his Religion, for refusing the same, he was slain in the way, being 22 years of age. This young man is a singular example for them who fall merely through infirmity and danger of death, not in other respect but yet after their fall, through the grace of God, and the crowing voice of the word do return to repentance, confessing their fault, and with pained sorrow of heart, bewailing the same; which even beset the blessed Apostle *Peter* himself.

C H A P.

Anno
1620.

C H A P. 3.

The Massacre following committed at Sondres in the Mountain of Sondrium and Malenk; wherein were left dead above 140. Persons.

THese wicked and savage wretches, having in this manner executed and finished this their impious and execrable enterprise at Tyrane and Tell, assembled themselves in the midst of the Valley of Sondres; where the principal and chief Justice of the Country made his residence, having before placed secure Guards upon every passage of the Country about. They came principally by the conduct of *Giovanni Guizzardi, Prospero Svadino, and Gasilo Pezalis*, being all three of Ponte, with an entire Company of Souldiers from Ponte, Chiur, and some few from *Porti*, who the very same Sunday marched to the Gate of *Albosaglia*: in which place they found *Lucrezio Paribello* a Dr. *Giovann, Jacomo, and Floratio* his Sons, with another Company of Souldiers attending the coming of the abovesaid *J. Guizzardi* with his Company.

This business was freely divulged all abroad in *Sondres* by the Roman Catholics themselves, that these banished came towards *Sondres* to execute the same design which they before had practised at *Tyrane and Tell*, who offered their aid to the chief Justice to defend him against the invasion, protesting that they would no more endure any such villanous attempts. Wherefore they took Arms, under pretence and shew of defence, beating up the Drums, and ringing the Bells for the Alarm: by which means not only great multitudes assembled in Arms out of the Countries adjoining, but also with one purpose and consent to do mischief, and to execute their malicious intentions against the Protestants who suspected nothing less. In the mean time the Protestants, trusting to the great promises which the Papists made them, mixed themselves amongst them.

These Persons, concealing their mischievous intent, killed at times sometimes one, sometimes another of the Protestants, in such manner, as although divers of them were slain, yet they did not understand the secret treachery.

Some of them endeavouring to flee towards the Valley of *Malenco*, which lies against *Poschiavio, Agnada, and Pregaglia*, were murdered by certain villains of *Penchiero*, a place about *Sondres*: and amongst other Gentlemen, were wounded and run through in many parts *Frances Marliamio, Giovanni Andrea Chiffa*, and others, particularly Dr. *Bartholomeo Paravicino*, Doctor of the Law in *Berbenno*, called the *Fatt*, who was cruelly murdered, being of age 53. years.

The day after was slain in the morning *Nicholo Marlianco*, Son of *Pellesto*, a man singularly affected to the publick good, and to the advancement of the Gospel. He was shot by his Cousin German *Emilio Luvizaro* meeting him in the street, the said *Marlianco* going in the Company of *Lucio Orschetta* of *Zorno* *Agnada* the lower, to visit the Court of Guard in the *Quarvevo* of *Sondres*, age 46.

At this time it was delivered for certain, that the day before was murdered *Cesar* the Son of *Prospero Paravicino*, and of *Hortensia Marteninga*, Countess of *Barco*, a Gentleman of most rare Abilities, travelling about his business towards *Treslar*, age 50. Besides *Prospero* his Son was slain, of age 27. also *Battista Giarardo* with his Son *George*, and many others: by which means, these Protestants were so scattered and left destitute of any head for their conduct, that they could not possibly unite themselves to make defence against their Enemies.

Only the Chancellor *Giovann Andrea Migardino*, calling to remembrance the matters contained in the abovesaid process, the same Sabbath day the ninth of *July*, with his Brother *Gregory*, and others of the Church of *Sondres*, withdrew themselves to the number of eighteen together, with certain Ladies and their young Children into their own house, which is adjoining to the Palace, and there they fortified themselves with resolution to defend themselves even to the death, seeing that in the street wherein they dwelt none durst come out of the doors, nor enter into the Church which stood over a-

gainst them. Nevertheless, the enemy resolved to sit upon the house with a thousand armed men, threatening also the Magistrate to kill him, in case any of them should take any harm by those who were retired into the house. Whereupon the Magistrate commanded them in the house to depart; who being well armed took their way on the sudden by *Sondres* towards the Bridge, where for a time they fortified themselves, then returning again, they drew unto them certain others, and marched towards the Church of the Mountain of *Sondres*. In which place being gathered together with the Pastor, they made their Prayers to God, and afterwards to the number of three-score and thirteen Persons in all they passed the Valley of *Malenco*, which was beset by the Enemy on two sides; but those that kept those places were by the providence of God so astonished, that they fled away, and the Protestants, although they were pursued to the tops of the Hills did miraculously escape with safety.

The Enemy, that is to say, the proper Inhabitants of the Valley, with their Ringleaders *James Robustello, Azzo Bessa, John Guizzardi, Lorenzo Parribello*, and others entered into the Palace, they deprived the Magistrate of his Office, that is to say, *Giovanni, Andrea Travieso* of *Scanti*, of the upper *Agnada* Captain and Governour of the *Valtoline*, who with his family had retired himself into the house of *Paul Clamar* until Wednesday the eleventh of *July*; on which day, under pretence to secure them, they were conducted to *Malenco*, where in the Village of *Chiffa*, against their Faith given, they were made Prisoners, and detained for eight days following. They who by the commandment of the said Captain found themselves to be made Prisoners were delivered, putting in their Room certain of the Religion. They immediately changed the Callender, and gave for a Prey the goods of the Protestants: by which occasion great multitudes of Persons assembled from all the parts of the *Valtoline* to rob and spoil; and by reason of the sweetness which they found in pillaging the goods they met with in divers noble houses excellently well furnished, grew an intolerable heat and outrage to spoil, inasmuch as Brother robbed Brother, and the nearest of Kindred pursued and robbed one another, and followed one another to the death. The Peasants, hoping by means hereof to be exempted from paying their yearly Rents, ran with all fury and madness about the Woods, Bushes, and Mountains, searching after the poor Protestants, who were scattered by fear, whom they murdered as they found them with extreme cruelty.

Amongst these were these Gentlemen of greatest worth and resolution, Dr. *Bartholomeo Paravicino* of *Sondres*, from whom they took about two thousand Crowns; Dr. *Nicolas* his Brother, whose Brother Doctor *Lelio* had before been slain in the Church of *Tell*; *Petronio Paravicino*, Doctor, and *Giovann Battista Mallero* of *Antwerpe* in the Low-Countries, a man endued with excellent rare qualities of mind and Body; for he was both a good Philosopher and a learned Divine, and very fit to instruct you; He was surpris'd in the house of *Morone*, and when they had stoned him to death, they cut off his Head, ripped his Belly, and took out his Entrails. His Children, *Giovann, Andrea, and Catharine* were carried to *Milano*.

Annaldi Lisa, Wife of *Anthony Grotti* of *Chio* in the Territory of *Vicentine*, of an honorable and ancient house, was come out of *Italy* but some few years before for the liberty of her Conscience. This *Anna* was first by them exhorted with fair words to change her Religion; but the constantly persevering therein, was admired. A holy resolution. The world at the least have a care of her young Infant which she held in her Arms, being about two months old; otherwise she would make reckoning that in the twinkling of an eye both she and her Babe should die: but she with a bold and undaunted courage answered, That she had not departed out of *Italy* her native Country, neither had she forsaken all the estate she had, to renounce at last that Faith which had been inspired unto her by the Lord Jesus Christ; yes, that she would rather suffer, if it were possible, a thousand deaths. And how, faith she, should I have regard in this cause of my Infant since God our Heavenly Father spared not his only Son, my Lord Jesus, but delivered him up to death.

death for the love of me and of all sinners? Then giving them the Chio, he said, behold the Child; the Lord God, who hath care of the Birds of the air, will much more be able to save this poor Creature although by you it were abused and left in those wild Mountains. So unlacing her gown she opened her Breast, and said, Here is the Body which you have power to kill; but my Soul, on which you have no power to lay hand, that I commend to my God, and presently she was slain, and afterwards cut in pieces, being thirty five years old. The Infant, because it was a lovely and a sweet babe to look on was suffered to live. God restraining the cruelty of those Butchers, and was delivered to a popish Woman to nurse up. And here is to be observed, that this blessed Martyr imitated the commendable example of her dear Brother *Giovanni Antonio*, who for the Profession of the Truth of the Gospel having continued in the said *Chio*, and endured a grievous Imprisonment two years together, was at last condemned to the Gallies, where he died within two Months after. When he was bound in Chains, being carried from *Chio*, he said, You may indeed bind my person, but the word of God shall never the more be bound in the hearts of the elect, that it do not themselves manifestly it self, and bring forth fruit, &c.

Behold here
the power
of faith

Gods Word
and Gospel
can never be
bound to the
heart of God.
Bless.

According to this most Christian example *John Steffen Alvon* and *Rodolfo Rivella*, being both of them of the Valley of *Sondres*, did not only in their proper persons deal with their Blood the Truth of the Gospel, but moreover exhorted their Children, *John Andrea*, and *John Antonio*, the one of them being fifteen years of age, the other ten, that they should do the like, following the honourable example of the seven Brethren in the *Maccabees* and of their Mother, who chose rather to die, than to obey the King, and to transgress the Law of the Lord.

And yet by reason of the Money and Jewels found in the Houses and Chests of the Protestants, the eagerness and fury of each of those miscreants increased daily more and more; inasmuch as that there were neither Noble nor Ignoble, nor Lady, nor neither Man, Woman, Young nor Old, of what condition soever, who were not ransacked and spoiled some twice, and others oftentimes thrice over. Some honourable Matrons had their Rings pulled off their Fingers, inasmuch as they would cut off their Hands and Fingers, if they would not presently draw them off. Some Women were by force dragged up to the tops of high and craggy Mountains, and threatened to be thrown down headlong with their Children, unless they would go to Mass. And although *Lucretia* the Wife of *Antonio Lavizzaro*, and *Katherine* Wife of *Giulio Merlanico*, being moved and terrified with the horror of death, had consented to change their Religion, yet were they murdered for all that without any pity at all.

The same belet to *D. Jo. Battista Salici* of *Soglio* in the *Pregaglia*; for although that his life was promised him, nevertheless he was brought into the Market Place of the said *Campello* pinioned with a cord, and miserably slain with two Musketeers, being of the age of 72. after he had bin robbed of his Gold and Silver, whereof great store was found in his House, according to the common and too much practised Rule of the Roman Catholics, *Hæreticis non est servanda fides*.

Dominico Berto, an aged man of 67 years, was set upon an Ass, his Face turned to the Tail, which he held in his Hand in stead of a Bridle, and in his other Hand a Book, whom in this manner they carried through *Sondres* saying, *Alessio, Alessio*, &c. they cut off his Ears, his Nose, his Cheeks, boring holes in divers parts of his Body with a strange and unheard of barbarousness, until they had quite killed him; but he for the love of Christ his Saviour with great and incredible courage and cheerfulness endured all those varieties of Torments and Martyrdom. And by this it may be gathered what they would have done with *Seignior Alessio*, a faithful Pastor of the Church of *Sondres*, if he had fallen into the Hands of these raging Beasts. But he by the great mercy of Gods was preserved with his Wife and Children, in the company of *Seignior Georgio Inatro* Minister of *Berbenno*, and *Charles Salice* Son of *Cavaliere Hercle* of happy memory and others, nor v. least great travel, danger and difficulties, among the craggy and dangerous Mountains, whereon they travelled, it is pleasing the gracious God by the virtue of his

Spirit graciously to assist him, although he was in the midst of his Persecutors.

Anthony de Prati of the Hills was with many words exhorted to abjure his Religion; but he constantly persevered, and with a generous courage replied in these words, *My Soul shall be taken up into Abrahams Bosom, and after my death my Enemies shall see the Angel of God bled by me, &c.* accordingly an Angel appeared over his Body in a white garment, being beheld of the by-standers, who of their own accord have publicly confessed the same.

Theophilo Mossino received into his Body a shot with a Musket: but before he was dead a Gag was put in his Mouth, which being filled with Gunpowder, fire was given to it, and in that manner he passed miserably out of this life; *Giovanni* his Son was slain with seven wounds.

Seignior Salveto, being delivered out of Prison, was instantly exhorted to embrace the Catholick Roman Religion. But notwithstanding he constantly persisted, although he was both young in years, and a lover of worldly vanities; and having received a shot of a Musket was carried by a ladder out of the Palace to the ground, from whence he raised himself, and be sought them to finish the work they had to do about his Body, that he might render his Soul to his Creator, being 28 years of age.

Jo. Battista Mingardino, having received many wounds, and being stripped of his garments, and left naked in the Woods, nevertheless after this to evil inhumanity returned to his House: and although the Priests of *Sondres* did with all diligence possible exhort him to change his Religion, promising him, in case he would do so, Mountains of Gold; nevertheless he constantly persevered in the Truth of the Gospel even to the end.

Christina Ambria the Wife of *Vincenzo Bruno* of *Prada*, *Madalena Meris* of *Montagna*, and *John Garato* of *Frasagola*, were thrown down headlong into the River *Adda*, from divers Bridges of *Belfino*, *St. Petro* and others, and so drowned, because they had refused to embrace the Catholick Roman Religion, and that with so manly and constant a Resolution, as did work an admiration in the persecutors themselves.

In this mean time notwithstanding the reverend *Seignior Bartholomew Marlanico* received the Crown of Martyrdom, who sometimes had preached at *Sondres*, a true Servant of God, and for his life and manners unrepensible. Others had their mouths slit up to the ears; others received other fashions in the Face, others were in other manner most cruelly mangled to the death, *Battista* of *Grillo*, called of the *Bajacca*, an aged man of seventy five years, being found in the House of the Heirs of *Seignior Cente Visi Martimengo* of most happy memory, being set upon by those murdering catiffes, leaped out of a Window and passed the River *Malesio*, and having gotten to his House and shifted his clothes, he was assailed again, taken prisoner, and carried to the Palace, put often to the Strapado, and lastly was in such sort sliced and hewn with a sword, that he had nothing left him but the Arms which were fastened to the cord.

Paolo Baretta of *Chio* in the County of *Vicence*, a Virgin of the age of seventy five years, of an honourable, noble, and antient family, who twenty seven years came before to *Sondres* to embrace the Gospel, was by these Villains carried through *Sondres*, with all disgrace, shame, and scorn, having a Myrrour of paper put upon her head, her Face besmeared with dirt, and many buffets given in her cheeks, and in many other fashions abused. Being required to call upon the holy Virgin *Mary* and the Saints, and to place her trusting in them: the smiling did with great readiness answer them, My trust and my Salvation is in my only Saviour Jesus Christ, and in him only will I rest. And it is also true, that I acknowledge the Virgin *Mary* for the most holy Virgin above all others, which ever was, or ever will be: who was a Virgin before the birth, a Virgin in the birth, and after birth, and so shall remain. Who although she be favoured and beloved of God, above all Women in the world, to be made the Mother of my Lord Jesus the Saviour of the world: nevertheless, because she is not able to know our necessities, nor being omnipotent (for otherwise she would be God himself) and desires hath had need of the merits of her Son, it was not lawful for her to call upon any other than the eternal God, who knoweth all things, and

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and upon no creature of any quality whatsoever, &c. In this for the endured the Scorns and Outrages with an incredible constancy and cheerfulness, saying continually, I do willingly endure as becometh mee to do, desiring no better usage, since the very same hath been done to my Lord and Saviour Jesus, and to his Apostles, and to thousands of the holy Martyrs. Lastly, she was carried away to be sent to *Milaine*; but she, rather then that should be, desired earnestly that she might be killed, seeing she was resolved to die in the Faith of the Lord Jesus, both there and at *Milaine*: but she could not obtain the favour to be killed there, but was carried along as hath been said. On Wednesday being the eighteenth of July was found in the plain of St. Gregory in the *Valtoline* in the high way the dead Body of an old Woman, which by the conjecture of some was the Body of this Woman *Paula*, who in conclusion had been murdered by the Assassinate in that place.

There were divers other good Christians, honest Men, and fearing God, both of rich and of mean estate of *Sondres* from the Mountain of *Sondres*, and from the Valley and Commonalty of *Malenco*, that were in greater numbers cruelly murdered; who in regard they were ready to seal the truth with their Blood, our desire was for this reason, that mention should be made of them.

And these were the reverend Gentlemen, *Marco Antonio Alba* of *Casale*, of *Monferrato*, Pastor of the Church of *Malenco*, a man full of zeal, of the age of sixty three years; *John Pietro Mingardino*, *Anastasia* his Sister, *Lorenzo Hicke* slain above the Bridge of *Sondres*, and thrown down into the water; *Andrea* his Son, who had his Nose cut off, and Cheeks even to the furthest part thereof, that they might afterwards put him to the more cruel death; *Andrea* the Son of *Peter* called *Luther* near to the Butchery of *Sondres*; *John Oswald* a Carpenter of *di Cyra* near to the Palace of *Sondres*, *Daniel Newbecher* near to the Flood of *Sondres*, wherein hee was cast, being half dead before, *John Lorenzo* near unto the Church at the Mount of *Sondres*, *Gaudenzio di Mossini*, *John* in *Bongimino*, *Battista* and *Andrea* his Sons, *John Antonio* Son in Law of *Vicenzo Bruno*, *Steffano Pagano* of *Folchiaro*. *Antonio* Son in Law of *Vicenzo Bruno*, *Stephano Pagano* of *Folchiaro*, *Antonio Samadeno Paolo*, and *Jacobo Demonsconi*, *Andrea* Son of *Pietro Duchenno*, *Domenico* his Brother, *Pietro* his Son, *Nicolo Feacaiolo* sometime Deacon of *Sondres*, *Eugenio Chiesia*, *Giovanni Chiesia*, *Barnardo* his Son. *Radolphe* his Brother dwelling in *Malenco* had promised to go to *Mals*, for which cause his Life was given him: but because hee had furnished with victuals *Sigismor Alessio*, and his Company, when they passed the Mountains, he was shot to death.

John Vientius Andreone Cani was hewed into many pieces, of age 84. *Zacharia Ventura* of *Bresciano*, a poor, lame, dumb beggar, yet made he a sign with his Finger, how small account hee made of the *Mals*.

Moreover *John Patara* a Member of the Church of *Sondres*, being discovered to be one of the Religion, was on the sudden shot with a Musket in the Back and so died.

Many hid themselves in Holes, and Caves, and in Woods, out of which they durst not come but by night only to get some food, and that with great fear and terror of the watching Enemy; others for want of convenient food to eat, and others that fed onely upon roots, leaves, and grasse, made an end of their lives; and many were murdered in divers places, who had no burial at all; so as many Carcasses were to be seen in Groves and Woods in the Mountains, and in waters in many places.

C H A P. 4.

The Massacre of *Berbenno*, wherein were slain about eleven Persons.

IN what manner also busineses passed in the Noble Countrey of *Berbenno* is to do likewise plainly appear; for in that place also the Rebels played their part of killing and spoyling the professors of the Gospel. For after they had executed their cruelties and outrages, as hath bin delivered before in *Tyrane*, *Bruse*, *Tell*, *Sondres*, in the

Mountain of *Sondres*, *Malenco* and other places, they also received special commandment, as may appear by a Letter written to them by *John Guzzardi* of the twelfth of July of the present year, that they should with all their power and courage, murder, strangle, massacre, and in sum should use all diligence, without favour or mercy, to destroy all *Lutherans* wheresoever: by vertue of which Commission they have not for their parts omitted any manner of outrage and villany against the Protestants. And first there were presently murdered certain persons of good rank and quality, and that with great cruelty, against faith and promise given them. The which was with so much the more rage and fury put in execution: for that those Catholic *Romans* themselves, who upon the first Proposition refusing to give their Consents to the sudden to those murders, were without respect or favour on the sudden murdered themselves as happened to *Bartholomeo Porretto*, and other Roman Catholics.

The Protestants that were massacred were these that follow, *Theophilus de Piscatory* of *Ognano* in *Romagna*, who had dwelt in *Berbenno* twenty years past, was slain in a place above *Berbenno* called *Luzione*, the tenth of July, of the age of sixty five years.

Anna di Cassavia of *Pregaglia*, Wife of the above said *Theophilus*, was before murdered at a House called the *Chanons* of *Berbenno* the day abovesaid, aged fifty years.

Concordia Cretta of *Tyrane*, the Wife of *Giovann Gugelman* of the Territory of *Zurich*, who had dwelt in *Berbenno* as many years, was massacred in the place and on the day abovenamed, being of the age of forty three.

Aurelio the Son of *Nicolas Paravicino*, going from *Berbenno* to *Sondres*, was slain in the plain of *Cassione* the eighteenth of July, aged fifty seven.

Bartholomeo the Son of *David Paravicino*, was wounded to death in the Head with the shot of a Musket, who, quite against the hope and expectation of the *Chirurgioni*, lived five days after, and then died, being eighteen years of age.

Ottavio of *Capelli*, an honourable Gentleman, was together with two others underwritten, *John Battista* and *Horatio Paravicino* detained as Prisoners in the *Chanoni* of *Berbenno*, from the eleventh unto the fix and twentieth day of July, on which day they were requested and accompanied to *Sondres* by the commandment of *Robustello*, who pretended with all kindness and courtesie to entertain them; causing them to drink, and to be accompanied even unto *Sassella*: But there, by order of the said *Robustello*, they were murdered; who replied, being demanded why he did so; That they must never keep Faith with Hereticks. This *Ottavio* was thirty eight years of age.

John Battista Paravicino of *Capelli* a Gentleman also of great honour, who was kept Prisoner as aforesaid, and conducted to *Sondres*, in his return unto *Sassella*, there with *Ottavio* was slain, being of the age of four and thirty years.

Horatio, Brother of the said *John Battista*, was wholly and in all things his faithful companion, and in like manner rendered his life the day abovesaid, being thirty two years of age.

Anna de Beveri of *Ginevra*, Wife of the abovenamed *Ottavio*, a Gentlewoman of an honourable estimation, being desirous for the safety of her life to follow a company of *Grisen* Souldiers, amongst whom was a Cousin of hers, and other Kinsmen of hers, not being able to travel by reason of the sharpness and steepness of the way being a Gentlewoman grave and tender, was shot in the back with a Musket, and left for dead the third of August, being forty years of age.

Theofina Paravicino of *Capelli*, Mother of the above said *John Battista*, and *Horatio*, a Gentlewoman of great worth, was slain in her own house, being of the age of fifty five years.

Adamo Scaramucio of *Tyrane* was at the time of the Barbarous Massacre of *Tyrane* in the Garrison of *Morbennno*, from whence notwithstanding he escaped and came to *Clavenno*, afterwards meaning to return with the Band of *Grisen* to the *Valtoline*, and to accompany the said

said *Theofina* to *Sondres*, was murdered, being twenty years of age. He was a Young Man of singular expectation.

CHAP. 5.

The Massacre of Caspiano and Trahon, wherein there were murdered eleven persons or thereabouts.

BUT for all this the *Trabones* could not pass in the lower *Valtolina*, but that he received his part in this persecution with the persecution of divers persons, which the Reader may see by the Catalogue ensuing.

Johua the Son of *Hortensio Malacrida*, coming from *Caspiano*, in his Journey to *Bulio*, being encountered at the Bridge of *Majino*, and being demanded if he would go to *Mals*, answering that he would not, was forthwith slain and cast into the River of *Majino*, being of the age of thirty years.

The like befel to his Brother *Plimit*, he was sought for in *Bulio* by 25. persons, and not being found there, was met in his return betwixt *Ardan* and *Bulio*, and killed, being 26. years of age.

Andrea Parovicino of *Bugo*, of *Caspiano Sarro*, by his Trade a Tailor, stayed there from the 9. of *July*, until the coming off the *Grisson* Band into the *Valtolina*: but after the sudden departure of the said Band, being discovered by his Counriment and Kinsfolks, was taken and carried to *Morbegno*, and being solicited to forsake the True Religion, and to embrace the Roman, and standing with great manfulness thereto, was condemned to the fire, and was placed between two Heaps of Wood, to make him to recant. But all was in vain; for being asked if he were a Catholic, he answered, That he was. Then, if he were a Roman Catholic; he also affirmed likewise, that he was so. But being demanded if he held the Roman Faith as it is at this day, he answered, no. It is true, said he, that I hold the ancient Catholic Roman Faith, which was preached by *St. Paul*, That a Man is saved by grace by the means of Faith, and not by works, left any Man should boast. Being demanded, if he believed the Pope to be Head of the Church, he answered, No; because Christ only is the Head of the Church, according to the promise, *I will be with you unto the end of the world*.

And although the fire was first kindled, and then put out, of purpose to draw him to a recantation, nevertheless he persevered and endured that cruel death with admirable constancy, the 15. of *August*, being sixty years old.

Giovann Pietro Malacrida, although he were little of stature, yet was he great and mighty in the Confession of the Truth, inasmuch that for the love of his Saviour he suffered death with singular cheerfulness, being forty years of age.

His example was devoutly and constantly imitated by *Elizabeth* his Wife, who was killed in the eight and thirtieth year of her age: and moreover these Herodian Murderers not therewith content, but joyning one Barbarous Inhumanity to another, observing a Daughter of hers, being an Infant of three years old, to lie in the Cradle, although it was a Child of a sweet Countenance and these Wretches seeing that the Babe did look lovingly and cheerfully on them, which would have been enough to have moved any Adamantine Heart to compassion, notwithstanding they took the poor Babe by the feet, dashed her against the Wall, and in this manner most barbarously murdered the same.

Thomaso Maestreilla Carpenter, and a principal Engineer, excellent in Building of Mills and other Buildings, was murdered in one of his Mills at *Melle*, being eighty years of age.

Dominico of *Pagano*, called *Luther* of *Scermelle* of the hundred of *Carviche* in *Trabones*, being at his work at *Morbegno*, was killed the fourteenth of *August*, age forty eight; he was followed by his Son *Jacomo*, age eighteen, and *Peter* his Son, of age fifteen: also of *Maria* his Sister: all which in one day, being the fourteenth day of *August*, were for the Faith of the Gospel professed by them Sacrificed to God their Creator and Saviour.

CHAP. 6.

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The Massacre of Bruse, in which were Murdered to the number of 27. Persons.

THese wretched Murderers were not contented in the place abovenamed, which were subjects to the Lords *Grissons* at *Tyrane*, *Tell*, *Sondres*, *Monte di Sondrio*, *Berbenno* and *Malenco*, to have Massacred so many persons who feared God, honorable, noble, learned, wife, and sober, of Authority and Reverence, Young and Old, Men, Women, yea even their next Alliance, straitest Friends and Kinsfolks, by shooting them, by throwing them headlong from Mountains, by stoning them, by hewing them in pieces, by casting them in Rivers, by burning, by mangling them, and by all cruel means making them away: but they also executed the like cruelty in *Retia* it selfe, the Countrey of their natural Lords and Commanders.

For example, on *Sunday* the ninth of *July*, a Young Man called *Johm* the Son of *Dominico* of *Ada* a Roman Catholic, early in the morning travelled to the Bridge of the Castle of *Bruse*, being the way to *Tyrane*, to buy Corn for his House; there he met *Ambrasio* the Son of *Baruffino* his Host in *Tyrane*, with a Company of people, who were at the time endeavouring to break down the Bridge, not suffering any passage to the said *Johm*, but commanded him to return back again. At which the man wondering, and asking the reason, they answered, That they meant not only to stop the passage of the *Lutherans* of *Bruse*, but also at once utterly to root them out. This Young Man suddenly returned to *Bruse*, and reported unto *Martaine Adarino*, the Son of *Dominico*, this which he had seen and heard. *Udillo* being then his Servant, who was a Protestant, runs with great speed to give warning to the Protestants, not thinking that they were in the Church; but although they were diligently attending the Sermon, he was bold to publish the notice thereof to them all. The people were much astonished at the news, and were about to depart out of the Church: but they were earnestly desired by the Pastor to stay still, protesting, that he would not forsake them, but would live and die with them. So they continued still, until the Sermon and Prayers were ended. Then they armed themselves, and assembled in the House of *Michael Montio*. Soon after they marched in their Arms towards another Bridge, which was near to the Countrey of *Bruse*, and there they decryed some of their Enemies, who then were coming to cut off that Bridge. But perceiving the Protestants ready to resist them, they returned back without any further attempt. On *Sunday* and *Monday* the Protestants stood upon their guard: on the *Tuesday* following in the evening came the Enemies with a multitude of people, being accompanied with with a great company of the Roman Catholics of *Bruse*. They set fire on the House of *Antonio Montino*, and *Pietro Agessino*, and other Houses adjoining. The Protestants seeing so great a multitude of Enemies, finding themselves fewer in number, and weaker in strength, some of them took themselves to their heels, the rest were slain between that evening and the next day.

There were slain at that conflict twenty seven Persons, and among them these which follow.

Bettino of *Azzala*, Son of *Pietro*, of age forty five years; *Perrotta* his Wife, being of the age of forty; *Pietro* their Son, being of age twelve years; *Andreino Zepo*, Son of *Janotto*, age forty; *James* Son of *Johm Domenico Quadernetto*, age thirty. *Johm Monagatti*, age fifty eight; *Michael della Kola*, age 28. *Jachomena de Burico*, age thirty years; *Jean Monera* age eighty. This Woman was oftentimes advised to become a Roman Catholic, and to favour her age, telling her that if she would, she should have her life given her; but she with great Resolution replied, God forbid that I, who now of long time have had one foot in the Grave, should come to forsake my Lord Jesus, who hath so long time preserved me in the knowledge and Confession of his Truth; and to put my trust in Creatures, and to receive in stead of his holy word the Traditions of Men. Upon which words this worthy Matron was instantly slain.

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Now there is no doubt but in this furious persecution at *Bruse* and in other places, there have been murdered many good Men for the forefaid cause, whose Names have not been mentioned in this discourse: but whosoever they were, they have departed with this comfort, that they have not suffered as murderers or robbers, or malefactors, or as busie bodies in those things which belong not to them, but as holy Christians, who at no hand would worship Images, they believed that the Blood of Christ hath purged them from all sin; That Christ hath offered one onely Sacrifice once for sins; that we ought to worship the Lord God alone, and onely serve him; That we are saved by Grace, by the means of Faith, and that not of our selves, the same being the gift of God, not by works, to the intent none might boast; That we ought to worship God in all places, holding up clear Hands unto him; That every Creature of God is good, and none to be rejected, being used with thanksgiving; That Marriage is honourable in every sort and condition of persons, according to the expresse words of the Holy Apostolick Scripture: and by reason of this very Confession were the Inhabitants of *Tyrano*, *Teglio*, *Sondrio*, *Maleno*, *Berbanno*, *Trabona*, *Morbegno*, *Dabino*, *Caspiano*, and *Bruse*, so cruelly persecuted and massacred.

There was of late time a Book Printed in *Italy*, how the Protestants of the abovesaid places should practise to execute upon the Catholics, about the 15. day of *August*, the like, which since hath befallen themselves: but how devilish a slander and calumny this is, may clearly be gathered by this, that where the Protestants of those places are ten, the Popish Catholics are a thousand. Who then would believe that so small a number should be able to make resistance against so great a multitude? and especially against those desperat Rebels, and Outlawd Villains, who for their murders formerly committed, for their corruptions of the Communiaries, and transgressions of the commandment of the Magistrate had before been banished out of the Country, being also suspected of Sodomy, of falsification of Money, and like ravening wolves, being thoroughly Armed, entered like a most furious Torrent on the sudden, slaughtering the poor Naked Protestants, who suspected no such wrong, even in those Churches which before had been privileged even among the *Barbarous Pagans*, to the intent that they might put in execution that bloody design which had been resolved on about 17. years before, according to a Letter intercepted of a principal Rebel in this action, who is neither afraid nor ashamed to term the same a holy resolution, and an honourable enterprise: which it is indeed, if to spoil, to rob, to strangle, to massacre, to burn, to hew in pieces Children and Women, to cast them into fire and water, to falsifie Faith, ought to be accounted an attempt of holiness: if it ought to be esteemed a thing honourable and pleasing to God: Not to suffer the Bodies of the dead, being buried in the earth and in the Church, to rest quietly but to take them up again, and being taken up to handle them in the most barbarous manner (as very lately had been done in the Countries of *Caspiano* and *Trabona* and in others places, where the Bodies digged out of the ground, which before were entire and whole, were thrown into Rivers and water, to be meat for the Fishes) and having bruised and ground their bones to powder, most barbarously to cast them into the fire. But here, if ever, the old tale of *Aesop* is verified, where the poor silly Sheep was accused to have troubled the water of a malicious Wolf, although the said Sheep drank below at the foot of the River.

Therefore it appeareth most clearly every way, that the aforesaid persons underwent those sufferings for no other cause, but only for the Truth of the Gospel: even as by the eternal decree of God, the Holy Prophets Saint *John Baptist*, the Holy Apostles, yea even our Lord and Head *Jesus Christ* himself, and after him those many millions of the elected Martyrs in all ages have done before, and especially in these miserable last times, in *Germany*, *France*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Low-Countries*, *Bohemia*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, &c.

Which Martyrdom they endured willingly, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer blame for the Name of *Christ*, remembering the promise of this our Lord, *Blessed are they who are persecuted for righte-*

nesses sake, because the Kingdom of Heaven is theirs. Blessed are you when others shall revile and persecute you, and shall falsely speak all evil of you for my sake: Rejoice and triumph, for your reward is great in Heaven; for so have they persecuted the Prophets who were before you. Read to this purpose. 1 Pet. 4. Verses, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. which words, of all good Christians are to be well pondered and weighed: For first by such trial we perish not. Secondly, we are thereby made conformable to Christ our Head. Thirdly, such sufferings cause unto us greater joy than sorrow. Fourthly, they are infallible marks that the Spirit of God rests upon us. Fifthly, they manifest to all our unfained love to Christ and his Gospel.

Sixthly, hereby we have good proof that the Lord doth correct us, not as a severe Judge, but as a most loving and tender hearted Father: to whom therefore with his blessed Son, and holy Spirit, be all glory and honour ascribed in all the Churches of the Saints, world without end, Amen.

Signs and Prodigies, which happened before the Massacre in the Valtoline.

The Protestants having appointed Guards and Sentinels in the steeples of the Churches of the *Valtoline*, besides others with were commanded to watch in certain places, to give the sign by fire, to the intent that the whole Valley being warned partly by the *Bells*, partly by the sound of the Bells, might together be ready on the sudden to take Arms for their defence against the Spaniard, if he should make any Incurtion upon the Valley: about the Calends of *May*, 1620. in *Sondrio*, the foresaid Sentinels reported, that in a night as they watched, they heard in the Church of *Gerusalem* a murmuring as it were of many persons, with great earnestness and vehemency of arguing and contesting among themselves: and from the Church there shined upwards through the Steeple a great brightness, in so much as the Sentinels lighted their Torches, and assembled themselves to go down into the Church to see what the matter might be. But as they were descending down the stairs, their lights were put out, and returning afresh to light their Torches they were put out again with greater strength, and with much astonishment and trembling; and the brightness which filled the Church suddenly vanished; the weights also of the great Clock fell down, and they heard about ten knells of a Bell, in such manner as it useth to ring to give the Alarm, the which was heard by very many.

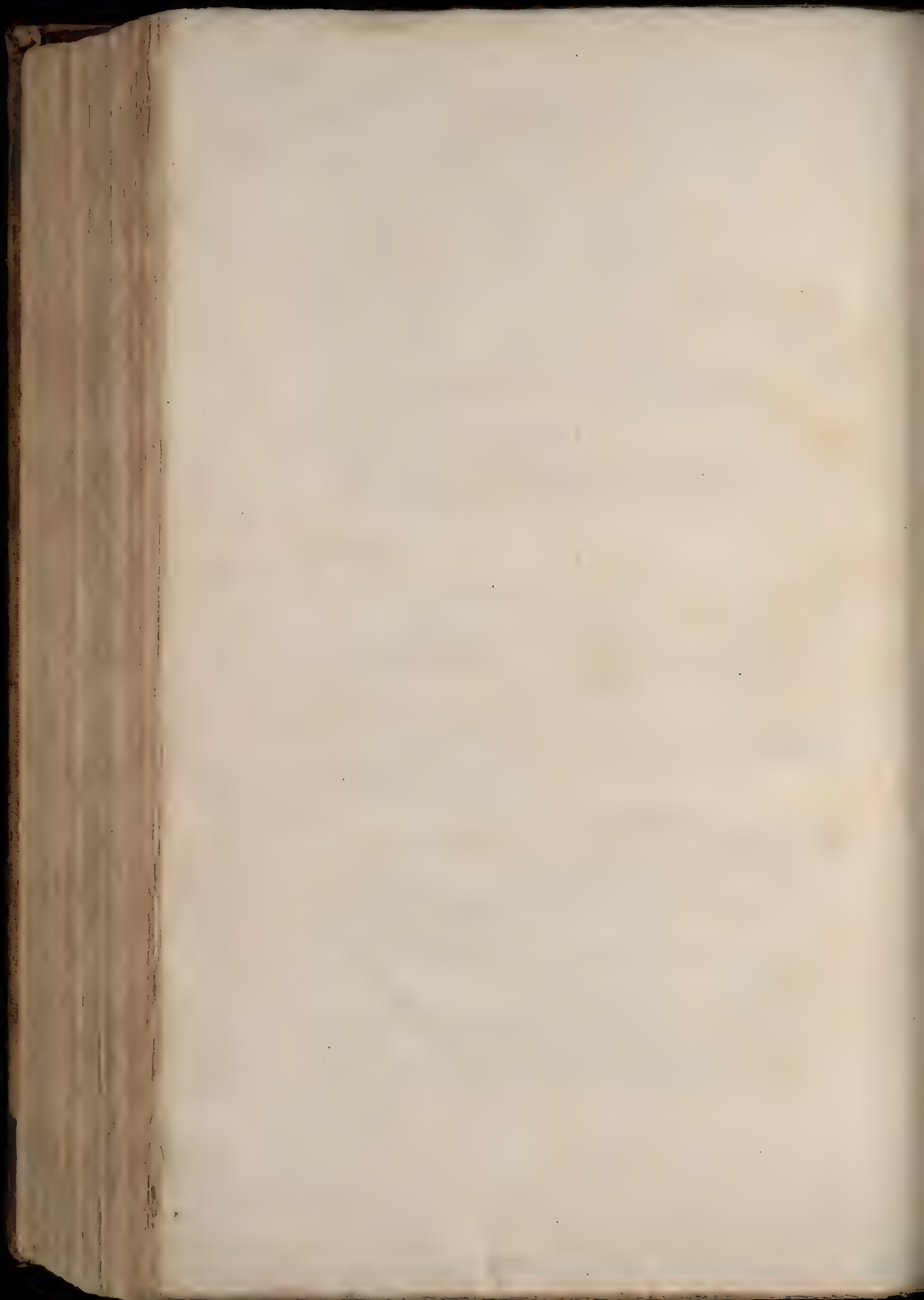
Likewise in *Tyrano*, there were heard the like knells by the great Bell; and the Magistrate commanded them suddenly to go and know the cause, but he found that it was not done by the act of men, and instantly the Servants running from the *Belfry*, and diligently attending to see this business, they discerned a thing like a Cat to descend down into the place.

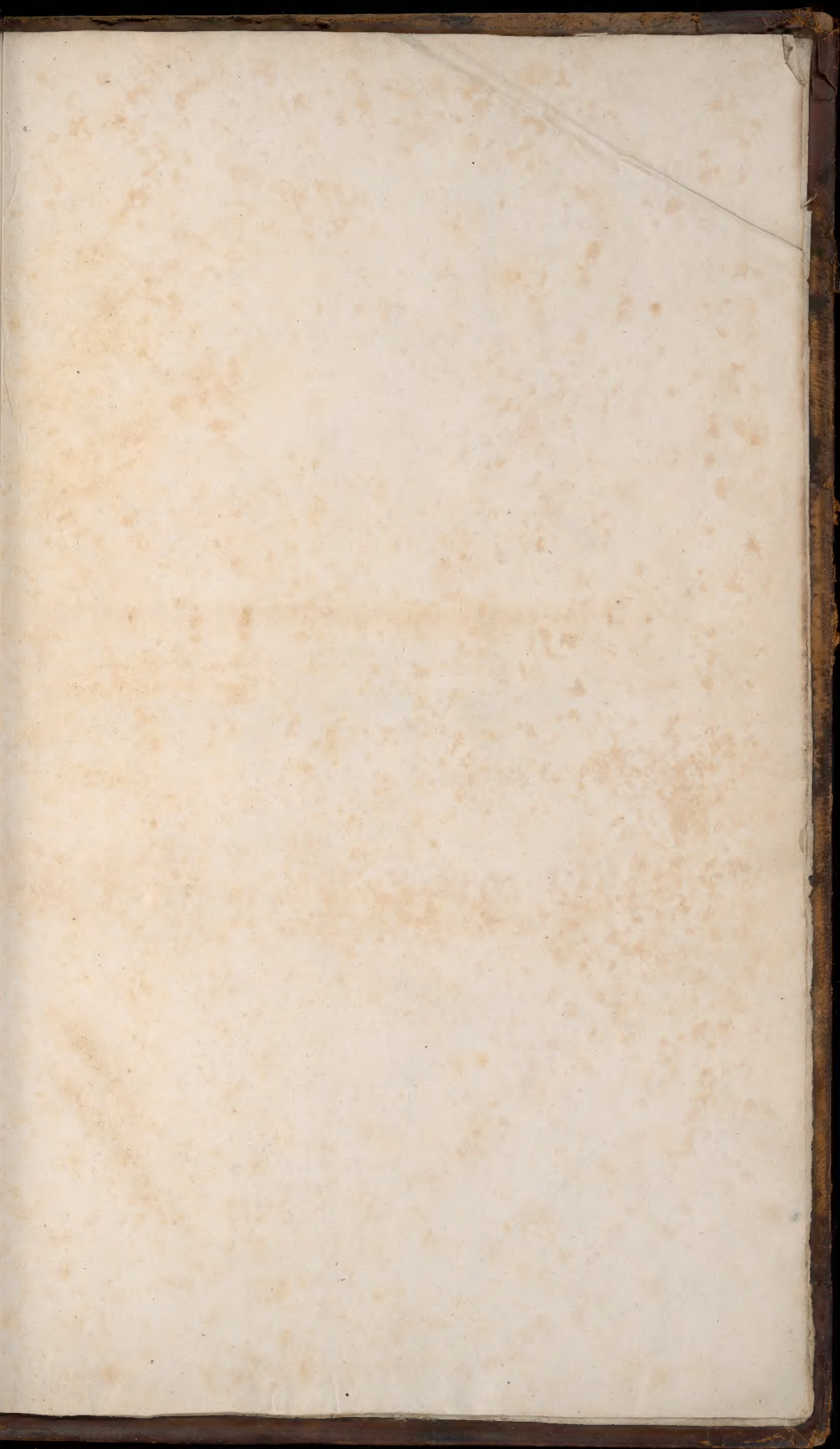
Signs and prodigies heard and seen in the *Valtoline* after the Massacre, as hath been affirmed by divers persons of credit, being departed from the said Valley, and living in the *Valtoline* after the Massacre. In the *Evangelick* Protestant Church, and principally from *Teglio* and *Tyrano* a voice hath been heard to cry, woe, woe to you, The Vengeance of God is upon you for the Blood of the innocent.

Moreover there was heard the Bell of the *Evangelick* Church of *Tyrano*, to ring even at the same time that the Sermon was used to be: and in that Church a voice was heard, like the voice of *Senior Antonio Basso*, who sometimes had been there a Minister, and was murdered in the said place, as if himself had been preaching in the same place.

In *Sondrio* there was seen to descend an Army from the Mountains every way furnished; which sight was the cause that many took their flight, and departed out of *Sondrio*; but suddenly this Apparition vanished like a cloud. The which struck a great terror into the minds of the people, inasmuch as many departed out of the Valley, as men that feared a caliginous and punishment from Heaven.

F I N I S





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